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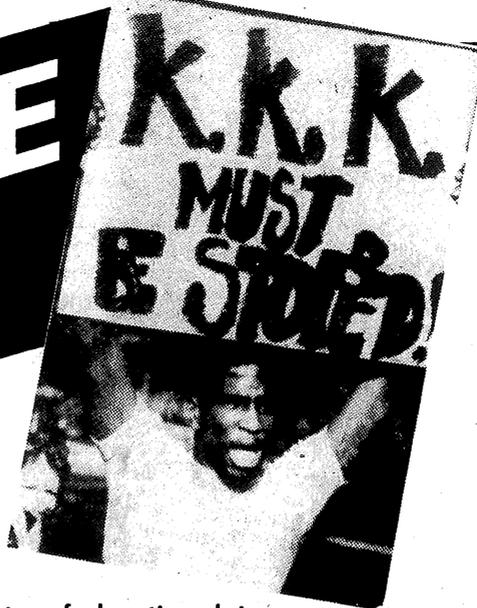


NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

SEPTEMBER 15-OCTOBER 14, 1982

VOLUME 9, NUMBER 9/25¢

STOP THE KLAN!



A newly formed confederation of Ku Klux Klan organizations has announced that it will march in Washington, D.C., this fall. The racist confederation claims a membership of 60,000 and says it will march in white robes and hoods. This would be the first time that the Klan has attempted to demonstrate in the nation's capital since 1926. Anti-Klan and anti-racist organizations are making plans for a mass counter-demonstration. The RSL urges everyone to participate, to prevent the Klan from marching if possible—

See article on page 5.

Reagan Bids for Imperialist Peace in the Middle East

By PAUL BENJAMIN

On the heels of the withdrawal of the Palestine Liberation Organization from West Beirut, a major conflict has broken out between the Reagan administration and the Israeli government over Middle East policy.

On September 1, Reagan proposed a "fresh start" in the stalled Camp David peace talks. He urged the Palestinian people and the rulers of Arab states in the region to accept the Zionist conquest of Palestine by recognizing the state of Israel. He also reaffirmed U.S. opposition to the creation of an indepen-

dent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip territories, and to negotiations with the PLO.

Freeze on Israeli settlements

But along with these proposed Israel planks, Reagan's "peace plan" includes measures bitterly opposed by the Zionist regime. Reagan came out against Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, calling instead for "self-government" for the Palestinians in these territories in association with Jordan. He

called for a freeze on further Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. And he supported negotiations over the future status of Jerusalem, annexed by Israel in 1980.

Within hours after Reagan outlined his proposals, they were angrily denounced by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin as a violation of the Camp David accord and a threat to Israel's security. On September 2 the Begin Cabinet voted unanimously to reject any negotiations based on the Reagan plan. Four days later it ordered the immediate construction of three new settlements in the West Bank and

approved plans to build seven others. Meanwhile, certain elements in Begin's coalition government have begun to call for the immediate annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Although there is little new in the Reagan plan—its components have been supported by various U.S. governments over the past 15 years—its announcement nevertheless marks a significant shift in the administration's Mideast policy, particularly in its public stance. Instead of resolutely backing Israel and making occasional references to the rights of the Palestinians, the administration has

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Government Jails Opponents of Draft Registration



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History of Haiti — Black People Struggling to be Free — Part Three

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Dispute in United Secretariat Reveals Crisis of Trotskyist Theory — Part Three

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

**our
readers
write...**

Send letters to:

TORCH, PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116

Banking system heading for collapse

Dear Torch:

I read your very excellent article entitled "Oklahoma Bank Failure Rocks Financial System" by W.E. Schweizer in the latest issue of *Torch*, which came in today.

I've thought for years that the U.S. banking system was heading for a repeat of the massive bank failures of the 1930s. There have been at least 25 or so bank failures so far this year—and you ain't seen nothing yet! The Penn Square bank failure was only the most spectacular one so far, and I emphasize so far. All we need is for one of the really big ones like Chase or Citibank to go down—and that day is not far off.

The American banking system has been making multi-billion dollar loans to Mexico, Poland, Brazil, Argentina, etc., to name only a few. Citibank is reported to have more than its entire net worth in loans and investments in Brazil, and 80 of the largest U.S. banks have single LDC exposures [loans to the so-called less developed

countries—Ed.] greater than 30 percent of their capital. Many of these loans are actually in default but nonetheless the regulatory agencies have not forced them to charge them off as being uncollectible. The reason is, of course, that if these uncollectible loans were charged off, the capital structure of the lending banks would be impaired and they would have to be declared insolvent.

You say that 269 banks are on the problem list of the regulatory agencies. I have seen figures that show over 300 banks are on the problem list. And many of the largest banks are in this category. As you properly note, the FDIC has only \$11 billion to cover \$1.5 trillion in deposits. The loss of one or two of the bigger banks would wipe out the FDIC insurance fund.

How long can the regulatory agencies hold off forcing the banking industry to charge off the billions of dollars of uncollectible loans?

Very truly yours,
Lawrence C. Pope

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Darnell Summers... In brief

Trotsky vs. Trotskyists

Editor, Torch:

I must support your suggestion that the Trotskyist movement really needs to "come to grips with the fundamental theoretical issues involved" in its attitude towards Stalinism. But we should clearly distinguish between Trotsky's views and those of the Trotskyist revisionists who invented the concept of Deformed Workers' States after Trotsky's death.

The view that Stalinism can be a progressive force is not implied in Trotsky's theory. On the contrary, he explicitly rejected this. (See quote below.)

Likewise, it was never Trotsky's position that nationalized property and centralized planning in Russia constituted the essence of a workers' state. In his day, the only workers' state was Russia, including the territories incorporated into it in 1940. The debate over Russia involved a state which everyone understood had its origins in a genuine proletarian revolution. The objective factors (nationalized industry, centralized planning, monopoly of foreign trade) were not the definition of a workers' state, but merely the criteria which Trotsky used to determine whether or not this state, created by the revolutionary action of the workers, had degenerated so far that it had again become a bourgeois state.

But for Trotsky, the subjective origins were the essence; not the objective forms of the property relations. "The primary political criterion for us is not the transformation of property relations in this or another area, however important these may be in themselves, but rather the changes in the consciousness and organization of the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for defending former conquests and accomplishing new ones. From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics of Moscow, taken as a whole, completely retains its reactionary character and remains the chief obstacle on the road to world revolution." (In *Defense of Marxism*, page 19.)

The false theory of Deformed Workers' States has done enormous damage to the Fourth International, just as the false theory of Socialism in One Country helped to destroy the Third International as a revolutionary movement.

Trotsky understood that the working class, having taken political power in 1917, was then able to make the most thoroughgoing social revolution the world has seen to date. After Lenin's death, the working class lost political control to the Stalinist bureaucracy, but the essential gains of the social revolution remain and have provided the basis for the spectacular industrial development

in Russia. To go forward now, a new proletarian political revolution is needed in Russia, while elsewhere both a social and political revolution is required.

But the Trotskyist revisionists argue that it is possible to make a social revolution, overthrowing the capitalist property forms and establishing proletarian property forms, without the working class ever taking political power at all.

This approach stands Marx, Lenin and Trotsky on their heads and is clearly liquidationist. If Stalinist forces, or peasant-based guerrillas, or national-liberation movements can establish 'workers' states, then it is no longer necessary to bother with the difficult work of building a working-class revolutionary party. No wonder the focus of most Trotskyist groups has shifted from the work-place to the campus.

And when the working class rises up to fight, as it did recently in Poland, the Spartacists denounced Solidarity and supported the crackdown of the Stalinist government, while the Socialist Workers Party supported the religious-reformist Lech Walesa leadership, which did nothing to prepare the workers to resist the crackdown.

The working class in Poland and elsewhere will only be able to move ahead under a leadership which goes back to Trotsky's concept of a workers' state.

Marion Syrek
Berkeley, CA

To Our Readers

When we reduced the *Torch/La Antorcha* by four pages for the summer, we planned to return to our usual 24 this issue. However, serious financial difficulties are forcing us to stay at 20 pages for an indefinite period. All the costs of putting out a newspaper have climbed steadily: printing, photography, postage, etc. Our income simply hasn't kept pace.

Later this fall the RSL will be holding its annual fund drive in order to raise the funds to keep the *Torch/La Antorcha* going. We urge our readers to contribute as generously to the drive as possible. But we are behind on bills and short on cash right now—so, please, if you can, send us a check, large or small, before the fund drive begins.

We want to continue providing you with full coverage of events in the world, the U.S. and on the left, from a revolutionary socialist perspective. Your support will help make this possible.

Thank you,
Torch/La Antorcha staff

Racism at Black culture library

Dear Torch,

On April 12, 1982, Robert Morris, who is white, was hired as head of the Rare Books, Manuscripts and Archives section of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. The Schomburg Center, located in Harlem, has the most extensive and important collections of books and research materials about Black people in the world.

The selection of Robert Morris by Wendell Wray, the chief of the Schomburg Center, has outraged some leaders of the Black community. Wendell Wray is Black. The anger stems from the fact that a seemingly qualified Black woman was passed over in the selection.

The woman, Diana Lachatanere, served as assistant archivist and then as acting head of the Schomburg's Archives from December 1980 to November 1981 and from January 1982

to April 12, 1982. It appears that Robert Morris is considered "more qualified." It seems strange to me that serving as acting head archivist, with no apparent problems, should not qualify Ms. Lachatanere. It seems even more strange that nowhere can they find any capable Blacks for the archivist position.

With racism and racist attacks on the rise and with brutal budget cuts hacking away at the Black community, the choice of Robert Morris seems to add insult to injury. The white ruling class has always done its best to suppress and destroy Black history, not protect it.

The choice of Mr. Morris in the context of this country's growing racism serves as a slap in the face to a Black community that is fighting for its very survival!

SW
Harlem Hospital worker

By ALBE

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Senate Passes Racist Immigration 'Reform' Bill

By ALBERT LARY

Under right-wing pressure fueled by the current economic crisis and with surprisingly little organized opposition, the U.S. Senate approved on August 17 a major revision of the country's immigration laws.

The bill, commonly known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill after its congressional sponsors, passed the Senate 81-18 and now goes to the House of Representatives. It is expected that the same Democratic-Republican coalition that sailed the bill through the Senate will now try to rush it through the House. Congress will adjourn in early October, however, and it is not clear whether the House will vote on the bill before then.

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill (officially the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1982) is considerably different from the immigration reform originally proposed by President Reagan in July 1981. It offers a somewhat more generous amnesty to undocumented immigrants currently inside the U.S., but couples this with a national worker identification system (which Reagan says he opposes) and criminal penalties for em-

ployers who hire undocumented workers. The bill contains no large-scale temporary worker (bracero) program such as Reagan wanted, but simplifies and expands the current procedures for importing seasonal farmworkers.

National I.D. cards within three years

Here are the key provisions of the bill:

- **Employer penalties.** For the first time ever, federal law would prohibit any employer with over three workers from hiring an undocumented immigrant. Violators could be fined up to \$2,000 and jailed for six months. To avoid penalty, employers must show that they checked the papers of all new workers to establish identity and eligibility to work.

- **National ID card.** Within three years the government must develop a counterfeit-proof method of worker identification. This may be a special ID card or a computerized number in a national data bank. Estimated cost: \$1.5 billion.

