

TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

MARCH 15-APRIL 14, 1983

VOLUME 10, NUMBER 3/25¢



By ALBERT LARY

The Reagan administration is preparing to escalate U.S. military intervention in El Salvador. Following a months-long series of rebel successes in the three and a half year old Salvadorean civil war, President Ronald Reagan announced on March 10 that he is asking Congress for an additional \$110 million in military aid for El Salvador's rightist government. This would bring overall U.S. military aid for El Salvador this year to \$136.3 million.

Reagan's new proposals were outlined in a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers.

"If guerrilla violence succeeds," Reagan told the business group, "El Salvador will join Cuba and Nicaragua for spreading fresh violence to Guatemala, Honduras, even Costa Rica. The killing will increase and so will the threat to Panama, the canal and ultimately Mexico."

The \$110 million Reagan has called for in new aid will be added to \$748 million in U.S. military and economic assistance already sent to El Salvador in the last three years. Since Congress has authorized only \$26 million in military aid to El Salvador for this year, there is likely to be considerable congressional opposition to this latest request.

The administration has been working hard to try to soften up this opposition to its proposals. Testifying before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on

U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR!

ALL OUT FOR EMERGENCY MOBILIZATIONS!
—See Editorial, Page 12

March 1, a top State Department official said that El Salvador faced a "crisis" and could run out of military supplies "within 30 days" unless the U.S. increased its support. Two days later, however, the State Department

admitted that this prediction was based on a hypothetical situation, such as "if Nicaragua decided to invade with a 40,000-man army." A Department spokesman added that such a situation was "unlikely."

In his speech to the National

Association of Manufacturers, Reagan claimed that the countries of Central America "are in the midst of the gravest crisis in their history." He said that the military situation in El Salvador was "not good" and said that if Congress failed to approve his

\$110 million aid request, he would increase the number of U.S. military advisers beyond the current limit of 55. The administration has also said it may propose that the current restrictions prohibiting U.S. advisers from entering combat zones be dropped.

Congressional opposition?

While Congress is likely to make a good deal of noise over Reagan's policies in El Salvador and may even balk at approving the administration's full request, congressional leaders on both sides of the aisle share Reagan's basic fears about the growing threat to U.S. control over Central America. For example, Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), commenting after a February 28 meeting between President Reagan and Secretary of State George P. Shultz, said:

"The problem is not just El Salvador. It is the region we have to be concerned about. The real problem, the strategic problem, is Mexico. The real danger is the destabilization of Mexico." Jackson added, "My concern from the beginning has been that Mexico is the ultimate objective of those forces seeking to destabilize countries in Central America. Mexico's the ultimate target."

Similarly, House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (Continued on page 6)

**50 Years Since
Hitler's Rise
to Power**

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**Harold Washington Victory
Shakes Up Chicago Politics**

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**SECCION EN
ESPAÑOL**

Marx Centenary



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**our
readers
write...**

On Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.

Dear Torch/La Antorcha,

Having just received the most recent issue of your paper, I would like, first of all, to congratulate you on the consistent high quality and political clarity of your publication. In this issue of Feb. 15, the two articles that most impressed me were the one on the threat from the far right and the concluding article of your "Crisis of Trotskyist Theory" series.

However, what compelled me to write this letter was the article on the legacy of Malcolm X. I agree with you that Malcolm X was a great militant leader and an example and inspiration to all revolutionaries. He dared to oppose liberalism and the strategy of non-violence in those days (similar to these) when almost all the other Black leaders, instead of organizing to tear this rotten, racist system apart, were looking for ways to integrate themselves into it.

Having said that, it seems to me that Malcolm X did have a fault that is worth mentioning. And that was his attitude toward women.

In his autobiography, published in 1964 after he broke with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, there is the following passage:

"Every month, when I went to Chicago, I would find that some sister had written complaining to Mr. Muhammad that I talked so hard against women when I taught our special classes about the different natures of the two sexes. Now, Islam has very strict laws and teachings about women, the core of them being that the true nature of a man is to be strong, and a woman's true nature is to be weak, and while a man must at all times respect his woman, at the same time he needs to understand that he must control her if he expects to get her respect.

"But in those days I had my own personal reasons... Women talked too much. To tell a woman not to talk was like

telling Jesse James not to carry a gun, or telling a hen not to cackle."

Malcolm X, of course, learned sexism and the stereotypes about the "nature" of women from the same capitalist society that the rest of us did. And later when he joined the Islamic religion, it only reinforced his prejudices.

It is certainly possible that if he had lived, and if he had continued in the political direction that he took in his last year of life, Malcolm X would have come to a political understanding of the similarity between sexism and racism. Both, like all oppression, are products of capitalism, and the stereotypes of women are lies, just like the stereotypes of Blacks, Latinos, Gays, etc.

If no one is free until we are all free, then we must give our support to all those who fight against the system and for their freedom. But at the same time, with the objective of opening and facilitating a dialogue between the different struggles, we must clearly point out the error of those like Malcolm X and many others who, while they fight righteously for their own rights, forget about the rights of other oppressed people.

Revolution, Freedom, Socialism
Jessi Harp
Los Angeles

Dear Comrades,

February was Black History Month. But the right wing in the U.S. continues to oppose commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King as a national holiday. King's open, public opposition to the Vietnam War is one reason the right wing does not wish to pay respect to the slain leader of the Civil Rights Movement. Sixteen years later, I still can remember Dr. King speaking out against the Vietnam War from the podium at the largest anti-war rally ever held in Chicago. Even more clearly, I remember that the rulers of the U.S. and their

What kind of society are we striving to create?

Dear Torch,

I have just read your pamphlet, "Socialism and the Fight for Lesbian and Gay Liberation." I found the analysis of the development and reasons for existence of the nuclear family dubious at best. But I found in this pamphlet something that is missing from both the **Torch/La Antorcha** and your other literature.

Most of your literature is historical/analytical (educational), which is certainly necessary. However, until I read this pamphlet, I could not figure out what kind of society you/we are striving to create. This is an important oversight!

Most people in the world today cannot conceive of any society other than the type we have here—private "democratic" capitalism—or the type found in Russia, etc.—totalitarian state capitalism. In fact, "socialism" and "communism" are synonymous with totalitarianism in the minds of most people. And most people who would agree with your analysis of history and the current situation are not willing to fight for that.

In order to build a party that can effectively lead a socialist revolution, it seems to me you must present interested readers with at least one alternative to the societies mentioned above. And in fact, this is what you have begun to do in this pamphlet in the chapter entitled "Socialism—the Road to

flunkies in the media severely criticized King for this and similar protests in 1967. They haven't forgotten.

For this reason, it is unfortunate that the following, unqualified statement appears in the January 15 **Torch** editorial: "[King] failed to link the struggle of Black people in the United States to the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

King, of course, was a reformist and not a revolutionary socialist. He felt that militant, "nonviolent" action could sometimes win permanent improvements for the masses of Black and other oppressed people without overthrowing capitalism. As a result, it is fair and necessary to point out that Martin Luther King was slower, more inconsistent and less thoroughgoing than the late Malcolm X and others in publicly linking the liberation struggles of Third World peoples (as in Southeast Asia) to the possibilities for freedom of Black people in the U.S.

Sincerely,
Lee O'Shaughnessy

Lesbian and Gay Liberation."

This chapter holds out real hope—the hope of a society which provides room for everyone to live in freedom. But this chapter is only a beginning. I would like to see in the **Torch/La Antorcha** an ongoing discussion of how the revolutionary society might be arranged. This discussion could cover every segment of society—from industrial and agricultural production and distribution to the arts, from communications to housing and national defense. (Because, let's face it, unless the entire proletariat of the world revolts en masse, any socialist country will need a national defense policy.)

For instance, as regards hous-

ing: In cities like New York, housing might be arranged on a cooperative basis, building by building. But what about all the single family dwellings across the land? How are these to be parcelled out on an equitable basis, and who is going to make the decisions? "The workers" is not an answer.

It is not enough any longer simply to point out what is wrong with society as it now stands, or what went wrong with previous revolutions. We must begin to create and publicize the vision of society we would like to have, so that the next revolution does not go wrong.

Rachel C. Brown
New York, NY

Greetings from Kentucky!

Dear Friends,

Greetings from Kentucky.

First of all I would like to tell you all that we really do appreciate receiving **Torch/La Antorcha**, here at LLCC. For a bit the administration had decided to hold it back and have their Literary Review Committee attempt to do a number on it but, that did not work and they have decided to allow the publication in without any problem or delay. (We are still having many difficulties on Gay Oriented material such as **The Advocate**,

Gay Community News and the like.)

We don't often enough drop you all a line and let you know that first of all we do receive the paper and second that we do want to keep it coming.

Now the beginning of a new year we here wish you all the best and hope that you all continue to publish such an informative paper.

Peace,
Rick Espinoza
Bruce Roller

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Harold Washington Victory Shakes Up Chicago Politics

By WILLIAM FALK

In a city long known as one of the most segregated and racist in the nation, a Black man is on the verge of becoming mayor. As a result, "politics as usual" have been disrupted in Chicago—and the shock-waves are being felt around the country.

What happened, of course, is that Harold Washington, a Black 60-year-old U.S. congressman, won the Democratic Party mayoral primary on February 22. Washington received over 420,000 votes (36.3 percent of the total), defeating the incumbent mayor, Jane M. Byrne (33.5 percent), and Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley (29.8 percent), the son of "Boss" Richard J. Daley, Chicago's mayor from 1955 through 1976.

Washington will face Republican candidate Bernard Epton in a general election April 12. Although the Democratic nominee has won every Chicago mayoral contest since 1931, for the first time in 50 years the election outcome is in some doubt.

Racism—Chicago style

The extreme racism and racial polarization in Chicago, a city that is 40 percent Black, showed through clearly in the February primary election. Overall, Byrne and Daley garnered 92 percent of the white vote, dividing it nearly evenly between them. In the all-white "ethnic" areas of the northwest and southwest sides, Byrne and Daley took 98 to 99 percent of the vote. And in the closing days of the campaign, Edward R. Vrdolyak, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party and Jane Byrne's righthand man, made openly racist appeals for Chicago whites to rally around his candidate:

"A vote for Daley is a vote for Washington. We're fighting to keep the city the way it is. It's a racial thing. Don't kid yourself. I'm calling on you to save your city, save your precinct and keep your friends in office."

