

# TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

DECEMBER 15, 1982-JANUARY 14, 1983



VOLUME 9, NUMBER 12/25¢

## Canadian Chrysler Strike Wins Key Victory

# New Signs of Resistance in Labor Movement

By PAUL BENJAMIN

In recent weeks, workers in several key industries have shown new and welcome signs of resistance to company demands for contract concessions.

Over the last three years, autoworkers have been forced to give up one concession after another to the auto companies. The Chrysler Corporation has led this offensive, demanding and winning billions of dollars in wage and benefit concessions from their workers. But when the Chrysler contract expired this fall, the retreat ended.

In negotiations for a new contract, Chrysler insisted up and down the line that it had no money for even a token wage increase. Douglas Fraser and other top officials of the United Auto Workers (UAW) union backed up the company's claims and tried to push through a sellout contract. In mid-October Chrysler workers in the U.S. rejected the proposal. However, they later voted against a strike, largely because UAW leaders claimed that a walkout would bankrupt the company and end in defeat.

But Canadian Chrysler workers refused to buy the company's poverty plea. Defying both Chrysler management and the UAW International leadership, they walked off their jobs on November 5 to enforce demands for a pay raise. The Canadian workers remained on strike for 38 days, despite company threats to eliminate their jobs by transferring Canadian production to U.S. plants. Their militancy and determination forced the company to back down and grant a wage increase of \$1.15 an hour in Canadian dollars (about 87 cents an hour in U.S. money) in a settlement reached on December 9.

The successful Canadian strike also produced a victory for Chrysler workers in the U.S. Fearful that the U.S. workers might follow the example of their Canadian counterparts, Chrysler granted the U.S. workers a 60-cent-an-hour wage increase along with a 15-cent-an-hour cost of living raise in a separate agreement also announced on December 9.

The victory of the Chrysler workers may intensify resistance throughout the auto industry. The Ford and GM contracts signed earlier this year are due to expire in September 1984. Workers at Ford and GM are likely to demand at least partial restoration of the losses they suffered in the 1982 settlements. And Chrysler workers in Canada and the U.S., whose wages will still lag behind those at Ford and GM despite their recent pay increases, will be eager to regain parity with them.

## Miners oust Church leadership

Another sign that workers are beginning to resist the corporate offensive can be seen in the recent election of a new leadership in the United Mine Workers (UMW) union. In the November UMW elections, opposition candidate Rich Trumka was chosen as union president by a two-to-one margin over incumbent Sam Church. Trumka's victory—more a rejection of Church's policy of accommodation with the coal companies (a policy which earned him the nickname "Sellout Sam" among miners) than an endorsement of Trumka and his rather vague program—showed that miners felt that a change in leadership was needed

(Continued on page 8)

## Working and Oppressed People Rebel Against Cops and Klan



LIBRARY

DEC 21 1982

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF WISCONSIN

See page 4

## Reagan Bolsters Guatemalan Military Regime



See page 3

## Dispute in United Secretariat Reveals Crisis of Trotskyist Theory — Part Six



See page 9

**SECCION EN  
ESPAÑOL**

**our  
readers  
write...**

## Mourns death of slain Attica leader

Dear Torch,

On December 7, I attended the funeral of Shango (Bernard Strobe), one of the leaders of the Attica prison rebellion in 1971. He was murdered, apparently by drug dealers whom he had been trying to get out of his building and his neighborhood on Detroit's west side.

Shango's death was followed by slanderous articles in both of Detroit's major newspapers, picturing him as a common criminal, and trying to equate him with his murderers. But Shango will be remembered as a fighter for Black liberation. The Attica rebellion served as an inspiration to prisoners in Walla Walla, Washington; Pontiac, Illinois and all over the country as prisoners rose up against their brutal and inhumane conditions. Working and oppressed people all over the world learned a lot about the brutality and hypocrisy of the capitalist

government, and redoubled their efforts to fight back, as a result of the Attica rebellion.

Shango's contribution to the struggle did not end with Attica. Most recently, he offered to donate space in a building he owned to be used as an office for the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers (a Black revolutionary being framed up on murder charges in Detroit). He saw the fight against the drug dealers as a part of the same struggle. As it was stated in his obituary: "**Courageous in his beliefs, angry with society's treatment of minority races, he set out in his own way to change the system.**"

As we mourn Shango's death, we must vow to continue the struggle against the capitalist system, a system he hated and fought against until the day he died.

Paul Carson  
Detroit

## Report from Jamaica

Dear Comrades:

The situation here in Jamaica continues to get worse. Over the last three to four months there have been massive layoffs in almost all sections of the economy. Bauxite and sugar have been the hardest hit. Workers who have slaved on these plantations for years will eventually be thrown out of their homes since they bought them from the sugar factories and have not finished paying for them. If they do not find some other means of employment (which almost does not exist) they will not be able to continue paying for these houses.

All these massive layoffs are increasing as it approaches Christmas. I think that the capitalists are laying off the workers because they do not want to pay the Christmas money and other benefits which the workers are entitled to. Plus, in most cases they (the capitalists) have already gotten their goods finished which they can push through for Christmas. Sometimes in an entire family nobody is working to bring in a little money. On the other hand, the price of goods is just going up and up. While there is food on the shelf there is just no money to buy it.

At the same time you have crying from all over the capitalist class. Big capitalist Ron Sasso from the Bank of Jamaica recently called on the government to tell the people that the country may go into bankruptcy if production is not increased. In order to pass the upcoming

IMF test, they have stopped all loans, stopped issuing certain licenses, even on drugs, to bring in things into the country. The small manufacturers are the ones among the capitalist class that are feeling hell. The leadership of the Jamaica Manufacturers Association has been coming out making statements like, "**The government is not for the small manufacturers, but for the multi-nationals.**"

Despite all of this, the Seaga regime [Prime Minister Edward P. Seaga, leader of the ruling Jamaica Labour Party—Ed.] is still trying to pretend that everything is OK. They still make these big speeches of how the economy is recovering and —of all the things—that unemployment has dropped. I think that they realize that they are in for trouble. We got news that the Carl Stone polls show that the JLP has lost support and the PNP [Peoples National Party, led by Michael Manley; the PNP was in power from 1972 to 1980—Ed.] is gaining. The JLP asked that the polls be done over and it came out worse for the JLP. In order to get money, the JLP has been attacking the higglers, the food vendors and the mini-bus operators, charging them back taxes and in effect running them out of their livelihood. To date, they have not gone full swing on them. But I believe that as soon as they do that, the matches will strike off something.

For the PNP, they are a dead horse. All they are doing these days is trying to get money to

"rebuild the party." This has in effect meant silencing the left and draining every little bit of money out of the poor people's pockets. At the last conference, Manley said that they were going to fight to get the law passed that workers have the right to strike. Up to now, despite the attacks on workers that have taken away these rights, the PNP has done nothing.

Despite these attacks the working class struggles are still moving slow, although they have picked up from last year. There have been a number of demonstrations against police brutality and there are a number of strikes going on—Salada, Regent, Docks, Public Service (light)—just to name a few. But again, they are all divided and mainly around economic issues.

The RML has managed to step up somewhat our strike support work as a result of these strikes. At Regent, the workers came to check us and told us that they were going to be locked out by management and they needed our support. They helped us sell the **Forward** and circulated a number of them. At Salada the reception was also good. The good thing about these two places is that we did strike support work there before and they remember us and were glad to see us again. The Housecraft struggle is still in the courts, so are the Lenn Happ and the Wonards cases.

In International Solidarity,  
Patsy Christie,  
for the Revolutionary  
Marxist League

## IN THIS ISSUE

DECEMBER 15, 1982-JANUARY 14, 1983

- 1 New signs of resistance in U.S. labor movement
- 2 our readers write
- 3 Reagan bolsters Guatemalan military regime
- 4 KKK stopped in Washington, D.C.
- 5 Smash the Klan—smash capitalism!
- 6 History of Haiti: part five
- 7 Draft foe wins major court victory
- 9 Dispute in the USec: part six
- 12 Program in Brief of the RSL
- 13 Eritrea: Struggle against injustice continues

©1982 Revolutionary Socialist League  
Editorial Board: Paul Benjamin, Susan Edmunds, William Falk, Rod Miller, Ron Taber; Circulation Manager: Wayne Pierce; Production Manager: Ian Daniels; Production Staff: M. Evers, Pat Nelson.

Address all correspondence to:

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

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

## 1982 RSL Fund Drive

# Help Us Meet Our Goal

Dear Torch/La Antorcha Reader:

Last month we appealed to you to contribute to the annual fund drive of the RSL. This year's drive has the goal of raising \$10,000 to enable the RSL to continue its work uninterrupted for the coming year. So far, \$3,670 has been raised, slightly more than 35 percent of our goal. The drive will continue until January 15.

This past year has been a financially hard one for our organization. Many of our supporters, who contribute large sums of money to keep the RSL going, are either unemployed or have had to take low-paying jobs after layoffs. But mailing costs, telephone and electric rates, rent and other basics keep rising. As a result, we have already had to make cutbacks.

- In September, we had to cut the Torch/La Antorcha from 24 to 20 pages.
- Most of our small staff has to work at outside jobs, cutting the time available for political work.
- We have had to postpone printing pamphlets and other literature because of a lack of funds.

On the other hand, we have so far continued our work despite these cutbacks. And, politically, the past year—especially the past few months—has seen a shift in the conservative political climate and the mood of despair and retreat among working and oppressed people that have marked the last few years. The election upset in the United Mine Workers, the successful contract fightback at Chrysler, the defeat of the sellout steel contract, the rebellion against Klan and cops in Washington, D.C., last month—all indicate a new combativeness on the part of the U.S. working class. Now more than ever, the RSL's work is vitally important.

You can help keep the RSL and its newspaper on the job. Indeed, we need your help if we are to continue. Our fund drive has one month to go. Please send us a check today. (Make checks or money orders payable to R.S.L. or Christopher Z. Hobson and send to: P.O. Box 1288, New York, NY 10116.)

REA

By ALBERT

"There will be problems in the governments the moon... our friends are." U.S. spec Guatemala, May

The Reagan adm moving decisivel the tarnished hur utation of the Gu tary regime and to scale U.S. aid. In State Departmen the sale of \$3 mi helicopter spare p munications equi regime of Genera Montt. "While n to be done," said ernment spokesm been encouraged Guatemalan gov already taken to a rights concerns."

On the very s Americas Watch C investigative hu group, denounced Montt regime as totalitarian." "T with the govern said Americas W who are not with ment are shot. No mitted to remain r group labeled as tive" an earlier Amnesty Interna 2,600 Guatemalan massacred by the g the previous six m

The Reagan adm also requesting \$ direct military train temala's army, plu in economic aid. It received congressio to send \$10 millio mala as part of th Basin Initiative ai While the economi greatly outweighs t most of these funds be used to free u amount of Guatem local revenue fo spending.

Guatemala refuse U.S. military aid in angry dispute with administration over human rights abus afterward, Guatemal for renewed aid were Congress and o amounts have gott over the past five hundred and fifty jeeps were sold to Gu 1981 as "civilian" and one U.S. G officer has been ser counter-insurgency in Guatemala since last temalan rebels also re

# REAGAN BOLSTERS GUATEMALAN MILITARY REGIME

By ALBERT LARY

**"There will be human rights problems in the year 3000 with the governments of Mars and the moon . . . We know who our friends are."** (Vernon Walters, U.S. special envoy to Guatemala, May 1981.)

The Reagan administration is moving decisively to clean up the tarnished human rights reputation of the Guatemalan military regime and to restore large-scale U.S. aid. In November the State Department announced the sale of \$3 million worth of helicopter spare parts and communications equipment to the regime of General Efraín Ríos Montt. **"While much remains to be done,"** said a U.S. government spokesman, **"we have been encouraged by steps the Guatemalan government has already taken to address human rights concerns."**

On the very same day, the Americas Watch Committee, an investigative human rights group, denounced the Ríos Montt regime as **"despotic and totalitarian."** **"Those who are with the government are fed,"** said Americas Watch. **"Those who are not with the government are shot. No one is permitted to remain neutral."** The group labeled as **"conservative"** an earlier report from Amnesty International that 2,600 Guatemalans had been massacred by the government in the previous six months.