- **"Streamlined" procedures**

for asylum requests. Undocumented immigrants caught at the border, and those requesting political asylum, would lose their right to appeal an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ruling. This effective-



ly means losing the right to see a lawyer or go to court. (This section is designed to prepare for mass deportations of Haitians and El Salvadoreans and to clear the government's backlog of over 20,000 asylum applications.)

- **Ceilings, quotas and preferences.** A new ceiling of 425,000 immigrants per year

would be established, not counting refugees. This is much less than the present legal immigration rate of 600,000 to 800,000 per year. The yearly quota for Canada and Mexico would be doubled to 40,000 each. Since Canadian immigration is small, Mexico would be allowed to pick up the visas Canada does not use, thus making Mexico's actual quota closer to 70,000. While this may seem generous, there are currently over one million Mexicans on the waiting list for a U.S. visa.

The quota currently allotted to brothers and sisters of citizens is dropped entirely in favor of some new preference categories, including one for "investors" who bring \$250,000 with them, and another for persons of "exceptional ability."

- **Amnesty.** Undocumented immigrants who can prove continuous residence in the U.S. since January 1, 1977, would receive permanent resident status. But for three years they would remain ineligible for welfare, food stamps, Medicaid or any other federal assistance. They would, however, be required to pay federal taxes.

Immigrants here continuous-

ly since January 1, 1980, plus previously accepted Cuban and Haitian refugees, would receive temporary legal status for three years, after which they could apply for permanent status. Temporary residents (other than Haitian and Cuban refugees) would be ineligible for federal aid for six years. Undocumented immigrants who arrived in the U.S. after January 1, 1980, would remain "illegal."

Amnesty would not be granted to immigrants convicted of three misdemeanors, one felony, or any crime of "moral turpitude" in the U.S., nor to "anarchists, Communists, Nazis, subversives" or anyone else who might endanger the stability of the present system.

In a final slap in the face to immigrants, the Senate accepted an amendment by California Senator S.I. Hayakawa that declares "the sense of the Congress that the English language is the official language of the U.S." While not having the force of law, this "sense of the Congress" neatly caps the entire racist and repressive bill.

Little opposition so far

A few more things about the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill deserve note. One is its sweeping character. This bill, if enacted, will bring about the most profound changes in U.S. immigration law in the past 30 years. Its repressive aspects are enormous and far outweigh the benefits of its limited and very conditional amnesty.

Secondly, this law is the product of a strong bipartisan (Republican and Democrat) coalition. It is not simply "Reagan's law." In fact, Reagan claims to oppose certain aspects of it. This bill represents the combined efforts and experiences of ex-presidents Ford (Republican), Carter (Democrat), and now Reagan—all of whom have put a high priority on immigration reform or, as they like to say, "regaining control of our borders." While the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill certainly is one of the more frightening examples of the right-wing political mood in Congress, it has gotten this far so easily because both capitalist parties share a basic desire to restrict immigration, limit legal rights, and strengthen police powers.

Thirdly, the bill has met very little organized opposition. Only now, on the eve of its final passage in the House, are forces

(Continued on page 13)

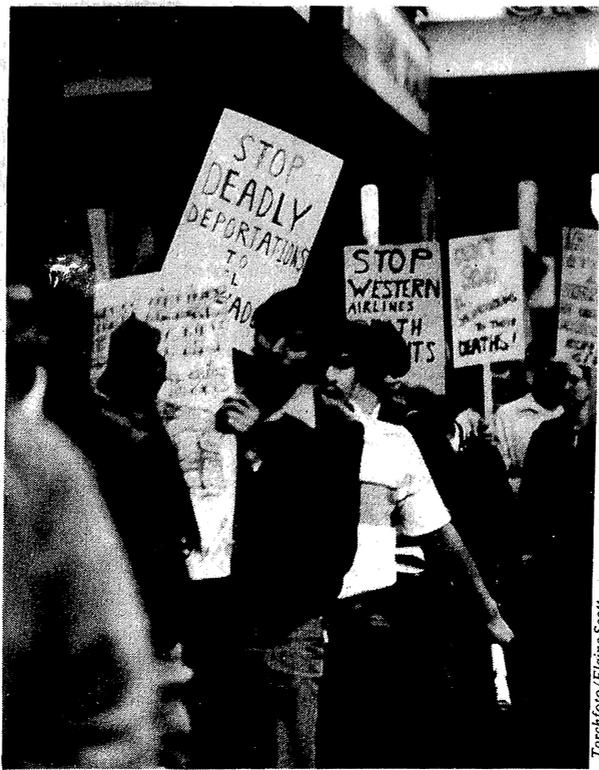
Protests Force Western to Stop Death Flights

LOS ANGELES—In a surprise announcement September 2, Western Airlines agreed to stop carrying Salvadorean refugees being deported by the INS. Western had been the target of a nine-month campaign by CISPEs (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) and many other Salvadorean support groups, who charged that the airline, through its agreement with the INS, was partly responsible for the fate of deported Salvadoreans. Documented evidence shows numerous cases of returned refugees being arrested, tortured and even killed on arrival in San Salvador.

For months Western claimed to know nothing about such problems and said it was helpless to prevent the deportation flights. But faced with regular picket lines at their ticket offices in six states (California, Colorado, Arizona, Montana, Hawaii and Washington) Western began to reconsider. The protest "caused us to take a closer look at our procedures," admitted a Western spokesperson. So did the threat of a national boycott and the threat of civil suits to be filed by the families of deported Salvadoreans. And when Western's annual stockholders' meeting in July gave 40 percent support to a pro-refugee motion put forward by liberal religious stockholders, Western's Chairman Neil Bergt agreed to meet with protest leaders.

In explaining its decision, a Western spokesperson said the company would resume the normal practice of requiring passports or other legal papers for all passengers on international flights. It will no longer accept temporary consulate certificates such as those the INS uses for deportees.

Thousands of Salvadoreans have been deported on Western Airlines in recent years. Winning an end to those death flights is a major victory. Now, however, the INS is expected to turn to another airline for the special arrangement it had with Western. But CISPEs and other activists are also preparing their next move, and will target whatever airline dares to take Western's place.



Torchphoto/Elaine Scott

UAW Contracts Expire in U.S. and Canada

Late settlement announced with Chrysler

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Chrysler Corporation have announced agreement on a new contract. The tentative settlement was achieved only after UAW officials extended a September 14 strike deadline for 24 hours, then continued bargaining after the second deadline expired. Some Chrysler workers had already walked off their jobs when the proposed agreement was reached.

Although details of the pact were not immediately available, UAW President Douglas Fraser told reporters it includes restoration of some cost-of-living benefits given up in earlier contract renegotiations and a wage increase tied to the company's future profits. He admitted these gains were "modest," but claimed even minimal pay hikes were preferable to a strike.

It remains to be seen whether rank and file Chrysler workers will agree with him. In 1979 and again in 1981 the UAW reopened its Chrysler contract and granted the company over one billion dollars in wage cuts and other takeaways. Fraser argued such concessions were necessary to save Chrysler from financial collapse and to save autoworkers' jobs.

Since then, Chrysler car sales have improved, and the company reported over \$100 million in profits for the second quarter



UAW President Douglas Fraser beams after announcing new Chrysler contract agreement.

of 1982. But when negotiations for a new contract began in July, Chrysler management insisted that the company could survive only by keeping its labor costs below those of its competitors. They claimed the union would have to pay for any pay increases with concessions over health benefits or other issues. While UAW leaders rejected this, Fraser himself supported management arguments that any substantial wage increases would cripple the company.

Many Chrysler workers, however, who watch company President Lee Iacocca proclaiming Chrysler's financial health in TV commercials every day, justifiably believe that they've been had. They want wages and benefits equal to those of Ford and General Motors workers, who earn more than Chrysler workers despite concessions given up earlier this year. All indications are that the proposed Chrysler contract falls well below these expectations. Fraser and other UAW leaders admit they will have problems convincing Chrysler workers to ratify the settlement. □

Canadian UAW grants concessions

Contracts covering 58,000 UAW autoworkers in Canada also expired on September 13. But union leaders reached an agreement with General Motors, the target company in the negotiations, just before the September 14 strike deadline. The proposed settlement will set the pattern for Canadian Ford and Chrysler negotiations that are just getting underway.

This year marks the first time that Canadian UAW leaders have negotiated their own contracts with the auto companies, instead of accepting settlements reached in the U.S. Robert White, the UAW's Canadian director, not only rejected the giveback contracts negotiated by Fraser, he also talked about pulling out of the UAW altogether.

But White and other Canadian UAW leaders surrendered givebacks of their own in the

General Motors settlement, though not as many as their U.S. counterparts. Under the proposed agreement Canadian GM workers, like those in the U.S., would have to accept a wage freeze. They would also give up all paid holidays for the duration of the two-year pact while retaining the three remaining holidays in 1982. But the workers kept their COLA benefits, and won contract language specifying that COLA payments over the last six months of the proposed contract would be paid based on the Canadian rate of inflation—nearly twice as high as the U.S. rate—rather than on U.S. inflation figures as in the past. GM, which had threatened to pull some of its operations out of Canada if its demands for concessions were not met, announced it was "pleased" with the overall settlement. □

Workers strike at five defense plants

In a related UAW contract struggle, 5,000 workers at five General Dynamics defense plants in Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania went on strike September 15. Negotiations for a new contract broke down over

the company's insistence on gaining a no-strike pledge and lower wage rates for newly-hired workers in any settlement.

UAW officials insist that the strike will continue until a new contract is ratified, in contrast to the union's usual practice of ordering workers back on the job as soon as an agreement is reached. The UAW national leadership may be trying to appear more militant in the face of threats by some defense workers to disaffiliate from the union.

One of the plants on strike is the Warren Tank plant, located just outside the Detroit city limits in Warren, Michigan. The plant was previously owned by Chrysler Corporation, which sold it to General Dynamics in February. When the UAW renegotiated its Chrysler contract, Warren Tank workers had to accept the same concessions as Chrysler autoworkers, even though the tank plant itself is highly profitable.

Like many other Chrysler workers, the Warren Tank workers condemned the UAW's

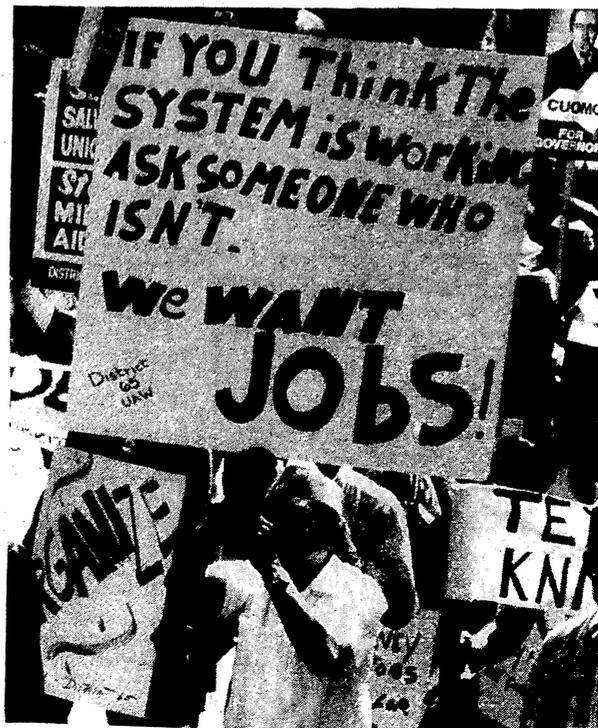
"concessionary" leadership. But instead of joining with Chrysler workers to fight for a more militant national leadership, substantial numbers of workers at the plant, particularly skilled workers, called for splitting from the UAW. They argued that Warren Tank workers' living standards were falling behind those of other defense workers because they were tied to the declining auto industry in contract talks. And they combined such claims with chauvinistic pride in "keeping America strong" through defense work and openly right-wing politics.