Washington won his surprise upset victory because he was able to persuade thousands of Black people who usually sit out a Chicago mayoral race to come out and vote for him. He rode a wave of anger and resentment at Byrne, who won as an anti-machine candidate four years ago with strong Black support—and then built an alliance with the most blatantly racist of the machine politicians. A voter



Harold Washington.

registration drive this fall, before Washington announced he would run, added over 150,000 Black voters to the rolls. The turn-out for the primary was a record 1.2 million voters, 77 percent of all those registered, and for the first time, Black Chicagoans voted at about the same rate as whites.

Overall, Washington captured nearly 82 percent of the Black vote, winning over 85 percent in some Black middle class districts on the South Side and dipping to nearly 70 percent in some poorer areas on the West Side, where machine threats and bribes have traditionally been most effective. Washington's pull was so strong that he actually ran even with Byrne in Chicago's Mafia-controlled First Ward.

'A crusade'

Washington's campaign was significantly different from most recent electoral efforts. He had little money, and no television ads until two weeks before the primary. Instead, his campaign was built on the model of the social protest movements of the 1960s.

"A crusade," is what Washington called it. "It was like Harold was Martin Luther King all over again," said one of the political organizers who originally urged Washington to run.

Four television debates established Washington, a dynamic and skillful public speaker, as a real candidate and helped convert passive supporters into active ones. Thousands of people began to wear blue Washington buttons to work as badges of pride and a "community of button wearers" formed on the streets. "It's our turn," Washington told several campaign rallies. "We're not going to apologize for it and we're not going to waste a lot of time explaining it. It's our turn

—that's all."

Washington even inspired Black city workers to vote for him. "I put my job on the line by voting for Washington. If she [Byrne] had won, I'd have been in a world of trouble," said a housing project maintenance man after the primary. And while John Witherspoon, the Black leader of the largest union local representing Chicago Transit Authority workers, leaned toward endorsing Daley, the union's rank and file (most of whom are Black), forced an endorsement of Washington.

Much of the "movement" character of Washington's campaign came from his focus on the brutal and racist Chicago police force. In the final weeks of the campaign, Washington emphasized his pledge to get rid of police chief Richard Brzezczek. "One of the first things I'll do when I walk into that office is..." Washington began to say to a rally of 14,000 people on February 6. "Fire Brzezczek, fire Brzezczek," the crowd roared back before Washington could finish.

Very few prominent white liberals in Chicago supported Harold Washington's candidacy. For example, Edward Sadlowski, the former insurgent leader in the United Steelworkers union (USWA) and now active in Democratic Party politics, supported Daley. The National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Chicago Federation of Labor supported Byrne. In fact, fewer than half a dozen white Illinois politicians endorsed Washington—none of them current office-holders.

Leaders of the largely-white Independent Voters of Illinois-Independent Precinct Organization (a local affiliate of the Americans for Democratic Action—ADA) wanted to endorse Daley—but were prevented from doing so when the membership voted overwhelmingly to back Washington.

Liberal politicians prominent on the national scene shared the sentiments of local figures. Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), for example, supported Jane Byrne, while former vice-president Walter Mondale, current front-runner in the race for the Democratic nomination for president in 1984, backed Daley.

Washington's financial backing from white liberals was about as strong as his endorsements. Less than 10 percent of Washington's money came from white contributors, even though one of his main fund-raisers was the retired director of the Chicago Urban League, an organization with close ties

to the nation's largest banks and corporations.

What white support Washington did get came largely from local radical political activists, people who participated in the anti-war, civil rights and other social movements of the '60s and '70s. For example, one of the members of Washington's inner circle is Slim Coleman, a leader of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the 1960s and later a founder of Rising Up Angry, a white youth organization modeled on the Black Panther Party. Similarly, Marilyn Katz, Washington's media director, is a former member of the New American Movement and is now active in the leftist Sojourner Truth Organization. Supporters of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America were particularly energetic in working for Washington in the middle class lakefront wards on the North Side, helping produce a 12 percent vote for him in these largely-white areas.

White backlash

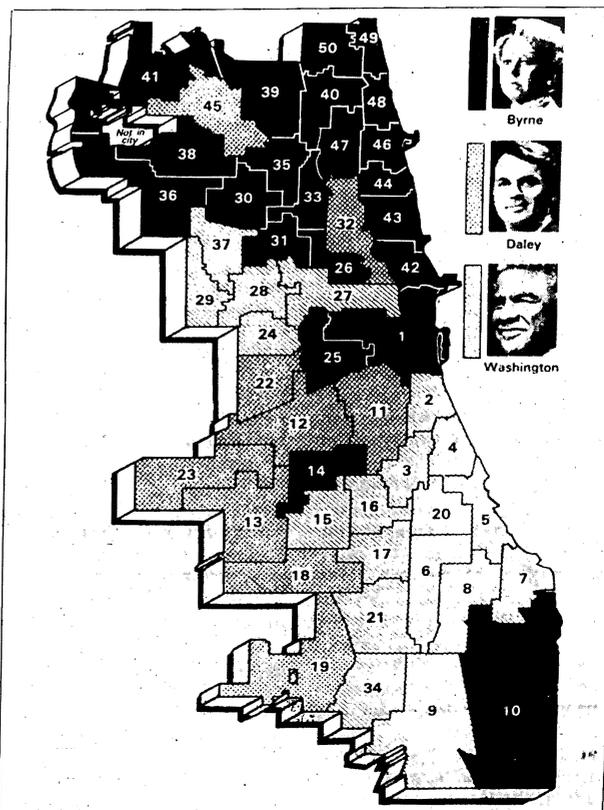
Simply because Washington is Black, the Republican, Bern-

ard Epton, is now considered a viable candidate in this overwhelmingly Democratic city. Two Democratic Party ward committeemen have endorsed Epton, one of them stating bluntly that it was a matter of "racial pride," and about half of the 50 ward leaders, including party chairman Vrdolyak, have failed to endorse Washington. Racist pro-Epton leaflets are being circulated inside the police department, including one showing a Chicago Police Department insignia labeled "Chicongo Polease," with two crossed chicken drumsticks separating the words.

Before the primary, the national Republican Party virtually ignored Epton. But since his emergence as a "white hope" candidate, he has received money and high-level political advisers from the national party.

Despite all this, it is unlikely that Epton will win. For one thing, he is not really a suitable rallying point for racist sentiment in Chicago: He is a Jewish liberal Republican from the same Hyde Park-Kenwood community as Washington—and, in fact, has political views very close to Washington's. Moreover, there are probably

(Continued on page 8)



The voting pattern in the primary clearly reflected the racial polarization and housing segregation in Chicago. The lightly-shaded wards won by Washington are also the only wards in the city with a majority-Black population.

Congress Considers Jobs Bill

After nearly two years of recession, and after six months of depression-level 10 percent unemployment rates, Congress is finally considering a "jobs bill" that even its own supporters admit is a fraud.

On March 3, the Democratic-controlled House passed a \$4.9 billion bill to create temporary jobs and provide extended unemployment benefits, soup kitchens and other short-term relief for the long-term unemployed. The Republican-controlled Senate is considering a similar \$3.9 billion bill. Both are based on a \$4.3 billion jobs proposal sent to Congress by President Reagan in February.

The Democrats' bill, according to its backers, would at best create about 300,000 to 600,000 temporary jobs. In other words, the most "generous" version of the jobs bill will put less than four percent of the nearly 14 million officially unemployed people in the U.S. back to work—for a short time. Since even the most optimistic economic experts concede that unemployment will remain at 10-percent levels at least until 1984, it is clear that the current legislation hardly begins to deal with the unemployment crisis.

House Democrats admit that their proposal does not provide any real solution to unemployment. Representative Thomas Foley (D-Wash.) told reporters: "I don't think there's any argument that what we do will fall far short of meeting the needs of the country." A Wisconsin House Democrat, Les Aspin, added: "Basically it is just symbolism because Congress won't spend enough—it can't spend enough—to make a real dent in the unemployment rate."

The truth is that all the capitalist politicians—in the White House and in Congress—are collaborating in a scam that allows everyone to score political points at the expense of the unemployed.

For his part, Reagan retreated from his hardline stance against any jobs legislation whatsoever to counter his growing and well-deserved reputation as a heartless individual who hangs around with his rich pals while millions are suffering.

And most congressional Republicans jumped on the jobs bandwagon—or, more accurately, tricycle—after examining the results of the November election in which Republicans took a beating in

the House and barely maintained their Senate majority.

Meanwhile, the House Democrats fattened Reagan's proposal just enough to claim some credit as the ones who really care about unemployment. At the same time, they displayed their new "realism" over economic issues by avoiding what House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. called "extravagances" that would give Reagan an excuse to veto the bill and accuse the Democrats of being budget-busters.

Finally, nearly everyone in Congress, regardless of party, scrambled to get a special jobs project in his or her home district in order to go home and boast about the support given to all the folks out of work.

Sharp Rise in Racial & Anti-Semitic Violence

New reports show that the number of racist attacks on Black and Jewish people has risen dramatically in recent years.

In Montgomery County, Maryland—just outside Washington, D.C.—reported attacks on Blacks or Jews have increased by more than 600 percent in three years—from 25 in 1980 to 100 in 1981, and to over 150 in 1982. Incidents last year included a Ku Klux Klan rally, cross-burnings, desecrations of synagogues and assaults on Blacks or Jews by individuals and groups.

In California's Los Angeles County, local officials reported on March 1 that 101

known anti-Semitic incidents took place last year—up from 77 in 1981—including bomb threats, attempted arson and defacing private homes and public buildings with swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans. The county's Commission on Human Relations also reported 15 racist attacks on Blacks or Latins, compared to four in the previous year.

In January, a statewide Task Force on Civil Rights in California reported it had received notice of 400 racial and religious attacks between 1979 and 1981. The task force noted that public officials were often "indifferent" or "abusive" in dealing with such cases. It warned of a "growing climate of acceptance of racial and ethnic slurs," and added: "In some communities, racial and religious violence is almost a way of life, a routine of daily harassment and fear that is deeply rooted in local culture and institutions."

Nazis Plan Rally in Ann Arbor

An organization of Detroit-area Nazis, the "S.S. Action Group," plans to rally in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on Sunday, March 20. Calls for a counter-demonstration have been issued by the All-Peoples Congress (APC) and the Coalition Against the Nazis. The two groups are coordinating their plans.

