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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

By ALBERT LARY

While a hot debate over Central America divides the U.S. ruling class, President Reagan and a small group of his most reactionary advisers are positioning themselves for what may turn into a full-scale U.S. military intervention in the region.

Reagan's hard-line sales pitch to a joint session of Congress April 27 was part of the script. In the charged atmosphere which such special occasions create, Reagan talked about "vital American interests" threatened by "communism on the march," and "falling dominoes" heading toward the U.S. southern border. It was rhetorical overkill, intended to make one clear point: Ronald Reagan will not "lose" El Salvador, and Congress had better get in line behind his plan for quick military victory or he will roll right over them.

Administration fears defeat in El Salvador

If listeners to the speech heard a tone of desperation behind the bravado, they were right. Reagan's Central American advisers have concluded that if the Salvadorean civil war is not stabilized in the government's favor by the end of the year, it will either 1) be lost to the rebels of the FMLN-FDR, or 2) require the intervention of large numbers of U.S. combat troops. If such a choice becomes necessary—as it likely will, judging from the current strength of rebel forces—Reagan's decision has already been made. He intends to "save" El Salvador for U.S. imperialism, at whatever cost.

Not all imperialist policy-makers agree with this strategy, however, and the dogfight continues in Congress and in the press. On May 3, the House

Intelligence Committee voted to cut off all money being funneled by the CIA to right-wing forces trying to overthrow the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. About \$40 million has been spent in the past two years on this not-so-"secret war." The cut-off measure is expected to pass a later vote of the full House but will probably fail in the Senate. Reagan denounced the House Committee's action as "irresponsible"—even though the same committee approved spending \$80 million "openly" (not by the CIA) to choke off supplies that the administration claims are flowing from Nicaragua to the Salvadorean rebels.

Earlier, another House subcommittee agreed to give Reagan an additional \$30 million in military aid for El Salvador this year, but the amount was only half of what had been requested. Still other congressional committees have rejected or limited similar requests for more military aid, while at the same time approving large sums for economic assistance to the Salvadorean regime.

Meanwhile, a high-level commission of U.S. and Latin American ruling class policy-makers issued a statement in April which discounted the upcoming Salvadorean elections and called for negotiations with the rebels—a view Reagan strongly opposes. The commission included banker David Rockefeller, former World Bank President Robert McNamara, two former U.S. secretaries of state, and a former chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

All of this has left Reagan in a defensive and belligerent mood. He has withdrawn Central American policy-making from the State Department and entrusted it to a small circle of hard-liners who think more like him. This group includes UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, National Security Adviser William Clark, CIA Director William Casey and the new Special Envoy to Central America, Richard Stone, a
(Continued on page 6)

Gay Community Mobilizes Against AIDS

By IAN DANIELS

NEW YORK—On May 2nd more than 5,000 people, primarily gay men, marched in New York City to demand more federal funds for research into AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome), a highly fatal disease recently declared "epidemic" by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control. Over 10,000 people marched in a similar demonstration in San Francisco, and smaller events were held in several more major cities. According to *Gay Community News*, another action is scheduled for May 26 in Los Angeles.

The New York march, sponsored by the New York AIDS Network, was organized around the theme "Fighting For Our Lives," and was billed as a "candlelight vigil to honor the dead and support the living." Assembling at Sheridan Square in Greenwich Village, the marchers filled the streets in one of the larger recent political demonstrations in New York's lesbian and gay community. The protesters then marched to New York's Federal Building for a rally that included speakers from the National Gay Task Force and the rapidly-growing Gay Men's Health Crisis.

A mysterious and deadly disease

AIDS is a disease which breaks down the body's immune system, setting it up for ravaging attacks by rare diseases and opportunistic infections which otherwise could be fought off by internal body functions. Among these diseases are two previously rare and serious afflictions, Kaposi's sarcoma, a cancer known primarily in the tropics, and Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia, a parasitic

lung infection.

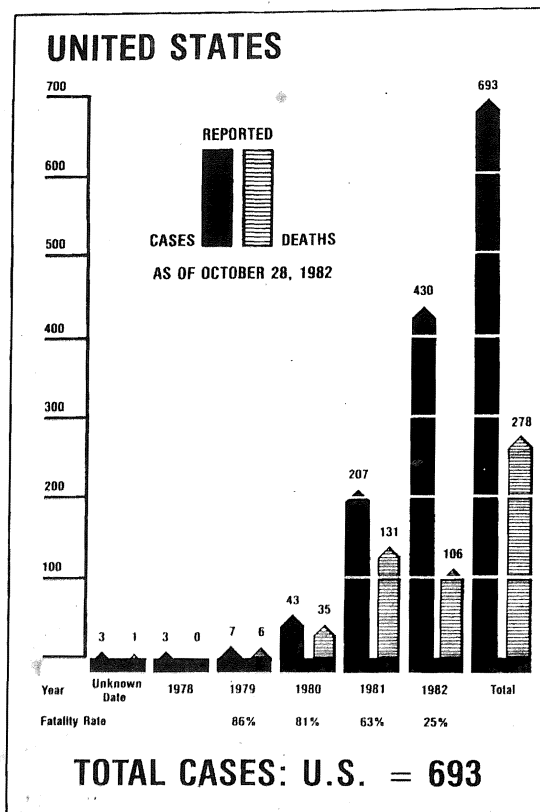
The peculiarity of AIDS is in who it affects: Of the nearly 1,400 reported victims of the disease, roughly 75 percent have been gay-identified men, 15 percent have been intravenous drug users, five percent Haitian immigrants, and the remainder hemophiliacs and small numbers of various seemingly unrelated groups.

The overall mortality rate for the disease is 37.6 percent, although no AIDS victim has "fully recovered" and fewer than 14 percent of AIDS victims have survived more than three years after diagnosis. Speculation that the incubation period for the disease may be as long as three years means that the afflicted communities may be sitting on a veritable time bomb. As of now, there are numerous theories—but no hard answers as to the cause or cure of AIDS.

The first cases of what came to be known as AIDS were recognized in 1981, though shortly thereafter the disease was linked to several mysteriously afflicted people dating back to 1978. AIDS first earned the name "Gay Cancer" or "Gay Plague," and concern about the potential danger of the disease was limited primarily to the affected gay or Haitian communities. Financial response from government agencies was initially extremely poor and research and treatment for the disease has until recently been based largely on fund-raising efforts from the gay community.

Blaming the victims

A variety of theories have been developed, and many discarded, about the causes of the disease. Most of these theories



AIDS—Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome—is a mysterious and deadly new disease that disproportionately affects certain groups. A case a day was reported in the first half of 1982; 2.5 cases in the second half. Today, the rate is four cases a day. The current mortality rate for AIDS is 40 percent and the disease has already killed at least 500 people. Graph above shows increase in incidence of AIDS through 1982. Since graph was prepared, total number of reported cases has more than doubled. (Graph reprinted from Gay Men's Health Crisis Newsletter, January 1983.)

have been plagued by prejudice against the afflicted groups, generally blaming the victims of the disease. Some have blamed homosexual sex itself for the disease. Others have blamed Haitian "cultural practices." The Association of Haitian Physicians Abroad, commenting on this racist and anti-Third World slant, said in a press release, "The transmission of speculative information [about AIDS] has created a detriment to the Haitian community overseas and has caused nearly irreparable prejudice." (Translated from the French, *La Nouvelle Haiti Tribune*, February 2-9, 1983.)

It was not until AIDS began to spread away from such "unpopular" groups as gays, Haitians, and drug-users that concern from authorities began to take real form. Unfortunately, much of the response has retained the prejudice—and in some cases, produced serious overreactions. After AIDS began to appear in some hemophiliacs, apparently as a result of blood transfusions, gay men and other "high risk" people were urged not to donate blood. In San Francisco, police officers are being given face masks and gloves to wear when dealing with potential AIDS victims.

Now that AIDS has spread to

a small number of children, non-Haitian, non-drug using, heterosexual men, other recipients of blood transfusions and partners of "high risk" category people, concern about the disease is growing and prospects look better for federal funding of research. While articles about AIDS previously had been limited to the gay or Haitian press, the mainstream media is now picking up on the subject. (Newsweek, for example, ran a seven-page spread on AIDS as its cover story in the April 18 issue.)

Dangerous side-effects

There have also been some unfortunate side effects of the AIDS crisis in both the Haitian and gay community. In the Haitian community, concern for the racist and anti-Haitian part of the press campaign about AIDS has at times combined a positive opposition to being labeled as a dirty, poor and disease-ridden people with opposition to being linked with homosexuals. Anti-homosexual traditions have long been a part of Haitian culture, just as in many other countries, and the

AIDS crisis has provided some political forces in the Haitian community with the opportunity to denounce not only AIDS, but gay people. For example, the left-wing New York-based paper, *Democratique Nouvelle*, wrote in an article about AIDS, "In Haiti, it is perfectly clear to us that homosexuality is a shameful defect." (Our translation from the French, March 1983.)

For its part, the largely middle class-based gay movement has taken a similarly disdainful attitude toward being linked with Haitian refugees and drug users. Moreover, a dangerous campaign is developing within the gay community for a more conservative and respectable gay lifestyle. This campaign has often taken on an hysterical character. Some gay spokespeople have called for the closing of gay bars, bookstores and bathhouses, where gay men have multiple sexual encounters, on the theory that either AIDS is caused by homosexual sex or at least that forcing the limitation of sex partners will lessen any potential contagious spread of the disease.

As much as the authorities have sought to blame the victims of AIDS for getting the disease, so gay people seem to be blaming themselves. Newsweek reported in its feature article on AIDS that "Many [gay people] have moved beyond shock and fear and anger to a feeling of relief that they finally have a medical reason to slow down their lives." Promiscuity is becoming a dirty word in a previously sexually open community. This issue has sparked a debate in the gay press (in this regard Toronto's *Body Politic* deserves commendation for its defense of gay sexuality against those who, in effect, seek to redefine homosexuality as "sick"—this time, medically).

Unfortunately, none of the theories about AIDS has been accepted as generally correct, and making hasty conclusions based on any one of them can serve only to demoralize and victimize people who often are already under political attack. We need to stop throwing blame around and unite together to fight for real answers.