The combination of trade union militancy and right-wing politics at Warren Tank showed up most clearly when General Dynamics threatened to bring in scabs in the event of a strike. Local union leaders organized 300 workers in a flying squad, equipped with black berets and T-shirts, to keep the scabs out. But when one worker whose radical opinions were well known volunteered for the squad, he was told he could join only if he repudiated his politics. □

Labor Day, 1982

Workers around the country demanded jobs and condemned the Reagan administration in Labor Day parades held September 6. The largest march took place in New York, where a reported 400,000 workers participated in the parade. In Chicago up to 100,000 people joined the city's first Labor Day march in 41 years. Some 10,000 workers paraded in San Antonio, Texas, while in Cheyenne, Wyoming, 3,000 people marched in the largest labor demonstration in the state's history. Similar actions took place in Detroit, Cleveland, Des Moines and other cities, while 25,000 Boston-area workers demonstrated a week earlier on August 29.

The AFL-CIO and various member unions organized the Labor Day marches in order to steer growing worker anger at Reagan and the Republicans into support for the equally pro-capitalist Democratic Party. The common theme of all the Labor Day actions was that workers can beat back Reagan's attacks only by voting for their Democratic Party "friends" in this fall's congressional elections and in the 1984 presidential race. The official slogan of the New York parade, for example, was "Jobs, Solidarity and March to the Polls November 2."



Labor Day marchers in New York.

A newly formed Klan group over the Labor Day that it plans to march in Washington, D.C. on September 6. The group, formed out of seven different Klan claims a membership of 80 percent of all Klans in the U.S.

According to reports for the confederate members will march in their trade hoods and robes there's an organization up for white interest.

If the racists marching in the name of a city that is 70 percent black—it will be the first demonstration there.

The RSL urged turnout to oppose possible, stop the The advocates and racist terror and anti-women, anti-g union violence and

Gove

The government's attempt to intimidate draft men into registering Selective Service System into high gear this strike trial and conviction men who had written government to explain their Enten Eller of Romania, who refused registration for religious reasons, convicted August 17 and three years' probation to do 250 hours of service and ordered within 90 days or f prison.

Eller may not be either, however, but government says it information to re whether or not he fits the form.

Benjamin Sasway, San Diego, California, registration stemmed opposition to the Unionist foreign treated more harshly on August 26, Sasway immediately jailed pending on October 4 claimed this was because Sasway might Canada.

During Sasway's trial judge refused to let plain why he would say his motives important. The judge refused to consider the pretrial motion to case on the grounds prosecution: Of the

STOP THE KLAN!

nary" leadership. of joining with kers to fight for a national leader- ential numbers of the plant, particu- workers, called for n the UAW. They Warren Tank work- standards were falling e of other defense ause they were tied ing auto industry in s. And they com- claims with chauvin- "keeping America ough defense work right-wing politics. bination of trade ncy and right-wing arren Tank showed arly when General reatened to bring in event of a strike. leaders organized in a flying squad, th black berets and keep the scabs out. one worker whose inions were well unteered for the as told he could join epudiated his poli-

A newly formed confederation of Klan groups announced over the Labor Day weekend that it plans to march and rally in Washington, D.C., on November 6. The new organization, formed out of a merger of seven different Klan factions, claims a membership of 60,000, 80 percent of all Klan members in the U.S.

According to a spokesman for the confederation, Klan members will march in Washington in their traditional white hoods and robes to "show there's an organization standing up for white interests."

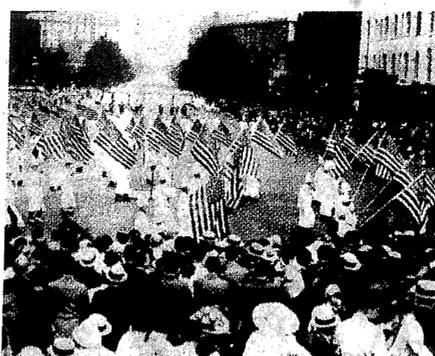
If the racists succeed in marching in the nation's capital—a city that is 70 percent Black—it will be the first major Klan demonstration there since 1926.

The RSL urges a massive turnout to oppose and, if possible, stop the KKK march. The advocates and organizers of racist terror and anti-Semitic, anti-women, anti-gay and anti-union violence and intimidation

cannot be allowed to parade openly and unopposed through the streets of Washington, D.C.

Counter-demonstrations planned

Anti-racist organizers are already making plans for a counter-demonstration. The Metro Washington Anti-Klan Network, a chapter of the Atlanta-based National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN), has issued a call for "a march and rally for Human Dignity and Against Racist Violence." According to the NAKN's September 10 "Action Update," the D.C. chapter "has begun bringing together broad forces in the Metro area's political, religious, labor, Black and women's circles to plan activities that focus attention on Washington's inaction against previous KKK violence throughout the country." The National Network, of which the RSL is a



Klan revival after World War I included rallies in D.C. like the one at left in 1925. Now Klan is again planning to march in nation's capital.

member, has endorsed this effort and is issuing a nationwide call to build the counter-demonstration.

In addition, the D.C. chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has indicated that it will stage a counter-demonstration if the Klan tries to march in Washington. The Rev. Edward Hailes, president of the chapter, said the NAACP

"will not be intimidated by people like that."

As we go to press, sources in the National Park Service have told the Torch/La Antorcha that the Klan is considering moving up the date of its march to October 23. The racists have not yet applied for a permit for any specific date, however, and it is therefore not clear whether they intend to alter their originally announced plans.

The possibility that the Klan may move up the date for its mobilization underlines the urgency of beginning now to organize for a massive turnout against the racists, whatever date they decide to march.

A growing threat

The new Klan organization, called the "Confederation of Klans," is made up of seven of the dozens of rival Klan factions that have emerged in recent years. The seven groups merged at a weekend conference, replete with cross burnings, held September 5-6 in the Atlanta suburb of Stone Mountain, Georgia. Stone Mountain is the site where the Klan was revived in 1915 after it had nearly become extinct.

More than 300 Klan members from eight states—Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Michigan, Ohio and Illinois—as well as from Canada, attended the gathering, which was closed to the public and guarded closely by Klan members wearing battle fatigues and carrying ax handles and billy clubs. At least 15 members of the American Nazi Party also attended the weekend meeting.

According to the Confederation's newly-elected "Grand Wizard," Don Black, the Stone Mountain meeting was "the biggest step toward Klan unity in 50 years." Black, the head of the Alabama-based National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, currently faces three years in prison for his part in a 1981 plot to invade the Caribbean island of Dominica.

Government Jails Opponents of Draft Registration

The government's campaign to intimidate draft-age young men into registering with the Selective Service System went into high gear this summer with the trial and conviction of two men who had written the government to explain their refusal.

Enten Eller of Roanoke, Virginia, who refused to register for religious reasons, was convicted August 17 and placed on three years' probation, required to do 250 hours of community service and ordered to register within 90 days or face time in prison.

Eller may not have to do either, however, because the government says it has enough information to register him whether or not he fills out and signs the form.

Benjamin Sasway of San Diego, California, whose non-registration stemmed from his opposition to the U.S.'s interventionist foreign policy, was treated more harshly. Convicted on August 26, Sasway was immediately jailed pending sentencing on October 4. The judge claimed this was necessary because Sasway might flee to Canada.

During Sasway's trial, the judge refused to let Sasway explain why he wouldn't register, saying his motives were not important. The judge also refused to consider the defense's pretrial motion to dismiss the case on the grounds of selective prosecution: Of the approxi-



Indicted draft resister David Wayte speaks to anti-draft demonstrators at recent Los Angeles protest.

mately 700,000 young men who have failed to register in the years since President Carter brought back registration, only those who wrote letters stating publicly their intention to resist have been indicted.

Meanwhile, the persecution of other public non-registrants continues. On August 10, Russell Ford of Hartford, Connecticut, was jailed pending trial because he refused to post bond. Ford had assured the court of his future attendance, saying that he saw the trial as a way of making his views public. In early September, public non-registrant Gary Eklund, Des Moines, Iowa, was indicted and his arraignment set for Septem-

ber 17. Also in September a trial date of October 12 was set for David Wayte of Los Angeles. The LA Draft Resistance Support Committee, which is active in Wayte's defense, has announced a demonstration the night before the trial and is organizing to fill the courtroom on the 12th. (Information on these activities appears in the Events box on page 13.)

So far, the government's campaign does not appear to have scared other non-registrants into registering. In fact, the percentage of non-registrants this year—22 percent—is higher than the overall national total for all non-registrants since 1980 (7 percent). □

82



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Free Darnell Summers!

It is August 1968 in Inkster, Michigan, a town two and a half miles square built by Henry Ford to house Black workers from his Detroit autoplants. It is one year since the Detroit Rebellion, four months since Martin Luther King, Jr., was murdered.

Inkster community activists have pressured the city to give them an abandoned recreation building. They rename it Malcolm X Cultural Center, complete with a big picture of Malcolm X on the outside. The city demands that the picture be removed, the name changed. Police harass the center, shooting at it in the night, busting in for supposed gun searches, destroying walls and furniture. On the night of August 8, 1968, cops come by the center to harass it again. Shots are fired at them. A few hours later, police shoot and kill a Black teenager in the neighborhood. Four hours later a white state trooper, Robert Gosner, is shot and killed as he sits in his patrol car on an Inkster street.

Police soon charge Darnell Summers, an Inkster activist and one of a number of Black musicians associated at the time with the Republic of New Afrika. Summers is a soldier, he came on leave between Germany and Vietnam. In December 1968 he is brought back from Vietnam for a trial. Charges against Summers are soon dropped, however, when Milford Scott, the prosecution's star witness, says that he lied about Summers' guilt under heavy pressure from the police.

During the 13 years since all this happened, Darnell Summers has remained a political activist fighting against the system, and that is why the 1968 events are now more than interesting history. This year, Summers was once again charged with killing Gosner. He was extradited from Germany, where he has lived for six of the last 10 years, organizing among GIs and leading a political jazz group, Afrodisia. Once Summers was back in Detroit, though, history seemed to repeat itself: The prosecution's new star witness, Gail Simmons (who was Summers' lover in 1968), recanted her statements. She says that she too was forced to implicate Summers under heavy pressure. But the charges against Summers have not been dropped a second time and the prosecution is now pinning its case on some new statements from Milford Scott. Scott, who is currently in prison, has come up with five different versions of the Gosner shooting since 1968 and is once more pointing the finger at Summers. The trial is set to open on November 16. A committee with representatives of a variety of Black nationalist, socialist and civil rights groups, including the RSL, has been formed to support Summers.

The state seems determined to convict Darnell Summers by any means necessary. It must be stopped! **Free Darnell Summers! Drop the charges now!**

In brief . . .