The Reagan administration is also requesting \$250,000 for direct military training of Guatemala's army, plus \$15 million in economic aid. It has already received congressional approval to send \$10 million to Guatemala as part of the Caribbean Basin Initiative aid program. While the economic aid so far greatly outweighs the military, most of these funds will simply be used to free up an equal amount of Guatemala's scarce local revenue for military spending.

Guatemala refused to accept U.S. military aid in 1977 in an angry dispute with the Carter administration over charges of human rights abuse. Shortly afterward, Guatemalan requests for renewed aid were blocked in Congress and only small amounts have gotten through over the past five years. One hundred and fifty trucks and jeeps were sold to Guatemala in 1981 as **"civilian"** equipment, and one U.S. Green Beret officer has been serving as a counter-insurgency instructor in Guatemala since last July. Guatemalan rebels also recently cap-

tured documents indicating that the regime has received several secret shipments of aircraft parts from the U.S. government during the past two years.

## A strategic prize for U.S. imperialism

So what's different now? Not much in Guatemala, where a 20-year-old civil war continues to blaze, but more in Washington, where U.S. imperialist planners now see an opportunity to shift the Central American balance of forces through massive mili-



The Guatemalan military is forcing the peasants into "civil defense" units, like the one shown training above, in an effort to isolate leftist guerrillas.

itary aid. Ever since a CIA coup overthrew Guatemala's last popular government in 1954, the U.S. has viewed the country as Central America's biggest prize. Its population, at seven and a half million, is the largest in Central America, and its economy is the most industrialized. Its location on Mexico's southern border is militarily strategic. And the recent discovery of large oil and nickel deposits give it added regional importance.

Throughout the early 1970s, U.S. military aid to Guatemala averaged nearly \$8 million a year. When that source abruptly ended in 1977, Israel replaced the U.S. as Guatemala's main arms supplier, with help from Argentina, Chile, and South Africa. This was enough until 1979, when the current global economic depression began to hit. Since then, capital flight has taken hundreds of millions of dollars out of the country and, without capital or credit, local investment has dried up. Foreign capital limits itself to oil exploration. Prices for Guatemala's main export crops—coffee, cotton and sugar—fell, while import costs rose. Tour-

ism, the country's number two source of foreign exchange, withered under the impact of a growing guerrilla war. The nation's growth rate is now below zero.

Faced with economic chaos and a civil war costing one million dollars a day, the Guatemalan regime is in deep trouble. The army is unhappy with the performance of its Israeli rifles and is desperate for spare parts for its few remaining U.S.-built helicopters. The present army leadership, which seized power from a previous military regime in a bloodless coup last March, is itself divided over which

bassy. Ambassador Frederic Chapin is said to visit the presidential palace more often than any other U.S. ambassador in history. And President Reagan's decision to meet with Ríos Montt during his recent Latin American tour was another sign of U.S. confidence in his regime.

## Army massacres guerrilla sympathizers

The U.S. seems committed to Ríos Montt not because of any ability to stabilize the economy or satisfy local businessmen (which he isn't doing) but rather because of his single-minded determination to crush the guerrilla rebellion at any cost. On July 1, a state of siege was imposed on the country, with the death penalty for **"subversive activity"** and the suspension of all civil and political rights. The army's counter-insurgency campaign, based on U.S. experiences in Vietnam, has been streamlined and some of the worst corruption among high military officers has been ended.

Massacres of suspected guerrilla supporters have increased in number since Ríos Montt took command. The killing is sometimes selective, with community leaders and their families killed as examples. In other cases, whole villages have been wiped out. **"Preventative terror"** is used in regions where guerrilla activity is expected. In some cases, soldiers dressed as guerrillas have attacked villages, killing and burning, then returned later in uniform to organize the survivors into anti-communist civil defense patrols.

The guerrillas, who number about 5,000, operate in four armed organizations united in the Unión Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca, the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union). Zones of guerrilla operation cover about 60 percent of the country, but the main strongholds are in the Indian highland provinces of Quiché and Huehuetenango in the northwest, near the Mexican border. URNG fighters have tremendous popular support in these areas, built up through many years of political work among the Maya-Quiché Indians, most of whom are poor peasants and farmworkers.

Now, however, the guerrillas are seriously worried about the long-term effect of the government's massive terror campaign. Any slight association

with guerrilla activity can mean death for entire villages, and the guerrillas are not strong enough to fight off army incursions in the area, nor to set up secure liberated zones.

Although Ríos Montt's policy of mass terror in the countryside is winning him no support from Guatemala's Indian people, who make up more than half the total population, it is effectively weakening the guerrilla's support base by physically killing and dispersing guerrilla sympathizers. Recent press reports give the following grim statistics of Ríos Montt's success:

- Las Pacayas—60 men, women and children killed.
- Yaltoyás—15 women and children mutilated and killed.
- Huehuetenango Province—26 villages destroyed and 72 peasants killed in one army sweep.
- Chex—22 killed by army after guerrillas were seen passing through the village some days earlier.
- Petenac—89 dead, including 37 children.
- San Miguel Acatán—200 dead.
- San Francisco—302 dead, 12 escaped.

One hundred and twenty thousand Guatemalan refugees have fled from this genocide across the Mexican border, where 30,000 remain homeless in primitive refugee camps. But even there they are not safe. Guatemalan death squads have raided as far as 66 miles inside Mexican territory in pursuit of suspected guerrilla supporters. Their victims include one priest and several Mexican peasants who gave refuge to the fleeing Guatemalans.

An estimated one million other Indian peasants are uprooted and homeless inside Guatemala as the army forces villagers out of guerrilla areas and into army-controlled zones. A six-mile-wide free-fire zone along the entire 500-mile Mexican border has displaced thousands more.

General Ríos Montt's promise to defeat the URNG guerrillas by December has clearly failed, but he is not easily discouraged. After all, as he humbly put it in one recent sermon: **"I am an instrument of God, a majordomo of the Lord,"** chosen to rule the country. And with Ríos Montt's God and Ronald Reagan's guns backing up the general, the long-suffering Indian people of Guatemala may find that the worst of this nightmare still lies ahead. □

By IAN DANIELS

The anger of Black and other working class people in Washington, D.C., exploded when the Ku Klux Klan tried to march in the capital on November 27. Thousands of demonstrators battled with police for control of the streets near the White House over a period of several hours. The clashes began when a massive mobilization of police attempted to keep anti-Klan forces out of Lafayette Square, in front of the White House, where the Klan was scheduled to appear.

Chanting, "Down with the Klan," "The cops and the Klan work hand in hand" and "The streets belong to the people," the demonstrators challenged the police, throwing bricks, rocks, sticks and parts of police barricades at police lines. As the day went on, numerous stores and banks in the area had their windows smashed. Two unmarked police cars were overturned by the crowds, and a number of police were injured.

The police responded with repeated use of tear gas, and eventually succeeded in dispersing the various groups of anti-Klan demonstrators. The Klan itself was able only to hold a small rally behind police lines after being whisked through town in closed police vans.

The November 27 anti-Klan action was a significant one. The Klan suffered an important defeat at the hands of a large and militant, multi-racial and working class crowd.

### Cops protect Klan from demonstrators

The newly-formed Confederation of Klans, which claims a membership of 60,000, had originally called for a march and rally in Washington for November 6. After a number of anti-Klan forces united and scheduled a counter-demonstration, the Klan canceled their action and rescheduled their march for November 27.

When November 27 finally came around, things did not go well for the Klan. The Klan groups' alleged 60,000 members failed to show (reportedly only 30 Klansmen attended). The size of the anti-Klan crowds forced the police to revoke the Klan's march permit, and, unable even to put their white robes on, the Klan was reduced to holding a small

# KKK Stopped in Washington, DC: WORKING AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE REBEL AGAINST COPS & KLAN

rally in plain clothes before being escorted to safety by the police. Meanwhile, the angry demonstrators continued to press against police lines.

The Klan's threats had struck the nerve of Washington residents. Of the estimated 5,000 anti-Klan demonstrators, the vast majority were from D.C. itself: mostly Black, with notable numbers of lesbians and gay men, immigrant workers, students, and young white people.

As the capitalist crisis continues to deepen, it is working class and other oppressed people who are taking the brunt of the attacks. Whether it's the dramatic rise in racism, skyrocketing unemployment, police brutality, social cut-backs, U.S. chauvinism, sexism or anti-gay bigotry—Black people, Latins, women and others are being pressed to the wall. Meanwhile, the Ku Klux Klan is calling for more, and suggesting that the answer to the crisis is mass murder of Blacks and other people who don't conform to the Klan's racist, sexist and anti-gay notions of "decency" and the

"American Way."

So it's not surprising that many people in the majority-Black city of Washington, D.C., were outraged when it appeared that the Klan was really going to go through with its march and rally.

People were angry at the Klan. People were also angry at the government, both for allowing the Klan to march and because of its general attacks on working and oppressed people. And when the police, an arm of the government, tried to prevent the people from stopping the Klan's racist demonstration, it was too much. The connections were obvious, and all hell broke loose.

That was the situation on the 27th: thousands of people, mostly but not entirely Black, expressing their anger and frustration in a very political manner under the circumstances. The crowds were simply not going to allow the Klan to march. In fact, people were determined to actually get at the Klan, even if it meant going at the police.

### Role of left groups

In such a situation, the left organizations present should have offered political and tactical leadership. They should have helped politically educate and lead these people in order to make concrete gains in the struggle. But most of the left groups involved on the 27th failed to do this. Their spokespeople made a lot of militant speeches about how dangerous the Klan is and urged people to actually stop the Klan from demonstrating. But when people began to do just this, these same groups either ran away or attempted, often physically, to stop people going into the streets. To make matters worse, after doing all this, these groups are now each claiming that it was they who actually "stopped the Klan" in Washington on November 27.

Various left organizations had called for separate rallies against the Klan on the 27th. One, sponsored by the Work-

ers World Party-led "All Peoples Congress," rallied in McPherson Square, a block away from where the Klan was to appear. Another, called by the Spartacist League's "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK" was called for near where the Klan march was supposed to begin. Both the SL and WWP/APC touted their rallies as "THE" anti-Klan mobilization.

Although some of the anti-Klan demonstrators were interested in listening to speeches, most were interested in stopping the Klan. And in fact, during the day the majority of people present ignored the left rallies, and participated in, to one or another degree, the street confrontations.

When the fighting started, the SL urged people not to participate, preferring instead to stay off to the side chanting "We stopped the Klan," as if its forces alone were responsible. When the police began to tear-gas the crowd, the SL left the square, leaving people to fight the cops and protect themselves as best they could.

The WWP/APC reacted a bit differently. Over the past two years, WWP/APC has tried hard to pose as the entire movement and has generally attempted to control and dominate any movement activities it has been involved in. This policy of domination and control continued in Washington.

The first confrontations with the police broke out some distance from McPherson Square, where WWP/APC held its rally. When the crowds of people fighting the police moved closer to the APC rally, APC marshals tried to actively stop people from getting involved. At various points during the confrontation, lines of WWP/APC marshals would form, trying to hold people back in the square, not allowing them into the street.

Thus, instead of trying to give some concrete political and tactical leadership to a very militant struggle against racism and government repression, WWP/APC chose to act as police within the movement. Apparently feeling some political embarrassment over its role, WWP has since claimed that its marshals were not blocking people from going into the streets, but were actually "protecting people from the police." They have also claimed that McPherson Square, the site of their rally, was "liberated territory." These are simply lies. The WWP marshals were doing everything possible to stop the crowd; if there was any "liberated territory," it was the streets that WWP was trying to keep people out of.

In sum, the role of most of the left was sectarian, bureaucratic and dishonest. The SL and WWP made many militant, even incendiary, speeches about fighting the Klan and the government—then actually tried to prevent people from doing so. Fortunately, the demonstrators themselves went beyond where most of these left groups were at.