Capitalism has been systematically destroying the ecology and environment of Earth for years. In this context, it is not surprising that a new mysterious and fatal disease has developed. Nor, given the new ecological nightmares of acid rain, agent orange, Dioxin dumping, pesticides, chemical waste and radiation, should we expect this one to be the last. In the meantime, we need to unite the living to save our lives and what is left of the Earth's environment. Gay people, Haitians—and all working and oppressed people—have a mortal stake in not only fighting for the funding of human needs rather than military might, but in changing the world as we know it. □

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Polish Workers Take May Day as Their Own

By WILLIAM FALK

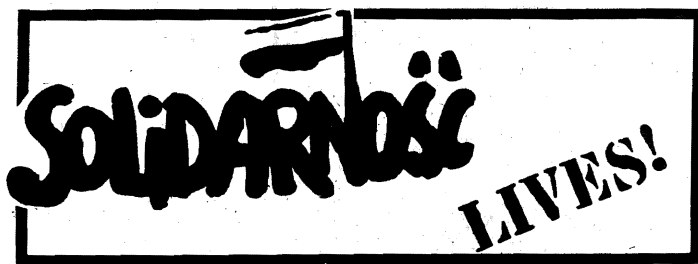
"May 1 is a worker's day, not a day for paying tribute to the authorities. Workers have a right to celebrate it the way they think best."

So read a leaflet issued in late March by the Warsaw Solidarity underground calling for May Day demonstrations in Poland. Two weeks later, the national body of the Solidarity underground, TKK—the Polish initials for Provisional Coordinating Committee—endorsed the call:

"We are issuing an appeal to demonstrate the unity of society and its resistance through mass participation in independent May Day celebrations. For the authorities who declared war on the people, May the 1st will be a day of uncertainty and fear."

On May 1, nearly 100,000 Polish workers in a score of cities took to the streets to make these words real. In the face of extensive police harassment and sabotage, they held the largest anti-government demonstrations in Poland since martial law was declared in December 1981.

In Warsaw, nearly 10,000 people gathered outside St. John's Cathedral following Sunday morning mass. They unfurled handmade *Solidarność* banners and flags and chanted, "This is our holiday," "Release prisoners," "Freedom for all!" and "Here is Poland." After 35 minutes, the police and the ZOMO (special militia) attacked, clubs swinging. Phalanxes of ZOMO units and powerful water cannons pushed the demonstrators out of the center of the city to the banks of the Vistula River—where the crowd reformed, nearly doubling in size to about 20,000 people. Solidarity banners were again raised and the chanting renewed. Soon, mounted police moved in from one side, armored vehicles from the other. The protesters tried to escape and, as they did, helmeted police carrying shields jumped off the trucks and beat stragglers, dragging them into waiting vans. Scattered clashes with the police and ZOMO



continued for two more hours, as Solidarity supporters regrouped on various side streets.

In Gdańsk, a crowd of over 20,000 gathered outside St. Bridget's Church after mass and marched to the Lenin Shipyard, birthplace of Solidarity. Joined by a group of workers who broke away from the official May Day parade, they rallied at the three giant crosses workers built outside the yard in 1981 as a memorial to comrades murdered by the police during the 1970 uprising. But it was not long before police and ZOMO units attacked the demonstrators with nightsticks and, later, tear gas. As in Warsaw, fighting continued for several hours, with demonstrators hurling stones and other objects at the police.

Solidarity-initiated May Day demonstrations were also held in Wrocław, where 5,000 people were shown on the Polish state television throwing rocks at police; in Kraków, where "tens of



Police break up May Day protest in Gdańsk.

thousands" reportedly gathered; in Nowa Huta, a steel mill town outside Kraków, where 10,000 people shouted "Solidarity Lives!" and battled police from barricades made of park benches and kiosks; and in at least 15 other towns and cities. Summing up the day's activities, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa termed the May Day protests "a success beyond expectations."

Two days later, on May 3, there were more demonstrations. May 3 is the anniversary of the first Polish constitution and also the Catholic religious Feast of Mary, Queen of Poland. It has become a traditional day for anti-regime protests. This year, however, the Solidarity underground urged people not to take to the streets, but rather to consider the May Day demonstrations the last public protest before the Pope's visit to Poland, scheduled for June 16-20. The TKK proposed wearing ribbons to work and observing a moment of silence at noon. Walesa, who had tacitly endorsed the May Day protests, also opposed any May 3 demonstrations.

Nevertheless, nearly 8,000 people

gathered in Warsaw, clapped hands in unison, taunted the ZOMOs and skirmished with the police. In Gdańsk, another 3,000 people marched, chanting "Solidarity." Smaller demonstrations were held in Lublin, Kraków and Nowa Huta.

An important test of strength

The May 1 and May 3 demonstrations were larger than the ones held on the same dates last year and by that alone they were seen as a major victory. But their significance went well beyond their size. Both the ruling military junta headed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Polish workers saw May Day as an important test of strength. The regime was anxious to prove that Solidarity, outlawed for nearly a year

and a half, could no longer rally support. Extensive measures were taken to try to prevent the demonstrations. In April, the government apprehended a prominent Solidarity underground leader and then ran television specials on his arrest. At the same time, government spokespeople issued blunt warnings that security forces were "prepared for any occasion." Deputy Prime Minister Mieczysław Rakowski visited the Nowa Huta steel mill and bragged to the workers that protest was useless because Communist Party officials had "nerves of steel."

In addition, the government tried, unsuccessfully, to pressure the Roman Catholic hierarchy to cancel mass on May 1 in the hope of preventing the churches from being used as gathering points for the demonstrations. It also threatened to cancel the Pope's trip if disturbances took place.

To top it off, on April 29 the secret police broadcast a phony radio message in the style of earlier Solidarity broadcasts made from hidden radio transmitters. A commentator masquerading as an underground leader denounced the government because it had "thrown into Warsaw herds of secret police who have carried out mass arrests and searches." The bogus commentator continued, "Many of us have been locked up because Solidarity banners and emblems were found. We know what they are capable of. Let us consider our absence from the street the best form of protest. We shall take part in no march, manifestation or rally whatsoever."

Struggle at key turning point

It is too early to say for sure, but it appears that an important turning point may have been reached in the struggle of the Polish workers. For many months, the military regime has been on the offensive, while the workers have been limited, for the most part, to reacting defensively to each new government move. Those few militant actions the Solidarity underground did attempt to organize were largely failures. A general strike called for last November never came off, and demonstrations organized last February and March each drew about 2,000 people.

Now, the situation seems markedly different. The workers have a renewed confidence in their ability to struggle, while the government—though still in a powerful position—is internally divided

and losing whatever amount of legitimacy it had managed to establish.

As an indication of this changing tide, on May 9 nine leaders of the old official unions—the government-sponsored organizations that had competed with Solidarity for members before martial law was declared—joined with Lech Walesa in issuing a letter to the Polish parliament which attacked the government for "disregarding the will of society" and called for "the re-establishment of union freedom [as] one of the indispensable elements of the greatly desired and genuine national accord."

The turn in the situation has not been lost on the Jaruzelski regime's ultimate masters, the bureaucrats in the Kremlin. Immediately following the May 1 and May 3 demonstrations, an article in the Soviet journal *Novoye Vremya* harshly criticized leading members of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, attacking several high-level party officials, including Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski, who is a Jaruzelski ally. The journal also denounced the Polish party weekly *Polityka*, founded by Rakowski, for being "allergic to real socialism." The *Novoye Vremya* piece was the strongest attack on Poland's current rulers since the imposition of martial law, and was viewed in Poland as an effort by the Soviet leadership to strengthen the hand of hardline pro-Moscow elements within the Polish Communist Party. As a result of the article and the divisions within the Polish ruling class itself, a long-awaited meeting of the Polish party's Central Committee, planned for late May, was indefinitely postponed.

'An itching for revenge'

It is, of course, difficult to predict what will happen next in Poland. Certainly, the upcoming visit of the Pope, scheduled for June 16, may provide the occasion for a new upsurge. The Catholic Church, Lech Walesa and the TKK are all urging that demonstrations not be held during the Pope's trip—but these forces all opposed the May 3 demonstrations as well.

An indication of what the future may hold, however, was suggested by the comments made to a U.S. journalist this winter by a Solidarity activist:

"It's frightening to think where the next round of strikes will lead, because it sure as hell won't lead to the signing of any agreements. Nobody's ever going to be satisfied with that again—especially after October 8th, with the parliament's bill delegating Solidarity.... What's going to happen when there's a general strike and we once again feel our strength? We will strike for revocation of that bill, of course, but we will also be demanding revocation of the parliament that passed it and of the government that broke its signed word. In other words, our first demand will be for free elections. And with that kind of demand, right away you're in pretty deep. Very deep."

"There's such a lot of hate now," she continued. "Before, during Gierek's time, there was contempt for the Party, or ridicule. But now it's hate. Each time they humiliate us, each time they foil a demonstration, parade an arrested leader before their vile cameras, or leave another murdered victim, it leaves a legacy of hate and something new—an itching for revenge." □

Recovery underway —but for whom?

First, the good news. A recovery is underway. The index of leading economic indicators went up 1.5 percent in March, the seventh consecutive monthly rise, the Commerce Department announced on April 29. The Gross National Product for the first quarter of 1983 also rose—by 3.1 percent—after a 1.1 drop in the fourth quarter of 1982. Factory utilization is up, and inflation is now under 6 percent.

Now the bad news. You'll need to keep a close eye on the TV and newspapers if you want to know about the recovery because you're not going to notice it in your everyday life. Unemployment has dropped from December's high of 10.8 percent, but only slightly—it now stands at 10.2 percent. Unemployment among Black people has not declined at all—it's still at its December level of just over 20 percent. And teenage Black unemployment has (once again) climbed to 50 percent.

Even more significant, a recent poll of 46 professional economists indicated that the jobless rate will average 10 percent through 1983 and over 9 percent in 1984. "After each of the recent recessions, the valley in unemployment has been higher than the previous one. This time the irreducible minimum might be as high as 9 percent," economist Audrey Freedman told the *Wall Street Journal* recently. Just a few years ago, a 5 percent jobless rate was officially considered "full employment" and, as recently as 1979, the unemployment rate stood at 5.8 percent.

The number of jobs in manufacturing is expected to stay under the 1979 level throughout the so-called recovery. The number of jobs in government, health care, energy and banking and financial services will also likely remain below the pre-recession figure. Low-paying jobs in retailing are the only ones expected to show an increase over the 1979 mark. Wendy's hamburgers, for instance, plans to hire 10,000 people next year—but 90 percent of them will be part-timers.

Although inflation is forecast at well below the double digit levels of past years, those price hikes that do occur will be concentrated in basic necessities such as food and gasoline. One clear indication of the limited nature of the so-called "recovery" came just a day before the government announced its figures for the leading economic indicators. On April 28, Alice Rivlin, the director of the Congressional Budget Office, testified that 25 percent of all children—about 12 million people—are now

living in poverty. This is the highest poverty rate for children in the U.S. since the early 1960s.

Klan, Nazis opposed in Meriden, CT; Kalamazoo, MI

Nearly 700 people demonstrated at the Meriden, Connecticut, City Hall Saturday, April 30 to oppose the fourth Ku Klux Klan rally in that city in two years. A group of 31 robed and hooded Klansmen stood on the City Hall steps for about 40 minutes, protected by 300 helmeted riot police and a pack of dogs. The anti-racist crowd was able, for most of the time, to drown out an electrically-amplified speech by Klan leader Bill Wilkinson by chanting, "Death to the Klan," "Freedom yes, Klan no—Racist terror's got to go!" and similar slogans.