The "S.S. Action Group" has been highly active in the Detroit area over the last several years. Racist violence has been frequent in communities in

which the group has been organizing. They have also carried out numerous provocations against the area's Jewish population and are today involved in an anti-gay campaign, in alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society and fundamentalist ministers, in Three Rivers, Michigan.

Organizers for the APC and the Coalition Against the Nazis say both groups are calling for a unified counter-action to begin at Ann Arbor's City Hall at 1 p.m. The Nazis have said that they will rally at City Hall at 2 p.m.

The call for a March 20 anti-Nazi protest has been endorsed by several Detroit-area unions including the Ann Arbor Transit Workers Union; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 2733 and Local 1583 Membership Action Committee; the American Federation of Teachers, Local 3550; the United Front Caucus, Local 600, UAW; and the Service Employees International Union, Local 79 Membership Action Committee.

The Coalition Against the Nazis, made up of numerous left organizations and Detroit-area movement groups, formed last year to oppose a similar rally by the "S.S. Action Group." Nearly 2,000 people turned out at that time to confront the uniformed storm-troopers and their rally was broken up.

A spokesperson for the Coalition says that the group is organizing and leafletting for the anti-Nazi protest in Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Detroit, Southfield and other nearby communities. Endorsers of the Coalition include: Wayne State University Association of Black Students; Ann Arbor Committee on the Middle East; Detroit

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); International Club, Wayne State University; Association of Black Pre-Law Students, Wayne State University; Creative Urge; International Socialist Organization; Revolutionary Workers League; University Cellar IWW; Jewish Lesbian Support Group; and the Revolutionary Socialist League.

—Mike Everett

Back to the 19th Century?

All across the country the government is cutting back on welfare, forcing thousands to live on the street or move into overcrowded apartments with family and friends. But Sacramento County, California, has gone one step further—or rather, one step back, to the 19th century. Since October, the county has cut off all cash grants and food stamps to single, "employable" adults now applying for general assistance (welfare). Instead, county officials are telling people to go live at the county poorhouse.

Sacramento's poorhouse, a brown, single-story building, is basically a jail for the unemployed. Meals are served on a rigid schedule starting at 6:30 a.m. There are separate dormitories for men and women—and they are checked at 9 p.m. to make sure everyone is in bed! Mothers are forced to place their children in foster care, religious services are held three times a week and no liquor or sex is allowed inside the poorhouse.

Unemployed workers who stay there are required to work three days a week without pay (supposedly to pay for their room and board). They rake leaves, clean drains or sweep streets—tasks that should be done for union wages so these workers would have a good job and could live decently elsewhere.

Sacramento County's poorhouse, called "aid in kind" by county officials, is really designed to force people off welfare. In November 1981, before the poorhouse was set up, 522 single people received general assistance of \$199 a month. But in November 1982, only 76 people qualified. They were sent to the poorhouse and the county government saved \$95,000 a month.

Many of those who go to the poorhouse are young:

- Lynn, 32, a new mother

forced to place her child in foster care;

- Mary, 28, a nurse's aid
- Steve, 22, a welder;
- Vince, 28, an autoworker

And most of them don't live in poorhouse conditions very much. As Alfonzo Collins, a 30-year-old nurse's aid put it: "They tell you where to go, tell you where to live, they tell you what to eat... we get no privacy."

Currently, there is a lawsuit to force the county to close the poorhouse and return to the old system of cash payments. The suit goes to court in April. But even if this poorhouse is closed, ways undoubtedly be found to exploit and humiliate the unemployed victims of capitalism. People need jobs, not handouts or

—Judy G

NYC Gay Rights Bill Defeated

On February 22, "Intro 1" New York's proposed gay rights bill—was defeated by a committee of the City Council for the 11th time in 12 years. A subsequent attempt to get the legislation before the entire City Council failed on March 9.

The defeat came after months of lobbying by supporters of Intro 1 in the lesbian and gay community, and was the culmination of a day-long public hearing where supporters and opponents of the bill gave heated testimony.

Among the most extreme opponents of the bill were representatives from numerous right-wing and religious groups including the Moral Majority-related "Neighborhood Church," the Knights of Columbus, Aesthetic Realism Foundation and large number of orthodox Jewish Hasidim. These forces charged that gay people are child-molesters, disease-carriers (a reference to serious disease AIDS, which is striking down relatively large numbers of the gay male community), and, more generally, either mentally ill or perverted.

Heshy Friedman, a leader of the Hasidic community, and member of the Moral Majority was among the most blatantly bigoted. He told this reporter "I'd rather be a fascist than a faggot." When his anti-gay organizing efforts were compared to the Nazi holocaust in which millions of Jews, lesbians and homosexuals were murdered, Friedman said, "Hitler was sent by God as a warning to the Jews."



Police club anti-Klan protesters in Southfield, Michigan, on March 5, while robed Klansmen look on. Demonstrators plan to confront a Nazi rally in Ann Arbor on March 20.

in Solidarity with of El Salvador International Club, te University; Asso-Black Pre-Law Stu-yme State University; rge; International rganization; Revolu-orkers League; Cellar IWW; Jewish pport Group; and tionary Socialist

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—Judy Garson

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Heshy Friedman, a leader of the Hasidic community, and member of the Moral Majority, was among the most blatantly bigoted. He told this reporter, "I'd rather be a fascist than a faggot." When his anti-gay organizing efforts were compared to the Nazi holocaust in which millions of Jews, leftists and homosexuals were murdered, Friedman said, "Hitler was sent by God as a warning to the Jews."

While the 6-3 vote came as little surprise to many people, the latest failure of the bill is another sign of the tightening anti-gay noose in New York City and the country as a whole. In addition to the repression of NAMBLA reported on in the January 15 *Torch*, a new group calling itself "Protect America's Children Today" is lobbying for legislation that would make illegal any organization that defends or supports cross-generational sex. There have also been stepped-up attacks on after-hours gay clubs, lesbian and minority gay bars and gay prostitute hangouts. Finally, there has been a dramatic increase in police harassment of gay men who use public bathrooms for sex—despite the recent striking down of a law against loitering.

The failure of the gay rights bill was also a major defeat for those lesbian and gay leaders who pinned all of their and the gay community's hopes on the passing of the bill this year. For a year, groups like the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights have said, "This year will be different—it's going to pass."

They engaged in a massive number of lobbying attempts and backroom deals with liberal and not-so-liberal Democratic Party politicians. When the bill was defeated, they squealed, "Stabbed in the back" and "treachery!" Already, they're planning for next year—by again trying to influence politicians or by trying to use the elections to replace those who opposed the bill. "Next year," they say, "it will be different..."

The truth is, as long as people rely on the politicians and the Democratic Party to try and win our rights, we will continue to lose. Only when the city's lesbian and gay community builds a fighting, militant movement in alliance with all other oppressed people, will we stand a chance of holding off the attacks and winning our rights and liberation. No hands can free us but our own.

—Ian Daniels

Racist Murderer Gets Off Easy

On March 8, Gino Bova was found guilty of second-degree manslaughter in the death of William Turks, a Black New York City transit worker. Turks was killed on June 22,



Gino Bova.

1982, after he and two Black co-workers, Dennis Dixon and William Cooper, stopped off for a snack in Gravesend, a mostly-white section of Brooklyn, on their way home from work. They were attacked by a mob of 15-20 youths who screamed racial epithets while going after them with clubs, bottles and stones.

Turks was beaten to death and Dixon was seriously hurt, while only Cooper escaped without serious injury. Five of the youths, including Bova, were later charged with various crimes, including murder, stemming from this attack.

In addition to the manslaughter verdict, Bova was found guilty of assault, riot and discrimination in violation of the state civil rights law. Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman praised the verdict, saying it demonstrated that "a racially motivated homicide will not be tolerated in Brooklyn."

But given Bova's obvious guilt, the jury of 11 whites, one Latin—and no Blacks—let him off lightly. They acquitted Bova of both intentional second-degree murder and reckless second-degree murder, while convicting him on lesser charges. As a result, Bova could get off with a sentence as light as five years when he comes before the trial judge on March 31.

Charges Dropped Against Simmons

The Michigan state police's 15-year effort to railroad revolutionary Darnell Summers and Gale Simmons on murder charges was seriously weakened on March 3 when a judge dismissed the case against Simmons.

In 1968, Summers and Simmons were charged with the murder of state police detective

Robert Gonser. But the charges against both were dismissed in 1969 when the state's key witness, Milford Scott, recanted his testimony against them.

Then, in 1981, Simmons was rearrested, again charged with Gonser's murder. She was held in jail until she agreed to testify against Summers in exchange for a dismissal of the charges against her. The police used this pressured statement to extradite Summers from West Germany last summer, where he was doing political work among U.S. Black troops stationed there. But when Summers was brought back to the U.S., Simmons renounced her statement. In retaliation, the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office reactivated the murder charge against her. This attempted legal lynching ended when a local judge ruled that the prosecutor's office had improperly delayed her trial and dismissed the charges.



Gale Simmons.

Squeal Rule Squelched

On March 2, a federal judge in Washington, D.C., issued a permanent injunction barring the Reagan administration from implementing the so-called squeal rule, a government directive that would require family planning clinics receiving government funds to notify parents if women under 18 sought birth control aid.

The administration proposed the "squeal rule" last year, arguing that parents had a right to know about their children's sexual activities and that the government shouldn't provide teenagers with birth control devices behind parents' backs. Reagan supporters in various New Right groups chimed in that birth control aid is "undermining the family," giving teenagers "an opportunity to experiment with sex and drugs and not have to face their parents."

But family planning, medical, women's rights and civil rights organizations all condemned the "squeal rule" as a drastic and unconstitutional invasion of privacy that would force sexually active young women to resort to back-alley abortions or to bear unwanted children.

Steel Union Tops Make Concessions

On March 1, local presidents of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) voted by a 169-63 margin to ratify a new contract with seven major steel companies that includes wage and benefit concessions totaling \$2 billion. According to the agreement, which went into effect immediately, the paycheck of the average steelworker will be cut by \$240 a month over the next year and by nearly \$12,000 by the time the contract expires in July 1986.

The USWA local presidents had rejected contract concessions negotiated by union President Lloyd McBride twice in recent months. Following these rejections, the executive board of the USWA cut the number of local officials eligible to vote on contract proposals nearly in half in order to improve its chances of pushing through a deal with the companies. At the same time, steel buyers such as General Motors warned that unless the union and the industry avoided a steel strike and reached a settlement by March 1, they would turn to foreign steelmakers to ensure guaranteed steel deliveries.