### State-capitalist outlook

The actions of groups like the SL and WWP in Washington have roots in their basic political outlook. Most of the left today idolizes the state-capitalist countries like Russia and Cuba; countries where an elite and "all-knowing" Party controls all aspects of political, eco-



Near Lafayette Square, a crowd of demonstrators charged a line of mounted policemen, and forced them back a block toward the White House. Picture shows cop trying to escape barrage of rocks from the demonstrators.

oples Con-  
Square, a  
Klan was to  
the Sparta-  
Mobiliza-  
called for  
was sup-  
and WWP/  
THE" anti-

anti-Klan  
d in listen-  
interested in  
act, during  
ple present  
participated  
the street

d, the SL  
ate, prefer-  
to the side  
lan," as if  
ible. When  
the crowd,  
g people to  
emselves as

bit differ-  
rs, WWP/  
s the entire  
attempted  
movement  
ed in. This  
ontrol con-

with the  
ance from  
WWP/APC  
ds of people  
oser to the  
s tried to  
getting in-  
during the  
WWP/APC  
ng to hold  
ot allowing

give some  
d leadership  
ainst racism  
WWP/APC  
n the move-  
me political  
ole, WWP  
rshalls were  
ing into the  
"protecting  
ey have also  
are, the site  
territory."  
The WWP  
thing possi-  
ere was any  
s the streets  
p people out

t of the left  
ic and dis-  
made many  
/ speeches  
the govern-  
to prevent  
unately, the  
went beyond  
oups were at.

e the SL and  
roots in their  
st of the left  
pitalist coun-  
oa; countries  
rowing" Party  
olitical, eco-

conomic and social life and where people themselves are forced to be docile, loyal, malleable citizens who do whatever they are told. What these groups did on the 27th gives a hint of how they'd like to run society.

For the SL and WWP, the important issue is not politically leading people to victory over the Klan and the government, but controlling and dominating the people they claim to be leading. They want to hold people to the level of struggle that they have deemed "appropriate." And when that doesn't work, they'd rather just lie.

One notable exception to this performance was the large number of Palestinian leftists who participated in the events on the 27th. They had come for a combined Palestine/anti-Klan rally, and took what happened seriously. They recognized the need to unite with other oppressed people in militant struggle; they were among the most militant in the crowds, fighting the Klan and cops as their own enemy, fighting alongside Black people and others as their own allies. Unlike much of the left, they chose to participate in the struggle with people, not to attempt to control them. A number of Palestinians who were marshalls for the McPherson Square rally even ripped off their marshal tags to join the people battling the cops in the streets.

Although we in the Revolutionary Socialist League had smaller forces than either WWP or the SL in Washington, we were able to distribute a leaflet (see accompanying text) attempting to educate people and, at the same time, took part in the street events to the extent that we could with our small numbers.

The left ought to be providing leadership to working class and other oppressed people who are beginning to struggle against the capitalist and right-wing attacks. If it does not, it will cripple future struggles, and either leave us all defenseless, or just provide us with new masters. Here's an important example of what could have been done. During the street fighting, a number of stores were looted. This looting was responsible for many of the arrests and some incidents of police brutality. While we certainly don't condemn looting on moral grounds, it would have been much better if the anger and energy directed against those stores was directed more politically against government buildings, offices of multinational corporations or the big banks. Had the left been trying to politically lead people, it could have helped direct people's anger in a more politically conscious direction.

The November 27 demonstration was an important example of working and oppressed people themselves taking the lead in militant struggle. Hopefully it's a sign that people are getting ready to seriously resist the attacks coming down on all of us. But it is too soon to cheer. While the 27th was a defeat for the Klan, it was far from total. As the capitalist crisis continues, the Klan will continue to spread its filth, to recruit and to grow. Demonstrations and spontaneous rebellions by themselves will not stop the Klan. We must organize among all sectors of the working class and the oppressed layers of society to build a well-organized, politically conscious movement that can stop the capitalist offensive and start working for the final struggle against the Klan, racism and the capitalist system itself. □

Crowds of Blacks, whites and Palestinians, angry and frustrated at the police for protecting the Klan, began to throw rocks, bottles and parts of police barricades at the lines of police.



# Smash the Klan— Smash Capitalism!

Following is the text of a leaflet distributed by the Revolutionary Socialist League at the November 27 anti-Klan demonstration in Washington, D.C.

**TODAY'S demonstration has been** called to protest an appearance by the racist and terrorist organization, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The KKK first raised its fiery cross during Reconstruction after the Civil War, when poor Black and white men and women sought to build a new democratic and non-racist society on the ruins of the war-torn South. Through terror and violence the Klan helped defeat those efforts.

Today the white-robed forces of the KKK are on the rise again. As the U.S. and the entire world move to the brink of total economic collapse, the Klan is striking out. Today, they are active not only in the South, but in all parts of the country, from Connecticut to Indiana, California to Washington, D.C. Today, they single out not only people with black skin, but all the oppressed and supposedly "unrespectable" people of society, from lesbians and gay men to undocumented workers from Mexico

and refugees from Vietnam, from Jews to Catholics.

Why is it that the Klan is marching on D.C. now, for the first time since 1925? Why is it that now they feel bold enough to spread their message of terror beyond their traditional lair?

The answer goes beyond the Klan itself. The Klan is not just a group of kooks in white sheets, but a symptom of the decay of the U.S. and world economic system.

**THE capitalist system is on the edge of** an abyss: Already millions of people all over the world have lost their jobs and have no hope of getting work in the future. Millions of people are going hungry, and the governments of the world are having trouble keeping themselves functioning. Semi-developed and even developed countries like Argentina, Mexico, Poland and Great Britain are already engulfed by economic chaos. And worse is yet to come. The international trade and financial structure that keeps the world economy together is ready to fracture into pieces. The result will be a world economic depression.

The capitalist rulers of the world are

trying to save their system by carving up the world market and by beating more out of working and oppressed people in a frantic attempt to boost profits. And all this will get worse, provoking violent repression and wars as countries grab for the few crumbs left.

It's fundamentally the same here in the United States. The great myths about this "land of opportunity and plenty" are being shattered as the economy grinds to a halt, whole industries are destroyed, unemployment reaches 10.4 percent and people become the victims of statistics.

The growth of the Klan is a response to this crisis. The Klan group marching today claims a membership of 60,000 and is the product of a unification of many smaller Klan groups. The Klan is an organization that appeals to people—especially layers of the middle class that are freaking out over their loss of privilege—looking for easy solutions to "save" the country from crisis and decay. The Klan claims that the current crisis has been brought about by Black people seeking more rights, women wanting to work, lesbians and gay men wanting the right to exist openly, "foreigners" stealing jobs from white people, and Jewish control of the economy.

The Klan claims that if white Anglo-Saxon men (with loyal and obedient wives) organize and drive back the organizations of workers and oppressed people, and make the United States a "white man's country," society will be "saved." As the crisis gets more severe and things get worse, more and more people will join the Klan and it will grow bolder and become an even greater threat.

**THE deadly threat posed by the Klan** shows that we must organize against them. When the Klan holds rallies or demonstrations, we must organize counter-demonstrations to oppose their racist, sexist anti-gay filth. Where the balance of forces proves possible, we must attempt to physically prevent their

(Continued on page 13)



At one corner, a policeman tried to make an arrest. His victim fled, and the cop charged after him. Two hundred people charged after the cop, forcing him to stop the arrest, and began to batter him with rocks. The cop was dragged into a restaurant to safety. The corner was then clear of police, and some people began to loot a bicycle shop. About a dozen police appeared, and chased after the looters, pushing one man through a plate glass window, left.

# THE HISTORY OF HAITI—BLACK PEOPLE

STRU

## Part Five

# The rise of the Duvalier dynasty

Part one of this series described life in the French colony of St. Domingue (Haiti)—where a ruthless ruling class used the labor of 700,000 African slaves to create the world's richest colony. In parts two and three, we followed the events of the Haitian Revolution, as the slaves rose up and won their freedom. Part four described how Haiti became a neo-colony, a process that culminated with the U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934.

By WILLIAM FALK

The history of the last 50 years in Haiti is the history of U.S. subjugation and the opposition of the Haitian people to it. Mostly, however, it is a story of subjugation. There have been many strikes, riots and demonstrations in Haiti over the years, and several periods of intense political activity, but the grip of the U.S. has never been significantly loosened.

When the U.S. Marines departed from Haiti in 1934, after 19 years of occupation, this did not mean that the U.S. had "abandoned" Haiti. The Haitian economy, the political life, the state apparatus and the army were all dominated by the U.S. government and U.S. banks and corporations.

Besides these levers of power, the U.S. had a constant watchdog over Haiti—their close friend and ally, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, the dictator who ruled the neighboring Dominican Republic. "El Benefactor," as he styled himself, was a full-time player in Haitian politics.

In 1937, in the depths of the Great Depression, both the Cuban and Dominican regimes demagogically blamed migrant Haitian sugar cane cutters for high unemployment. Fulgencio Batista of Cuba expelled every Haitian he could catch, but Trujillo went further. In October 1937 he systematically murdered 15,000-20,000 Haitians. The Haitians were picked up by the Dominican National Police, processed for deportation and then shot, clubbed to death, or killed with machetes.

The initial reaction of then Haitian President Sténio Vincent (who was rumored to have received vast payments from



Haitian president Sténio Vincent (left), meeting with U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1934.

Trujillo) was a joint statement with the Dominican dictator "energetically condemning allegations" that any Haitians had been murdered. When, later, under pressure of an international commission of inquiry, Trujillo agreed to pay a \$750,000 indemnity to the victims' survivors, he was able to retire the debt with \$25,000 directly to high officials and \$525,000 to the government. Reportedly, about two cents per death trickled down to the surviving families of those murdered.

Despite Vincent's supine cooperation in most everything, by the late 1930s his usefulness to both Trujillo and the U.S. was fading. Vincent was stained by too many scandals, had irritated leading Haitian politicians by taking too many spoils for himself and too openly moving toward becoming dictator-for-life. In 1941, Elie Lescot, former Haitian ambassador to Santo Domingo (or Ciudad Trujillo, as it was then called), former ambassador to Washington and a recipient of Trujillo's money for years, was installed as Haiti's new president. Lescot is "a thoroughly loyal friend of the U.S.," the State Department reported to President Roosevelt. "His administration will cooperate very closely with us."

One item in which Lescot "cooperated very closely" was the expulsion, beginning in 1941, of nearly 40,000 Haitian

peasant families from their land to create rubber plantations for the U.S. Over 100,000 acres, nearly five percent of all of Haiti's arable land and a higher percentage of the best land, was taken from its cultivators. Over a million fruit-bearing trees and shrubs were bulldozed. The expropriated peasants were hired to work the plantations. In the end, the project produced only five tons of rubber and was abandoned.

## New middle class takes power

The failure of the rubber plantations was a contributing factor to Lescot's downfall in January 1946. A series of strikes by rubber plantation workers, workers at the Haitian American Sugar Company, workers on the docks and at the electric company, students, teachers and government clerks prompted the military to "restore order." They took over the government and supervised, while the National Assembly elected a new president. The man chosen, Dumarsais Estimé, was a member of a new class in Haiti, a (Black) middle class of professionals and technicians that had grown up during the U.S. occupation. He was also, loosely speaking, a supporter of a new movement in Haiti called négritude.

Négritude is a populist Black

Nationalism. There was no single authoritative organization of the movement and its ideas meant different things to different people. Some of its tenets, such as its rejection of European standards of beauty and culture, its affirmation of Haiti's kinship to Africa, and its defense of voodoo as a religion equal in validity to Roman Catholicism, had a large influence on Haitian art, poetry and literature in the 1920s-'30s, as well as on the socialist movement.

The more doctrinaire proponents of pure négritude also asserted that all people of African origin carried in themselves a unique set of psychological, sociological and political characteristics different from those of Europeans or mulattoes, like Vincent and Lescot. One conclusion of this was that the Black middle class of professionals and technocrats had a right to rule over Haiti in the name of the people simply because they, like most of the peasants, were Black.

The pure négritude advocates popularized a version of Haitian history in which the Black section of the old elite became the heroic leaders of the Black masses and the mulatto elites alone were seen as imperialist collaborators and oppressors. Dessalines and Toussaint became near-saints. Organizers sympathetic to négritude formed political parties, unions, newspapers and journals. By 1946, they were a powerful force and together with communist- and socialist-led organizations played a major role in bringing down Lescot.