The majority of anti-Klan demonstrators were Meriden residents, many of them Latin. In addition, there were contingents from the Committee for Education and Defense Against Racism (CEDAR) and Jewish Women Against Racism, both based in New Haven, and from the New York City branch of the RSL, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, and the Progressive Labor Party-led International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). Several plain clothes cops and silent Klan supporters hung close to the anti-racist protest throughout the day.

Holding public events in Meriden (pop. 57,118) became a point of pride with the Klan after local residents broke up a

March 1981 Klan rally, injuring a dozen Klan supporters. "If the state police had just stayed away one more time and let us get at the Klan again, they never would have come back," one Meriden woman told a *Torch/La Antorcha* reporter. But police protection for the KKK has become increasingly heavy, and Wilkinson says he will come back to Meriden each spring for an annual "White Unity Day."

This year, like last, the police took the extraordinary step of barricading off the blocks around City Hall and searching anyone who entered the area. They also set up roadblocks at the edge of downtown and stopped "suspicious" cars to warn against "making trouble." To further discourage open opposition to the Klan, the city government held a "Dafodil Festival" on the day of the Klan rally and local liberal groups held meetings over the weekend that condemned the "hatred and violence" of both the Klan and anti-Klan organizers. On top of all this, the Anti-Racist Coalition of Connecticut scheduled a meeting on April 30 in New Haven—20 miles away—at the same time as the Klan rally. That so many local residents showed up to oppose the Klan in the face of this barrage of official opposition and intimidation is a testament to the strong anti-racist, anti-Klan sentiment that continues to exist in Meriden.

AS WE GO TO PRESS, May 14—About a dozen Nazis and one robed Klansman rallied today in downtown Kalamazoo, Michigan, behind a banner reading "white power." The racists were met by an anti-racist crowd of more than 200 people, which held its own impromptu rally and drowned out the Nazi/Klan speeches. Some objects were thrown at the Nazis. At several points during the demonstration police moved into the crowd and arrested people at random. Several demonstrators were charged with disorderly conduct and one woman activist was charged with assaulting an

officer. Bail was refused in her case and she is presently being held in a Kalamazoo jail awaiting arraignment. In addition to many Kalamazoo residents, groups participating in the anti-Nazi/Klan rally included: Kalamazoo CISPES, Revolutionary Communist Party, Workers World Party, John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, Battle Creek Coalition Against Police Brutality and the RSL.

'A license to kill... if the victim is Chinese'

On May 9 over 500 people in Detroit, including supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League, protested the racist murder of a Chinese man, Vincent Chin—and a judge's decision to let the killers off with a wrist-slap.

Vincent Chin's death resulted from the protectionist, anti-Japanese hysteria encouraged by business leaders, newspapers and many union officials. On June 19, 1982, Chin went to a nightclub with three friends to celebrate his upcoming wedding. According to witnesses, two white men in the bar—Ronald Ebens, a laid-off Chrysler auto company foreman, and his stepson, Michael Nitz—"started getting on Chin about his race." Ebens and Nitz, who thought Chin was Japanese, shouted insults at Chin and blamed the Japanese for stealing U.S. jobs.

After a brief scuffle, Chin and his friends left the bar. But Ebens and Nitz went to their car, got out a baseball bat, and caught up with Chin. While

Nitz held Chin, Ebens beat him over the head several times. Chin died in a local hospital four days later.

The subsequent trial was a clear demonstration of the racism built into the judicial system. Ebens and Nitz were originally charged with second degree murder. But in a plea bargaining deal, both agreed to plead "no contest" to reduced charges of manslaughter. Then when they came up for sentencing in March, Judge Charles Kaufman—claiming that both Ebens and Nitz were "responsible" men who did not belong in jail—fined each man \$3,780 and set them free on three years probation.

The sentence outraged Detroit's Asian community. Kin Yee, president of the Detroit Chinese Welfare Council, said it amounted to "a license to kill for \$3,000, provided... the victim is Chinese."

A newly-formed, largely Asian civil rights organization, the American Citizens for Justice, organized several protests over the case, including the May 9 demonstration. This pressure has forced Judge Kaufman to reconsider his sentence and the U.S. Justice Department is currently looking into the case.

Chicago steelworkers protest U.S. Steel layoffs

Nearly 200 steelworkers rallied on May 2 outside a U.S. Steel stockholders' meeting in Chicago. The angry workers were protesting the company's plan to import steel slabs from Scotland, thereby laying off 3,000 workers at the company's Fairless Works in Pennsylvania. The company's move came right after the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) made enormous contract concessions that the industry said were needed to make them competitive with foreign steel.

The protest was initiated by opposition leaders within the USWA, including Ron Weisen from the Homestead Works and Joe Samargia from the Minnesota Iron Range. Supporters of USWA President Lloyd McBride at first tried to downplay and ignore the protest, but ended up being forced to join it.

The McBride leadership is very embarrassed by the humiliating kick in the teeth U.S. Steel has given it right on the heels of the giveback contract that was supposed to save jobs. There are signs that opposition leaders like Weisen, Samargia, and former District 31 director James Balanoff may try to ride the tide of steelworker outrage into a serious challenge to

McBride and key loyalists such as current District 31 Director Jack P. A leaflet distributed by RSL supporters in District 31 USWA why McBride's strategy "partnership" with steelworkers. The criticized the unionist strategy and international solidarity.

"To resist what to us, we need to u who we're fighting problems we face. steelworkers in oth can be made to wo tion wages, the co have a club to use meet this crisis the build a fight back that unites us with steelworkers. We a victims of greedy c the Ravenscraig Pl also lose 3,000 jobs need is internation not patriotism to f companies!! Foreign are not the enemy.

Harold Washington vs. Chic machin

Harold Washington, Chicago's first Black mayor, was sworn in on April 15 and immediately a political battle broke out in the City of Chicago. Washington's attempt to organize the body to give power to his supporters has been stymied by a battle between the old-line machine led by Cook County Deputy Chairman Ed ("Fast Eddie") Vrdolyak and Washington abruptly the first meeting of in its opening minutes Vrdolyak's 29 supporters and one Latin what Washington called an illegal session of and took nearly all chairmanships for leaving Washington backers—16 Blacks whites—with a few, unimportant posts. of this writing, the meeting in an effort a peace agreement. Viewed as having the hand for now.

The turmoil in the Council spilled over the streets when Washington's supporters demonstrated against several of the Vrdolyak bloc wards are heavily Black Latin, to pressure the with Washington. Su the new mayor is fair among Latins and ne unanimous among Bl While the Donnybrook continues, nothing is about Chicago's final in schools, transit and budget. Both tax increases and cutbacks in services are expected.



Meriden police protecting Klan rally searched anti-Klan protesters head to foot.

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Nitz held Chin, Ebens beat him over the head several times. Chin died in a local hospital four days later.

The subsequent trial was a clear demonstration of the racism built into the judicial system. Ebens and Nitz were originally charged with second degree murder. But in a plea bargaining deal, both agreed to plead "no contest" to reduced charges of manslaughter. Then when they came up for sentencing in March, Judge Charles Kaufman—claiming that both Ebens and Nitz were "responsible" men who did not belong in jail—fined each man \$3,780 and set them free on three years probation.

The sentence outraged Detroit's Asian community. Kin Yee, president of the Detroit Chinese Welfare Council, said it amounted to "a license to kill for \$3,000, provided... the victim is Chinese."

A newly-formed, largely Asian civil rights organization, the American Citizens for Justice, organized several protests over the case, including the May 9 demonstration. This pressure has forced Judge Kaufman to reconsider his sentence and the U.S. Justice Department is currently looking into the case.

Chicago steelworkers protest U.S. Steel layoffs

Nearly 200 steelworkers rallied on May 2 outside a U.S. Steel stockholders' meeting in Chicago. The angry workers were protesting the company's plan to import steel slabs from Scotland, thereby laying off 3,000 workers at the company's Fairless Works in Pennsylvania. The company's move came right after the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) made enormous contract concessions that the industry said were needed to make them competitive with foreign steel.

The protest was initiated by opposition leaders within the USWA, including Ron Weisen from the Homestead Works and Joe Samargia from the Minnesota Iron Range. Supporters of USWA President Lloyd McBride at first tried to downplay and ignore the protest, but ended up being forced to join it.

The McBride leadership is very embarrassed by the humiliating kick in the teeth U.S. Steel has given it right on the heels of the giveback contract that was supposed to save jobs. There are signs that opposition leaders like Weisen, Samargia, and former District 31 director James Balanoff may try to ride the tide of steelworker outrage into a serious challenge to

McBride and key McBride loyalists such as current District 31 Director Jack Parton.

A leaflet distributed to the rally by RSL supporters active in District 31 USWA explained why McBride's strategy of "partnership" with the companies is a dead-end for steelworkers. The leaflet also criticized the union's protectionist strategy and argued for international solidarity:

"To resist what is happening to us, we need to understand who we're fighting and all the problems we face. As long as steelworkers in other countries can be made to work for starvation wages, the companies will have a club to use against us. To meet this crisis the USWA must build a fight back movement that unites us with the Scottish steelworkers. We are both victims of greedy capitalism. At the Ravenscraig Plant they will also lose 3,000 jobs. So what we need is international unity and not patriotism to fight the steel companies!! Foreign workers are not the enemy."

Harold Washington vs. Chicago machine

Harold Washington, Chicago's first Black mayor, was sworn in on April 29, and immediately a political struggle broke out in the City Council. Washington's attempts to reorganize the body to give more power to his supporters have been stymied by a bloc of the old-line machine aldermen led by Cook County Democratic Party Chairman Edward R. ("Fast Eddie") Vrdolyak. After Washington abruptly adjourned the first meeting of the council in its opening minutes, Vrdolyak's 29 supporters—28 whites and one Latino—held what Washington charged was an illegal session of the council and took nearly all committee chairmanships for themselves, leaving Washington's 21 backers—16 Blacks and five whites—with a few, relatively unimportant posts. At the time of this writing, the two sides are meeting in an effort to negotiate a peace agreement. Vrdolyak is viewed as having the upper hand for now.

The turmoil in the City Council spilled over into the streets when Washington supporters demonstrated and picketed against seven members of the Vrdolyak bloc whose wards are heavily Black and Latin, to pressure them to work with Washington. Support for the new mayor is fairly strong among Latins and nearly unanimous among Blacks. While the Donnybrook continues, nothing is being done about Chicago's financial crisis in schools, transit and the city budget. Both tax increases and cutbacks in services are expected.

—Darryl Clark



Joanne Newak, imprisoned by air force for being a lesbian.