In May we reported that **women prisoners in Kentucky** were suing over the vast differences in the treatment of men and women prisoners in that state. On July 27 they won their suit and a federal judge ordered Kentucky to make sweeping changes by October 15. . . Also this summer, **Johnny Spain**, one of the San Quentin Six, won an appeal of his murder conviction. The charges stemmed from the 1971 incident in which three prisoners, including George Jackson, were killed, along with three guards. . . **David Ruiz**, the Texas prisoner who started the suit which forced the Texas Department of Corrections to make changes in their system, was acquitted in late August of robbery. Ruiz was arrested in November 1981 only months after he was released from TDC on parole. The state of Texas, still eager for revenge, has now pressured Ohio to revive some charges against Ruiz in that state that were dropped long ago. . . The number of **prisoners in the U.S.** grew by 12.1 percent in 1981, a record. The total number is now around 370,000. . . **A Haitian refugee** hanged himself in Fort Allen, Puerto Rico, last month, apparently despondent over the slow pace of the imprisoned refugees' release.

THE HISTORY OF HAITI—

Part Three

'Hatred eternal for France is our cry'

Part one of this series described life in the French colony of St. Domingue (Haiti)—where a ruthless white ruling class used the labor of 700,000 African slaves to create the world's richest colony. In part two, we followed events as the slaves rose up for their freedom, defeated the slave masters and defended themselves against a series of European colonial interventions. We left off in 1801. Toussaint Louverture, who had led the victorious army of ex-slaves, was governor-general-for-life. He supposedly ruled for France, but in reality he and the other officers of the new army held all the power. In fact, they were becoming a new elite, forcing the people to work on plantations under conditions little better than slavery. Meanwhile, Napoleon Bonaparte, the new counter-revolutionary ruler of France, was preparing an armada to sail to St. Domingue to regain French control of the island.

By WILLIAM FALK

"We are lost, all France has come to St. Domingue," declared Toussaint Louverture, as he surveyed Napoleon's invasion force from the heights above Samaná Bay.

The date was January 29, 1802. Some 12,000 French troops—including specially picked veterans of the European wars and the mulatto general André Rigaud, whom Toussaint had routed a year and a half earlier—were about to land on the island. Thousands more French troops were crossing the Atlantic, headed for St. Domingue.

Napoleon's goal in launching the invasion was simple: "Rid us of these gilded Africans and we shall have nothing more to wish," he told Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc, head of the French expedition. Napoleon wanted St. Domingue, which still technically "belonged" to France, returned to direct French control. Upon accomplishing this he planned to re-enslave the Black people, so that French exploiters could once again reap the vast profits that had been theirs before the Haitian revolution.

To disguise his true purpose,

Napoleon instructed Leclerc to offer Toussaint and his officer corps what today we would call a neo-colonial arrangement: the Black officers would run the island on behalf of the central French government, policing the people in return for French protection and a share of the power and the wealth.

This proposal was in fact similar to ideas Toussaint raised in letters to Napoleon during 1800 and 1801. But when the letters went unanswered, Toussaint and his two most trusted officers—Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henry Christophe—suspected that Napoleon would invade. They began to map out a plan. If no accommodation could be reached, they would fight the French, burning the coastal cities that could not be defended and retreating inland to the mountains to wage guerrilla warfare. To this end, they began stockpiling arms and other supplies in the interior.

That was the plan—but it was not very widely carried out. As Toussaint looked down that day in January at the size of the armada, he knew Napoleon had no intention of sharing power with the ex-slave officers who now ran the island. But the bulk of Toussaint's officer corps—schooled by Toussaint in loyalty to France and anxious to retain their positions—went after the bait in Napoleon's trap.

In Ciudad Santo Domingo, Paul Louverture, Toussaint's brother, surrendered the town to the French. General Laplume

surrendered Les Cayes, and the town of Jérémie was handed over to the French without a fight by Dommage, cousin of Dessalines. Port-au-Prince was unsuccessfully defended and then surrendered without being destroyed. Everywhere the surrendering generals joined the invasion force, ordered their troops to do the same, and kept their rank and privileges.

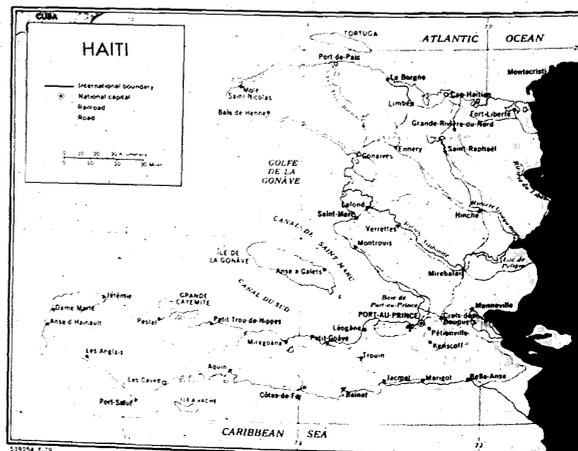
Only in Cap François, where Christophe was in command, was Toussaint's plan executed. On February 4, with 5,000 French troops in the harbor and more on land to the east and west, Christophe ordered the city burnt and led his soldiers to the mountains. "Mété feu partout! Tué blanc-la-vo!" was the cry (Set everything afire, kill the whites!).

But this was not enough to turn the tide of defections. In early March, after leading a heroic defense of Port-de-Paix and defeating the French troops in battle, General Jacques Maurepas and the Ninth Regiment, famous throughout the island for its military prowess, joined the invaders.

The French, with few losses and the cities intact, soon had control of most of the country.

The tide turns

But Toussaint, Christophe and Dessalines had not given up the fight. With the French in hot pursuit, they and their re-



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Two thou died in the tempting to Haitian tro it. By day, without qua sang songs of tion, confus ing the Fre

Finally, d March 24, Haitian tro sneak out of and get thro safety.

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At this p Christophe an a move that, usual shrewdne understand: dered! Appar that because t position of gre the earlier c could force th good on the tion and pow

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Real heroes Haitian Re

Meanwhile, West Indies, quickly. In M stored slavery

maining troops retreated into the mountains on the north bank of the Artibonite River. On March 4, 1,200 of the troops took refuge in the fort La Crête-à-Pierrot and were soon surrounded by 12,000 French troops.

Two thousand French troops died in the next three weeks attempting to take the fort; 400 Haitian troops died defending it. By day, the Haitians fought without quarter. By night, they sang songs of the French revolution, confusing and demoralizing the French soldiers.

Finally, during the night of March 24, the 800 remaining Haitian troops were able to sneak out of La Crête-à-Pierrot and get through French lines to safety.

Militarily, it was neither a victory nor a defeat. But it was a political defeat for the French invaders. Despite their overwhelming superiority in numbers, the French had been stood off and had taken heavy losses.

Moreover, La Crête-à-Pierrot inspired the Black plantation workers of the island, many of whom formed small bands to wage guerrilla warfare. Soon a combination of these bands and Christophe's troops recaptured St. Michel, St. Raphael, Donon, Marmelade and Limbé from the French.

At this point, Toussaint, Christophe and Dessalines made a move that, given Toussaint's usual shrewdness, seems hard to understand: They all surrendered! Apparently they hoped that because they dealt from a position of greater strength than the earlier capitulators, they could force the French to make good on the promises of position and power.

Christophe and Dessalines became generals under Leclerc. Toussaint retired to one of his plantations, taking some of his troops with him to work as cultivators. But in June, after Toussaint had been on his plantation for only a little over a month, Leclerc implemented the next step in Napoleon's plan: Toussaint was arrested and immediately deported. Also deported in June were over 1,000 members of Toussaint's staff and personal troops. Toussaint was imprisoned in the French Alps. In April 1803, after seven months of cold, poor food, and no medical care, Toussaint L'Ouverture died, as much a victim of his own short-sightedness as of French treachery.

Real heroes of the Haitian Revolution

Meanwhile, in the French West Indies, Napoleon moved quickly. In May 1802, he restored slavery in Martinique,

Tobago, St. Lucia and Ile-de-France. In June he restored slavery in Guadeloupe and issued an edict stripping mulattoes in the colonies of the rights of French citizens.

The Haitian people did not need a weatherman to know which way the wind was blowing. Once again, as in 1751, 1791 and 1801, the nights on the northern plain were filled with the sounds of the drums, the conch shell horns and the bamboo pipes of voodoo meetings. Once again the people of Limbé, Plaisance and Grande Rivière du Nord rose first.

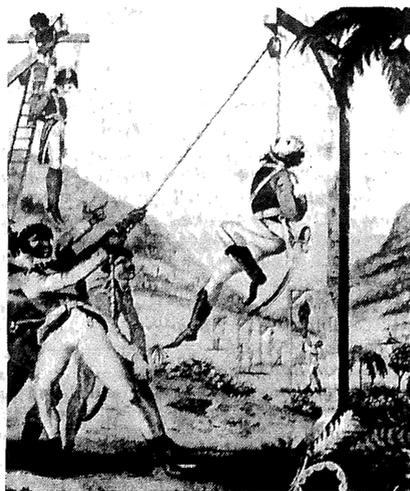
The Haitian people were an armed people. Over 140,000 muskets—remained in their

French troops were dying of yellow fever and malaria at the rate of over 100 a day—3,000 a month.

By the fall of 1802, 20,000 troops sent from France were dead and the 28,000 fit soldiers left were clearly losing the battle for the colony. On October 7, Leclerc, soon to die of yellow fever, wrote a last letter to Napoleon:

"Here is my opinion. You will have to exterminate all the blacks in the mountains, women as well as men, except for children under twelve. Wipe out half the population of the lowlands, and do not leave in the colony a single black who has worn an epaulet.... Send

Haitian rebels repaid terror with terror by hanging 500 whites after French troops massacred 500 Black prisoners.



hands, about one for every four persons. "If you mean to keep your liberty, take up your arms on the day the whites call them in," a (white) French revolutionary had advised the newly freed slaves in 1794.

Today we know only the names of a few leaders of the uprising, which soon spread to nearly every area. But the women and men who fought in the small bands in the summer of 1802 are the real heroes of the Haitian Revolution. In its darkest hour they defended the revolution not only from the white colonialists, but from the so-called leaders who were all too ready to sell out.

For it was the troops of Dessalines, Christophe and all the other capitulators who were fighting the Black insurgents. "I always employ them when I have something fearful to do," Leclerc bragged to Napoleon. "Dessalines is my butcher." It was true. The same week Leclerc wrote those words, Dessalines cut the throats of 300 Blacks and mulattoes as revenge for the death of some Frenchmen.

Leclerc was, in fact, increasingly dependent on the Black and mulatto generals and their troops. In the summer of 1802,

12,000 replacements immediately, and 10 million francs in cash, or St. Domingue is lost forever."

Five days after Leclerc wrote this letter the mulatto general Alexandre Pétion led his troops out of Cap François and joined the rebels. Within days, Clerveaux (another mulatto general who was with Paul L'Ouverture when he surrendered Ciudad Santo Domingo) also quit the French.

Leclerc, fearful of losing all his Black troops to mutiny, disarmed 1,200 Black soldiers still under his command and ordered them aboard a ship in the Cap François harbor. He had them bayoneted, their bodies thrown overboard. This was too much for Christophe and he also led his troops in switching sides, followed by Dessalines.

Soon the entire army that had fought under Toussaint, the entire army that had fought under Rigaud (who had been deported to France about a month before Toussaint) and the dozens of small fighting bands that had kept up the struggle against France were all fighting together to rid the island of colonialists once and for all. In retrospect, the out-

come of the war was largely settled then, in the fall of 1802, but in fact the war continued for another year.