One of the first and most influential founding figures of négritude was the medical student, and later doctor, François Duvalier. A cabinet official under Estimé, Duvalier became president in 1957, and president-for-life in 1964. It is his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, who rules Haiti today.

Although it may seem startling in the context of the Duvalier regime of today, the fact is that most of the groups on the Haitian left supported the middle class négritude parties in their climb to power. They supported Estimé's government of 1946-50 and they made up a significant section of Duvalier's supporters during a 10-month wide open political scramble in 1957.

The major groups of the Haitian left—the Parti Communiste d'Haiti, the Parti Démocratique Populaire de la Jeunesse Haïtienne, the Parti Socialiste Populaire and later the Parti du Peuple Haïtien—all had different points of view, but they all started with the premise that Haiti was not ready for a revolution made by and for the workers and peasants. The task of the left, in their eyes, was to support the "progressive" bourgeoisie and pressure it to be even more "progressive." The rising Black middle class—technocrats who favored vigorous capitalist development of Haiti, politicians and ideologues who were always ready to denounce the largely mulatto old elite, etc.—seemed the best candidates for the role of "progressive bourgeoisie."

## Duvalier's reign of terror

In his campaign to power, Duvalier had not only won the support of the left, but had behind him a faction in the army, a faction in the U.S. embassy, part of the business community, many of the big land owners, several unions and a major portion of the peasantry. Duvalier immediately set about to further consolidate his power. He first attacked his opponents and then went on to purge or destroy



Two months before his death in 1971, Haitian dictator François Duvalier (left) appointed his son Jean-Claude to succeed him.

groupings that sup- but also had an i base of power of t

To accomplish l Duvalier borrowed a the fascist regimes With recruits from t Prince slums, he paramilitary force th outside the regular cl above the law: t Macoutes.

Between 1957 an 1960s, the army, the press, youth group sional associations, t Church and the Church (stronghold o middle class) were p but hard-core Duvali popular movements pressed with utmost repression will be to ble and inexorable, stated in 1959. Th Macoutes, Duvalier a number of voodoo (priests) who refus knowledge him as rior. Leaving no pote neglected, in 1960 Du had the head of the arrested.

Thousands of arr followed by torture tions and public disp bodies, were ordered Doc" Duvalier du years and later. This, the millions in pers that Duvalier stole government treasury millions more taken eigh aid shipments, h documented and de the popular press in

But what is written less is how Duvalier and pieces of the orig tude tradition he cam build his base of sup example, when, in U.S. President Ken doubts about Duvali ity as the U.S.'s Haiti Duvalier put on his imperialist clothing.

"I take no orders from anyone, no ma they come from. No shall tell me what t

Subscribe

MEAN THE COLONY AND THE WORKERS AND THE  
FORWARD  
NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

RML LEADS MIL  
ANTI-REAG/  
DEMONSTRAT

Newspaper of t  
RML of Jamaica

One year subscript

Order from: RS  
PO Box 1288  
New York, NY 10

# STRUGGLING TO BE FREE

It may seem strange in the context of the regime of today, the most of the groups left supported a class négritude parir climb to power. ported Estimé's gov- of 1946-50 and they significant section of supporters during a wide open political in 1957.

Major groups of the left—the Parti Com- 'Haiti, the Parti De- Populaire de la Haïtienne, the Parti Populaire and later du Peuple Haïtien—ferent points of view, all started with the hat Haiti was not a revolution made by ie workers and peas- task of the left, in , was to support the ive" bourgeoisie and it to be even more ive." The rising Black ass—technocrats who vigorous capitalist ent of Haiti, politi- ideologues who were ady to denounce the alatto old elite, etc.— e best candidates for of "progressive bour-

er's  
of terror

campaign to power, had not only won the of the left, but had im a faction in the faction in the U.S. part of the business y, many of the big ers, several unions and portion of the peas- Duvalier immediately to further consoli- power. He first at- s opponents and then to purge or destroy



Haitian dictator François  
to succeed him.

groupings that supported him but also had an independent base of power of their own.

To accomplish his purges, Duvalier borrowed an idea from the fascist regimes of Europe. With recruits from the Port-au-Prince slums, he created a paramilitary force that operated outside the regular channels and above the law: the Tonton Macoutes.

Between 1957 and the early 1960s, the army, the unions, the press, youth groups, professional associations, the Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church (stronghold of the Black middle class) were purged of all but hard-core Duvalierists. "All popular movements will be repressed with utmost rigor. The repression will be total, inflexible and inexorable," Duvalier stated in 1959. Through the Macoutes, Duvalier also killed a number of voodoo houngans (priests) who refused to acknowledge him as their superior. Leaving no potential threat neglected, in 1960 Duvalier even had the head of the Macoutes arrested.

Thousands of arrests, often followed by torture and executions and public display of the bodies, were ordered by "Papa Doc." Duvalier during these years and later. This, along with the millions in personal graft that Duvalier stole from the government treasury and the millions more taken from foreign aid shipments, has all been documented and described in the popular press in the U.S.

But what is written about far less is how Duvalier used bits and pieces of the original négritude tradition he came out of to build his base of support. For example, when, in the 1960s, U.S. President Kennedy had doubts about Duvalier's viability as the U.S.'s Haitian lackey, Duvalier put on his best anti-imperialist clothing.

**"I take no orders or dictates from anyone, no matter where they come from. No foreigner shall tell me what to do. As**

**President of Haiti, I am here only to continue the tradition of Toussaint Louverture and Dessalines."**

After this episode, Duvalier and the U.S. made their peace. The truth is, of course, that while Papa Doc sometimes liked to bark, he never bit the hand that fed him. And for its part, while the U.S. went so far in the 1960s as to covertly support small armed invasions by pro-U.S. exiles, in the end they always settled on Duvalier as the best man to preserve U.S. control of Haiti. Every year without fail, millions and millions in U.S. economic and military aid have flowed into Port-au-Prince.

## Baby Doc seeks respectability

In the late 1960s, Duvalier felt sufficiently secure in his position to relax the level of open repression in the country. By then, the tourist trade had dropped to next to nothing under the impact of such Duvalier moves as exhibiting the fly-infested corpse of a defeated opponent at the Port-au-Prince airport for three days. Moreover, neither the Haitian capitalists nor those in the U.S. would invest in the country because of the high probability that any profits would be stolen, either by the Macoutes or the Duvalier family.

In 1971 François Duvalier died and his son, Jean-Claude, became the president-for-life. Jean-Claude—"Baby Doc"—has tried to win greater respectability for his regime and increase tourism and U.S. investment in Haiti. Some new efforts have been made to end the share-cropping system and create large plantation-like farms where crops that could be exported for cash would be tended by wage workers.

The biggest area of economic growth, however, has been in the many finishing assembly factories which set up shop in Haiti to take advantage of the \$2.20 per day minimum wage. All the materials for products as diverse as stuffed animals, baseballs and softballs and electrical appliances are shipped to Haiti, put together there and then exported. Profits for the capitalists are typically an extraordinarily high 30-50 percent return on equity. There are now about 60,000 workers in the assembly factories, producing 35 percent of all of Haiti's exports.

On paper, the Haitian economy stagnated during most of the 1950s and '60s and then began to grow at a rate of about four percent a year over the last 10 years. But, in reality, condi-

tions for the Haitian people have remained the same, at best, and in many areas are getting worse and worse.

Haiti is the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere. In 1980 there were about six million people in Haiti, while the gross national product was \$1.3 billion—a ratio of \$216 per person. (The comparable figure for the U.S. is \$11,536 per person.) Less than one percent of the Haitian population holds 45 percent of the wealth, while two-thirds of all Haitians have annual incomes below \$40.

Life expectancy in Haiti is 45 years. Infant mortality is 15 per 100 births; child mortality (one to four years old) is 20 per 100. There are 35 prisons for every high school.

Haiti's poverty and repression have led in recent years to a tremendous increase in emigration of Haitians to other countries. There are 35,000 Haitians in the Bahamas, nearly 200,000 in the Dominican Republic and over 500,000 in the U.S.

The thousands of people who, in 1980 and 1981, sailed in small boats from Haiti to



Workers who stitch baseballs at the Spalding Company's plant in Haiti earn just \$2.20 a day.

Florida were part of that emigration. In an attempt to stop the Haitians from coming, the Immigration and Naturalization Service imprisoned nearly 3,000 of the refugees and tried to deport them. Today they are technically free, but on very restrictive parole terms; many will eventually face expulsion from the U.S. The Torch/La Antorcha spoke to several of the refugees while they were in prison in the summer of 1982 and two of them summed up

their situation: "The problem of the Tonton Macoutes is why we leave Haiti. They are in the provinces, in the cities, everywhere. So we must leave."

"The U.S. has to change the situation. It has to stop supporting Duvalier. They are supporting him and that is why they have put us in jail."

[Our series will conclude next month with a discussion of the political scene in Haiti today and the prospects for revolution.]

## Draft Foe David Wayte Wins Major Court Victory

LOS ANGELES—On November 15, Judge Terry Hatter dismissed the government's case against David Wayte, a public opponent of draft registration. Wayte, who was indicted for refusing to register with the Selective Service System, is the first non-registrant to be acquitted for failing to comply with the registration requirements established under the Carter administration. Four previous trials of non-registrants had resulted in convictions.

THE decision in the Wayte case was an important victory for the entire anti-draft movement. Not only did Wayte himself win acquittal, but the two grounds on which Judge Hatter dismissed the case could provide the basis for overturning the earlier convictions and challenging the legality of the entire draft registration program.

Judge Hatter ruled that Wayte had been a victim of "selective prosecution," that is, that he had been singled out by the government for indictment and trial because of his publicly-stated opposition to the draft and draft registration. The 12 other young men who so far have been indicted—out of

more than a half-million non-registrants—have all been, like Wayte, outspoken public opponents of draft registration. The Los Angeles ruling gives these men a legal precedent for making a similar claim of selective prosecution.

Judge Hatter also dismissed the charges against Wayte on the grounds that the Carter administration had not followed proper procedures in promulgating the regulation that established draft registration in the first place. This decision could have an even wider impact on draft registration. While the basis for Hatter's decision was technically narrow (the judge ruled that the administration had failed to give proper public notice before putting the registration requirement into effect), it could invalidate the legal basis of the whole registration program. Already, draft counselors are using this ruling to advise non-registration on the grounds that its legal basis has been called into question, and thus there would be no intent to violate the law involved.

ALTHOUGH the outcome of the Wayte case was a clear victory, it is unlikely to result in the termination of draft registra-

tion. The government is appealing Judge Hatter's rulings, and the final outcome is far from certain. Moreover, even if Hatter's dismissal is upheld on both grounds, the government can still save the registration program. While obviously reluctant to commit the enormous resources necessary to find and prosecute non-registrants who have not gone public, the Reagan administration has begun to cross-check registrations against Internal Revenue and State Motor Vehicle information. Even though it cannot possibly prosecute all non-registrants, the indictment of even a few non-public non-registrants could overcome the "selective prosecution" argument. In addition, even if the registration program as a whole is found invalid, it would take only a new proclamation from Reagan (this time following the rules properly) for the program to be reinstated.

FINALLY, even eliminating registration completely would leave untouched the "poverty draft." As long as young people continue to face depression level unemployment and are therefore forced to turn to the military in search of a job, this form of the draft will continue. □

**Subscribe to**

**FORWARD**

**RML LEADS MILITANT ANTI-REAGAN DEMONSTRATION**

Newspaper of the RML of Jamaica, WI

One year subscription: \$5

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

# Signs of Resistance in Labor Movement

(Continued from page 1)  
to overcome the many problems facing the UMW.

Among the most immediate of these problems is a slump in coal production that has forced over 40,000 miners onto unemployment lines. But the chief long-term issue facing the miners is the industry's rising production of non-union coal, which now accounts for around 60 percent of total U.S. coal output. Unless the miners can organize the unorganized miners and stop the companies' union-busting campaign, the very existence of the UMW is threatened.

Trumka's ability to take on the companies will be tested when the UMW's contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association expires in June 1984. Although Trumka, like Church, argues that a national coal strike will only weaken the UMW, he has sworn to maintain the union's tradition of "no contract, no work." Moreover, Trumka may be forced to call a strike as a show of militancy to head off wildcats by miners whose expectations have been raised by the many promises Trumka made during the UMW election campaign.