Their ultimatum pressured the companies into retreating slightly from their earlier take-away proposals. But it also forced those local presidents who remained in the basic steel conference to cave in and accept most of the companies' demands.

The steel industry is in desperate shape, with mills operating at less than 50 percent of capacity and 140,000 workers—about 60 percent of the workforce—temporarily or permanently laid off. Steelworkers have been told by union leaders that the \$2 billion in concessions in the new contract was necessary to keep the companies going and save their jobs. But the concessions hardly begin to provide the massive funds needed to rebuild the steel industry and put steelworkers back to work. Not surprisingly, while the companies term the pact a "positive first step," they are already calling for even more givebacks.

U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR!

(Continued from page 1)

(D-Mass.) responded to Reagan's new aid request by saying: "There's just a strong feeling around here that it's another Vietnam situation. At the same time, nobody wants to see that country go Marxist."

And while Representative Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), a liberal critic of Reagan administration policies in El Salvador, predicted that the president's requests would lead to a "savage floor battle," he added: "By the end of the day, the administration will get the additional funds. The real issue is what conditions will be attached."

Even if Congress were to block or delay the administration's new request for military aid, the money will go to the Salvadorean government anyway. This is because President Reagan has the use of an emergency discretionary fund which can be drawn upon without congressional approval. President Carter pulled \$25 million from the fund to send to El Salvador in fiscal year 1981. Reagan called up \$55 million in emergency aid last year to replace the Salvadorean air force, which was largely destroyed in one single surprise rebel attack.

Salvadorean elections moved up

To sweeten the pot for congressional critics of the new aid, the Reagan administration has pressured Salvadorean government leaders into advancing by several months the date of El Salvador's next presidential elections. Originally scheduled for March 1984, the elections are now set for December of this year.

U.S. policymakers remember fondly the last Salvadorean elections, for a constituent assembly, of March 1982. Although supporters of the rebel forces (the FDR/FMLN) boycotted the election campaign, and although the final results were marked by obvious fraud, the 1982 elections still provided a considerable "democratic" cover for the U.S. puppets in San Salvador.

As a result, U.S. press coverage of the war warmed up to the new "legal" Salvadorean government, and liberal anti-war critics in Congress were undercut. Anti-intervention organizations in the U.S. (most notably the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador—CISPES) suffered a drop in membership and enthusiasm in the past year, in part due to the carefully manipulated press perceptions of a



"more democratic, less violent" Salvadorean government.

Stepped-up U.S. intervention is sure to draw renewed protests and more attention to the rebel cause. Therefore, Reagan hopes that another round of electoral campaigning will serve as a useful counterweight.

This more aggressive shift in the U.S. attitude toward the Salvadorean civil war results from a growing view inside the government that the present U.S.-backed war effort is failing. This perception is correct. The guerrilla forces of the FMLN have made dramatic gains in recent months: coordinating offensives in widely different parts of the country; capturing the important city of Berlin (population 35,000) and holding it for two days; raiding army barracks in the capital of San Salvador itself; maintaining a two-week siege of Suchitoto, a garrison town only 30 miles outside the capital; and expanding nearly all of their semi-permanent "zones of control." In mid-March the guerrillas claimed to control 75 percent of Morazán Province, in the northeast, and about the same amount of Chalatenango Province, in north-central El Salvador.

No U.S. officials are disputing this claim. On the contrary, Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders concedes that the recent rebel advances are a "significant psychological action" affecting the war's outcome. Deputy Assistant Secretary Nestor Sanchez puts it more bluntly: "Our credibility is very, very low." And from the point of view of a Salvadorean lawyer on the scene, the

war may already be lost. "No one person has the political power to take the initiative and get anything done," he observed. "This place feels like Nicaragua before Somoza fell."

It is precisely that perception which the U.S. intends to change. Reagan is determined

to prevent any more Nicaraguas (that is, successful national liberation struggles) in Central America. What are his options?

\$110 million more in U.S. military aid may enable the demoralized Salvadorean army to continue fighting, but it won't allow it to win. More U.S.

advisers, even several dozen more (which is the most any U.S. official has so far suggested), will not defeat the FMLN either. More likely, they will become involved in combat situations—where inevitable deaths and injuries can serve as an excuse for further U.S. involvement, including the possible use of U.S. combat troops.

Reagan and his imperialist cronies are hoping that a combination of 1) military escalation, 2) political maneuvers around the elections (possibly splitting some moderate forces from the FDR), and 3) a reshuffled Salvadorean army command can turn the rebel tide. U.S.-backed forces are not really on the verge of being chased out of San Salvador (though they are on the defensive at the moment). Most of the administration's "scare-talk" is designed to influence Congress and create a new public mood which will accept greater U.S. intervention. The military escalation will continue, on a bit-and-pieces basis, for the rest of the year, that is, until after the next Salvadorean elections. However, if the FMLN/FDR rebels aren't significantly weaker by year's end, we may be facing a whole new scale of U.S. intervention—a real Vietnam war—in 1984. □

Polish People Renew Freedom Struggle

The Polish people are renewing their struggle against General Wojciech Jaruzelski's state-capitalist regime.

On March 9, workers at the Gdańsk shipyard sent an open letter to the Polish Sejm (parliament) calling for the restoration of Solidarity, the outlawed mass union, and condemning Jaruzelski's government's efforts to suppress the workers' movement.

The workers declared that "The suspension of martial law [in December] has proved to be an empty gesture, which had not changed anything." Referring to the government-controlled official unions set up last year, they said, "The pressure continues to make the shipyard crew join the ranks of the pseudo-social creations that enjoy no acceptance."

The Gdańsk workers condemned "the forces of order" who "systematically steal flowers and wreaths from the memorial to the dead shipyard workers and make it impossible to pay homage to the mur-

dered ones." They warned that the government is preparing "new trials, sackings and lowering of living standards."

After demanding "the return of Solidarity to legal, open activity and the withdrawal of reprisals," the workers concluded:

"We shall continue the struggle with all available measures. Vain are the hopes of those who want to turn back the tide of history and the development of the consciousness of working people."

Also on March 9, Lech Walesa, the former leader of Solidarity who had maintained almost complete silence since his release from prison last November, called for "protests, hunger strikes and strikes" to halt the attacks on Solidarity supporters. He told reporters he would "act more strongly" because "We can't talk when so many people are in jail. . . . It requires hard action by me and others soon."

This more militant stand comes in response to a new

government crackdown against the Polish opposition. On March 8, the 15th anniversary of massive student anti-government protests in 1968, the regime surrounded Warsaw University with riot police to prevent any demonstrations. On the same day, 43 people were reportedly jailed in Wrocław.

The next day Anna Walentynowicz, a leader of the Gdańsk shipyard workers whose firing in 1980 helped set off the mass Polish workers' revolt, was put on trial in Warsaw for trying to organize strikes against martial law. Then on March 10, five Solidarity activists went on trial in Elbląg for organizing a protest in the internment camp in which they have been held.

The recent events in Poland show that despite the so-called suspension of martial law, the Jaruzelski regime has not succeeded in stamping out opposition to its rule, and that the Polish people, particularly the working class, are continuing their struggle against the country's state-capitalist rulers. □

Mugabe C

By PAUL BEN

Zimbabwe, the white nation lib white minority r may be heading scale civil war.

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Mugabe Cracks Down, Nkomo Flees Country

Power Struggle Erupts in Zimbabwe

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Zimbabwe, the southern African nation liberated from white minority rule in 1980, may be heading toward full-scale civil war.

Beginning on March 5, troops loyal to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government sealed off the city of Bulawayo and began rounding up members of the oppositionist Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Bulawayo is the capital of Matabeleland, a province in southwestern Zimbabwe that is ZAPU's main political base. Over 1,500 ZAPU supporters were jailed over the next three days.

During the roundup, government forces raided the Bulawayo home of ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo, who had been held under virtual house arrest since February. His chauffeur was reportedly killed in the attack. Nkomo, who escaped the raid, emerged from hiding on March 6, just long enough to accuse the government of trying to assassinate him. Then, on March 8, he fled in disguise across the Zimbabwean border into neighboring Botswana.

As we go to press, Mugabe is demanding Nkomo's return. He has accused Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders of plotting with the racist South African government to overthrow his government. Meanwhile, other Cabinet ministers in Mugabe's ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) are calling for the outlawing of ZAPU.

Mugabe-Nkomo: longtime rivals

The current conflict in Zimbabwe stems in part from rivalries among the country's Black nationalist leaders. ZANU and ZAPU were competing wings of the Patriotic Front, the movement that led the successful struggle to overthrow the country's former minority white settler regime and set up an independent Black government. During the liberation war each maintained its own army and political organization.

The shaky alliance between ZAPU and ZANU began to break down in 1980 after the Patriotic Front forced the Ian Smith government and its Western imperialist supporters to accept elections for a Black majority government. In the elections, ZANU won an outright majority of seats in parlia-

ment, and Mugabe became prime minister.

Mugabe won in part because many Black people in Zimbabwe viewed ZANU as the more radical and nationalist wing of the Patriotic Front. But his victory also reflected longstanding rivalries in Zimbabwe between the Shona-speaking people, who make up over 80 percent of the country's Black population, and the Ndebele-speaking people, who make up the remaining 20 percent.

The tensions between the two tribes date back to the 19th century. The Ndebeles (or Ma-

land. (An additional 20 seats were reserved for whites, who voted on a separate voting list, under terms of the settlement that ended the liberation war.)

Mugabe wants one-party state

Since taking power, Mugabe has followed a generally conciliatory policy toward the remaining white settlers in Zimbabwe and toward the Western imperialist powers. He has brought whites into his government, en-

ZANU the sole political party in Zimbabwe.

In the initial period after coming to power, however, Mugabe had to move cautiously, since the ZAPU leaders still controlled their own independent army. He formed a joint government with ZAPU, gave Nkomo the post of minister of home affairs, and brought other ZAPU leaders into his Cabinet.

But once ZAPU's troops were integrated into the national army—a move that was accompanied by bloody clashes between ZAPU and ZANU forces—Mugabe opened up a

and threatened to kill them unless the government ended its attacks on ZAPU, returned the party's confiscated property and released several imprisoned ZAPU leaders from jail. Mugabe responded by blaming the ZAPU leadership for sponsoring "criminal bandits" and vowing to stamp out the rebellion. His government also revived the repressive emergency laws used by the former white regime against the Black population to harass ZAPU.