'We've a right to burn what we cultivate'

And it was perhaps the most bloody, savage year in the whole revolution. Donatien Rochambeau, the new French commander-in-chief, attempted to carry out the genocide proposed in Leclerc's last letter. He had hundreds and hundreds of Blacks killed whenever his troops took territory. Rochambeau brought dogs from Cuba and trained them to kill and devour Blacks. He chained 16 captured Black officers to a rock and let them starve to death.

The people of Haiti fought back with equal terror. In one place Dessalines responded to the execution of 500 Black prisoners by erecting 500 gallows on a hill and hanging 500 whites. The Haitian people also responded to the terror with a bravery that ignored death. "Be glad you will not be the mothers of slaves," called one woman to her two daughters as all three were hanged.

The Haitian people torched the sugar mills and plantations where the French hoped to put them to work as slaves. One Frenchman recalled climbing to a high spot outside Jérémie and seeing "ten square leagues of country" on fire (90 square miles).

Why do you burn? a French officer recalled asking a prisoner. "We have a right to burn what we cultivate because a man has a right to dispose of his own labor," was the recorded reply.

In mid-May of 1803, the leaders of all the fighting groups met at Archaie. Dessalines—still a butcher but now a butcher fanatically dedicated to getting rid of the French—was acknow-

ledged as the leader of all forces. He picked up the French flag draped on the table and tore out the white strip in its center. The red and blue were sewn back together, creating a flag for the forces fighting against slavery and for independence.

Also in May 1803, war once again broke out between France and England, and the British navy blockaded the islands of the French West Indies. Without supplies, the physical condition and morale of the French troops became even worse. The final battle took place in November 1803 at Vertières, with 16,000 Black troops taking on the French.

In two days it was over. The French troops were allowed to leave in their ships. On November 29, 22 months to the day from the landing at Samaná Bay, the victors entered Cap François. "There is no doubt, my dear general," Dessalines wrote to a compatriot in the south, "the country is ours and the famous 'who shall have it' is settled."

'We must live free or we must die'

On January 1, 1804, independence was formally declared and the country was named Haiti, one of the several Indian names for the island.

"We must live free or we must die," said the declaration of independence. And in truth half the Haitian nation was free and half the Haitian nation was dead—the nearly 13 years of revolution had cut the population to around 350,000.

"Look for your children, your nursing babies. Where have they gone? They have fallen prey to these vultures.... Hatred eternal for France shall be our cry...." read other parts of the declaration.

From March 9 to April 22, 1804, the ex-slaves took their revenge. Dessalines organized the killing of the several thousand French people still in Haiti. Men, women and children were killed alike. Americans, a regiment of Poles that had deserted from Napoleon's army, and a group of Germans who had grown coffee near Môle St. Nicolas for years, however, were spared.

"Yes, we have repaid these cannibals, war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage," read a proclamation by Dessalines issued April 28.

"I have saved my country, I have avenged the Americas. Never again shall colonist or European set foot on this soil as master or landowner. This shall henceforward be the foundation of our constitution." □

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Imperialist Peace in the Middle East

(Continued from page 1)
 begun to increase its public criticisms of Israel and to appear to champion the needs of the Palestinians. What this in fact amounts to is a significant increase in pressure on the Begin regime to agree to some sort of concessions over the West Bank and Gaza Strip and, more generally, to subordinate Israel's expansionist ambitions to the broader interests of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

The differences between the U.S. and Israeli governments over the West Bank and Gaza Strip go back to the 1979 Camp David accords. Under this agreement the Egyptian government, then led by President Anwar el-Sadat, recognized the state of Israel in return for the gradual return to Egypt of the Sinai peninsula, which Israel had conquered along with the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights in the 1967 Middle East war.

In a separate treaty, the Egyptian and Israeli governments agreed to negotiate "autonomy" for the more than one million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip over a five-year period, while leaving the exact meaning of "autonomy" undefined.

In fact, the Camp David negotiators were unable to reach any consensus over the future of the occupied territories. The U.S. and Egyptian governments want to set up a powerless Palestinian "homeland" in the



U.S. troops patrol West Beirut during evacuation of PLO forces from city. Reagan administration is pretending to act as "neutral mediator" in Lebanon and throughout Middle East in effort to secure imperialist peace.

West Bank and Gaza Strip in order to defuse the Palestinian national liberation struggle and provide other Arab rulers with an excuse for making peace with Israel.

Begin goal: West Bank annexation

But the Begin regime never had the slightest intention of giving up its control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Its goal was—and still is—to annex these territories, expel most of the Palestinians living there, and replace them with Israeli settlers. The remaining Palestinians would be confined to a few patches of territory and ruled by

pro-Israeli Palestinian puppets under the guns of the Israeli army. It is, therefore, not surprising that the "autonomy" negotiations never went anywhere.

Knowing full well that his policies in the occupied territories would eventually meet opposition from the U.S. and Egyptian governments, Begin carried out a series of aggressive actions aimed at both consolidating its earlier conquests and at forcing the U.S. administration to define its Mideast policy on Israeli terms. Thus, last December the Begin government annexed the Golan Heights. In March of this year it began dismissing the elected Palestinian mayors of West Bank cities, while building up so-called "Village Leagues"

—organizations of conservative Palestinian landlords who are willing to work as Israeli agents—as an "alternative political structure." (The Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip recognized these measures as the prelude to annexation and responded with a series of mass strikes and demonstrations. These protests are continuing despite heavy repression by the Israeli military and its hired thugs in the Village Leagues.)

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June was a continuation of Begin's policy. Its aim was to destroy the military credibility of the PLO—and eliminate it as an independent political force in the Middle East—by driving the PLO forces from their bases in Lebanon. The Begin regime expected that such a defeat would effectively remove the "Palestinian question" from future Mideast peace negotiations, demoralize Palestinian militants in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and convince the U.S. and Egyptian governments to accept Israeli annexation of the occupied territories. Moreover, the PLO's defeat would enable Israel to secure its northern border by creating a pro-Israeli client state in Lebanon itself.

The invasion certainly achieved some of Begin's aims. After a heroic resistance, the PLO was forced to evacuate West Beirut and its dispersed forces are now being policed by

Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel was killed by a bomb explosion at his Phalangist Party headquarters on September 14. No one has yet taken responsibility for the attack. But in his brief political career Gemayel piled up a host of enemies—including rival factions within the rightist Christian alliance that brought him to power, as well as Palestinians and Muslim leftists—any of whom might have engineered his assassination.

Gemayel was a neo-fascist who ordered the notorious massacre of Palestinians at the Tel Zaatar refugee camp in 1976, and who betrayed his own country by becoming a well-paid agent of Israeli imperialism in Lebanon. We are not about to shed any tears over his death.

The Israeli government has already reacted to Gemayel's assassination by ordering its troops into West Beirut. Gemayel's death threatens to blow apart not only the shaky peace settlement in Lebanon, but also the Reagan administration's efforts to impose an imperialist peace throughout the Middle East.

the same Arab rulers who failed to give them any effective support against the Israeli invaders. The PLO fighters who went to Syria, for example, were given a hero's welcome and then packed off to isolated desert camps. In Tunisia, the government disarmed PLO contingents arriving in their country and con-

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In Lebanon, chose the right-leader Bashir G term Israeli ally try's new presic 23 in an "electi the guns of Israe ist troops. The E no time in ins mayel sign a pe Israel, warnin troops will stay until such a tr Israeli troops o Phalangist rall September 6 be onstrators wer signs demandi that day, Israe ter Ariel Sharon Israel will par and set up puppet, Saad H ern Lebanon if not sign a peac

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SOLIDARNOŚĆ

New Clashes Break Out All

On August 31 the Polish people erupted in the most militant rebellions against the country's state-capitalist rulers since the government imposed martial law last December. Tens of thousands of militants throughout Poland went into the streets demanding an end to military rule. Efforts by riot police and army troops to suppress the protesters provoked pitched battles in 34 of the country's 49 provinces.

In Gdańsk, the protests began with a peaceful rally by over 4,000 workers from the Lenin shipyards. But when the workers began chanting anti-government slogans police attacked them with tear gas, water cannon and concussion grenades. As demonstrators fought back, fighting spread to the surrounding streets and continued for most of the night. Militants in the city's northern districts set up barricades and pelted police with bricks, stones and gasoline bombs, destroy-

ing at least seven police vans.

Similar actions took place in cities and towns all over the country. In Wrocław, where up to 20,000 people went into the streets, the government had to bring in elite paratroop units to aid police. In Nowa Huta, an industrial suburb of Kraków, over 2,000 steelworkers marched toward the center of town and battled police who tried to block their way. In Warsaw, protesters set up barricades and took on riot police in street-fighting that continued till after midnight. And in Legnica, militants attacked the local headquarters of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). "Incidents" were also reported in Szczecin, Gorzów, Częstochowa, and Rzeszów.

The most serious clashes reportedly broke out in Lubin, a mining center in the southwestern province of Silesia. Police there opened fire on a crowd of several thousand demonstrators, killing at least

Solidarity supporters march in Warsaw on August 31. Riot police later attacked the demonstrators.



three and wounding 14. Another militant was shot to death in Wrocław, while a protester in Gdańsk died of internal injuries at the hands of the police. In addition, 4,050 demonstrators were jailed by the military regime.

Despite the government's repressive tactics, new revolts broke out on September 13. In Wrocław demonstrators attacked a convoy of police vehicles. In Nowa Huta police again had to use tear gas and water cannon to break up

demonstrators led by workers from the Lenin Steel Works. Later that night young workers and students clashed with police in several districts of the city. "Minor incidents" also occurred in Szczecin and Łódź.

The underground Solidarity leadership called the August 31 demonstrations after the failure of its latest effort to reach a peaceful accommodation with the Polish rulers. On July 1 underground leaders called on the Polish people to halt anti-government protests until July

22—Poland's national holiday—in response to reports that General Wojciech Jaruzelski, head of the military regime, was preparing to ease martial law. They issued a statement declaring that: "Suspending strikes and demonstrations is the next expression of our readiness for striking an agreement. We are awaiting concrete steps by the authorities proving their will to renew dialogue."

But in a speech to the Polish Sejm (parliament) on July 21, Jaruzelski once again dashed

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fined them to camps guarded by Tunisian troops.

In Lebanon, the parliament chose the right-wing Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel, a long-term Israeli ally, as the country's new president on August 23 in an "election" held under the guns of Israeli and Phalangist troops. The Begin regime lost no time in insisting that Gemayel sign a peace treaty with Israel, warning that Israeli troops will stay in the country until such a treaty is signed. Israeli troops even blocked a Phalangist rally in Sidon on September 6 because the demonstrators were not carrying signs demanding a treaty. Later that day, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon threatened that Israel will partition Lebanon and set up another Israeli puppet, Saad Haddad, in southern Lebanon if Gemayel does not sign a peace treaty soon.

Palestinians win worldwide sympathy

Despite its victories, however, the Begin regime has overplayed its hand in the Middle East. Israeli governments—and Zionist apologists in the U.S. and Western Europe—have always portrayed Israel as a tiny country compelled to fight for its very survival against a host of anti-Semitic Arab rulers and PLO "terrorists." And they have used such propaganda to excuse the Zionist rulers' brutal aggression against the Palestinian people and neighboring Arab states.