## Local USWA presidents reject takeaway contract

But the truly critical contract struggle in basic industry is the one taking shape between the steel companies and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) union. Although the USWA's current contract with the industry does not expire until August 1, 1983, efforts to renegotiate it have been going on for the past six months. Last July, USWA President Lloyd McBride offered the companies a pact that included up to \$2 billion in concessions. But industry negotiators demanded a far-larger \$8 billion in givebacks, while local USWA presidents (who must approve any settlement) opposed any significant concessions. Consequently, McBride had no choice but to reject the companies' demands.

However, at the USWA convention in September, McBride won authorization to resume negotiations with the steel industry. On November 18, he and the union's executive board unanimously accepted a tentative contract that included a 10 percent wage cut, delay of COLA payments until 1983, and the exclusion of up to 50,000 "List 3" USWA members (those involved in non-steelmaking operations) from the settlement altogether.

McBride and the company negotiators clearly believed that the sharp rise in steelworker layoffs between July and September—unemployment in the industry jumped from 100,000 to 140,000 in this period—would force the local presidents to accept contract terms even harsher than the companies' July proposal. But McBride and the steel bosses were mistaken: On November 19, the local presidents rejected the tentative settlement by a decisive 231-141 margin.

Despite this initial resistance to concessions, steelworkers are headed for a rough battle when their contract expires in August 1983. There is ample evidence



Canadian Chrysler workers in Windsor, Ontario, walk out as strike begins on November 5.

that at least some steel industry leaders may be prepared to either lock the workers out or provoke a national strike in order to gain drastic concessions in the next contract—if not bust the union altogether. They have not only escalated their demands in national bargaining over the past several months, but also have begun to provoke the union at the local level by insisting on workrule changes and job category revisions, stepping up harassment and refusing to bargain seriously over grievances.

U.S. Steel, the largest domestic steel producer, is reportedly insisting that the industry as a whole maintain its hardline stance. Over the past few years, U.S. Steel has diversified into non-steel industries, while shutting down many of its steel mills. In sharp contrast to its steel operations, the company's non-steel acquisitions have been profitable; the earnings from these non-steel divisions cut U.S. Steel's third quarter losses to \$82.4 million, despite losses of \$290 million in the company's steel division.

In essence, U.S. Steel is using its diversification policy as a means to blackmail steelworkers into accepting concessions by threatening to get out of the steel business altogether. It is in a strong position to provoke a strike to gain concessions because it no longer depends on steel production for the majority of its profits.

On the other hand, smaller steel companies, such as National, Republic and Bethlehem, may not want to pursue such a hardline approach. These companies, which have not diversified, have been particularly hard hit by the current depression in the industry. National and Republic, for example, had to borrow over \$200 million in 1982 to stay in business. Although these companies also want concessions from the USWA, a prolonged steel strike could drive them into bankruptcy.

Moreover, the steel companies are under heavy pressure from the auto industry and other steel users to make a deal with the union well before the contract deadline. Major steel consumers are warning that they will start buying from foreign producers in order to ensure a reliable steel supply if there is no contract settlement within the next two or three months. This move could

wreck the smaller steel companies, even if no steel strike occurs. As a result, the smaller steel companies may break away from U.S. Steel before the contract expires and try to negotiate their own deals with the USWA.

## Tough struggles ahead for industrial workers

While the precise situation in each industry varies, on the whole workers in basic industries and unions are not in a strong position today. Millions of their co-workers are unemployed. Nearly half a million autoworkers, steelworkers and miners, for example, are out of work. Those who still have jobs will have a tough enough struggle merely keeping them and trying to maintain their living standards, let alone reversing the defeats of the past few years.

But perhaps the biggest problem facing the workers in basic industry is the fact that their unions are tightly controlled by reactionary officials who have no intention of fighting for their members' needs. They continue to cram concessions down the workers' throats in the hope that giving in to management's takeaway demands is the way to restore the health of industry and protect jobs. And rather than preparing for future battles with the companies, they are doing everything they can to head off any such struggles.

Beyond this, the union officials have been pursuing a political strategy that can only result in catastrophe for the workers. They are, first of all, actively promoting a policy of protectionism, that is, raising barriers to the importation of goods made in foreign countries, as a way to save jobs in the U.S. USWA President McBride fully supports industry efforts to place strict limits on steel imports. UAW President Fraser is pushing for a "local content" bill in Congress that would require as many as 70 percent of all cars sold in the U.S. to be either built in this country or made with U.S. parts and labor. And UMW President Trumka has promised to lobby Congress for synfuel funds—his answer to supposed U.S. dependence on

"foreign oil."

Protectionism is a deadly trap for workers in the U.S. and around the world. Protectionism will neither protect jobs today nor create new jobs in the future. Even in the short run, increasing the barriers to imports will not necessarily lead domestic manufacturers to increase their production. They may instead simply raise the prices of their products in order to increase the profit margins on the same volume of production.

But the real problem with protectionism is that it will provoke other countries to raise their trade barriers to imports in the hope of preserving the domestic markets for their industries. The result will most likely be an international trade war as each country tries to protect itself at the expense of everybody else. Such a trade war, which is clearly on the horizon already, will have disastrous consequences, strangling global trade and plunging the entire world into a devastating depression. This will not, needless to say, save jobs.

Beyond backing protectionist schemes, the trade union officials are continuing their policy of tying the unions to the Democratic Party and hoping that if the Democrats regain control of Congress and perhaps the presidency, they will give the workers a better deal. But the economic crisis that is destroying basic industry and ravaging the economy as a whole is not caused by the Republicans. Nor do the Democrats have any solutions. Their basic plan is the same as the Republicans, which is to force down the wages and living standards of the workers and other oppressed people to try to increase profit rates and create a "favorable investment climate."

Supporting Democratic candidates and channeling much needed union resources into the Democratic Party will not help the workers one bit. It may, on the contrary, weaken their organizations and further confuse people over the nature of their enemy and the strategy that offers an effective way to fight back.

Although it is impossible to predict, the recent events in the auto, mining and steel unions may represent the beginning of a new wave of struggle among workers in basic industry. Under current conditions, any strikes that do erupt in basic industry are likely to be long, bitter and militant. Even comparatively small struggles, such as this fall's strike at Iowa Beef, have been accompanied by mass pickets and clashes with police and scabs. Similar conflicts, involving not hundreds but thousands of workers, could break out in the event of a major industrial walkout.

Moreover, the concentration of industrial workers at the core of the economy and their organizational strength gives them the economic and political clout to spark an upsurge throughout U.S. society. Militant strikes in basic industry and the revival of the labor movement that such strikes might promote could provide a rallying point and organizational framework for all workers—organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed—looking for ways to fight back against the capitalist offensive. □

DISP

Is t

By ROD MILL

This is the sixth article currently taking place with Fourth International and on ground of the fight.

As we discussed last month, the 1951 Third World Congress outlook and program of the International, the decisions of the FI's opposition to Stalin (state-capitalist) regimes. A sive and even revolutionary that throughout Eastern Europe the Russian army, had established the Fourth International's cap total, however. The International Russia and the countries of tically "degenerated" or "d that "political revolutions" workers' states to overthrow to establish direct, democ soviets, factory committees.

The International's revision constant pressure to capitulate liquidate into their organization other non-Trotskyist tendencies (something the Trotskyists not merge with them? Why skyist movement at all?

Indeed a liquidationist almost immediately following month, the Secretary of the International stated in a 1951 Congress r various social-democratic) favorable conditions," ca tionary orientation." After this argument to its logical the entire International su This course was resisted by a U.S., British and French se in 1953 and the formation c represent the worldwide Tr national Committee," init sections, and the "Internati

The 1953 split was fo faction fights, splits, reor. From the vantage point of a significant event in this sub: cation in 1963 of the Int: International Secretariat.

The International Secret full-scale liquidation th for. Though it had entered parties in various countries: international body. By about policies had not proved vi groups forming the Internat win much support from otf willing to reunify with the allowed them to follow the their own respective countr joined in what is today kno the Fourth International (U reunified International was

The 1963 reunification explicit agreement not to disc 1953 split. Instead, the two respective positions on certai held a common view of Stali

## DISPUTE IN UNITED SECRETARIAT REVEALS CRISIS

### OF TROTSKYIST THEORY — Part Six

# Is the Socialist Workers Party Abandoning Trotskyism?

By ROD MILLER and RON TABER

This is the sixth article in our series on the faction fight currently taking place within the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and on the theoretical/historical background of the fight.



As we discussed last month, the Fourth International's 1951 Third World Congress marked a significant shift in the outlook and program of the Trotskyist movement. In particular, the decisions of the Congress considerably softened the FI's opposition to Stalinism and to the various Stalinist (state-capitalist) regimes. Ascribing to Stalinism a progressive and even revolutionary role, the Congress concluded that throughout Eastern Europe Stalinist parties, backed by the Russian army, had established "workers' states." The Fourth International's capitulation to Stalinism was not total, however. The International continued to describe Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe as bureaucratically "degenerated" or "deformed." It continued to argue that "political revolutions" were needed in the so-called workers' states to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies and to establish direct, democratic workers' rule based on soviets, factory committees, etc.

The International's revised view of Stalinism led to a constant pressure to capitulate to Stalinist forces and to liquidate into their organizations. For if various Stalinist and other non-Trotskyist tendencies could create workers' states (something the Trotskyists had never accomplished), why not merge with them? Why maintain an independent Trotskyist movement at all?

Indeed a liquidationist current emerged within the FI almost immediately following the Congress. As we saw last month, the Secretary of the International, Michel Pablo, had stated in a 1951 Congress resolution that the Stalinist (and various social-democratic) parties were, "under certain favorable conditions," capable of "outlining a revolutionary orientation." After the Congress, Pablo carried this argument to its logical conclusion and proposed that the entire International support and enter such parties. This course was resisted by a minority of the FI, including its U.S., British and French sections, resulting in a major split in 1953 and the formation of two organizations claiming to represent the worldwide Trotskyist movement: the "International Committee," initiated by the three dissenting sections, and the "International Secretariat," led by Pablo.

The 1953 split was followed by an endless series of faction fights, splits, reorganizations and regroupments. From the vantage point of our present discussion, the most significant event in this subsequent history was the reunification in 1963 of the International Committee and the International Secretariat.

The International Secretariat had not in fact carried out the full-scale liquidation that Pablo's resolutions had called for. Though it had entered Stalinist and social-democratic parties in various countries, it continued to exist as an international body. By about 1960, it was clear that Pablo's policies had not proved viable. On the other hand, the groups forming the International Committee had failed to win much support from other Trotskyist parties and were willing to reunify with the International Secretariat if it allowed them to follow their own distinct political lines in their own respective countries. In 1963, the two factions joined in what is today known as the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (Usec). The main leader of the reunified International was Ernest Mandel.

The 1963 reunification was based on a more or less explicit agreement not to discuss the issues that had led to the 1953 split. Instead, the two factions maintained that their respective positions on certain events indicated that they now held a common view of Stalinism. In particular, both wings

From left,  
Nicaraguan  
leader Daniel  
Ortega, Grenadan  
Prime Minister Maurice  
Bishop  
and Cuban  
Premier Fidel  
Castro.



shared the belief that the 1959 Cuban revolution had established a "workers' state" in Cuba. However, because this agreement failed to address either the Trotskyist movement's contradictory attitude toward Stalinism or the continuing differences between the factions, the Usec has been in a state of near-permanent warfare ever since. By the early 1970s, for example, the Usec had split into two permanent factions, each sponsoring its own sections in various countries. One of these factions, led by Ernest Mandel, championed uncritically the "guerrillaist" strategy primarily associated with Castro, Che Guevara and the Cuban revolution as a whole. The other faction, led by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, argued against the guerrilla strategy, counterposing to it an essentially reformist, electoral approach.

Today, Mandel and the SWP leadership are once again at each other's throats—although they appear to have exchanged the positions they occupied during previous fights. But, as we shall see, the underlying dispute remains the same: What attitude should the Trotskyist movement take toward petty bourgeois and Stalinist forces and the regimes they have established?