U.S. Air Force throws lesbian in the brig

Joanne Newak, a 25-year-old lesbian in the air force, is now in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, military prison for refusing a dishonorable discharge on the grounds that she had sex with another air force woman. Her prison sentence, highly unusual in military court cases such as this, was recently reduced from six years hard labor to a three year term. However, Newak's initial appeal to overturn the March 1982 conviction on charges of sodomy and lesser counts of drug possession was rejected last fall by the U.S. Air Force Court of Military Review.

The conviction culminated an anti-gay investigation at the Hancock Air Force Base in Syracuse, New York, where Newak and her lover Lynne Peelman were stationed. Such investigations have accounted for a 25 percent increase over the past 10 years in the number of military personnel discharged because they were "alleged" to be gay. Despite the fact that all the activities the air force prosecuted Newak for took place off base, and the major charge against Newak, sodomy, is not a crime in the state of New York, the military court claimed that Newak's sexual activity with other air force women gave it jurisdiction over the case.

Peelman was pressured by the air force to accept immunity in exchange for her testimony against Newak. The prosecution based its case on her testimony together with that of an air force police officer who gathered evidence against Newak while working undercover for the air force Office of Special Investigations.

Newak's defense team in New York believes that her case

represents an attack on all gays and women in the armed forces. In particular, it is evident that the military sought to punish Newak (as well as discourage other lesbians and gay men) for fighting the court martial. As the prosecuting attorney said, Newak was sent to prison "so that she can... learn she's the problem, not the system."

An appeal to the highest military court, the Court of Military Appeal, will be filed by defense lawyers in Syracuse May 25th. They are hopeful that the case will be heard, and that Newak's conviction will be overturned on the basis of ineffective initial counsel and improper use of military judicial jurisdiction. With the reduced sentence, Newak could be released on parole this June. (The military does not allow for release pending appeal.)

Her supporters in Citizen Soldier, a GI/veteran's rights group, are convinced that growing publicity about her case, and pressure on the air force administration on her behalf, contributed to the lessening of her sentence and will play an important role in her appeal proceedings. Letters demanding Newak's release

should be sent to: Col. O.L. McCotter, Commandant, Fort Leavenworth Military Prison, Kansas 66027 and to Air Force Secretary Vern Orr, Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20330.

—Lisa Deshong

Activists map out Gay Pride Day plans

New York's lesbian and gay community is gearing up for this year's Christopher Street Liberation Day march and rally, the annual celebration of lesbian and gay pride day.

The theme chosen by the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee (CSLDC) for this year's march and rally, to be held June 26, is "Diversity Is Our Strength, Liberation Is Our Fight." After a heated controversy within CSLDC over the route of this year's march, a decision was made to march downtown from Central Park to Greenwich Village, instead of marching uptown for a Central Park rally as in previous years. Left-wing forces within CSLDC opposed the move, arguing that it would lead to greater commercialism. They also feared that the change in route might lead to the abandonment of a march altogether, with the day's events eventually becoming confined to the Greenwich Village area.

A loose coalition of socialist and progressive activists, including the RSL, have made CSLDC a focus of their organizing within the lesbian and gay community for the second year in a row. Through their participation in the committee, they have tried to give the march and rally a more militant and anti-racist character. The theme of this year's march—Diversity Is Our Strength, Liberation Is Our Fight—was initially presented to CSLDC by these left activists. On May 13, the Coalition

Against Racism, Anti-Semitism, Sexism and Heterosexism (CRASH) met to discuss plans for building a militant contingent in this year's march. A decision was made to organize a "Militant Stonewall Contingent for Lesbian and Gay Liberation," and to launch a program of outreach with leaflets and buttons in order to build for a strong presence at the march. The "Stonewall Contingent" will be preparing its materials in both English and Spanish and will try to reach out to a community which is indeed diverse. Groups initially involved in organizing the contingent include: Lavender Left, CRASH, Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women, and the RSL, along with representatives of the North American Man/Boy Love Association and Wages Due Housework. Additional endorsements are being sought.

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In Los Angeles, the Gay and Lesbian Committee of the Echo Park Chapter of CISPES (Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) is organizing a contingent for the June 26 Christopher Street West Parade on Gay Pride Day. Built around the demand "U.S. Out of El Salvador," the contingent will be raising the issue of opposition to the U.S. war against Central America in the lesbian and gay community, as well as trying to involve as many people as possible from L.A.'s Latino lesbian and gay community in the march.

Quote of the month

"Generally speaking, I don't think we can go back to the old authoritarian system of the worker as a cog in a machine, because it is not in the best interests of the companies."

—Douglas Fraser, outgoing President of the United Auto Workers union (UAW).



Gay Pride Day 1982: RSL supporters marching in Militant Contingent.

Deaths of Two Top Salvadorean Rebel Leaders Leave Many Questions Unanswered

Supporters of Salvadorean national liberation received stunning news in April of the deaths of two top rebel leaders.

First announced was the murder of Mélida Anaya Montes, a leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and second-in-command of the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL), one of five rebel groups which make up the FMLN. Anaya Montes, also known as Commander Ana María, was murdered in her home in Managua, Nicaragua, April 6. She was killed in an especially gruesome manner—shot, stabbed 82 times with knives and an ice pick, then left with her throat slit and one arm cut off.

In its first response to this atrocity, the FMLN charged the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with the killing. But this view changed dramatically on April 20 when the Nicaraguan Interior Ministry released a second startling report.

Salvador Cayetano Carpio, top leader of the FPL and most famous of all the Salvadorean rebels, had shot himself to death on April 12, also in Managua, three days after the funeral of Anaya Montes. According to the Nicaraguan government report, the 63-year-old rebel leader suffered an emotional collapse upon learning that his second-in-command, Anaya Montes, had not been killed by CIA agents but by trusted members of his own organization, the FPL. News of Cayetano Carpio's death had been withheld by the Nicaraguan authorities for eight days, they said, at the request of the dead leader's family, so that his organizational comrades inside El Salvador could be privately notified first.

Six people have been arrested by Nicaraguan police and charged with complicity in Anaya Montes' death. All are Salvadorean members of the FPL. Charged as the "intellectual author" of the assassination is Rogelio Bazzaglia Recinos, a member of the FPL's central leadership and a long-time comrade of both Anaya Montes and Cayetano Carpio.

This news sent shock waves through the Salvadorean movement. What was going on inside the FMLN? Although the Nicaraguan report described the first killing as "characteristic" of CIA assassinations, a later FPL statement backed away from that charge. Bazzaglia Recinos had organized the murder, it said, as a means to "resolve a resentment and alleged ideological differences." But what were these differences? Who would gain from the deaths of the FPL's main leaders? Unfortunately, little accurate information has yet come forth to calm the rumors and educate movement activists about the tragedy.

FPL representatives in the U.S. remained silent for nearly two weeks while some of their supporters were openly expressing a sense of demoralization and frustration at the shattering, unexplained events. If Bazzaglia Recinos was a traitor and a madman, as the FPL now says, how did he rise to such a high position in the group? If ideological differences existed, what other means, short of murder, were available to resolve them? How did a "madman" organize five others to carry out such a crime? Did they expect Cayetano Carpio's approval?

For many, it all seemed reminiscent of the leftist blood-feuds of the mid-1970s in El Salvador, when factionalism flourished and more than one political difference was resolved with guns. The



Salvadorean leftist leader Salvador Cayetano Carpio (center) with Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge (left) and Junta coordinator Daniel Ortega Saavedra at April 9 funeral of Mélida Anaya Montes. The Nicaraguan government later reported that Cayetano Carpio committed suicide on April 12 after learning that Anaya Montes was murdered by members of his own faction within the Salvadorean national liberation movement.

1975 leftist trial and execution of Roque Dalton, a respected poet and leftist leader himself, is still recalled with horror. All of that was supposed to be put behind with the 1980 formation of a political-military bloc of all five competing leftist factions—the FMLN. Now that unity seems very threatened.

Salvadorean activists from other factions were quick to point out, however, that the tragedy could have an

overall positive effect. Since the violence was apparently carried out entirely within the FPL, and no other factions were implicated, the FPL could now go on to purge itself and choose new leaders. These new leaders might, in turn, prove to be more "unity-minded" than Cayetano Carpio, who had a reputation as a stubborn hard-liner with an intense factional loyalty.

According to some observers, a dispute

Reagan Threatens Wider War in Central America. . .

(Continued from page 1)

former paid lobbyist for the Guatemalan military regime. At the same time, Reagan has made it clear that he has no intention of letting congressional opposition get in the way of his plans and that he is prepared to use discretionary funds and emergency powers to bypass Congress, if necessary.

FMLN wins new victories

The biggest threat to Reagan's goal of a quick military victory in El Salvador, however, comes not from Congress but from the increased strength the rebels are showing on the battlefield. Already, the FMLN has won control of large new areas in Usulután, San Vicente, and San Miguel provinces, well outside their traditional bases in Morazán and Chalatenango. The U.S.-backed army is being bled white, with casualty rates of 100 or more each month—far more than rebel losses. Younger and younger boys are being forced into the army to keep up its 22,000-man strength, while morale sinks and factionalism among the officer corps continues. The 6,000 FMLN guerrillas are better equipped than ever, thanks to the large-scale capture of U.S. weapons and the surrender of hundreds of armed government troops.

On April 29, in a response to Reagan's latest threats, the FMLN briefly seized the town of Santa Rosa de Lima (pop. 7,000) in La Unión province, and blew up five bridges. No guerrilla activity had been reported in that area before—a sign of their expanding strength. Ten days later, on May 9,

rebels seized the heavily fortified town of Cinquera in Cabañas province and overran four nearby government military posts. Cinquera, 44 miles north-east of the capital, San Salvador, had been held by the FMLN for several months in 1981.

If the rebels' strength can be maintained through the summer; if the U.S.-

designed search-and-destroy and rural pacification campaigns fail to disperse the FMLN's bases of support; if the U.S. ruling class continues to fight among itself over the issue—then Reagan himself will be forced to "put up or shut up" by year's end. The growing possibility is that, if so cornered, Reagan will send in troops. □

over the FPL's view of a negotiated settlement of the Salvadorean civil war may have been behind the initial murder, although very little can be said with certainty. Anaya Montes was known as a moderate voice within the FPL, and apparently gave wholehearted support to the negotiations proposals of the FMLN. Cayetano Carpio, on the other hand, was thought to be considerably more skeptical of a negotiated peace. He preferred the option of a prolonged guerrilla war, to physically exhaust government forces to the point where the rebels could score a clear military victory. It may be that the assassins, lending their own extreme interpretation to this political dispute, hoped to bolster the "no negotiations" point of view within the FPL by eliminating a leading opponent. The effect of this outcome on Cayetano Carpio, who despite his views surely did not mean it to end in assassination, may explain his sudden collapse and suicide.