Between July and December, 1982, some 600 people, almost all of them Black ZAPU members or supporters, were imprisoned without charges. During the same period, the government issued arms to white farmers in Matabeleland—who had been disarmed when the Black government took power—and encouraged them to revive the militia units once organized by whites against the Patriotic Front. Finally, in January of this year, Mugabe sent the Fifth Brigade, an elite all-Shona unit that functions as a private army for ZANU, into Matabeleland in an effort to crush the rebellion at all costs. Since mid-January, the Brigade and other government troops have reportedly killed anywhere from 400 to 1,000 civilians. Hundreds of others have fled either into Bulawayo or across the border into Botswana.

Nkomo sought deal with white regime

The Mugabe regime's actions have allowed Nkomo to pose as a victim of oppression and a defender of democracy and minority rights. But Nkomo himself has often sought to sell out the struggle for an independent Black government in Zimbabwe in order to gain political power.

During the liberation war, for example, Nkomo unsuccessfully sought private deals with white racist Prime Minister Ian Smith in 1975 and again in 1979 in order to gain power for himself and cut ZANU out of any political settlement. And in the 1980 elections, his call for "reconciliation" among all Black and white parties was a thin cover for his attempt to build a coalition between ZAPU, conservative Black politicians, and white settlers against ZANU. Further, while Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders have criticized the armed dissidents, at least some elements in the ZAPU leadership apparently hoped to use them as a wedge to

(Continued on page 12)



Zimbabwean liberation fighters celebrated Patriotic Front victory in 1980. Rivalry between Prime Minister Robert Mugabe (top, right) and Joshua Nkomo now threatens to split country apart.

tabelle), who broke away from the famous Zulu empire in the early 19th century, fled from South Africa into what is now Zimbabwe to escape the advancing Boer settlers around 1840. They conquered Matabeleland outright and forced many of the Shonas to recognize their authority and pay them tribute for the next 50 years.

In 1890, British settlers seized control of the Shonas' lands, and conquered Matabeleland itself in 1893. The white settlers then established their control over the entire country despite a heroic rebellion by both Ndebeles and Shonas in 1896.

The ZANU forces, including Prime Minister Mugabe and other principal party leaders, come from the Shona tribe, while Nkomo's ZAPU is based among the Ndebeles. In the 1980 elections, the Black vote largely split along these lines. ZANU swept all 57 seats from Shona districts, while ZAPU took all 23 seats from Matabele-

land. In 1981, Nkomo was reduced to a "minister without portfolio," without control over any part of the state apparatus. Then in February, 1982, after arms were discovered buried on one of Nkomo's estates, Nkomo and two other ZAPU leaders were dismissed from the Cabinet altogether, accused by Mugabe of trying to overthrow the government. Immediately afterward, Mugabe held unprecedented meetings with white business leaders and diplomats to reassure them and further isolate Nkomo.

Nkomo's dismissal provoked renewed armed clashes between government troops and ZAPU guerrillas in Matabeleland. At least 2,000 of the 13,000 Ndebele troops in the army deserted and returned to their homeland, where some of them took up arms and combined political opposition to the government with outright banditry. The power struggle escalated sharply last July after one group of rebels kidnapped six tourists

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Washington Victory Shakes Chicago

(Continued from page 3)

enough white voters, even if they are a distinct minority, ready to back a Black Democrat over a Republican to ensure Washington's election. And, most importantly, there is every indication that Black voters will come out for the general election in the same record numbers they did for the primary.

RSL assesses election

As revolutionary socialists, we in the RSL view the Harold Washington campaign with mixed feelings. On the one hand, the victory of a Black candidate, even a Black Democrat, in this most racist and segregated of cities, has an unquestionably positive side to it.

Certainly, it is good to see people challenge, even defy, established authority. The maintenance man who risked his job to stand up for what he believes, the transit workers who forced their union leaders to represent them, young people who wore Washington buttons and stood up to the increased harassment it brought from the police—this is the stuff which movements for social change are made of. Thousands of Black Chicagoans who could have sold their vote for \$5 or for a wisp of a chance for a job, rejected the idea of "looking out for number one and to hell with the next guy" and joined a movement that seemed to stand for better conditions for everybody together.

By itself, the confidence and assertiveness on the part of Chicago's Black community evoked by the Washington campaign—and the Washington victory—will improve the atmosphere in the city and make it a more liveable place.

On the other hand, it is disheartening to see energy and faith go into something so thin of meaning or real prospects for improving things as an election campaign for a Democratic Party politician.

For all the talk of a "people's crusade," Harold Washington is really an ordinary sort of Democrat. He is a lawyer who inherited a job as precinct captain from his father (also a lawyer), and then worked his way up through the machine. He remained loyal to former mayor Daley all through the civil rights movement of the 1960s and stayed by Daley's side throughout the bitter 1972 fight between the machine and a Black and white reform Democrat coalition. He broke with the machine only after "Boss" Daley was dead and the scramble for a new king of the heap had begun. Even this break did not mean stepping out of the mainstream of the Democratic



Jubilant Washington supporters hail primary victory on election night.

Party: Speaker of the House Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. endorsed Washington soon after the primary, terming him one of the "most loyal supporters of the House Democratic leadership."

People do change, but to think that Harold Washington will now become a committed fighter for social change stretches the imagination. In fact, already since the primary, Washington has held a series of private meetings with Chicago's top industrial and banking executives at their downtown clubs. After one of the first get-togethers, the president of the Greater State Street Council reported that Washington "said many of the things the business community wanted to hear."

In truth, we think Harold Washington's likely victory in the mayoral election will make little difference in the concrete conditions of Blacks and other working class and oppressed people in Chicago. Chicago is in crisis because the U.S. economy and the entire world capitalist system are in crisis. Washington will preside over the decline of the city and the corporate attacks on the working class, just as Coleman Young, the Black mayor of Detroit, is doing in that city. In other words, the fact that Washington is Black will not change the fundamental way Chicago—or the rest of the country—is run.

Role of Democratic Party

But more important than Washington's personal qualifications or the immediate impact of his mayoralty on Chicago is the nature and role of the Democratic Party—particularly in regard to the mass movement that is just beginning to develop in response to the capitalist offensive against the working class.

The Democratic Party is a capitalist institution. It is part

and parcel of the economic, social and political system of this country and is controlled by people 100 percent committed to capitalism and imperialism. It was the Democratic Party, it is worth remembering, that launched the Cold War after World War II and the attack on the left and the labor movement of that period. It was the Democratic Party as well that orchestrated massive U.S. intervention in Vietnam. And, more recently, it was the Democratic presidency of Jimmy Carter that began many of the policies and programs that are now being carried out by the Reagan administration.

But the Democratic Party appears to be sympathetic and responsive to the needs of working class and other oppressed people—and it is this that has enabled it to play a unique role in U.S. politics over the last century. This role is to coopt, and eventually bury, mass movements for social change that rise up in response to capitalist exploitation and oppression.

This is what the Democratic Party did to the Populist movement of the 1890s, to the mass working class movement around the CIO in the 1930s, and to the civil rights and Black Liberation movements of the 1960s. In each of these cases, mass movements with the potential to make dramatic changes, particularly substantial inroads in the power and privileges of the capitalist class that runs the country, wound up falling behind Democratic Party candidates who talked very radical—but who betrayed their supporters once in office. We believe the same thing may be happening again today.

Although it may not be obvious yet, a mass movement is developing to fight back against the ruling class program of solving the capitalist crisis at the expense of the working class as a whole and, in particular, Blacks, Latins, women, gays and other oppressed people. In

fact, the enthusiastic mobilization of the thousands of Black people behind Washington is one sign of this developing movement.

The big question, however, is what the political direction of this movement will be. Will it become a mass movement of politically conscious individuals that will attack the fundamental cause of the economic, social and political crisis of the country? Will it attack the capitalist system, in which economic and political power is in the hands of a tiny group of people who control the government, the banks, the big corporations and other ruling institutions? Or will it become a movement that allows itself to be fooled into believing that the problem with the country is merely Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party? Will it become a vehicle to rebuild and reelect the discredited Democratic Party?

'We need that base'

Whatever much of the socialist left may think, Democratic Party leaders are aware that this is what is at issue. Their present political strategy is precisely to position themselves to take advantage of a reaction to the corporate offensive and to ride it into office. This is why some of the most far-sighted Democratic Party figures supported Washington before the primary—and why they are being joined by the rest of the gang now that Washington is the Democratic Party candidate for the mayor of Chicago.

These politicians recognize that a Washington victory can convince Black people, many of whom have little faith in the political system in the U.S., that they can improve their conditions by working in and through the Democratic Party.

"I think Blacks nationally, even more than they have in the

past, will understand their ability to make a difference," said Charles Manatt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, after Washington's primary win.

"Very important to the Democratic Party, because we need that base" is how Patrick Caddell, pollster for former president Jimmy Carter, characterized the Washington victory. And Eddie N. Williams, a Black political scientist, and former vice-president of the University of Chicago, commented, "It signifies that the political system is operating."

To make sure that the narrow racism of the Chicago Democratic Party machine does not ruin the Democrats' national strategy, Manatt made an unusual visit to Chicago on March 7. He declared "no election in America" more important than Washington's this year. He also persuaded the State Democratic Central Committee to endorse Washington and promised to supply \$50,000 to Washington's war chest. And on the following weekend, the national party chose Washington to be the Democratic Party spokesperson on national radio in rebuttal to Reagan's weekly radio talk.

Socialists should tell the truth

Whether the Democratic Party succeeds in capturing the leadership of the budding national movement is not yet determined. Much depends upon the role of the U.S. left, which so far, unfortunately, seems more interested in helping the Democratic chiefs than in fighting them.

In Chicago, some of the socialists who are supporting Washington have tried to justify this stand by claiming they want to continue mobilizing people in the streets, even after the elections, in order to fight the police and the corporations and the banks. We are all for such mobilizations. We will support and help build them—including against Mayor Washington himself if, as we suspect, he sells out his backers and betrays many of his campaign promises.