But the Israeli invasion of

Lebanon has gone a long way toward shattering this image. People around the world recoiled from the Zionist war machine's butchery of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. Even headline supporters of Israel had problems excusing Israel's "defensive" actions in Lebanon, and the Begin regime, condemned by world opinion as the aggressor, has become more isolated than ever before. Finally, the Palestinian people have won worldwide recognition and sympathy. It is now a bit clearer who are the real victims and who the real terrorists.

These Israeli setbacks have given the Reagan administration the opportunity to regain the initiative in the whole Mideast situation. The administration's main concern is to build a pro-U.S. alliance, uniting conservative Arab governments and Israel, to prevent U.S. imperialism's main rival, the Russian state-capitalist ruling class, from expanding its influence in the region. Reagan's foreign policy advisers realize that the Palestinian liberation struggle is the major factor behind the wars, revolutions and general instability that provide the Russian rulers with opportunities in the Middle East. The administration also knows that the Arab rulers cannot make a deal with Israel unless they appear to win some concessions for the Palestinians. Reagan and company, therefore, recognize that they cannot put together their desired alliance against the "Russian threat" unless they can pressure Israel into granting

Rightist Christian forces celebrate Bashir Gemayel's election as president of Lebanon.



concessions to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. And not incidentally, the administration increasingly resents Begin's efforts to define U.S. Mideast policy through unilateral military adventures.

The resignation of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, the most outspoken supporter of Israel among Reagan's foreign policy advisers, shortly after the invasion of Lebanon was the first signal of a shift in the administration's Mideast policy. Then, even before the PLO withdrawal from West Beirut, State Department officials announced that they had

begun a "comprehensive assessment" of the administration's overall Mideast policy and had found "very profound differences" with Israel. Shortly afterward, U.S. diplomats began secretly sounding out Arab rulers over the Reagan plan to ensure it would get a positive response when it was publicly announced on September 1.

U.S. goal: derail Palestinian struggle

Palestinian and Arab leaders were quick to respond. The PLO's foreign policy spokesperson, Farouk Kaddoumi, declared there were "positive elements" in the Reagan plan, as did Elias Freij, mayor of the city of Bethlehem in the West Bank and one of the chief Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories.

On September 10, Arab rulers meeting in Morocco offered a counter-proposal that included demands for an independent Palestinian state and recognition for the PLO in return for United Nations guarantees of "existing borders in the region"—in other words, implicit recognition of the state of Israel. Obviously their plan differs from Reagan's. But the real significance of the Arab proposal is that this is the closest the Arab governments have come to offering to recognize Israel as part of an imperialist peace deal in the Middle East. By this maneuver, the Arab rulers have made Israel appear to be the chief obstacle to peace in the region.

While the Reagan administration insists the Israeli government will eventually come around to its point of view, U.S. officials know perfectly well that Begin, who has staked his government's existence on maintaining Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip,

will never back down.

The U.S. government is in fact hoping that the opposition Labor Party, which has given cautious approval to the Reagan plan, will eventually be able to take power in Israel and conclude a deal with the U.S. and the Arab rulers. Begin has already accused the State Department and the U.S. press of waging a campaign to bring down his government and is threatening to call elections next year to show that the Israeli people back his hardline stand.

But the truth is that the Begin regime is on the defensive. Even the U.S. Jewish community, which has always given public support to Begin regardless of private misgivings over his policies, has broken with him over the Reagan proposal. Pro-Israel groups such as B'nai B'rith, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and others have given qualified support to Reagan's proposals, while groups that faulted the plan are at the same time criticizing Begin's outright rejection of negotiations.

Despite the fact that the Reagan administration now appears to be opposing the Begin government and advocating the rights of the Palestinians, it is important to keep one thing in mind. The heart of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East was and still is the derailment of the Palestinian national liberation struggle. For all its talk about "justice" and "fresh starts," the Reagan administration continues to deny the Palestinian people any independent state of their own—even an inevitably weak and poverty-stricken one on the West Bank—let alone the recovery of all of their homeland. The differences and conflicts between the U.S., on the one hand, and its Israeli and Arab allies, on the other, are over how best to accomplish this. □

Over Poland

the underground leadership's hope for a political deal. Although he announced that 913 people interned since the December crackdown would be freed, with another 314 released for the holidays, he stated that the government would not release 637 other political prisoners held since December, including all the major leaders of Solidarity. And while Jaruzelski said he hoped to end martial law by the end of the year, he also stated that it would be followed by the creation of a government with "extraordinary powers"—in other words, martial law under another name.

Following the speech, the Underground announced that Jaruzelski had "discarded the hope of social accord" and called for a series of protests to begin on August 13, the eight-month anniversary of the imposition of martial law, and culminate in nationwide demonstrations on August 31, the second anniversary of the

Gdańsk accords that gave birth to Solidarity.

The military regime went all out to smash the Underground's campaign. Throughout August police used clubs, tear gas and water cannon to break up local anti-government protests. As the 31st approached, Jaruzelski and other government officials gave nationally televised speeches warning that the government would crush any resistance to its authority. Meanwhile, authorities rounded up known anti-government militants and raided underground presses, while the government paraded armored personnel carriers through the streets in an effort to intimidate the Polish people. And on the 31st itself, it massed hordes of police at sites where rallies were scheduled to take place. Archbishop Józef Glemp, head of the Polish Roman Catholic Church, effectively collaborated with the government's efforts by urging people to stay off the streets on the 31st.

Although Jaruzelski is claiming that August 31 was a victory for his regime, the Polish government—and its protectors, the Russian state-capitalist rulers—were clearly panicked by the militancy displayed by the Polish people. The ruling Military Council of National Salvation held emergency meetings to discuss the situation, while the PUWP Politburo called for "improvements in the life of the working class" in an effort to buy the loyalty, or at least the tolerance, of Polish workers. But the regime also charged four imprisoned leaders of the dissident group KOR with the capital crime of "trying to overthrow the state by violence." At the same time, the Russian government warned that the PUWP could rule effectively only by cooperating with the Russian rulers and accepting their criticism—an indication that the Russian rulers are seeking to tighten their grip in Poland. □

DISPUTE IN UNITED SECRETARIAT REVEALS CRISIS OF TROTSKYIST THEORY

Part
Three

By ROD MILLER and RON TABER

This is the third in a series of articles on the factional struggle currently taking place within the largest international organization calling itself Trotskyist, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), and its U.S. section, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

As we explained earlier, the debate in the USec is the result of a move by the leadership of the SWP, headed by Jack Barnes, to break formally with key aspects of the organization's traditional program and theory. Specifically, the SWP leadership has proposed to abandon its long-standing perspective of building a distinctly Trotskyist international party in favor of calling for a new "mass, Leninist international" to be based primarily on the Cuban Communist Party, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front and the New Jewel Movement of Grenada. This change, in fact, marks a major shift on the part of the SWP toward an organizational, theoretical and programmatic rapprochement with Stalinism.

This shift, however, is not being made openly and explicitly. Rather, beginning last November, the Barnes leadership began publishing articles that discussed the relative merits of Lenin and Trotsky's pre-1917 theories of the Russian Revolution. These articles are a sharp break with the traditional USec view that Trotsky's theory was correct and, in our view, are a prelude to setting up a counter-position between "Leninism," on the one hand, and "Trotskyism," on the other. This tactic is hardly new—it is precisely what Stalin did in the 1920s to help consolidate the growing bureaucracy in Russia around himself and to discredit Trotsky.

To date, the main public opponent of the Barnes position has been Ernest Mandel, long-time theoretical spokesperson for the USec. But Mandel, like Barnes, has not stated publicly what is actually under dispute in the USec; instead, he has limited himself to joining the debate over Lenin's theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry versus Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution.

Originally, we intended that this article would take up the specific arguments being advanced by the two sides in the USec debate. However, we concluded that this discussion would be clearer if we first extended our outline of the historical background of the debate to cover the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin in the 1920s over the direction and nature of the Russian and world revolutions.

(Readers interested in following the full debate will find the exchanges between Mandel and the SWP leadership in the November 1981 and April and June 1982 issues of *International Socialist Review*, a theoretical supplement to the SWP's newspaper, the *Militant*. For the first two parts of our own series, see the July 15 and August 15 issues of the *Torch*.)

★

In the years immediately following the October Revolution, the dispute over Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution versus Lenin's theory of the revolutionary-democratic

Permanent Revolution vs. Socialism in One Country

dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry virtually disappeared. The Bolsheviks were far too busy fighting White counter-revolutionary armies, contending with concerted imperialist interventions and trying to hold the country together economically to engage in what at the time would have been a rather esoteric debate.

Moreover, whatever the past differences between Lenin and Trotsky, these appeared to have been resolved in practice: The events of 1917 had won Trotsky over to Lenin's conception of the revolutionary party, while their differing views on the course of the revolution had, in the context of 1917 and the years following, closely converged, if not actually fused. There seemed to be little reason to belabor the past.

The debate over the two theories did revive, however, becoming in the mid-1920s a central axis of what has since become known as the "Trotsky-Stalin dispute." At stake in this struggle was the fundamental direction of the revolutionary regime in Russia, the international Communist movement and the fight for socialism throughout the world.

The context for this struggle was the following: First, the revolution in Russia had not led to or been accompanied by successful working class revolutions elsewhere. Uprisings did take place in Germany (1918-19, 1921, 1923), Hungary (1919) and Bulgaria (1923); all, however, were defeated. The result was that the revolutionary regime in Russia, though it had survived the civil war (in somewhat altered form), was by the mid-1920s thoroughly isolated in a hostile capitalist world.

This was contrary to Lenin and Trotsky's expectations; their perspectives in 1917 had been based on their belief that there would likely be successful revolutions elsewhere. Both had repeatedly argued that socialism could not be built in one country alone, particularly in a semi-developed country such as Russia. This was not merely a question of whether the revolutionary regime could survive the attempts of the various imperialist powers to physically crush the revolution; more fundamentally, the issue was whether a socialist society—that is, a society ruled directly by the workers and other oppressed classes, and in which the state is withering away—could be constructed in conditions of economic, political and cultural backwardness. In both Lenin's and Trotsky's view, the tiny size of the Russian working class, the low cultural level of the population as a whole (illiteracy was widespread) and the lack of a well-developed industrial infrastructure meant that the workers in Russia would not be able to build a socialist society unless they received political and material aid from workers who had seized power in one or more of the advanced countries.

But the isolation of the regime was not the only problem the Bolsheviks faced. To make matters worse, the Russian economy had been utterly devastated by World War I, the revolution itself and the years of civil war that followed. The working class itself had been reduced to half its prewar size, and many of those counted as workers were surviving by begging, petty trading or pilfering in the cities.

As a result of all this, a considerable portion of the people—particularly peasants but also significant numbers of workers—were now hostile to the Bolshevik government. The 1921 revolt at the naval fortress at Kronstadt, the many peasant uprisings throughout the country (including the massive revolt in Tambov in 1921) and the frequent strikes in

Petrograd all demonstrated the growing fragility of the revolutionary regime.

Rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy

It was in this context that a bureaucracy arose and steadily expanded its power and influence. This bureaucracy—a stratum of state and party officials who stood above and ruled over the mass of workers and peasants—originated during the civil war, when the Bolsheviks instituted a harsh, highly-centralized regime to hold the country together economically and to wage the military struggle against the



Hungarian Red Guards in action in 1919. Defeat of workers' uprisings in Hungary and isolation of the Russian revolutionary government.