But again, it must be emphasized that the full facts have not yet been made clear. In the face of this tragedy, what our movement needs is not false bravado nor denials of the truth. We need a frank and open discussion of the actual situation facing the Salvadorean liberation struggle and its support movement here. That is the best way to move the work forward and avoid future blows such as these. □



LOS ANGELES—Over 800 people turned out May 4 to demonstrate against U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, who was speaking to a World Affairs Council meeting. In her speech, she predictably blasted the Sandinista government of Nicaragua and heaped praise on the right-wing Somocistas trying to overthrow it. Kirkpatrick has become a focus of protest for the Central American solidarity movement. She was driven off the stage by hecklers at an appearance on the Berkeley, California, campus in February and later canceled talks at two other colleges when widespread student protest was threatened. Her appearance in L.A. drew the largest protest the city has seen for several months.

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Right-Wing Flights'

Death threats, assa is what Miami oppon war against Central A past month when righ caraguan and Salvador tried to prevent the Caribbean Solidari (LACASA) from holo Death Flights" picket line was organized as ing nationwide campa cana Airlines' particip portation of Salvador

It all began when nounced plans for an stration at the Miami ship. Spanish radio sta started denouncing LA broadcasts. Then Omeg terrorist group that has bility for a number o bombings in the New Y and Miami areas, issue threat against anyone v in the picket line.

In the face of these m LACASA announced th poning the picket line "i the possibility of a v tion which, because of t we could not adequately vent." The group deci hold a press conference Friendship at the same had been scheduled.

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Answers

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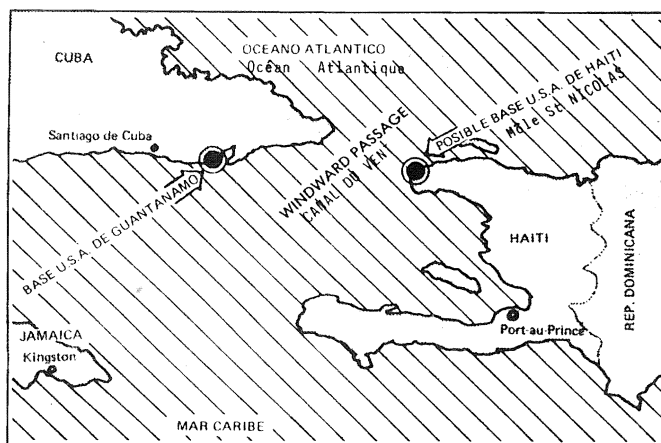
What Is the U.S. Up To in Môle St. Nicolas?

It happened the very same week in January 1983 that the armed forces of the U.S. and Honduras carried out "Falcon Vista"—the operation that prepared the ground for the CIA-Somocista invasion of Nicaragua. Quietly, secretly, a contingent of U.S. military men sailed into one of the most strategically located harbors in the Caribbean. About 150 Marines went ashore in two helicopters. They drove stakes into the ground and appeared to be surveying. They also placed down landing signals and high intensity beam units. Then they left.

The harbor where the U.S. troops landed was Môle St. Nicolas on the northwest tip of Haiti. Môle St. Nicolas is the northern "choke point" for the

region's busiest shipping lane, the Windward Passage. Two-thirds of the ship traffic entering or leaving the Caribbean moves through the Windward Passage. This includes all sea traffic, both commercial and military, between the U.S. eastern seaboard and the Panama Canal, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and the rest of Central America.

During the late 1880s, the U.S. showed interest in building a navy base at Môle St. Nicolas. But in 1903, after the U.S. stole Cuba's Guantánamo Bay (located on the west shore of the Windward Passage) and built a massive navy base there, it lost interest in the Môle. But the recent secret landings are a sign that, at the very least, the U.S. is again



thinking about tightening its control of the Passage by taking over Môle St. Nicolas.

This March, a coalition formed in New York City to educate people about the danger of a U.S. base at Môle St. Nicolas. The coalition, the Comité pour la Défense du Territoire Haïtien (CODETH) plans work directed at both the exile Haitian community and at other people in the U.S. The RSL is a member of CODETH.

Recently, the Torch/La Antorcha asked Bernac Celestin, who co-chairs the "commission of propaganda" of COD-

ETH, to comment on the significance of the new U.S. moves at Môle St. Nicolas. Excerpts from the interview follow:

What would the impact of a U.S. base at Môle St. Nicolas be on the people of Haiti?

Economically, it would provoke greater emigration of the Môle area population. We have to remember that most of the people coming to the U.S. come from that region of Haiti. It is one of the poorest parts of the country. Haiti is very dense—400 people per square mile. And agriculture is the main way Haitian people support themselves. So you can understand what would happen if they take land away and make a zone for a U.S. base.

Socially, I believe that a base will create prostitution. Because you have soldiers away from home, and they have money and the population is poor. And so they would sell themselves for the money.

Politically—well, the U.S. is already trying to sell the Duvalier regime to the American people, make the regime look less repressive. Reagan has promised all his help to the regime. The U.S. secret police, the FBI, works with the Haitian secret police and is harassing opponents of Duvalier in the U.S. With a base there the U.S. will find more reason to interfere in Haitian political affairs. "We have a base which we have to defend," they will explain to the American people, and people might accept that. So the base is a threat to our own independence.

From an international view, what happens if there is a war between the U.S. and another country? Our nation will become a nuclear target.

What would be the impact of a base on the rest of the region?

We have to see what the development of liberation wars which are happening now in the region means to the U.S. as an imperialist power. The U.S. no longer has complete control of the region the way they did, for instance, in 1934, when they withdrew the last U.S. troops from Haiti. A base in Môle St. Nicolas will be used as an outpost to interfere rapidly in the internal affairs of the people of the region. You have to remember that in 1965 when the U.S. troops invaded Santo Domingo they came from Guantánamo because that was the closest point where they had a military base.

But now with the regime of Fidel Castro in Cuba the base at Guantánamo cannot operate the way it used to be before. They need another point that can replace Guantánamo. Recently Admiral Briggs of the U.S. Navy was in Haiti and he denied the U.S. had the intention of building a base in Haiti, but then went right on and said that such a base would be a good idea for the stability of the region, for the defense of democracy, etc. Môle St. Nicolas is only 70 miles from the Cuban coast and if the U.S. wants to invade Cuba, that would be the closest point for them to start from. So, in a sense, this base is not only a threat for the Haitian people but for all the people of the Caribbean and Central American region. □

Right-Wingers Attack 'Stop the Death Flights' Action in Miami

Death threats, assaults, gunfire. This is what Miami opponents of the U.S. war against Central America faced this past month when right-wing Cuban, Nicaraguan and Salvadorean exile groups tried to prevent the Latin America & Caribbean Solidarity Association (LACASA) from holding a "Stop the Death Flights" picket line. The picket line was organized as part of the growing nationwide campaign against Mexicana Airlines' participation in the deportation of Salvadorean refugees.

It all began when LACASA announced plans for an April 30 demonstration at the Miami Torch of Friendship. Spanish radio stations in the area started denouncing LACASA in their broadcasts. Then Omega 7, a right-wing terrorist group that has taken responsibility for a number of murders and bombings in the New York-New Jersey and Miami areas, issued a public death threat against anyone who participated in the picket line.

In the face of these mounting threats, LACASA announced that it was postponing the picket line "in order to avoid the possibility of a violent confrontation which, because of the short notice, we could not adequately prepare to prevent." The group decided instead to hold a press conference at the Torch of Friendship at the same time the picket had been scheduled.

The 30 LACASA supporters were initially met by about 60 right-wingers, but as LACASA member John Ratliff began reading the group's statement the hostile crowd grew to over 150. They heckled, chanting, "Comunista, comunista" and calling out things like, "I love Reagan," and "Why don't you go to Nicaragua?" Then, one right-winger rushed forward and ripped the text from Ratliff's hands. Immediately, the rest of the crowd charged the other LACASA supporters, chasing them into the street.

The right-wingers took over the monument's elevated platform and began singing and chanting "Vivá Reagan" and anti-Castro slogans. Just then, a man later identified as Lazaro Siu, 42, jumped out of a nearby parked car with



a high-powered rifle and, mistaking the exiles for the recently routed LACASA members, fired a shot over their heads. The shot brought silence. The police,

Support is growing for an international campaign to stop Mexicana Airlines' role in the deportation "death flights" of El Salvadorean refugees. Mexicana is now the principal airline used by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to fly Salvadorean deportees out of the U.S. An estimated 1,000 Salvadoreans are deported, on Mexicana flights, each month.

In Los Angeles, where the campaign was initiated after successful similar campaigns against Western Airlines and Pan Am, three protest demonstrations have been held outside Mexicana ticket offices. A fourth demonstration, to be held at L.A. International Airport, is planned for May 21.

A recent new endorser of the campaign in L.A. is the Santana Chirino Amaya Refugee Committee, a group which provides emergency services and counseling to the Salvadorean exile community. The group's name honors Santana Chirino Amaya, an early victim

who had been observing the whole affair along with Miami's City Manager and members of the city's Crisis Response Team, moved in, arrested Siu and dispersed the gatherings.

In the statement Ratliff attempted to read on April 30, LACASA said that it "will not and cannot allow these Spanish language stations or exile terrorist groups to limit freedom of speech in this country. We will not be intimidated. We will hold a rally against U.S. involvement in El Salvador on May 20 at Florida International University."

"The situation in Miami is pretty serious," a LACASA activist wrote in a May 3 letter to the Torch/La Antorcha. She added: "When Reagan made his speech last week, 2,000 Cubans and Nicaraguans had a support rally for him—this was called on short notice. Is there anywhere else in the country where Reagan is so strong? I don't think so, especially on Central America." □

of the INS death flights, who was murdered in El Salvador after his 1981 deportation. Other L.A. endorsers include Service Employees International Union, Local 660; Committees of Solidarity with Central America; Echo Park CISPES and the RSL.

L.A. activists recently sent a mailing to two dozen Mexican political groups asking for their help in stopping Mexicana's cooperation with the INS. Mexicana Airlines is a nationalized company, owned by the Mexican government—the same government which claims to sympathize with the Salvadorean rebel movement.

Meanwhile, the Chicano Student Association of Eastern Michigan University and Detroit CISPES have called a meeting for May 26 to discuss plans to broaden the campaign against Mexicana Airlines to the Detroit area.

(For details on all "Stop the Death Flights" campaign meetings and demonstrations, see the Events box on page 13.)

designed search-and-destroy and rural pacification campaigns fail to disperse the FMLN's bases of support; if the U.S. ruling class continues to fight among itself over the issue—then Reagan himself will be forced to "put up or shut up" by year's end. The growing possibility is that, if so cornered, Reagan will send in troops. □



Torch/Elaine Scott

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On the need to be concrete, the nature of the USSR and alternative structures

Dear Torch:

I found the series on the "Crisis of Trotskyist Theory" (Vol. 9, Nos. 7-12 and Vol. 10, No. 2) extremely interesting, and I'd like to commend Rod Miller and Ron Taber for the thorough job they did in describing and evaluating some tricky questions.