But in addition to helping to build such a movement, we believe that revolutionary socialists have a duty to tell the truth, to "say what is," and to explain to working and oppressed people who their friends are and who their enemies are. Today, in Chicago and elsewhere; this means warning that Harold Washington and the entire Democratic Party are enemies of our movement, not allies—and that if we are to win our freedom, it will be by fighting against them, not by joining them. □

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—Karl Mar
Manifest

KARL MARX

1818-1883

One hundred years ago on March 14, Karl Marx died. Marx, along with his close friend and collaborator, Friedrich Engels, was the founder of the modern communist movement. His goal was the liberation of humanity through an international revolution in which the working class would overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist society based on the workers' own direct and democratic rule. Today, Marxism has become associated with dictatorial, state capitalist societies that oppress and exploit the workers in the same fundamental way as traditional capitalism. In our view, one of the chief tasks of revolutionary Marxists today is to rescue Marxism from the hands of its distorters. To this end, we are publishing a series of quotations from Marx's writings that emphasize his original goal and vision.

"For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival."

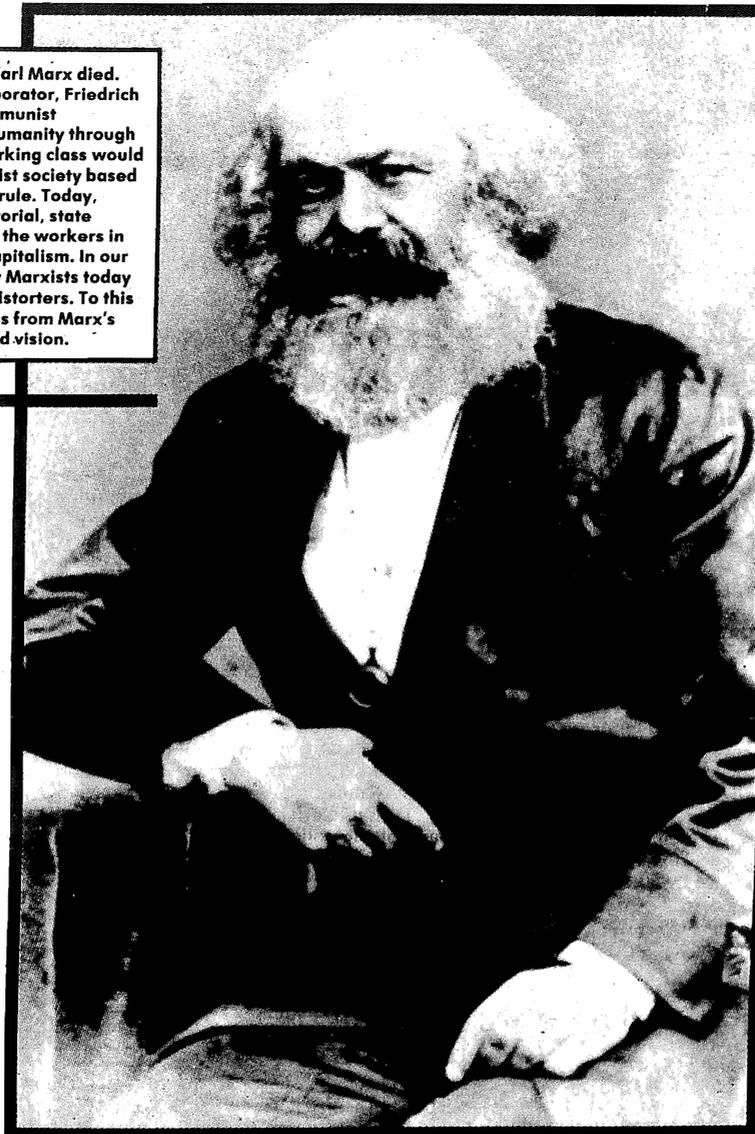
—Frederick Engels, *Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx, 1883*

"Finally, as the capitalists are compelled, by the movement described above, to exploit the already existing gigantic means of production on a larger scale and to set in motion all the mainsprings of credit to this end, there is a corresponding increase in industrial earthquakes, in which the trading world can only maintain itself by sacrificing a part of wealth, of products and even of productive forces to the gods of the nether world—in a word, crises increase. They become more frequent and more violent, if only because, as the mass of production, and consequently the need for extended markets, grows, the world market becomes more and more contracted, fewer and fewer new markets remain available for exploitation, since every preceding crisis has subjected to world trade a market hitherto unconquered or only superficially exploited. But capital does not live only on labour. A lord, at once aristocratic and barbarous, it drags with it into the grave the corpses of its slaves, whole hecatombs of workers who perish in the crises."

—Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital, 1849*

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848*



"Considering,

"That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class-rule;

"That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

"That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

"That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the

absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

"That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

"For These Reasons—

"The International Working Men's Association has been founded."

—Marx, *General Rules of the International Working Men's Association, 1871*

"We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

—Manifesto of the Communist Party

"The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people.

"The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at workman's wages. The vested interests and the representation allowances of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public function ceased to be the private property of the tools of the Central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune."

—Marx, *The Civil War in France, 1871*

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association; in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

—Manifesto of the Communist Party

Workers of the World, UNITE!

Fifty years ago, the Nazis came to power in Germany. On January 30, 1933, Germany's 86-year-old president, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, appointed Adolph Hitler, leader of the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP), chancellor of Germany. Four weeks later, on February 27, the Nazis burned down the Reichstag (parliament) building and on March 23, the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act—making Hitler dictator for four years.

Within a few months of his appointment as chancellor, Hitler's Nazi government had excluded Jews from the civil service, jailed the leaders of the trade unions and of the two main workers' parties—the Communist Party (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD)—outlawed strikes and suspended the constitution. On July 14, 1933, the Nazis were declared the sole legal political party in Germany.

Hitler's Third Reich (empire)—which according to Nazi propaganda was to last 1,000 years—ended 12 years and four months later, at the close of World War II, with Hitler's suicide in his Berlin bunker. In that short period, nearly 35 million people—about two percent of the world's population—perished, either in battle or in Nazi concentration camps. Six million Jews, along with several million people of Slavic descent and uncounted numbers of Romany people (so-called Gypsies), gay people and political opponents of the regime, were liquidated in the gas chambers of death camps like Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen.

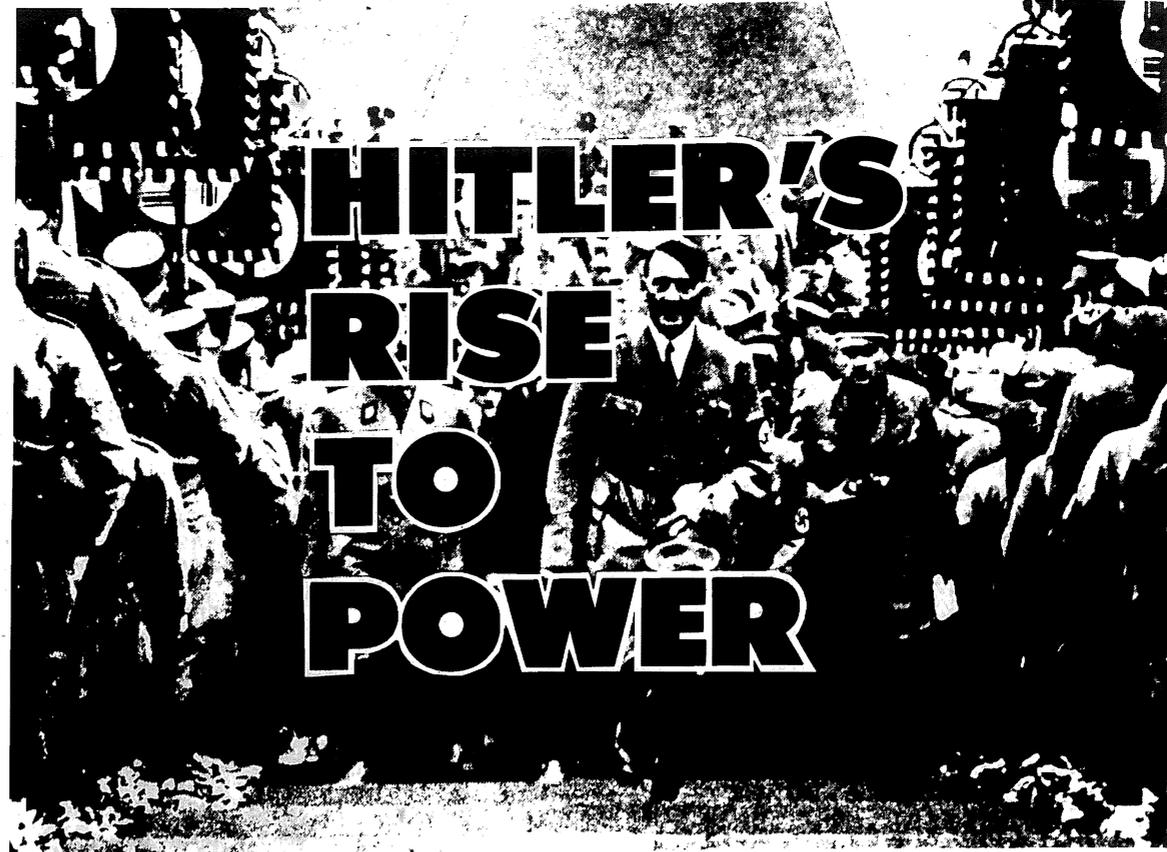
How did the Nazis grow from fewer than 10 people in 1919 into a mass movement that could seize power 15 years later? How did the Weimar Republic, considered the most democratic of the "democracies," give birth to a fascist dictatorship? And why did Europe's strongest labor movement fail to even challenge Hitler's rise to power? Did all this result from some "defect" in the German character? Was it merely an "accident of history," never to be repeated? Or was Hitler's rise to power an event which, under similar economic and political conditions, could happen again?

The article below traces Hitler's rise to power in order to begin to answer these questions. The author is Anna Levy, a German Jew who grew up in Berlin in the 1930s. She and her family fled Germany in October 1939, following Hitler's invasion of Poland.

By ANNA LEVY

The Nazi movement grew out of the misery of the post-World War I period. For Germany, the war ended with the total collapse of the economy and a revolution which kicked out the Kaiser (the German monarch). Though the generals of the High Command had refused to surrender to the Entente powers (Great Britain, France and the United States), they had urged the government to sue for peace, which it did. This laid the basis for the myth—later used effectively by Hitler—that the "brave soldiers at the front" had been "stabbed in the back" by the civilian government in the rear.

Under the Versailles Treaty that concluded the war, Germany lost almost one-third of its territory and was deprived of its foreign markets and investments, as well as its colonies. In addition, the victorious Entente powers demanded huge reparations from Ger-



many, both in money and materials. To ensure the payments, they occupied the left bank of the Rhine and forced the German government to pay the cost of the occupation.