### DIFFERENCES OVER NICARAGUA

The current faction fight began to heat up in 1979 under the impact of the wave of revolutionary struggles in Central America, particularly the uprising that overthrew Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle and brought the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to power. The leadership of the SWP immediately termed the new government in Nicaragua (as well as that in Grenada, where Maurice Bishop and his New Jewel Movement had toppled Eric Gairy in 1979) a "workers' and farmers' government," that was "on the road to socialism." In contrast, a section of the Usec, led by Nahuel Moreno of Argentina and comprising the overwhelming majority of the Usec's Latin American cadres, believed that the Sandinistas, through their alliance with the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, were betraying the revolution.

At precisely the time that the SWP leadership was hailing the FSLN, Moreno's supporters in Nicaragua, known as the Simón Bolívar Brigade, were attempting to

organize the workers against the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and against what the Morenoites considered the class-collaborationist policies of the Sandinistas. Things immediately came to a head when, in August of 1979, the Brigade organized a demonstration of 3,000 workers to demand back pay owed by their employers. Terming the action an "unauthorized workers' demonstration," the FSLN government jailed the Nicaraguan members of the Brigade and expelled its non-Nicaraguan members from the country. The SWP leadership did not hesitate to make clear where it stood: It publicly defended the repression of its Latin American comrades, even joining with the Sandinistas in denouncing them as "adventurers" and "ultraleft sectarians." (On the other hand, the SWP leadership made no comment on the fact that the Sandinistas' denunciation of the Simón Bolívar Brigade included a statement by FSLN leader Victor Torado that "the Trotskyist current has been eliminated historically.")

Mandel's faction of the Usec responded to these events by trying to mediate between the Morenoites and the SWP. Mandel supported the actions taken against the Brigade by the FSLN government, but he tempered this by raising certain criticisms of the way in which the FSLN had handled the situation. Moreno soon left the Usec, taking with him between one-quarter and one-third of the organization's entire membership, including the great bulk of its Latin American supporters.

Although Mandel was content not to press his differences with other tendencies in the Usec, the same cannot be said of the Barnes leadership of the SWP. Abandoning the Usec's traditional position that Cuba was not a fully healthy workers' state (the SWP itself had described Cuba as a "workers' state with bureaucratic deformations" as recently as its 1979 convention), the Barnes leadership began to hail Fidel Castro and the Cuban Communist Party as a fully revolutionary proletarian leadership—as good or better than the Bolsheviks.

In line with this, Barnes proposed that the Usec try to link up with the Cuban CP, the FSLN and the New Jewel Movement, in a single international organization, a proposal that essentially meant abandoning the Usec's decades-long effort to build a distinctly Trotskyist international party. Barnes described his goal as the formation of a new "mass Leninist International."

On one level, Barnes' call for a "mass Leninist international" is simply the latest in a long line of proposals to

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

liquidate the Fourth International as an independent organization. However, in our estimation, Barnes' intentions go further than this: We believe he is laying the groundwork within the SWP/USec for the political abandonment of Trotskyism.

The reasons why Barnes is prepared to break with Trotskyism are not hard to see. For starters, the label "Trotskyist" is a political liability to Barnes' current perspectives. Castro, Bishop and the Sandinistas are not only not Trotskyist, they are implacably hostile to Trotskyism. Moreover, they are financially and militarily dependent on the Russian state capitalists (Cuba, for example, receives about \$10 million in aid from Russia every day). Needless to say, the bureaucrats in the Kremlin—who are even more implacably anti-Trotskyist—would not look kindly on the Cuban Communist Party (or the New Jewel Movement or FSLN) linking up with an organization that called itself Trotskyist.

Secondly, we believe the SWP leadership increasingly finds that it doesn't agree with the political content of Trotskyism, specifically its anti-Stalinist component. Trotsky considered the Stalinist bureaucracy to be counter-revolutionary and called for an armed political revolution to overthrow it. He also called for the establishment of direct workers' rule based on soviets and other mass democratic institutions and full political rights, including the right to strike and form multiple political parties. In contrast, today's leaders of the SWP are, at best, reformist critics of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Russia, Eastern Europe and China—and outright supporters of the milder state-capitalist regimes in Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua. They have no intention of calling for a revolution, for soviets, for the right to form political parties, or even for the right to strike in these countries. Consequently, the SWP leadership is in fact trying to bring their organization's formal politics in line with their actual politics. In so doing, they would largely resolve the contradictory attitude toward Stalinism that has confounded the Trotskyist movement for years.

But Barnes and the rest of the SWP leadership have a problem in trying to get an organization that has long defined itself as Trotskyist—indeed considered itself to be the organizational continuity of Trotskyism—to give up its heritage. Therefore, rather than explicitly proposing to abandon all of Trotskyism, Barnes is instead going after one piece of the Trotskyist program. Once this is accomplished, the stage will be set for getting rid of Trotskyism altogether.

Barnes' initial goal is to convince the SWP (and as much of the USec as possible) to repudiate the theory of Permanent Revolution and embrace in its place the theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. In our view, Barnes has good reasons for choosing this approach. First, the theory of Permanent Revolution is closely identified with Trotsky and Trotskyism. Any organization that repudiates the theory will have gone a long way toward rejecting Trotskyism, both publicly and in the minds of its own members.

Second, the Permanent Revolution is one of the key questions on which Trotsky differed with Lenin. (The other was Trotsky's opposition to Lenin's conception of a democratic centralist party, which the Trotskyist movement has always admitted was wrong.) The fact that Lenin polemicized against the theory of Permanent Revolution enables the SWP leadership to use Lenin as a club against Trotsky, an effective way to shore up a case that has trouble standing on its own merits. It also enables them to downgrade Trotsky's independent contributions to revolutionary Marxism and thus to justify simply calling themselves Leninists, rather than "Trotskyists."

Most importantly, however, the theory of Permanent Revolution is the major programmatic and theoretical underpinning of Trotskyism. If the SWP leadership can junk the Permanent Revolution it will have called into question a considerable portion of the entire Trotskyist outlook, particularly its anti-Stalinism. The theory of Permanent Revolution was central to Trotsky's political struggle and program in the entire period following Lenin's death in 1924 until Trotsky's murder in 1940. For example, Trotsky's opposition to Stalin's "Socialism in One Country" was based on his conviction that the Russian workers' state could not survive unless successful workers' revolutions occurred elsewhere—a key notion of the Permanent Revolution. Trotsky's critique of and opposition to Stalin's strategy in China was also based on this theory. Trotsky argued, first, that a successful socialist revolution in China was necessary to defend the revolutionary regime in Russia; and second, that the Chinese workers' and peasants' struggles would end in defeat unless the workers led the peasants in opposition to both the Chinese landlord and capitalist classes and established their own rule. In both aspects, this strategy was counterposed to Stalin's strategy (argued in the name of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry") of subordinating the workers and peasants to a supposedly progressive section of the bourgeoisie, a course that led to defeat—and the deaths of tens of thousands of Chinese workers.

Trotsky's opposition to Stalin's policy in Spain was

similarly grounded in the Permanent Revolution. There, as in China, Stalin wanted the workers and peasants to limit their struggles and to support a supposedly progressive section of the Spanish bourgeoisie in a "People's Front against Fascism." Trotsky contended that if the workers and peasants followed this policy and failed to carry out a revolution against the landlords and the capitalists, the struggle against fascism would be lost.

Finally, the Permanent Revolution was central to Trotsky's insistence on the need for an international revolutionary party. His goal was a series of socialist revolutions in which the workers led the peasants in the overthrow of all exploiting classes and established governments based on their own direct rule. Trotsky believed that an international revolutionary party—not Stalinist, social-democratic, or middle class nationalist parties—was needed to carry out such revolutions.

We think Trotsky was essentially right on all these questions. But the important point we wish to make is this: Whether Trotsky was right or wrong, the entirety of his political career after Lenin's death was based on the theory of the Permanent Revolution. One cannot reject the theory and not also, at the least, call into question Trotsky's post-1924 program and strategy. In other words, if the Barnes leadership can convince the SWP/USec to give up the theory of the Permanent Revolution, a break with Trotsky's post-1924 heritage may not be far behind.

## SWP DISTORTS LENIN'S THEORY

The SWP leadership's case for rejecting the theory of Permanent Revolution and adopting in its place the theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry is argued publicly in an article entitled "Our Political Continuity with Bolshevism," by Doug Jenness, editor of the SWP newspaper, the *Militant*. (The article appeared in the April 1982 issue of *International Socialist Review—ISR*—monthly theoretical supplement to the *Militant*.)

Jenness contends that Lenin's theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship provided the Bolshevik Party with an entirely correct strategy for the 1917 Russian Revolution and that, in contrast, Trotsky's theory, where it differed with Lenin's formula, was fundamentally flawed.

"The historical record clearly shows that it was the strategy of Bolshevism [Jenness is specifically referring to the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry—Ed.] that was confirmed in the Russian revolution, and that became the programmatic basis of the Communist International. It was not a fusion of one part Bolshevism with one part Trotsky's pre-1917 centrism." (*ISR*, April 1982, p. 15.)

The "historical record" on this question is not what Jenness and the SWP leadership make it out to be, however. In fact, Jenness goes to considerable lengths to distort the two theories under discussion, the context in which they were debated at the time, and their impact on the Russian Revolution itself.

Our own presentation of Lenin and Trotsky's theories and their relative merits appeared in the first two parts of this series. Here, we would like to address some of the most glaring distortions in Jenness' presentation of Bolshevik history.

Jenness' dishonesty begins with his presentation of Lenin's theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. As we explained earlier in this series, Lenin put forward his theory in distinctly different ways at various times between 1903 and 1917. In its more radical version, Lenin argued that Russia's workers and peasants should overthrow the Tsar, carry out the bourgeois democratic revolution and then, as rapidly as possible, go beyond this stage and carry out a proletarian-led, socialist revolution.

"... from the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our own strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop halfway." ("Social Democracy's Attitude Toward the Peasant Movement," 1905, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 236-237.)

This radical version of Lenin's theory is the one Jenness uses to make his case, but it is not, however, the one that Lenin himself advanced most frequently prior to 1917. For most of the period beginning with his entry into political life in the 1890s until 1917, Lenin believed that the coming Russian revolution would be and could only be bourgeois democratic, that it would not and could not achieve more than the establishment of a democratic (bourgeois) republic.

In his major work of the 1905 period, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Lenin says: "Marxists are absolutely convinced of the bourgeois character of the Russian revolution. What does this mean? It

means that the democratic reforms in the political system and the social and economic reforms that have become a necessity for Russia, do not themselves imply the undermining of capitalism, the undermining of bourgeois rule; on the contrary, they will, for the first time, really clear the ground for a wide and rapid, European, and not Asiatic, development of capitalism; they will, for the first time, make it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule as a class."

He even adds: "From these principles it follows that the ideas of seeking salvation for the working class in anything save the further development of capitalism is reactionary." (*Two Tactics*, p. 35.)

In the moderate variant of his theory, Lenin insisted that only a period of capitalist development under "the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class" could create the conditions for a working class socialist revolution in Russia at some, indeterminate, point in the future. Moreover, this was not only Lenin's most frequently expressed view, it was the view of virtually the entire Marxist movement of the time, in Russia and elsewhere. Social Democratic "orthodoxy" contended that each and every country would have to go through more or less preordained stages of social development. For Russia, which was considered semi-feudal, this meant that the "next stage" was the unfettered development of capitalism, something that could only be brought about by a bourgeois democratic revolution. Only after modern industry and an industrial proletariat developed sufficiently would a socialist revolution be on the agenda. (In contrast, it was the anarchists and the populists who put forward the view that Russia could "leap over" capitalism into one or another form of socialism—and they were roundly denounced by the Marxists, including Lenin, for doing so.)

Where Lenin differed from other Marxists (particularly the Mensheviks, but not Trotsky) was in his belief that the Russian bourgeoisie would prove too weak and timid, too tied to Tsarism and too afraid of the Russian workers and peasants to lead the bourgeois democratic revolution. Drawing on his own, concrete analysis of Russian conditions, Lenin advanced the view that the only consistently revolutionary classes in Russia were the workers and peasants, and they, therefore, would have to carry out the bourgeois democratic revolution without and even against the bourgeoisie.