At the same time I can fully understand Rachel Brown's desire to know more about the "vision of society we would like to have" (Letter to the Editor, Vol. 10, No. 3). The same question was raised within the series itself: "What should the left be fighting for?" The final answer was anything but satisfying: "We do not know exactly what this society will look like" is hardly an inspiring conclusion, and I think this lack of orientation could be dangerous for the movement, because it overemphasizes the correctness of the analysis in itself, instead of making it the backbone for revolutionary action. It's important to place every analysis in its proper perspective, especially if it deals with topics which most of the working class considers irrelevant to their basic problems and needs. (I mean, for example, Lenin's attitude towards the possibility of revolution in Russia before 1917, or the faults of Pabloism, etc., etc.)

There is one aspect of this discussion, which I consider very relevant and very fundamental, and which may go against the grain of much of the analysis put forward in the series. Being somewhat acquainted with Marx's "Kapital" myself, it seems to me that the category "state-capitalism" is based on a large number of phenomena, which Marx applies to all societies: The production of surplus goods; the accumulation of this surplus; the necessity of paying the workers (at least) at value (i.e., in order to reproduce themselves); and the need to invest in order to expand are also aspects of slave societies. For Marx, the specific characteristics of capitalism are the "anarchistic" planning of production through untold numbers of individual capitalists and the freedom of the worker to sell his labour to the highest bidder. The laws of competition force the capitalists to constantly change their strategies and finally to expand, in order to maintain their profits. These characteristics are nowhere to be found in the present-day economic system of the Soviet Union (the "private" production and sale of certain simple consumables is hardly important for the system as a whole) and this fact seems to me to disqualify your claim that the USSR is capitalist. At the same time the USec's claim, that the Soviet Union has remained a "worker's state" despite the lack of control through the workers, seems equally unrealistic.

The problem here is not just a question of finding the right

words, but of recognizing where and how the working class has made progress in the past and how we can apply this knowledge to the goal of working class rule in the future. One doesn't have to be apologetic towards Soviet ideology in order to realize that the workers in Russia and its allied countries have many more rights than workers in most capitalistic countries. As the result of the more or less early demise of capitalism, health and educational reforms, as well as general job security, were estab-

lished for the benefit of the working class. To ignore the most pressing problems of the working class in the USA and elsewhere.

I'm not saying that this development can be copied. The working class should be aware of the pitfalls of bureaucratic power. But the working class should also know that there are alternatives to capitalism and to non-capitalistic bureaucracies. The alternatives can be made viable, if certain anti-capitalistic structures can be established

within our own society today. Cooperation between workers and farmers, non-capitalistic factories (as the result of factory occupation), alternative education and health care and the mass mobilization against the arms race and ecological destruction are nothing less than socialism in its embryonic state. These are forms of action which involve the direct participation of the workers and the oppressed and therefore can have a strong emancipatory effect. Besides, they are not utopian because they are being

put into practice (albeit at times with failure, but also with success) in many capitalistic countries in the world today.

Torch/La Antorcha and the RSL have done a lot already for the anti-capitalist struggle. Maybe they can relate Marxist theory to certain forms of action, which represent concrete alternatives to capitalistic society, and help solve the "crisis of Trotskyism" in a less theoretical manner.

JB
Bonn, West Germany

Workers' democracy, state capitalism and the dangers of reformism

Rod Miller and Ron Taber reply:

We thank comrade JB for his letter, which raises several important questions. Here, we would like to address three.

First, we agree that it is important for the left to develop a concrete conception of what a truly socialist society should look like, and that it is not sufficient to simply analyze and criticize existing societies. We also recognize that the Torch has not always been as specific as it might be. But what we have tried to do, in our series and elsewhere, is to stress some fundamental notions of what we think socialism is and ought to be. For example, we have emphasized that socialism, or societies in transition to socialism (workers' states), must involve the direct and democratic control of the means of production, the state and society as a whole by the workers, small farmers and other "little people."

Unfortunately, even this rudimentary idea is not shared by most of the left. The majority of those who today call themselves socialists believe that societies which are in no way controlled by the workers, in which the workers and almost everybody else have few political rights of any kind and hence few ways to affect economic or social policy, are somehow socialist. Most left groups believe a largely nationalized economy with central planning (usually far less real planning than it appears), run by a party that claims to "represent the workers," equals socialism, a workers' state or some kind of society in transition to socialism. In our view, merely to stress the centrality, indeed the necessity of the direct and democratic control over the economy and society on the part of the workers, small farmers and other oppressed groups, is to say something important, however limited it might be.

In fact, we have been more specific than insisting on workers' democracy and control of society in general: In various places, we have tried to describe

the structures that would facilitate such workers' democracy. Our models are the soviets, factory committees, cooperatives and militias that the workers in Russia set up during 1917 (unfortunately, these did not survive the civil war with anything like the broad and democratic character they had during the revolution itself), the comparable dual power-type organizations that were established in Spain during the revolution in the 1930s, and similar structures set up in almost all mass revolutions. In our view, a combination of local, regional and national councils, cooperatives, unions and other organizations, with their delegates subject to immediate recall, would form the basis of a revolutionary government. We also believe that for structures such as these to be real, people must have full democratic rights—to speak, write, organize, strike, form political parties, etc.

To a degree, of course, the details can't be worked out beforehand, both because it is not possible and because (as Marx and Engels said) to do so would in itself be undemocratic; it would be up to the people making such a revolution to determine the structure of their government. The key issue we must return to, however, is that some form of democratic control over the economy and society is essential to socialism. In its absence, there is state capitalism (or bureaucratic collectivism, managerial society, Asiatic Despotism or whatever), but not a workers' state or socialism.

The second point in comrade JB's letter we would like to discuss is the notion that "certain anti-capitalist structures can be established within our own society today," for example, "cooperation between workers and farmers, non-capitalist factories (as a result of factory occupation), alternative education and health care," etc. In some ways, we agree with this idea. In particular, we believe that the structures and methods of the mass movement and struggles

under capitalism can and should be a training ground for, and in some ways an embryo of, a revolutionary socialist government. But we think there are dangers if this idea is not carefully defined, most importantly that workers and others can find themselves managing capitalism instead of overthrowing it. Factory occupations do not automatically establish anti-capitalist factories. Unless much of the rest of the economy is also taken over by the workers and controlled by them, both on the local and national levels, the result will not be an anti-capitalist economy, but a capitalist economy supposedly "run" by the workers. The laws of the market, competition, the pressure to increase productivity at the expense of the workers and to accumulate capital will force the "worker-managed" factory to act like a capitalist factory. The result will be failure and the demoralization of the workers involved—and the discrediting of the very idea of socialism.

The same notion can be used to justify various plans for workers to buy out bankrupt companies and run them through token participation on boards of directors and in factory managements. These schemes are not really anti-capitalist; nor do they lead to socialism. They are ploys to get the workers to bail out the capitalists, rationalize production, lay some of their fellow workers off and pay the capitalists' debts—in other words, to raise the rate of profit and restore profitable capitalist production. We realize that JB is not proposing this. But the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) in the U.S. and reformist socialist parties elsewhere are advocating precisely such schemes, which are obstacles to developing socialist consciousness and building a revolutionary socialist movement. Alternative structures established under capitalism can be an embryo of socialism itself only if they serve as a bridge to a relatively rapid revolutionary

takeover of the whole of society. Short of that, they amount to worker-managed capitalism.

The last point we would like to take up is JB's discussion of the character of the Soviet Union. This is a big question and here we can only touch on some of the issues he raises.

It is true that Russia today does not conform closely to the image of capitalism presented in Capital. Marx explicitly developed an abstract model of pure competitive capitalism as a way to analyse the essence of capitalist production, circulation and the capitalist economy as a whole. That model, however, never existed in the real world. British capitalism, which Marx studied so closely and which was the basis from which he abstracted his model, differed from it significantly. French capitalism, much more state-controlled, conformed to it even less. Today, traditional Western capitalism "deviates" substantially from Marx's model—without ceasing to be capitalist. Modern Western capitalism, for example, is characterized by a high degree of oligopolization (the result of the concentration and centralization of capital), a restriction of competition, a diminution of the role of the individual owner/entrepreneur (at least at the top levels of the economy), and a dramatic increase in state intervention and direct state ownership.

Russian state capitalism, which "deviates" from the model still further, can be seen as the logical extension of these tendencies, without eliminating its fundamental capitalist nature. In fact, Marx and Engels discussed the possibility of a society coming into existence in which all the private capitals had been amalgamated into one state capital and they argued that the capital-labor relationship would not thereby be abolished. (They did think such a society would be inherently unstable and that its establishment would be followed quickly by a socialist revolution. Would that this were true!)

Despite state ownership and planning and the elimination of traditional competition, the Russian economy is still based on commodity production (even in the state sector, where factories and supply and distribution organizations buy and sell goods among themselves with the transactions registered in separate accounts in the state bank). In fact, the planners consciously and explicitly plan the production and distribution of commodities.

The Russian economy is also based on the exploitation of a proletariat. The workers are wage-laborers. They lack ownership of and control over the means of production, which are controlled by a self-selecting (and repressive) party and state bureaucracy. As a result, Russian workers must sell their ability to work (their labor-power) to the state-owned enterprises in exchange for money wages, which they use to buy food, clothing, etc.—more or less enough to enable them to survive and raise a family.

In the production process a surplus is produced, which is appropriated not by the workers themselves, but by the bureaucracy. And this surplus is primarily reinvested in the production process, to modernize the means of production, increase productivity and, ultimately, raise the rate of exploitation and the relative size of the surplus produced. In other words, the surplus is accumulated. Given that the goods produced are commodities and have values, like all commodities (whether or not their prices equal these values), the surplus produced is surplus value; and it is accumulated as capital.

In Russia, then, the means of production dominate the workers; capital dominates labor. In our view, this relationship, along with the features we have described, define the Russian economy as capitalist, even though most of the capital is state-owned and the market is not very free. (There is, however, more of a free market than is officially admitted. For example, there is the so-called parallel economy, a vast semi-underground exchange of goods and services—a market—without which the official economy could not function.)

It is also worth noting that, contrary to JB's assertion, capital accumulation is unique to capitalism. While it existed in some form in earlier, non-capitalist societies, it was not central to them, nor did it define them. Accumulation was not a fundamental feature of ancient society, for example, nor of feudalism or any of the so-called Asiatic Despotisms. It is true that accumulation will continue to exist, in a certain form, in the early stages of socialism. But there will be a crucial difference: The workers will control the means of production and make the decisions about how much is reinvested and in which sectors, etc., that is, they will actually plan production, with the goal of eventually abolishing exploitation and accumulation altogether. If they don't control the means of production, the society won't be socialist. It will

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West Germany

ulism

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last point we would like to make up is JB's discussion of the character of the Soviet Union. This is a big question where we can only touch on some of the issues he raises.