Nazi origins

Life in post-war Germany was hard, and people looked to both the left and the right for help. On the left, the Communist Party was new and relatively small. The majority of German workers at this time supported the Social Democrats, the largest single party in Germany and the leader of its trade unions.

On the right, the Nazis, founded by a handful of men in 1919, were only one of many right-wing paramilitary groups, made up mostly of war veterans. In March 1920, one of these groups attempted a coup—the so-called Kapp Putsch—which was defeated by a general strike of hundreds of thousands of German workers.

Germany's working class organizations were extremely strong. The trade unions were the most powerful in Europe. Although several attempts at revolution had been smashed, the workers had won the eight-hour day, guaranteed union wages and extensive social services considered "the model of the world." All the same, post-war wages remained below their pre-war level—and in the years to come, they were to fall still lower.

In 1922-23, Germany was hit by galloping inflation. The inflation wiped out much of the middle class and reduced the majority of the working class to near-starvation. The price of foodstuffs rose so dramatically that a mere pound of butter cost nearly six trillion Marks by the end of 1923—two days' pay for a skilled worker. Children went

to school hungry, wearing only thin shirts in Germany's raw winter, and a school breakfast in Berlin consisted of a piece of dry bread, sometimes with a spread of mashed potatoes. Even the youngest got no milk.

Many years later, people who had lived through the inflation still recalled it as the worst period of their lives.

The Nazis tried to make political capital out of the misery. On November 9, 1923, Hitler led a group of his brown-shirted stormtroopers, the SA, in a march through Munich in an attempt to seize power in Bavaria and from there, in all of Germany. Hitler's adventure—known as the Beer Hall Putsch—ended in dismal failure, the Nazi leaders arrested and jailed. But the episode also brought them front-page headlines for the first time and, more importantly, considerable financial backing from a number of big capitalists.

During his nine month imprisonment, Hitler wrote his now-famous *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), the book in which he laid out his program and which later became the bible of the Nazi movement. He also reached the conclusion that, having failed to seize power through an insurrection, the Nazis should aim to get power legally, through elections, while using an enlarged—and armed—SA to back up their parliamentary strategy.

In *Mein Kampf* and elsewhere, Hitler blamed the ills of Germany on the Jews. There was, he maintained, a worldwide conspiracy of Jews, Bolsheviks (who Hitler said were mostly Jews) and big financiers (also mostly Jews, according to Hitler). This "international Jewish conspiracy" had, according to Hitler, imposed the Versailles Treaty on Germany, with the connivance of German Jews. Moreover, he claimed that the Jews had caused the inflation and profited from it.

Hitler also wrote that the "Nordic" race was superior, and that it must not be mixed with "inferior races." In line

with this, the Nazi tabloid *Stürmer* regularly carried caricatures of Jewish men lusting after German women and molesting German children.

Hitler said that if he were elected, he would do away with the Bolsheviks, the big bankers and all the Jews, making Germany "jüdenrein" (rid of Jews), so that "der kleine Mann" (the little man) could come into his own. He said he would do away with "permissiveness" and restore law and order and traditional values. Above all, Hitler promised that he would annul the onerous Versailles Treaty, rearm Germany and reconquer its lost territories.

Unfortunately, for all too many Germans, particularly the small shopkeepers and craftsmen who could barely stay in business, the Nazi program had a strong appeal. Some, such as the corner grocer where this writer's family shopped, firmly believed that Hitler would shut down the large, Jewish-owned chain and department stores, thus eliminating his competition. He didn't know that Hitler was backed by big business interests and that when the Nazis came to power they would not close stores, but merely "Aryanize" them. It was out of this layer of the middle class that the Nazi party recruited much of its hardcore membership.

Depression produces political crisis

The period between 1923 and 1930, however, was not a good one for the Nazis. The skyrocketing inflation had been brought under control, the currency was stabilized and the German economy grew by better than 10 percent a year. In these conditions of relative prosperity, the Nazis made little progress toward their goal of becoming a mass movement. In the 1928 Reichstag

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elections, for example, the NSDAP received only 2.6 percent of the vote.

The Depression of the 1930s changed all this. Germany was hit particularly hard by the worldwide economic collapse: Thousands of companies went bankrupt; many others slashed production; and the official unemployment figure climbed to 45 percent. By 1933, more than five and a half million German people were without work. In order to prevent the total collapse of German capitalism, the ruling class increasingly demanded greater subsidies and tax breaks for the big corporations along with a further lowering of the standard of living of the working class.

But the capitalists faced a problem. Not only was Germany in the midst of an economic collapse, but the country also suffered from an acute political crisis. Until the Depression, the Weimar Republic had functioned reasonably smoothly, largely because the leadership of the main working class organization, the Social Democratic Party, had participated in coalition governments, helping to run the bourgeois state.

But in 1930, the SPD—which together with the Communist Party controlled one-third of the seats in the Reichstag—refused to participate further in a government that was planning to cut wages and eliminate social services.

On the other hand, the Social Democrats were unable to form a government of their own. Meanwhile, the bourgeois center parties, about a dozen all told, could not produce a majority either. Thus, the balance of power lay in with the Nazis, who polled 37.4 percent of the vote in July 1932, and emerged as the largest single party in the Reichstag. Yet the Nazis, even in a bloc with the right-wing Nationalist Party, were also unable to produce a majority. As a result, while neither the left nor the right had enough votes to govern, each side had the ability to stymie the others.

To try to deal with this political deadlock, President Hindenburg appointed a series of interim governments which ruled by presidential decree without having to pass legislation in the Reichstag. These governments eliminated union wage scales, cut unemployment benefits by 25 percent and reduced all social services. Industry was subsidized, while taxes for everyone else rose sharply.

These measures, however, were not sufficient to restore profitable production and get the economy out of its crisis. The capitalists wanted to squeeze the workers further still, but they were blocked by the strength of the workers' movement, particularly the SPD, KPD, and the unions and other organizations affiliated to them. The result was a near-total paralysis of the political process.

This paralysis was not merely a crisis of the German political system—it was a crisis of German capitalism. And its solution did not lie in parliaments and elections. Rather, the crisis could be solved in one of two ways: Either the working class would overthrow the capitalist system and set up its own, socialist government; or the ruling class, using one method or another, would smash the unions and the workers' parties, militarize society, drastically increase the exploitation of the working class and in this way seek to create the conditions for the recovery and expansion of German capitalism.

Which of these solutions would be tried was the question facing Germany between late 1932 and early 1933.

At first, it seemed that the Nazis' day had passed. In the Reichstag elections in November 1932, the NSDAP lost two million votes, while the Communist Party registered a significant gain. To many people—and not only in Germany—the election appeared to signal the beginning of the end of the Nazi phenomenon. For their part, Hitler's supporters, fearing further losses at the polls, began to put great pressure on the aging and ailing President Hindenburg to appoint Hitler chancellor and break the political deadlock.

Time for decisive action

This was the time for the working class organizations to unite and take the offensive against the Nazis. A militant general strike had defeated a right-wing coup in 1920; the same could be done now. Similarly, the workers' defense



Examples of Nazi propaganda: cover of *Der Stürmer* depicts a Jewish serpent raping a German woman, with the motto, "The Jews are our misfortune." Nazi election poster, right, reads: "Women! Save the German family, elect Hitler..."

growing pressure from Germany's big industrialists for decisive action, Hindenburg succumbed to the Nazis' pressure. On January 30, 1933, at 11 a.m., Adolph Hitler became chancellor of the Reich. Hindenburg didn't think much of Hitler, but with the Nazis a minority party in the Reichstag, he thought Hitler could be controlled, outvoted by the conservative ministers in the Cabinet. The Field Marshal didn't realize—as few did at that time—that once Hitler entered the Reichskanzlei (chancellery), the only way he would leave was feet first.

On the night of January 30, Hitler reviewed a six-hour torchlight parade of massed brownshirts, brought into Berlin from all over the country to celebrate Hitler's appointment. Hindenburg, who had been persuaded to stand on the balcony with Hitler in a show of unity, was deeply impressed by this fascist show of strength. The next day, Hitler dissolved the Reichstag and called new elections for March 5.

Adolph Hitler now had the entire state



And, though the SPD still remained legal, many of its elected leaders were in prison or recovering in hospitals from beatings administered by the storm-troopers.

On March 23, the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act, which empowered Hitler to rule for four years as a dictator. On April 7, the separate German states were all subordinated to the central government. And on April 11, Jews were eliminated from the civil service.

Finally, Hitler turned to the unions. Declaring May Day 1933 the "Day of National Labor," he invited the Social Democratic union leaders to help him stage the greatest mass demonstration Germany had ever seen. Prior to the rally, Hitler told the workers' delegates:

"You will see how untrue and unjust is the statement that the revolution is directed against the German workers. On the contrary." And in a speech at the huge demonstration itself, he promised that May Day would be celebrated on behalf of the German worker "throughout the centuries."

Two days later, on May 3, the Nazis proceeded to occupy trade union offices throughout the country. Treasuries were seized, the unions themselves dissolved and their leaders jailed. On May 17, strikes were outlawed.

Can it happen again?

As many people know today, the Nazis—backed by the big German industrialists—turned Germany into a totalitarian military machine in a desperate attempt to revitalize German capitalism and establish Germany as the dominant world power. The result was World War II, and the mass murder of Jews and others the Nazis considered inferior, as well as the death of more than three and a half million Germans.

The Nazis failed to achieve their plan for the rule of the "master race." They also failed to save German capitalism. It was the economic and political consequences of the war, particularly the defeat of the European working class and the almost total destruction, and consequent reconstruction, of the industrial apparatus of much of the continent (along with the emergence of the United States as the dominant world power) that laid the basis for the stabilization and expansion of capitalism in Germany and elsewhere after the war.

The post-war period of economic prosperity and relative political stability is now over. World capitalism has entered a new period of deep crisis. In such a period, a new version of Nazism is possible. If the crisis gets deep enough, we can expect to see mass radical movements of both the left and the right. And if in one or more of the chief industrial countries a stalemate develops between the working class and the capitalist class, and if the political system fails to enable the ruling class to attack the working class enough to restart the economy, the ruling class of that country may very well pave the way for some new kind of Nazi movement to come to power.

Of course, no one knows what will happen in the future. But we can learn from the past and do our best to make sure nothing like the Nazi holocaust ever happens again. □

guards could be mobilized to defend the unions and smash the Nazi storm-troopers.