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Trotsky's struggle aga tion involved numerous iss crucial. The first was the q Bolshevik Party. Trotsky a restoration of the relatively previously existed in the p form discrete political fac pended at the party's 10th

White armies and their imperialist backers. Virtually all the other political parties had joined the counter-revolution and the soviets, factory committees and other mass democratic organizations created in 1917 increasingly became little more than administrative arms of the Bolshevik Party. The result was that the actual center of power had shifted from the workers and peasants themselves to the organizations and structures of the state and, particularly, the party.

What was still a relatively small bureaucratic apparatus at the end of the civil war, grew substantially during the 1920s. The leader and chief organizer of this bureaucracy was Joseph Stalin, a long-time Bolshevik who, as we saw last month, had led the party in a distinctly non-revolutionary course during March of 1917 and who had become the party's General Secretary in 1922.

The growth of the bureaucracy did not go unchallenged. In the last two years of his life, Lenin became increasingly concerned about the direction of the revolutionary regime, particularly the bureaucratization of the Bolshevik Party itself. He began to realize that the center of the bureaucratic apparatus was the office of the party's General Secretary, Stalin, who used his power of appointment to fill party positions with individuals personally loyal to himself.

In the fall of 1922, Lenin approached Trotsky (who was then Commissar of War) and proposed a joint fight against Stalin on the question of the growing bureaucratization of the party and other related issues. Unfortunately, Lenin, already quite sick, became totally incapacitated in early 1923 and died a year later without ever fully recovering. This left Trotsky to lead what was to become a long, courageous and ultimately losing battle against Stalin, the Stalinist bureaucracy and the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. Although other forces, both within and outside the Bolshevik Party, also fought against the bureaucracy, it was the struggle led by Trotsky that lasted the longest and proved most significant. This struggle went through a number of phases: the 1923 Opposition; the Joint Opposition of 1926-1927 (with Zinoviev and Kamenev); the International Left Opposition, 1928-1933 (following the expulsion of Trotsky and many of his supporters from the Bolshevik Party and Communist parties abroad); and the struggle to build a new, revolutionary international party, the Fourth International, 1933-1940 (the year Trotsky died).

Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist counter-revolution involved numerous issues, but three were particularly crucial. The first was the question of democracy within the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky and his supporters called for the restoration of the relatively broad democratic life that had previously existed in the party. This included the right to form discrete political factions, a right that had been suspended at the party's 10th Congress in March 1921. Stalin,

on the other hand, opposed all efforts to open up party debate and continued to centralize as much power as possible in his own hands.

A second issue centered on economic strategy. At the conclusion of the civil war, the Bolsheviks had instituted what they termed the New Economic Policy (NEP), intended to help the country recover from its devastation. The NEP gave considerable play to free market (capitalist) forces: The peasants were allowed to grow and trade their grain with few restrictions; factories were put under the complete control of their management (mostly state, but some private) and run on a profit and loss basis; state planning was minimal. By the mid-1920s, the country had recovered somewhat, although at the cost of allowing pro-capitalist forces to flourish. At this point, sharp disagreements broke out in the party over economic policy and direction. Trotsky, E. A. Preobrazhensky, and others warned that if NEP were allowed to continue unhindered, the result would be a further strengthening of pro-capitalist forces in the country (rich peasants and private traders, for example) and the eventual restoration of capitalism. Trotsky proposed instead a policy of moderate industrialization to build up basic industry, state planning and the state sector generally. In contrast, Stalin and those allied with him at the time, notably Nikolai Bukharin, favored maintaining NEP with minimal modifications.

Debate over international strategy

The third key issue in dispute—and the one most relevant to our present discussion—was a debate over international strategy: What policies should the Bolshevik regime and the Communist International (Comintern), founded in March 1919, pursue outside Russia itself? This debate involved two interrelated questions: How closely should the fate of the Russian Revolution be tied to successful revolutions elsewhere? What strategy should revolutionaries in other countries follow, especially those in underdeveloped, imperialized countries such as China, where mass workers', peasants' and national liberation movements were growing rapidly in the 1920s?

On both these questions, Trotsky continued to defend the content of the theory of Permanent Revolution. (We say "content" because on several occasions during the 1920s, Trotsky stated that the "formula" of Permanent Revolution "applies wholly to the past." He did this primarily because some of his longtime collaborators, such as Preobrazhensky and Karl Radek, as well as Zinoviev and Kamenev, with whom he was allied in the Joint Opposition from April 1926 to December 1927, did not accept the theory. Later, however, Trotsky would affirm the central importance of the theory of Permanent Revolution in his thinking throughout this period.)

Specifically, Trotsky argued that the Russian Revolution had to be seen as an integral part of the international socialist revolution—that unless socialist revolutions were ultimately successful elsewhere, it would be impossible to build a socialist society in Russia and the Bolshevik regime would eventually be overthrown. In line with this, Trotsky contended that the chief strategic task of the Communist International and (less overtly) the Russian government should be to help organize and lead the workers in other countries to seize power for themselves.

On the question of revolutionary strategy in the imperialized countries, Trotsky put forward a strategy based on the theory of Permanent Revolution, and similar to that of the Bolsheviks in 1917. Specifically, Trotsky argued that the Communist parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries should seek to lead the working class, supported by the peasants, in kicking out the imperialists, overthrowing the local landlord and capitalist classes, and establishing proletarian governments which would both carry out the bourgeois democratic tasks of the revolution and begin to pursue the anti-capitalist, socialist aims.

In contrast to the revolutionary internationalist perspective put forward by Trotsky, Stalin advanced what was in fact a conservative, narrowly Russian-nationalist approach. On the question of Russia's international strategy, Stalin summed up his policy in the slogan "Socialism in One Country," which he first raised in the fall of 1924, in the second edition of his work *Foundations of Leninism*. Stalin argued that it was possible to build a fully developed socialist society in a single country, without revolutions occurring elsewhere. On the question of revolutionary strategy in the colonialized countries, Stalin counterposed to the theory of Permanent Revolution what he claimed was Lenin's theory of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Stalin's "Socialism in One Country" represented a total reversal of what had been the accepted Bolshevik perspective

until then. In fact, as recently as April of 1924, in the first edition of *Foundations of Leninism*, Stalin himself had set out the then orthodox view: "Can the final victory of socialism in one country be attained without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? No, this is impossible."

Moreover, although Stalin based himself on some quotations from Lenin (mainly an out-of-context passage from an article of 1915, in which Lenin used the phrase "victory of socialism" in the broad sense of a successful socialist uprising), he was in fact putting forward a view precisely the opposite of Lenin's. Lenin had repeatedly argued that it would not be possible to build socialism in one country. (Indeed, this was one of the chief reasons he had opposed Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution prior to 1917. He knew that socialism could not be constructed in Russia alone and was not prepared to have the Russian revolution depend on the prior success of socialist revolutions elsewhere; hence he advocated a bourgeois democratic revolution, leaving open the question of carrying out a specifically socialist revolution in case such working class revolutions did occur. It was only under the impact of World War I that Lenin, believing that the war would provoke workers' revolutions in a number of countries, began to shift his strategic thinking.)

But in putting forward the notion of "Socialism in One Country" Stalin was doing more than replacing Lenin's internationalist perspective with a nationalist one. He was also elaborating an ideology that both represented and defended the interests of the state and party bureaucracy. In 1924, this bureaucracy was relatively new and weak. It was made up of disparate elements, including not only members of the old Tsarist bureaucracy, middle class intellectuals and demoralized people from the working class, but also people who considered themselves to be Bolsheviks (Communists). Stalin's formula provided a unifying slogan around which this bureaucratic stratum could be consolidated.

Internally, "Socialism in One Country" meant industrializing the country and building a modern economy based almost exclusively on the country's own resources. But to accomplish this, the needed capital would have to come from a drastic increase in the exploitation of the workers and peasants—something that would later become apparent in the brutal pace of industrialization and forced collectivization of the peasants carried out by Stalin in the late 1920s and 1930s.

Internationally, the slogan "Socialism in One Country" meant subordinating the interests of world revolution to the needs of the Russian state, i.e., the bureaucracy that ruled the country. With its rule still shaky, the bureaucracy wanted to avoid antagonizing the capitalist powers. This meant avoiding what it saw as "foreign adventures" (workers' uprisings). All this entailed turning the Comintern into a tool of the bureaucracy's narrow, nationalistic foreign policy needs, rather than an organization dedicated to the cause of world revolution.

Stalin falsifies Lenin's views

Just as "Socialism in One Country" was a falsification of what Lenin had believed and struggled for, so was Stalin's version of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry at odds with either of the variants of Lenin's original theory. As we discussed in part one of this series, Lenin based his theory explicitly on the notion that, because of the weakness and cowardice of the Russian bourgeoisie, the workers and peasants had to carry out the bourgeois revolution against the bourgeoisie, however ironic this seemed. Consequently, he argued that one of the chief tasks of revolutionary Marxists was to combat the bourgeoisie's political influence over the peasants and workers, to make the latter aware that their interests were opposed to those of the bourgeoisie and that the bourgeoisie would betray them at the decisive moment. If this approach were followed, Lenin said, the bourgeois democratic revolution would bring to power a provisional revolutionary government made up of representatives of the workers and peasants—a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Although, as we saw, Lenin at times wrote that such a government would, after solving the land question, calling a constituent assembly and setting up a democratic republic, allow the bourgeoisie itself to rule, at other times he argued that the workers should be prepared to go beyond the bourgeois democratic revolution and begin to take up the socialist tasks if successful working class revolutions took place in one or more of the Western European countries.

When Stalin revived the theory of the "democratic dictatorship" (significantly, he usually dropped the term "revolutionary" from Lenin's original formula), he interpreted it in an almost diametrically opposed manner on most of these points. In Stalin's version, revolutions in the colonial and

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1919. Defeat of workers' uprisings in Hungary and other European countries led to a bourgeois government.



Kuomintang troops slaughter worker militiamen in Shanghai, 1927. Under Stalin's instructions, the Chinese Communist Party had told the Shanghai workers to bury their guns.

(Continued from previous page)

semi-colonial countries could—a priori—only be bourgeois democratic, since the immediate political and social tasks on the agenda in these countries were bourgeois democratic in character. Even more to the point, Stalin argued that what flowed from this was that the task of revolutionaries was to limit the revolution to its bourgeois democratic stage, to support and build up the forces of the bourgeoisie and to help boost them into power. Revolutionaries, therefore, should not seek to seize power and set up a revolutionary government of the workers and peasants and should not seek to transform the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

China: a tragic example

Stalin's perversion of Lenin's theory of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship was to have deadly consequences when applied to Comintern policy in the 1920s. Here we would like to discuss briefly the case of China, the most dramatic—and tragic—example in this period of the counter-revolutionary content of Stalin's perspectives.

In the 1920s, China was a society in the throes of revolutionary ferment. Mass nationalist, peasant and working class struggles were sweeping the country. Millions of people participated in campaigns against the British, French and other imperialists, who had carved China into "spheres of influence" and ruled the country indirectly through Chinese hirelings. Peasants waged bitter struggles for land and to rid themselves of the burdens of debt and taxes, while China's workers fought against near-slavery conditions: for tolerable working and living conditions, for a decent wage and basic democratic rights.

Although the workers also took a leading part in the national liberation movement, the major political leadership of this movement was the Kuomintang, a bourgeois nationalist party founded in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen. By the mid-1920s, the Kuomintang was controlled by landlords, capitalists and warlord generals who were bitterly hostile to the worker and peasant movements.