It is true that Russia today does not conform closely to the model of capitalism presented in the Communist Manifesto. Marx explicitly developed an abstract model of pure competitive capitalism as a way to analyze the essence of capitalism—production, circulation and distribution of commodities in a capitalist economy as a whole.

That model, however, did not exist in the real world. In the Soviet Union, capitalism, which Marx described so closely and which he based from which he based his model, differed significantly. French capitalism, much more state-controlled, conformed to it even today, traditional Western capitalism "deviates" substantially from Marx's model—it is ceasing to be capitalist. In Western capitalism, for example, it is characterized by a high degree of oligopolization (the result of the concentration and centralization of capital), a lack of competition, a domination of the role of the financial owner/entrepreneur at the top levels of the economy, and a dramatic increase in state intervention in direct state ownership.

In state capitalism, which is "deviates" from the model still in force, can be seen as the final extension of these tendencies, without eliminating its mental capitalist nature. In fact, Marx and Engels discussed the possibility of a new society coming into existence in the form of the private capitals being amalgamated into one system of state capitalism and the capitalist-labor relationship would not thereby be abolished. (They did think such a society would be inherently unstable and that its establishment would be followed quickly by a socialist revolution. Would this be true?)

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be...state capitalism.

Finally, we would question JB's contention that the workers in the state-capitalist countries have more rights than workers under traditional capitalism. We would call it a trade-off; what is gained in some areas is lost in others. Thus, there is little unemployment in Russia. (There is some, however, and, more important, a kind of semi-employment is rampant. Many workers in various enterprises have little to do; they are paid, but in many cases not enough to maintain a substantial living standard.) It is also difficult, but not impossible, for factory managements to fire workers (unless they strike, of course). And there is a somewhat higher level of social services than in most traditional capitalist countries (although housing is extremely scarce, education is highly tracked, and the much-ballyhooed health system is really pretty awful). But these advantages are obtained at a price: Wages are extremely low and workers lack the right to organize on or off the job, the right to free speech or press, the right to organize unions that defend the workers rather than help management, and, not least, the right to strike. In short, the workers in Russia gain a limited job security and some rather poor social services, in exchange for a low standard of living and a regimented economic and political existence.

But most of all, we find it difficult to describe a system that led to the deaths of over eight million people during forced collectivization and around 20 million more (the estimates vary) in Stalin's forced labor camps as providing more "rights" to the workers than traditional capitalism. In our view, both traditional capitalism and state capitalism are horrible, and for the same fundamental reason: The workers and other oppressed people don't run them.

We again thank comrade JB for his letter and would welcome hearing from him further on these questions.

'Glad to see Torch'

Dear Torch:

My friends and I read your paper and are glad to see it. We must save our world from the nuclear murder that the ruling class is leading us to. The present American/European private capitalism and the present state-controlled capitalism of China and the Soviet Union is led on by nationalism and the need for increased profits. As long as making a bigger profit is necessary for the rule of the systems in power, everybody will get pulled closer to nuclear death.

As impossible as it may some-

times seem, we have got to replace the capitalist system with a socialist system or we will all die in a nuclear blitz. Keep working and organizing for a socialist revolution. It ain't going to be easy but it has got to get done. Good luck. We are working real hard in Brooklyn and New York City. Let's work to make May 1 a step ahead, a step closer to socialist revolution!

An angry worker

SWP distorts Trotskyism

Dear Comrades:

After eight years in the movement for socialism, and finding myself disappointed at the SWP's [Socialist Workers Party] distortions of Trotskyism, aberration of a dialectical materialist approach to an analysis of the American working class, and seemingly new found fondness of Leninist dogma, I have been very glad to receive a copy of the *Torch* from a supporter of yours whom I met in LACASA, the Miami affiliate of CISPES [Committee In Support of the People of El Salvador]. Enjoying its analysis and vision, I am sending you \$1 for a trial subscription. Also, enclosed is a \$2 donation to your Winter fund drive (even though it's Spring). In search for a revolutionary, democratic, socialist way to the future,
Dennis Marsella
Dania, FL

Washington campaign not typical

Dear Torch:

The article on Harold Washington in the April 15th issue ("Harold Washington Wins in Chicago," Vol. 10, No. 4) was right in describing Washington as a "more or less typical capitalist politician." But the movement that put him in office was not ordinary. It has shattered the grip of the old machine on the vast Black West Side and South Side of Chicago. The city will not be the same again.

The racist Chicago machine long drew its greatest strength from the captive votes of Blacks. Through intimidation (including guns and bombings), vote-buying, and outright fraud, the Democratic Party always ran up huge majorities in Black wards. And, as recently as a decade ago, the contemptuous masters of the machine hadn't even bothered to replace

their white hack politicians with Blacks on the West Side.

This year, Blacks defied the old machine. Harold Washington carried Black Chicago by huge majorities in the February primary, and by an amazing 98-99 percent in the April election. What's more, four of the most notorious machine toadies among Black aldermen were defeated, mainly by activist "independents" such as Bobby Rush, an ex-Black Panther elected in the Second Ward. Black people voted for candidates who appeared to address their needs. The old plantation politics is dead and can't be put back together. This is an historic change.

Black voters registered in huge numbers, voted in an unprecedented turnout, and voted more consciously and assertively than ever before. In this respect, Chicago seems to be an especially sharp example of a national trend. But Black people have a long way to go before they break with the oppressive Democratic Party, including Harold Washington, to find the road to a real fight for liberation.

Of course, the Democratic Party nationally wants to harness Black voters to put itself back into office. Harold Washington will do his best to help. In April, he endorsed the opponents of the most corrupt hacks—and the hacks lost. But where old line Black machine politicians—ex-Byrne supporters—were not known for being 100 percent puppets, Washington made no endorsement and the incumbents won.

At this moment, Washington is more than a boss among Black Chicagoans, he is more like a political king. Every Black candidate in town, even those he was opposing, strongly backed Washington in April. There is a mood of exuberance and unity, and a willingness to follow Washington's lead. As he settles in to his job of administering budget cuts and hard times (the Chicago schools face a \$200 million deficit and massive cuts this fall), and starts to deal with the fat cats like other politicians, this mood will wear thin, and we'll see what kind of refurbished Democratic Party machine Washington will be able to put together.

DC

Chicago

Asian-Black unity in Brooklyn

Dear Torch,

First of all, I want to say I've been reading your paper for several months and like it a lot. I normally wouldn't write to tell you about a neighborhood fight or social, but I think this is special.

It happened in northwest Flatbush and here is the situation. Our neighborhood is mostly Black (U.S., Jamaican

and Haitian) but there are a lot of Korean and Chinese people too. The Chinese and Koreans are very scared of Blacks and not too friendly. This isn't all their fault. In north Flatbush, Korean and Cambodian people have been beaten and robbed. Anyway, here is what happened:

One of my friends, who is Black, lives in a building that is mostly Chinese. One night, she heard some noise and strange people in the building. She got scared, and called her boyfriend, who is Jamaican. He came over with three of his friends. When they got in the building, they found four or five young Black guys trying to break into someone's place. Other doors on that floor were open. The Jamaican men beat up the robbers, took the money they had on them off them, and threw them out of the building. They bloodied them, but didn't break any bones. Then they went back to my friend's apartment. She called me and some other friends.

Together, we went door to door in the building to make sure everyone was OK. We found that three families had been robbed and some people were tied up. At first, the Chinese were scared of us too, but then they saw we wanted to help them. We gave them back the money, and they divided it up with no trouble. Then we invited them over to the park to have a drink and talk with us.

We were a little strange with each other—we bought Japanese wine by mistake—but it was good. Things are better on our blocks now. Blacks and Chinese get along better now, or at least smile at each other on the street. Maybe now we can start to work together on some of the problems in the neighborhood: crime and how the landlords and city government treat us.

Rose N.,

Brooklyn, NY

P.S. The other reason I wanted to write to you is that everybody at the social got an old *Forward* [newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, W.I.—Ed.] (we were out of *Torches*) and liked it.

To Our Readers in Prison

Annual renewal notices to our subscribers in prison have been mailed out with this issue of the paper. Please make sure you fill out this form (printed on the back of the wrapper the paper comes in) and return it to us. This is the only way we can be sure that the *Torch/La Antorcha* is still reaching you and that you are still interested in receiving it.

If your paper stops arriving monthly, it may be because the renewal notice never got to you, or because you forgot to send it back to us. Let us know—as soon as we hear from you we will put you back on our subscription list. But we must receive a form or a letter to continue sending the paper.

In 1975, millions of people in the U.S. and around the world hailed the victory of the national liberation forces in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. All hoped that the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia would open an era of independence, peace and prosperity for the peoples of the region. But for many, such hopes were followed by confusion and even demoralization in the wake of the crimes of the Pol Pot regime, the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, and the Chinese attack on Vietnam. Recent events in Southeast Asia have again aroused concern among many of those who have supported the long struggle of the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Laotian peoples.

In January, and again in March, Vietnamese troops occupying Kampuchea launched offensives against rightist guerrillas along the Kampuchea-Thailand border, forcing thousands of refugees to flee into Thai territory. Then in April, Chinese and Vietnamese forces exchanged artillery fire while the governments of both countries accused each other of border provocations. In addition, numerous articles both in left-wing papers such as the Guardian and in capitalist publications like the New York Times, the Washington Post and Time magazine, have reported mounting economic difficulties in Kampuchea and Vietnam.

U.S. imperialism and its allies certainly bear a heavy responsibility for the continuing problems of Southeast Asia. Direct U.S. military intervention in the area, which went on for more than 10 years and included the most destructive bombing campaign in history, devastated the entire region. Moreover, since the victory of the national liberation forces in 1975, successive U.S. administrations have sought to isolate and undermine the new governments there.

But all the problems of Southeast Asia cannot be dismissed as the work of imperialist plotters, or the lies of the capitalist press; the new rulers of Kampuchea and Vietnam also share some blame for the difficulties facing the peoples of the region. To accurately assess developments in Southeast Asia today, we must therefore take into account not only the role of U.S. imperialism, but also the domestic and international policies followed by the governments of Kampuchea and Vietnam. The article below reviews developments in Kampuchea since 1975. A concluding article summarizing events in Vietnam, will appear next month.

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Kampuchean society was a shambles when the Khmer Rouge or Kampuchean Communist Party (KCP) guerrillas entered the capital, Phnom Penh, and took power in 1975. A U.S. saturation bombing offensive had killed tens of thousands of people. Hundreds of thousands of others fled the countryside to seek refuge in the cities, leaving over half the land cultivated in 1970 abandoned. A New York Times reporter who visited Kampuchea in 1975 described the country as "a wasteland of broken bridges, abandoned fields and forcibly evacuated highway towns."