Unfortunately, the need for a decisive and unified response by the strongest and most politically conscious workers' movement in Europe was ignored; instead, both the Social Democrats and the Communists continued the policies they had followed throughout this period. For their part, the SPD leaders refused to go beyond the bounds of capitalist legality, and blindly placed their faith in parliament. The more left-wing KPD played an equally treacherous role: Following the dictates of Stalin, the KPD leaders denounced the SPD as the "moderate wing of fascism" or, as they put it, "social fascists," and claimed that the reformist SPD was even more dangerous than Hitler's Nazis. The KPD leaders refused to call for a united front of all workers' organizations, Communist and Social Democratic alike, which might have been able to stop Hitler's rise to power. The results, as we know, were tragic.

After weeks of hesitating, and faced with a deepening economic crisis and

apparatus at his disposal. He and his lieutenants could rant daily against Jews and Bolsheviks on the state radio. The stormtroopers could beat up political opponents without fear of the police. But Hitler still had the German working class and its parties and organizations to deal with.

On the night of February 27, one week before the scheduled elections, the Reichstag building burned to the ground. The Nazis, who in all likelihood were responsible for the torching, blamed the event on the Communists and claimed they had discovered secret documents detailing an incipient Communist coup. Hitler declared a state of emergency, suspended the constitution and forbade either the KPD or the SPD to campaign publicly. Meanwhile, the brownshirts were on every street corner, selling *Mein Kampf* and distributing other Nazi propaganda. Despite all this, when the results of the March 5 elections were counted, the Nazis still failed to get a majority of the vote. However, the 81 Communist deputies who were elected never took their seats in the Reichstag; all were either jailed or in hiding.

Editorials

U.S. Hands Off El Salvador

The Reagan administration has taken yet another step toward full-scale U.S. military intervention in Central America.

Sounding the theme that El Salvador's civil war is really a Soviet plot for "world domination," Reagan requested on March 10 that Congress authorize an additional \$110 million in military aid for the country's embattled right-wing government. He also warned that the number of U.S. military advisers in El Salvador would likely

be increased beyond the current limit of 55.

Reagan claims that the use of U.S. combat troops in El Salvador is "ruled out." But it was precisely the kind of step-by-step escalation of U.S. military intervention taking place in Central America today that led to the massive use of U.S. troops in Vietnam in the 1960s.

The peoples of El Salvador and Latin America as a whole have the right to determine their

own futures, free from U.S. interference. Corrupt and murderous oligarchies, propped up by U.S. military and political aid, have ruled the region for decades, condemning millions of people to poverty, disease and lives without hope. It is this "status quo" that the Reagan administration seeks to defend.

We in the U.S. have a special responsibility to do what we can to prevent our own ruling class from carrying out its imperialist policies. But we must act not

only in support of the people of El Salvador, but also to weaken a ruling class that is today preparing another war—a war against the rights and gains of working and oppressed people in this country.

Emergency demonstrations have been called across the country in response to the administration's stepped-up intervention in El Salvador. Mobilizations have already taken place in many cities and additional actions are planned in coming weeks in at least 50 cities. Most are being coordinated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

vador (CISPES).

A major effort must be made to use these demonstrations to rebuild and revitalize a militant anti-war movement. The U.S. government would like to have a free hand to defend its corporate/political interests in Latin America—up to and including the use of U.S. troops. But it also fears a return to the tumult of the Vietnam war years, a return to the mass protests, riots and widespread disaffection with the very aims and goals of U.S. imperialism that developed at that time. Our task is to make that fear a reality. □

Defend the Socialist Workers Party

On March 2, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) went on trial in a U.S. District Court in Los Angeles. The case results from a suit brought by Alan Gelfand, presently a Los Angeles County government attorney, who was expelled from the SWP in 1979, to have the federal court order his reinstatement in the organization.

Gelfand's suit is being tried before federal judge Marian Pfaelzer. Pfaelzer is a former president of the Los Angeles Police Commission, which approved police operations against the SWP during the mid-1970s.

Under Judge Pfaelzer's auspices, Gelfand's suit has enabled the U.S. government to conduct an extensive investigation into the internal functioning of the SWP, including the political and personal views of many of its leading members. The suit also seeks to give the government the right to determine who should or should not be a member of a voluntary political organization. On both these counts, the current Los Angeles trial is a serious threat not only to the SWP, but to any organization that the government might label "subversive."

Gelfand claims that his expulsion from the SWP was the work of government agents, including the present SWP national secretary, Jack Barnes,

and other SWP leaders. Gelfand alleges that these individuals infiltrated the SWP in the early 1960s and subsequently took over the leadership of the organization. He argues that his basic constitutional rights were violated since, according to Gelfand, it was actually the government that expelled him from the SWP.

Gelfand's motives are more than a little suspect. While he claims to have been a loyal SWP member at the time of his expulsion, he acknowledges having been in extensive contact with an opponent political tendency, the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and its affiliate in the U.S., the Workers League (WL). Both these groups have long maintained that key SWP leaders are government agents. In addition, Gelfand admits that his suit, which has already cost more than \$150,000 in legal fees and court costs, is being partially or wholly financed by the WL/WRP.

There is good reason to believe that Gelfand was a supporter of the WL/WRP, and hence a political opponent of the SWP, at the time he was a member of the latter organization. Even more important, Gelfand's strategy of putting the SWP on trial in a capitalist court is highly questionable, to say the least.

Gelfand's actions have provided the government a basis to investigate, harass and intervene in the affairs of socialist and radical organizations. By itself, this indicates the dangerous and reactionary implications of Gelfand's suit.

In fact, the trial takes place at precisely the time when the government is increasing its efforts to spy on, harass or otherwise disrupt those organ-

izations with dissenting views. In the same week that the SWP trial opened in Los Angeles, Reagan's attorney general, William French Smith, issued new federal guidelines designed to make it easier for the government to investigate domestic political groups. "We're not waiting for the proverbial ticking to start," Smith commented in announcing the new rules. The trial also coincides with the

government's increasing use of grand jury investigations to attack radical organizations.

In this context, it is urgent that all progressive groups and individuals support the SWP and demand that the Gelfand suit be dismissed as an attack on the radical movement and an unconstitutional invasion by the government into the internal affairs and functioning of a political organization. □

Power Struggle in Zimbabwe...

(Continued from page 7)

regain at least a share of political power in Zimbabwe.

In their struggle for power, both ZANU and ZAPU rely on support from rival governments within the state-capitalist world bloc. Mugabe has a longstanding alliance with various state-capitalist regimes that are independent of or hostile to the Russian state capitalists, including the Chinese, North Korean and Yugoslavian governments. ZANU relied on Chinese-supplied arms in the liberation struggle and the elite Fifth Brigade of the Zimbabwean army was trained in North Korea. Today, Mugabe continues to maintain close ties with the Chinese state-capitalist rulers; when Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang visited Zimbabwe in January, Mugabe praised Chinese support for his party and called for extensive cooperation between the two countries.

For its part, ZAPU has close ties to the Russian government, and relied on Russian arms and political support during the liberation struggle. Nkomo is a vice-president of the Russian-dominated World Peace Council, and was on his way to a Council meeting in Czechoslovakia when he was detained in February. Shortly after Zimbabwe gained independence, ZAPU intelligence chief Dumiso Dabengwa wrote to the

Russian KGB (political police) asking for aid against the "pro-Western policies of Mugabe." Dabengwa, who is currently on trial for treason along with six other top ZAPU officials, admits signing the letter, but claims he didn't write it. He also says he was only seeking Russian aid against South African spies, rather than against Mugabe.

Traditional power politics

Both Mugabe and Nkomo call themselves socialists and use leftist rhetoric to justify their political maneuvers. But both are capitalist politicians who have resorted to traditional power politics to gain control of Zimbabwe. Each has exploited ethnic conflicts to advance his political fortunes. At various times, each has sought to conciliate the white settlers in order to isolate his rival. And each has sought aid from both the Western imperialists and the state-capitalist rulers.

The real losers in the power struggle between ZANU and ZAPU are the Zimbabwean people and in fact all the Black people of southern Africa. Mugabe and Nkomo have

opened the door for the white racist South African government, which, along with some diehard white settlers within Zimbabwe itself, is trying to sabotage the Zimbabwean economy and destabilize the government. Last July 25, for example, white saboteurs destroyed 12 jet fighter planes—one-fourth of the Zimbabwean air force. In August, three whites who fled Zimbabwe and joined the South African army were killed during an apparent effort to sabotage the railroad linking Zimbabwe to neighboring Mozambique. And in January, raiders blew up an oil pipeline connecting Zimbabwe and Mozambique, leaving the country dependent on South Africa for oil supplies. There have also been many reports that South African officers are training some Ndebele dissidents.

It is vital for all the Zimbabwean people, whatever their political or ethnic differences, to unite in resisting these racist and imperialist-backed attacks. But the war between the ZANU and ZAPU leaderships is an obstacle to such unity; their rivalry is giving the Western capitalist powers and the state-capitalist rulers opportunities to interfere in Zimbabwe's internal affairs, perhaps even to wreck the country altogether, in pursuit of their respective imperialist ambitions. □

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ador (CISPES).

A major effort must be made to use these demonstrations to build and revitalize a militant anti-war movement. The U.S. government would like to have a free hand to defend its corporate/political interests in Latin America—up to and including the use of U.S. troops. But it also fears a return to the tumult of the Vietnam war years, a return to the mass protests, riots and widespread affliction with the very aims and goals of U.S. imperialism at developed at that time. Our task is to make that fear a reality. □

government's increasing use of grand jury investigations to track radical organizations. In this context, it is urgent that all progressive groups and individuals support the SWP and demand that the Gelfand trial be dismissed as an attack on the radical movement and an unconstitutional invasion by the government into the internal affairs and functioning of a political organization. □

imbabwe...

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

Program in Brief of the Revolutionary Socialist League

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4 Socialism does not exist anywhere in the world today. What is called socialism in countries like Russia, China, Cuba, Albania, Poland, etc., is **state capitalism**, a 20th century variation of traditional, private shareholding capitalism. In the state-capitalist (often called Stalinist) countries, as in the "regular" capitalist nations, a small elite dominates society, making all the decisions and reaping all the benefits. Working and

oppressed people have no more control of the factories and other workplaces, the economy, the government or anything else than do workers in traditional capitalist countries. The state-capitalist ruling class controls the state apparatus and nationalized industry, while the workers are in the position of being wage slaves, chained to a giant capitalist machine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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