In 1922, the Communist International ordered the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which had been formed just one year earlier, to join the Kuomintang and effectively disband its own organization. Once inside the Kuomintang, the policy of the CCP was increasingly guided by Stalin and Bukharin's version of the theory of the "democratic dictatorship." In their eyes, China would inevitably have to go through a two-stage revolution. In the first (bourgeois democratic) stage, the task of Communists was to help and prod the bourgeois nationalist leaders to unify China, expel the imperialists, and assume power. This would, supposedly, establish a "democratic dictatorship" which would include, in addition to representatives of the workers and peasants, representatives of the middle layers of Chinese society and of the "national bourgeoisie." (This alliance was called the "bloc of four classes.")

From 1922 until 1927, the CCP was instructed to build up the Kuomintang, cohere its organization, and to promote it and its eventual leader, Chiang Kai-shek, as the "leaders of the Chinese Revolution." Moreover, to maintain the alliance with Chiang and his capitalist and landlord backers, the CCP was ordered to actively stop, if need be, the workers from striking and the peasants from seizing the land.

A hint of the flavor of this policy can be seen in a telegram Stalin and the presidium of the Fourteenth Party Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent to the presidium of the Second Congress of the Kuomintang in January 1926. The telegram read in part: "To our party has fallen the proud and historical role of leading the first victorious proletarian revolution in the world... We are convinced that the Kuomintang will succeed in playing the same role in the East and thereby destroy the foundation of the rule of the imperialists in Asia..." (Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, p. 85.) (This telegram, and the policy it reflected, was clearly inconsistent with Lenin's call for "determined struggle against the attempt to paint the bourgeois-democratic liberation trends in the backward countries in communist colours." Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," *Lenin on the National and Colonial Questions*, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1967, p. 27.)

The result of Stalin and Bukharin's policy came in March and April of 1927. Several months earlier, Chiang Kai-shek, then based in Canton, in southern China, had launched the Northern Expedition, a military campaign against warlords allied with the foreign imperialists. As this successful campaign neared the large commercial and industrial city of Shanghai in March 1927, the workers there armed themselves, carried out two general strikes, and took control of the entire city. But the Comintern, afraid of a clash between the militant workers and Chiang's forces, told the CCP to instruct the workers to bury their weapons and turn the city over to Chiang. After entering the city unopposed, Chiang proceeded to crush the uprising, rounding up and killing literally tens of thousands of militants. The Shanghai working class movement was effectively smashed and the Chinese revolution set back many years.

The tragic events in China were the direct result of the misleadership offered by Stalin and his lieutenants on the scene. More generally, they stemmed from Stalin's policy of subordinating workers' revolutions to the needs of his factional struggle against Trotsky and to the consolidation of the bureaucracy as a whole.

Although all this was carried out under the banner of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" and "Leninism," it is crucial to remember that Stalin's perspective was not in fact Lenin's: Lenin organized the working class to fight against the bourgeoisie and to contest it for leadership over the peasants and other oppressed classes; Stalin subordinated the workers to the bourgeoisie, calling on them to support the bourgeoisie in a national revolution.

We cannot discuss in detail how Stalin was able to carry out this distortion; such a discussion would have to include a deeper exploration of the entire history of the Stalin-Trotsky struggle, especially the defeats of the international revolution and their impact on the Bolshevik Party. But we would like to indicate the view that among the many factors enabling Stalin to succeed, the weaknesses in Lenin's theory played a part.

Specifically, we think there were three aspects of the theory that made it vulnerable to Stalin's manipulations.

The first is what we described earlier in this series as its ambiguous character. The theory doesn't clearly tell revolutionaries what they should do in a revolutionary situation. Some formulations Lenin used in arguing his theory imply that the task of revolutionaries in colonial or semi-colonial countries is to overthrow the landlord classes and the autocracy, sweep away the other remnants of feudalism, and then to put the bourgeoisie in power to allow capitalism to develop unfettered. This would supposedly enable the

working class to grow, organize and educate itself and thus prepare the way for a socialist revolution at some indefinite point in the future. On the other hand, other of Lenin's formulations imply that the task of revolutionaries is to seize power and to take the revolution as far toward socialism as possible. While an argument can be made that this last view is the "correct" interpretation, it is easy to cite numerous passages from Lenin's own writings (as we did in Part I of this series) that clearly state the first of these interpretations. In either case, that the theory did not give clear guidance was shown, in practice, by the vacillation and crisis in the Bolshevik Party in the weeks following the February Revolution.

A second weakness in Lenin's theory that enabled Stalin to distort it the way he did is its emphasis on the idea that the revolution was going to be—and had to be—bourgeois democratic in character. While Lenin did, at times, leave open the possibility of the revolution going further, the basic thrust of the theory (something emphasized even more strongly in pre-1917 Bolshevik polemics against Trotsky and the anarchists) was the inevitably bourgeois character of the Russian revolution. The theory thus lent itself to being interpreted as opposing attempts to carry the revolution past its bourgeois democratic "stage."

Finally, the theory never describes or explains what the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry would actually look like. Is it a government built on the mass democratic organs of the workers and peasants and thus directly controlled by them? Or is it a government of parties claiming to represent the needs of the workers and peasants, but outside of and apart from their direct control?

Taking the question from another angle, we can demonstrate that what today passes for proletarian dictatorships ("workers' states," or "socialist countries") has little in common with the concrete content of a proletarian dictatorship elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin himself—specifically, that the workers themselves must directly control and actually constitute the state. (See, for example, Lenin's *The State and Revolution*.) But such a contrast is far harder to draw between Lenin's formula of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry and what purports to be socialism today. Almost any state, led by a party that calls itself Marxist, Leninist, socialist or whatever, that claims to represent the workers and peasants and that has carried out some anti-imperialist reforms, can be said to be a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" supposedly on its way to socialism.

In other words, the very vagueness and ambiguity of the theory enables almost any radical, bourgeois democratic trend, movement or state to paint itself in communist colors and thus to hide its fundamentally bourgeois character.

As we shall see in the remainder of this series, this is precisely why the SWP leadership has begun to break with Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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IMMIGRATION BILL...

(Continued from page 3)

Other supporters of the bill hurriedly organizing to stop it. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) has been one of its most visible opponents. MALDEF leader Antonia Hernández denounces the bill as "restrictionist, anti-alien, and anti-Hispanic." "The Senate ignored the concerns of the Hispanic community in this bill," she says.

Nevertheless, some Latino leaders have supported the bill because of its promise of amnesty for up to four million, mostly Latino, immigrants. The fact that this amnesty is highly conditional and limited to people who arrived before 1980 is overlooked.

The bureaucratic leaders of the AFL-CIO support the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, claiming that undocumented workers take jobs away from citizens and depress wages and working conditions. Yet one provision of the bill that outlaws "referring or recruiting" undocumented workers is, according to Sen. Simpson, specifically aimed at curbing the power of union hiring halls.

Other supporters of the bill include the NAACP, various New Right groups, and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Strengthens police apparatus

This repressive law is very well designed from the big capitalists' point of view. It divides the working class in a fierce competition over dwindling jobs—citizen vs. immigrant, Black vs. Latino, new arrival vs. long-time resident. And it strengthens the police apparatus of the state for greater control over everyone. It is a harsh attack on all workers and oppressed, and that is its true purpose.

It will not create more jobs for legal residents. If there is any connection between undocumented immigration and employment, it reflects well on the immigrants. 1981 statistics show average unemployment rates of 9.4 percent in states with few undocumented immigrants. In states where undocumented im-



South Africa's racist rulers use passbooks to police the country's oppressed Black majority. Senate-passed bill follows this example by calling for a "counterfeit-proof" system of identification for U.S. workers.

migrants are concentrated the unemployment rate averaged 6.9 percent—significantly lower. In fact, immigrant workers create more new jobs than they take, through their consumer demands for goods and services.

Furthermore, figures published by the *Wall Street Jour-*

nal (February 26, 1981) indicate another way in which the U.S. economy benefits from immigration. Immigrant families consistently use less than their share of public services (as much as 40 percent less in their first years here), while paying as much as 16 percent more than their share of taxes.

The employer penalties called for in the bill won't work without a massive expenditure on secure, national ID cards and making every employer a cop. A dozen U.S. states which have already passed similar "employer penalty" laws have found them completely ineffective.

The law, if passed, can only be enforced selectively, at the whim of the INS. But many employers will be reluctant to hire anyone who looks or sounds "foreign." As a result job discrimination, especially against Latinos, will soar.

bill becomes law or not, the massive wave of immigration to the U.S. (mostly from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean) will not stop. Mexico's current economic crisis, for example, has led to a 30 percent increase in Mexican undocumented immigration in recent weeks. As long as U.S. imperialism continues to dominate the world, economic conditions in poorer, oppressed nations will continue to push people toward the U.S.—toward a chance for a job, an education, a better life.

What they find here, however, is a society itself slipping into the worldwide capitalist crisis. Living conditions in the U.S., though far better than in most of the rest of the world, are no longer improving. Here too, life is getting worse, and the cause of it is not massive immigration. The cause is capitalism.

We need a world where the forced migration of starving peasants and fleeing political refugees is ended forever, and where the free migration of the international working class is a guaranteed right. Today's capitalist world will never give us such freedom. Capitalism must be overthrown, and a new world built. □

For open borders!

As we go to press, it is not clear if this bill will pass the House before Congress adjourns in October. But one thing is certain. Whether this

EVENTS

CHICAGO

OCT. 1—Benefit to rebuild Gay Community News. Fri., 9pm-2am, CrossCurrents Cabaret, Wilton at Belmont. Sponsor: Stonewall Committee.

DETROIT

SEPT. 24-25—Teach-in on the Middle East at Wayne St. Univ. Sponsor: Cttee. to Support the Lebanese and Palestinian People. For more info, (313) 921-8398.

OCT. 16—International Day of Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Rally at Wayne St. Univ., Gen. Lectures Aud., Sat., 7:30pm. Film: El Salvador—Revolution or Death; featured spkr.: Patricia Sempas, AMES (Women's Assoc. of El Salvador). For more info, (313) 841-9200.

LOS ANGELES

SEPT. 25—Lebanon/Palestine Teach-in. Sat., 1-5pm, Church in Ocean Park, 235 Hill St., Santa Monica. Sponsor: Cttee. in Support of the Palestinian People.

OCT. 11 — Stop the draft! Defend draft non-registrant David Wayte. Demonstrate the night before his trial, Tues., 7pm, Fed. Courthouse, 312 N. Spring St., LA. Then join us on Oct. 12 for the trial in Judge Hatter's courtroom, same address. Sponsor: LA Draft Resistance Support Cttee. For more info, (213) 385-6029.

NEW YORK

SEPT. 22—Benefit to rebuild Gay Community News. Wed., 8pm, Mudd Club, 77 White St., near B'way. \$4 cover. Sponsor: Friends of GCN.

OCT. 3—Rosie Jimenez, 1950-1977. Program to commemorate the 1st woman to die after elimination of Medicaid abortions. Spkrs., cultural activities, speak-out. Hunter College, School of Social Work Aud. For more info, contact the NY Coalition for Reproductive Rights, (212) 964-1350, or the RSL, (212) 695-6802.

SAN DIEGO

OCT. 3—Demonstrate in Support of Ben Sasway, public non-registrant convicted in Aug. 2pm, Newtown Park. Sponsor: San Diego CARD. For more info, (714) 753-7518.

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