This was overwhelmingly how Lenin's slogan of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship was advocated and defended during the 1905 to 1917 period. What Lenin had done was to cram his recognition of the counter-revolutionary role of the Russian bourgeoisie into the orthodox Social Democratic framework of the time—without carefully working out the contradiction between his views and this framework. Only during relatively brief intervals (significantly, during and immediately after the 1905 revolution—and in 1917, but that is getting ahead of our discussion), did Lenin suggest that, under certain conditions (primarily, the prior success of socialist revolutions in one or more countries of Western Europe), the Russian revolution might pass immediately from its bourgeois democratic stage to a proletarian socialist stage. It was Trotsky, in formulating his theory of Permanent Revolution, who decisively broke apart the rigid Social Democratic framework, returning to the more dialectical notions of Marx.

The leadership of the SWP chooses to ignore all this. As Jenness would have it, Lenin's theory never meant carrying out a revolution limited to a bourgeois democratic stage; it never meant allowing the bourgeoisie to take power; and it never meant an indefinite period of capitalist development in Russia following the revolution. Jenness writes:

"Contrary to Mandel... Lenin's recognition of the ABCs of the laws of development of human history did not mean that he either proposed or expected a 'prolonged' stage of rule by the bourgeoisie, or that the Bolsheviks were proved wrong on this score in 1917." (*ISR*, p. 4.)

Why, then, were the demands for a Constituent Assembly and a (bourgeois) democratic republic principal demands of the Bolsheviks? And why did Lenin write that the bourgeois democratic reforms to be carried out during the bourgeois democratic revolution "will, for the first time, make it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule as a class"? Jenness does not deign to even mention, much less explain, this.

## CRISIS IN BOLSHEVIK PARTY

Having ignored the moderate variant of Lenin's theory, Jenness has little choice but to pretend that the April crisis in the Bolshevik Party was simply a minor, insignificant episode.

As we saw in part two of this series, the Bolshevik Party was seriously disoriented in the immediate aftermath of the February Revolution that had overthrown the Tsar and established the bourgeois Provisional Government. Prior to Lenin's return to Russia from his exile in Europe, the party had taken a vacillating and conciliatory attitude toward the

Provisional Government, the policies of the Bolshevik contrast to the opportunist and other leaders of the Provisional Government, and replacing it with a revolution and peasants, based on the organizations thrown up during

Lenin's strategy met with from sections of the Bolshevik ship. For many of the Bolshevik radical departure from what strategic ideas of the party; over to the anarchists" precisely going beyond the bourgeois

Lenin's new policies, such as "April Theses," were published in *Pravda* on April 7 under the title "The Party in Our Revolution." This editorial note, written by Lenin, represented only Lenin's "policy" added:

"In so far as concerns Lenin's policy, it is unacceptable, since it is the bourgeois revolution is immediate transformation of revolution." (Cited in E.H. Carr, *Vol. 1*, p. 91.)

The reason for this reaction was frequently described by E.H. Carr and scrupulously honest, his reaction (whom, we might note, J. P. Davies)

"Sympathy may be felt for the Bolsheviks, but it is not a consistent Bolshevik policy. The March days of 1917. Nobody would have expected the Russian revolution was not a bourgeois revolution. This framework of doctrine into which Lenin's theory was difficult to discover with reason to reject out of hand which was indubitably bourgeois power to the Soviets, which or—at least of all—to denounce peace and preach civil war which could not be squared. It was Lenin's astonished followers, to see the Bolshevik Revolution, V. I. Lenin

Lenin was forced to wage a party, particularly its leadership nearly three weeks—in the mid-1917 Bolsheviks had long prepared leader of the Bolshevik Party perspective, and even then his moderates won some concessional formal resolutions of the April out of nine seats on the Central Committee. Jenness downplays the matter. He denies that any significant was astonished at Lenin's strategy. He denies that Lenin had to wage war to win the party to his approach; constituted a major turning point in Bolshevik Party.

Jenness writes: "It is true that many attempting to apply the positions did not see the unfolding as clearly as Lenin. They were offered when he returned, however, of their absorption of the Bolshevik helped clarify and give leadership already taking place in the case, there is no way that the won a majority in the party Lenin's return."

He then adds: "The party hammered out and tested by decades, prepared the majority correctly to the events of 1917"

Jenness maintains that Lenin only for a short period of time of the party. But these were figures or new recruits to the were members of the top level Party, Lenin's oldest comrade with him for many years to 1917

Why did these people oppose? Why did they accuse him of abandoning the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the peasantry?

And why did Lenin reply "The person who now speaks of democratic dictatorship of the party is behind the times, consequently

isms in the political system forms that have become a self-imply the undermining of bourgeois rule; on the time, really clear the ground, and not Asiatic, develop for the first time, make it rule as a class." principles it follows that the working class in anything capitalism is reactionary."

his theory, Lenin insisted development under "the rule should create the conditions for on in Russia at some, indeed, moreover, this was not only view, it was the view of ment of the time, in Russia ic "orthodoxy" contended ld have to go through more al development. For Russia, ul, this meant that the "next evelopment of capitalism, ough about by a bourgeois er modern industry and a ufficiently would a socialist (In contrast, it was the put forward the view that alism into one or another e roundly denounced by the doing so.)

other Marxists (particularly y) was in his belief that the e too weak and timid, too of the Russian workers and emocratic revolution. Draw- ysis of Russian conditions, he only consistently revolu- e workers and peasants, and o carry out the bourgeois and even against the bour-

how Lenin's slogan of the orship was advocated and 17 period. What Lenin had n of the counter-revolution- isie into the orthodox Social e time—without carefully between his views and this vely brief intervals (signifi- after the 1905 revolution— ead of our discussion), did n conditions (primarily, the ons in one or more countries n revolution might pass im- ocratic stage to a proletar- y, in formulating his theory e decisively broke apart the work, returning to the more

chooses to ignore all this. As eory never meant carrying urgeois democratic stage; it eoisie to take power; and it of capitalist development in . Jenness writes:

Lenin's recognition of the t of human history did not epected a 'prolonged' stage that the Bolsheviks were 1917." (ISR, p. 4.)

ands for a Constituent As- ocratic republic principal d why did Lenin write that ns to be carried out during ion "will, for the first time, eoisie to rule as a class"? mention, much less explain,

## K PARTY

re variant of Lenin's theory, etend that the April crisis in ly a minor, insignificant

s series, the Bolshevik Party immediate aftermath of the verthrown the Tsar and es- onal Government. Prior to is exile in Europe, the party ciliatory attitude toward the

Provisional Government, the war, and the Mensheviks. When Lenin arrived in Petrograd on April 3, he denounced the policies of the Bolshevik leaders in Russia. In sharp contrast to the opportunist line taken by Kamenev, Stalin and other leaders of the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee, Lenin advocated a strategy of working to expose the Provisional Government, with the goal of overthrowing it and replacing it with a revolutionary government of workers and peasants, based on the soviets, the mass, democratic organizations thrown up during the February upheaval.

Lenin's strategy met with opposition, even amazement, from sections of the Bolshevik Party, particularly its leadership. For many of the Bolsheviks, Lenin's approach was a radical departure from what they saw as the traditional strategic ideas of the party; he was even accused of "going over to the anarchists" precisely because he now advocated going beyond the bourgeois democratic revolution.

Lenin's new policies, summarized in his now-famous "April Theses," were published in the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* on April 7 under the title "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution." The next day, *Pravda* carried an editorial note, written by Kamenev, stating that the theses represented only Lenin's "personal opinion." The editorial added:

"In so far as concerns Lenin's general scheme it appears to us unacceptable, since it starts with the assumption that the bourgeois revolution is finished and counts on the immediate transformation of this revolution into a socialist revolution." (Cited in E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 91.)

The reason for this reaction to Lenin's theses was eloquently described by E.H. Carr, the author of a mammoth, and scrupulously honest, history of the Bolshevik Revolution (whom, we might note, Jenness frequently cites on other topics).

"Sympathy may be felt with those who sought to hammer out a consistent Bolshevik policy in Petrograd in the March days of 1917. Nobody had yet contested the view that the Russian revolution was not, and could not be, other than a bourgeois revolution. This was the solid and accepted framework of doctrine into which policy had to fit. Yet it was difficult to discover within this framework any cogent reason to reject out of hand the Provisional Government, which was indubitably bourgeois, or to demand a transfer of power to the Soviets, which were essentially proletarian, or—at least of all—to denounce the quest for a 'democratic' peace and preach civil war and national defeat. The circle could not be squared. It was left to Lenin, before the eyes of his astonished followers, to smash the framework." (Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. 1, p. 88.)

Lenin was forced to wage a firm struggle to win the party, particularly its leadership, to his point of view. It took nearly three weeks—in the midst of a revolutionary crisis the Bolsheviks had long prepared for—for the unchallenged leader of the Bolshevik Party to win it to the new perspective, and even then his victory was not complete. The moderates won some concessions in the formulations in the formal resolutions of the April Conference, as well as five out of nine seats on the Central Committee.

Jenness downplays the nature and extent of this crisis. He denies that any significant section of the Bolshevik Party was astonished at Lenin's strategy, let alone resisted it; he denies that Lenin had to wage a serious political struggle to win the party to his approach; and he denies that any of this constituted a major turning point in the history of the Bolshevik Party.

Jenness writes:

"It is true that many of the Bolsheviks who were attempting to apply the party's revolutionary Marxist positions did not see the unfolding events and way forward as clearly as Lenin. They were open to the explanations he offered when he returned, however, because of, not in spite of, their absorption of the Bolshevik strategy. Lenin had helped clarify and give leadership to a struggle that was already taking place inside the party. If this had not been the case, there is no way that the proletarian wing could have won a majority in the party in the first three weeks after Lenin's return."

He then adds: "The program of the Bolsheviks, hammered out and tested by experience for nearly two decades, prepared the majority of the party to orient itself correctly to the events of 1917." (ISR, p. 9.)

Jenness maintains that Lenin was opposed, and at that only for a short period of time, by a tiny handful of leaders of the party. But these were not just minor uninfluential figures or new recruits to the party; on the contrary, they were members of the top level leadership of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin's oldest comrades-in-arms who had struggled with him for many years to build the Bolshevik Party.

Why did these people oppose Lenin's policies? Why did they accuse him of abandoning the theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry?

And why did Lenin reply:

"The person who now speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect gone over

to the petty-bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques (it may be called the archive of 'old Bolsheviks')." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 44.)

We suggest that Lenin was not simply rallying the Bolshevik Party around its commonly understood strategy, but winning it to a policy that much of the Bolshevik leadership saw as new. This should indicate—at the very least—that the old formula, because of its ambiguous character, did not well-prepare the party for its tasks in 1917.

## STALINIST SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION

An additional distortion in the Jenness article that we would like to take up is one of omission, rather than commission. Nowhere in the many pages Jenness devotes to his discussion of Lenin's and Trotsky's theories does he mention their post-1917 history: specifically that Stalin turned Lenin's theory upside down and used it against Trotsky, while Trotsky based himself on the Permanent Revolution in his struggle to defend Lenin's policies of consistent class struggle and proletarian internationalism against Stalin.

Jenness' failure to mention any of this is not an accident. First, he is not ignorant of it; it is well-known to the SWP leadership and has long been an important part of the Trotskyist movement's political understanding. Second, in a serious discussion of Lenin's and Trotsky's theories it is not insignificant that Lenin's theory became associated with Stalinism and that Stalin used it to justify a policy which was the very opposite of what Lenin advocated—that is, Stalin interpreted the theory to mean the workers and peasants should subordinate themselves to the bourgeoisie rather than fight it. Apparently Jenness did not want to inform (or remind) his readers that Lenin's theory, suitably mangled, became the key theory of Stalinism. Nor did he want his readers to ask themselves just what it was in Lenin's theory that lent itself to Stalin's abuse. Had he discussed this question he would have seriously undermined his case that the theory provided clear and precise revolutionary guidance and was far superior to Trotsky's.

Finally, we would like to note Jenness' charge that Trotsky "underestimated the peasantry" in his perspective for the Russian Revolution (and, by implication, in his strategy for similar countries). This charge, as we saw in part two of this series, is not true; Trotsky's predictions about the role of the peasants in the revolution proved to be at least as accurate as Lenin's, if not more so. But the real significance

The leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, whatever they may write today, have not always been uncritical of Lenin's theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Nor have they been ignorant of Stalin's subsequent distortions of it. In a 1969 introduction to the SWP's Pathfinder Press edition of Trotsky's 1930 work *The Permanent Revolution*, Peter Camejo (who, significantly, is no longer in the SWP) wrote:

"The inherent vagueness of Lenin's prescription, what Trotsky called its 'algebraic character,' had an advantage for the bureaucratic backsliders from Bolshevism. It enabled them to misuse selected quotations wrenched out of context from Lenin's writings on the bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution to justify open support to the bourgeoisie in colonial countries. Under the false cover of loyalty to Leninism, the Stalinist upholders of the line of socialism in one country began to give a Menshevik coloration and content to their policy by subordinating the struggles of the worker-peasant masses to the bourgeoisie." (Peter Camejo, 1969 Introduction to *The Permanent Revolution*, Pathfinder Press, 1976 edition, p. 21.)

Why does the SWP fail to mention this?

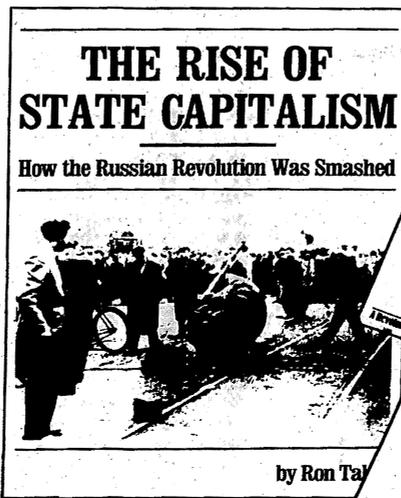
of what Jenness says is not just that it is wrong; the charge of "underestimating the peasantry" has long been one of the main Stalinist slanders of Trotsky.

All these distortions in the SWP leadership's case for rejecting the theory of Permanent Revolution (along with quite a few that we haven't taken up) reveal that there is far more going on in the USec faction fight than an honest and comradely debate over the relative merits of two theories. As we have tried to show, the SWP leaders are not merely proposing to reject the theory of Permanent Revolution and adopt the theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. In our view, they are setting the stage for abandoning Trotskyism altogether and redefining the SWP/USec as "Leninist." If they are successful, we suspect that the SWP/USec's "Leninism" will have a lot more in common with Stalinism than the SWP leaders would care to admit.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## RSL PUBLICATIONS:

SPECIAL OFFER: Parts one through six of our "Crisis of Trotskyist Theory" series, plus 3-month introductory subscription to the *Torch/La Antorcha* (including the remainder of the series), \$1.00



Pamphlets, \$1.00 each



Buttons,  
\$1.00 each,  
3 for \$2.00

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



# WHAT WE STAND FOR

## Program in Brief of the Revolutionary Socialist League

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Where to find us:

**RSL NATIONAL OFFICE**  
PO Box 1288  
New York, NY 10116  
(212) 695-6802

**BOSTON**  
PO Box 114  
Boston, MA 02166

**CHICAGO**  
PO Box 6022  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 334-5335

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

**DETROIT**  
PO Box 8373  
Detroit, MI 48213  
(313) 921-8398

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

**NEW ORLEANS**  
PO Box 70831  
New Orleans, LA 70172

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

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

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

## Subscribe to the TORCH

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

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Send this blank and check to: TORCH, PO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116 94

(Continued from  
organizing atten  
we must reach  
working and op  
Klan is, why it  
must be stoppe

If it is to org  
the Klan, the an  
to be a part o  
working and op  
of people of di  
ties, sexes and  
being attacked  
rate bosses an  
must try to uni

.....

Op

For the inform  
readers, we are  
a slightly edited  
the Rome Office  
People's Libe  
(EPLF).

From 1977 on  
Soviet Union ha  
weight interventi  
of the Ethiopian  
the just struggle  
people, the war  
gressively escalat  
ing alarming pr  
situation in the  
in general has an  
compounded.

In the last f  
Addis Ababa r  
leashed six large-  
abetted by Sovi  
perts and the ur  
ply of modern v  
recent (dubbed '  
and largest-to-  
launched in 198  
40,000 Ethiopis  
majority of who  
conscripted fo  
wretched childre  
—have been pu  
being killed, we  
tured. Deserters  
countries and the  
alleged dissensio  
few either. On t  
in addition to the  
fering and  
wrought on the I  
population thrc  
executions, arl  
tions, ruthless  
and wanton dest  
property, the pri  
EPLF to thwar  
offensives has n  
siderable.

As a result of  
policy executed i  
tle of the Addis  
and under the t  
Soviet Union,  
people have bee  
acute impoveris  
plummeting ec  
tion, deterioratin  
ity, forcible con

## RSL Leaflet

(Continued from page 5)

organizing attempts. Most important, we must reach out and explain to all working and oppressed people what the Klan is, why it is growing, and why it must be stopped.

If it is to organize effectively against the Klan, the anti-Klan movement needs to be a part of a movement of all working and oppressed people. Millions of people of different races, nationalities, sexes and sexual orientations are being attacked by the Klan, the corporate bosses and the government. We must try to unite all these people into

one militant movement, directing our attention not only to fighting the Klan but also to fighting for the needs of all. In doing this, we should remain independent of the system, resisting the attempts of the Democrats and Republicans—who are fundamentally loyal defenders of the system—from taking it over.

But most of all, if we recognize that the system is the cause of the rise of the Klan, we must fight to overthrow it. If oppression, racist terror, economic crisis and war are inherent in the capitalist system, the only solution can be to get rid of it.

**GETTING rid of capitalism means a revolution.** A revolution means replacing capitalism with something else, and we in the Revolutionary Socialist League

believe the answer is socialism.

To us, socialism means a society where the vast majority of working and oppressed people actually run society—from the government and economy to workplaces and communities, and where people are free to control their own lives.

To us, socialism means a society where there is no elite group, no ruling class beyond working and oppressed people themselves. The "socialism" of countries like Russia, China or Cuba is not what we want. We believe those countries are not socialist at all, but **state capitalism**, where instead of private corporations and politicians running society, society functions like one giant corporation, with a party bureaucracy

controlling everything directly through control of the state. Not only are the regimes of these countries politically repressive, their economies are by no means immune to the world crisis. Russia and all the countries of Eastern Europe, for example, are in serious trouble and owe billions of dollars to Western banks. Not only do the state-capitalist systems continue the oppression of workers, women, gay people and others, they simply don't work: They are no answer.

**THE answer to human oppression—bred by capitalism and strengthened by forces like the Klan—is human liberation.** For us, the road to human liberation is socialism. And to get that, we must start to fight now. □

# Eritrea: Struggle Against Oppression and Injustice Continues

For the information of our readers, we are reprinting below a slightly edited statement from the Rome Office of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

From 1977 onwards, since the Soviet Union has thrown its full weight intervening on the side of the Ethiopian regime to crush the just struggle of the Eritrean people, the war has been progressively escalating and assuming alarming proportions. The situation in the Horn of Africa in general has analogously been compounded.

In the last five years, the Addis Ababa regime has unleashed six large-scale offensives abetted by Soviet military experts and the unrestrained supply of modern weapons. In the recent (dubbed "final") longest and largest-to-date offensive launched in 1982 alone, around 40,000 Ethiopian troops—the majority of whom were forcibly conscripted forsaking their wretched children and families—have been put out of action being killed, wounded or captured. Deserters to neighboring countries and those executed for alleged dissension have not been few either. On the other hand, in addition to the enormous suffering and displacement wrought on the Eritrean civilian population through summary executions, arbitrary detentions, ruthless bombardments and wanton destruction of their property, the price taxed on the EPLF to thwart these unjust offensives has not been inconsiderable.

As a result of the aggressive policy executed under the mantle of the Addis Ababa regime and under the tutelage of the Soviet Union, the Ethiopian people have been relegated to acute impoverishment, with a plummeting economic situation, deteriorating overall security, forcible conscription, and

the total deprivation of their political and human rights.

The various political plights conjured up by the Soviet Union and the Ethiopian regime to consolidate their power have invariably failed and proved to no avail. At this stage even the military institution they regard as their unswerving political base is not only cracking but, more ominously, has commenced to raise arms in dissension. The recent border incursion into Somali territory under the umbrella of what they called the "Somali Salvation Democratic Front" in a haphazard attempt to create internal and external confusion is evidence of their desperation.

Despite the Soviet/Dergue policy of all-out aggression, the struggle of the Eritrean people and the EPLF has not been vanquished. The frustration of all the recurrent large-scale offensives and, in particular, the EPLF's triumphant emergence in the sixth offensive and continuing perseverance in its struggle with its capabilities intact, is a living testimony to this fact. Inside Ethiopia too, the national movements are growing in strength and the democratic movements being reorganized and getting ever stronger as well.

Generally speaking, the situation in our region has two central dimensions. The first constitutes the aspirations of the peoples of the Horn for liberation, prosperity and peace, while the second is the cravings of the Soviet Union—whose international influence is diminishing and which is losing ground in our region—to maintain its presence in the Horn of Africa and through this its presence in the Middle East at any cost, including by crushing the legitimate rights of peoples. Though other factors may be involved, the main confrontation is essentially between these

two interests. And although the deliberate efforts by the international community to hush up the situation are considerable, it is indisputable that the just right of the Eritrean people and the general situation obtaining in the Horn of Africa are among the most serious conflicts raging at this period.

The United Nations, despite its legal obligation as the primary accountable body, still continues to shun the cause of the Eritrean people. Paradoxically too, we witness the OAU divided and entangled in wranglings on Western Sahara and other issues while conveniently shelving the Eritrean question and the events unfolding in the Horn of Africa. In bitter irony, the EEC and its member countries continue to lavishly grant economic assistance under different pretexts to the Ethiopian regime—an assistance that never trickles down to the impoverished and repressed populace but is routinely funneled to the Dergue's military efforts and frenzied war drive.

We demand the cessation of intervention to crush the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples.

We call upon all forces concerned to bring peace in the region to earnestly consider the EPLF peace proposal of November 22, 1980, and endeavor for its implementation, as it has been repeatedly demonstrated that a peaceful solution can only be achieved by recognizing and satisfying the aspirations of the Eritrean people.

Since political stability can be achieved in Ethiopia only by respecting the rights of the Ethiopian people, we affirm the imperative for cooperation with the nationalities and their representatives, and the democratic organizations in their struggle to bring about unity on the basis of equality and common interest and uphold the right to self-determination of the Ethiopian

nationalities.

We condemn the Soviet/Dergue aggression on Somalia and assert that the Ogaden question can only be solved in accordance with the wishes of

the people and on the basis of the right to self-determination.

We will struggle with greater fervor to achieve liberation, peace and prosperity, against oppression and injustice. □

## RSL Publications

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

- Torch/La Antorcha Reprints, 15 cents each:
- \* A Revolutionary Strategy for Women's Liberation
  - \* Woman Be Free!
  - Black Lesbian Speaks Out
  - Black Women in South Africa: Revolutionary Fighters Against Oppression
  - \* Why Marxists Support National Liberation Struggles
  - \* Malcolm X: Revolution Knows No Compromise
  - Energy, Environment and the Economic Crisis—The Contributions and Contradictions of Barry Commoner
  - The Holocaust: Who is to Blame?

- Torch/La Antorcha Supplements, 10 cents each:
- \* Has China Come Full Circle? Deng Opens the Door to U.S. Imperialism (January, 1979)
  - Gay Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! (June, 1979)
  - \* Victory to the Glydons Strike! (May-June, 1980)
  - Which Way to Nuclear Disarmament? (June, 1982)

- RSL Position Papers, 15 cents each:
- Which Way Forward for the Anti-Klan Movement?
  - Toward a Fighting Anti-Draft Movement
  - \* Socialist Revolution: The Only Road to Lesbian and Gay Liberation

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

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