Instead of peace and reconstruction, the devastation of the war years was followed by the horrors of the Pol Pot regime. The Pol Pot government's policies had been formulated as early as 1968 by one of the Khmer Rouge's top leaders, Khieu Samphan, who became head of state in the new government. Samphan and other KCP leaders believed that to achieve economic independence, Kampuchea had to undergo a temporary, but total, withdrawal from the world economy. Once in power, the Khmer Rouge would strip non-essentials out of the economy to achieve "autarchy," or complete economic self-sufficiency. It would rely on state-controlled agriculture and localized industry producing goods needed in the agricultural sector in order to build up a national

Behind the Turmoil in Southeast Asia

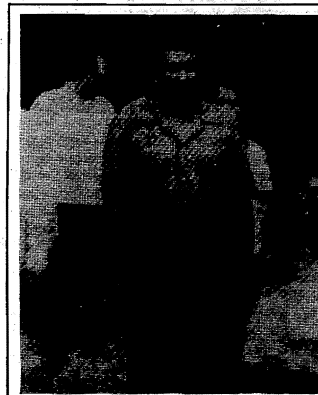
PART ONE: DEATH AND DESTRUCTION IN KAMPUCHEA



surplus until, in Samphan's words, it could "re-enter the world economy on its own terms."

POL POT'S REIGN OF TERROR

In carrying out this ultra-nationalist policy, the Pol Pot government committed monstrous crimes against the Kampuchean people and brought Kampuchean society to near-total destruction. Within hours of entering Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge ordered the evacuation of the city. Nearly two million people—not only refugees, but workers and even the sick and wounded who crowded local hospitals—were driven into the countryside at gunpoint. Other cities around the country were emptied in similar fashion. The government then herded the helpless population into forced labor camps in the countryside. All, including the children, the infirm and the aged, were forced to work as much as 20 hours a day, seven days a week. The word "sleep" was officially banned from the Kampuchean vocabulary! Discipline was enforced with whips, clubs, guns and a network of spies and informers. Refugees reported that workers in the camps were



Pol Pot:
the butcher of Kampuchea.

shot for even talking to each other without permission.

At the same time, the government succeeded in all but destroying Kampuchean culture. Schools, temples, hospitals and many factories were closed. Telephone, telegraph and mail service were abolished. Teachers, engineers, doctors and other professionals were systematically hunted down and executed. Of the country's reported 500 doctors in 1975, for example, only 40—who were able to conceal their identities—remained alive in 1979.

These measures were accompanied by a campaign of mass murder that claimed hundreds of thousands of victims. In the cities, the sewers were literally clogged with human skeletons. In the countryside, uncounted victims were buried in mass graves.

At the Tuol Sleng death camp alone, over 12,000 bodies have been discovered. Prisoners there were chained hand and foot to metal beds, tortured until they signed "confessions," then beaten to death with iron bars, axes and shovels.

Within the KCP itself, a series of bloody power struggles broke out between 1975 and 1979. According to Ieng Sary, who along with Pol Pot and Khieu Samphan was one of the top government leaders, no less than six attempted coups or revolts took place during this period. The government "liquidated" whole sections of the Khmer Rouge leadership who participated in or were suspected of supporting these rebellions. It also slaughtered thousands of the young members of the Khmer Rouge and their families who had the misfortune of supporting or merely serving under one or another of the condemned party officials.

WAR WITH VIETNAM

On the international front, the main feature of the Pol Pot regime's policy was an alliance with the Chinese government against Vietnam. The KCP accused the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) of seeking to create an empire in Southeast Asia by forcing both the Kampuchean and Laotian people into an "Indochina Federation" under Vietnamese control.

The Kampuchean people had legitimate reasons to fear Vietnamese expansionism. Throughout the centuries Vietnamese rulers have extended their territory by conquering lands historically occupied by the Kampuchean people. Present-day South Vietnam, for example, was part of Kampuchea until it was seized in the 17th century by the Vietnamese empire to the north. Vietnamese encroachments on Kampuchean territory continued well into the 19th century, until Vietnam itself was taken over by French imperialism.

More recently, during the long struggle against French and U.S. imperialism, the VCP leaders systematically subordinated the Kampuchean independence struggle to that of the Vietnamese. In signing the 1954 Geneva accords, for example, the VCP agreed to the establishment of a neo-colonialist government in Kampuchea under Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the price for gaining their own independent state in North Vietnam. In the following years, they supported the Sihanouk regime—despite its repressive campaigns against the Communist Party of Kampuchea.

According to Khmer Rouge leaders VCP also opposed their decision to up arms against the Sihanouk regime in 1968. When Sihanouk was overthrown by a U.S.-sponsored military coup in 1970, the VCP urged the Khmer Rouge to merge with Vietnamese liberation forces operating from Kampuchea rather than maintain its own independent armed forces. Then, in 1973, the VCP negotiated a peace treaty with imperialism that led to the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam—allowed the U.S. government to continue the murderous bombing of Kampuchea.

In light of this history, it was not reasonable for the Kampuchean government to believe that the Vietnamese leaders opposed a truly independent Kampuchea and would seek to undermine its rule once U.S. imperialism was defeated.

However, the Pol Pot regime responded to this threat with chauvinistic, ultra-nationalist policies of its own. It provoked border conflicts carried out a repressive campaign against ethnic Vietnamese living



Propaganda poster put out by the puppet Heng Samrin government claims it liberated the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's oppression. But Samrin himself was an army division commander who supported Pol Pot's regime until May 1978, only a few months before its downfall. He and other KCP leaders did not turn against Pol Pot until their own lives were endangered in inner-party feuds.

Southeast Asia DEATH AND IN



Kampuchean people had legitimate reasons to fear Vietnamese expansion. Throughout the centuries Vietnamese rulers have extended their empire by conquering lands historically occupied by the Kampuchean people. Present-day South Vietnam, for example, was part of Kampuchea until it was separated in the 17th century by the French empire to the north. Vietnamese encroachments on Kampuchean territory continued well into the 19th century until Vietnam itself was taken over by French imperialism.

Recently, during the long Vietnam War, against French and U.S. imperialism, the VCP leaders systematically dismantled the Kampuchean independence struggle to that of the Vietnamese. In 1954, the 1954 Geneva accords, for example, the VCP agreed to the establishment of a neo-colonialist government in Kampuchea under Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the price for Vietnam's own independent state in Indochina. In the following years, the VCP supported the Sihanouk regime—its repressive campaigns against the Communist Party of Kampuchea.



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Kampuchea and purged party leaders who supported a settlement with Vietnam.

In so doing, the Pol Pot government was in effect acting as an agent for China's imperialist ambitions in Southeast Asia. It is clear that the Chinese rulers encouraged tensions between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese governments to weaken them both, provide an excuse for direct Chinese intervention, and set the stage for China to reassert its traditional domination over the region.

Kampuchea's conflict with Vietnam eventually led to the downfall of the Pol Pot regime. After months of sporadic border conflicts, 100,000 Vietnamese troops invaded Kampuchea on Christmas Day, 1978. Within two weeks the Vietnamese forces had crushed the Kampuchean army and occupied Phnom Penh. Hailing themselves as the liberators of the Kampuchean people from the brutalities of Pol Pot (a claim that, under the circumstances, had a degree of truth), the Vietnamese proceeded to set up a puppet Kampuchean government led by Pen Sovan.

'FELLOW SOCIALISTS'

Unfortunately, the Vietnamese did not enter Kampuchea as liberators. On the contrary, the invasion marked Kampuchea's transformation into a Vietnamese client state.

Although the Vietnamese government was unquestionably aware as early as 1975 of the crimes committed by the Pol Pot regime, it embraced the Kampuchean rulers as "fellow socialists" up to the very day Pol Pot broke diplomatic relations with Vietnam, December 31, 1977. Only then did Vietnam invade Kampuchea—not to free the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's oppression, but to further its own domination of Southeast Asia, as well as to avoid "encirclement" by hostile regimes in Kampuchea and China.

Today, over four years after the invasion, the Vietnamese government remains the absolute master of Kampuchea. One of the first acts of the Kampuchean puppet government was to sign a "mutual assistance pact" with Vietnam that legitimized the continued presence of Vietnamese troops in the country. The occupation army reportedly numbers from 150,000 to 200,000 troops (despite recent token withdrawals), and both the Vietnamese government and its Kampuchean clients insist the troops will remain until the "security" of Kampuchea is restored. Since the Kampuchean army has only some 20,000 ill-trained troops—universally considered incapable of defeating the rightist guerrillas—it is likely the Vietnamese forces will remain in the country for years.

VCP 'ADVISERS' RUN COUNTRY

Within Kampuchea's puppet government, Vietnamese "advisers" make most of the major decisions and are found everywhere in the country, down to the provincial and subdistrict level. According to two defectors who worked within the government, no less than 17 Vietnamese officials work in the Kampuchean foreign ministry. And staff members of the official news service who talked with Western reporters made no secret of the fact that their main job was translating stories or news releases written by the Vietnamese. While the "advisers" have undoubtedly helped revive Kampuchean society following the devastation of the Pol Pot regime and the Vietnamese invasion, their chief task is to ensure that the new Kampuchean government remains loyal to Vietnamese interests.

Such considerations were probably responsible for the downfall of Pen

Sovan, who was installed by the Vietnamese as head of a "reformed," pro-Vietnamese Kampuchean Communist Party at the time of the invasion. In December 1981, Sovan was suddenly dismissed from his post and arrested by Vietnamese troops. (He is currently reported to be living under house arrest in Vietnam.) About 20 other officials in the government were purged at the same time.

Vietnamese government officials later claimed that Sovan had been removed because he was arrogant, and unpopular with other Kampuchean government leaders. While the charge may well have been true, the evidence suggests the Vietnamese government engineered his dismissal because Sovan was not sufficiently grateful for Vietnamese "assistance." His lack of "gratitude" included ordering border officials to do all they could to prevent Vietnamese settlers,

to the Kampuchean people—and the world—how a supposedly socialist party could turn to mass murder once it achieved power, and why the VCP is rebuilding that party with leaders who helped carry out that slaughter. They have therefore propagated a series of myths to cover up the complicity of the Kampuchean Communist Party—and the current Kampuchean leadership—in Pol Pot's crimes. Their constant refrain is that these crimes were the work of a "tiny clique," rather than the KCP leadership as a whole.

It is now claimed that Pol Pot and his clique "seized control" of the KCP through a series of purges in 1975—even though Pol Pot took over the leadership of the party 12 years earlier, in 1963. Pol Pot himself is described as a "madman," who wanted to exterminate the Kampuchean people and replace them with Chinese colonists. These



The Vietnamese government installed Pen Sovan (left) as leader of the KCP after Vietnam invaded Kampuchea. But when Sovan proved to be too independent, he was dismissed from his post, arrested and replaced by Heng Samrin (right).

who have poured into Kampuchea since the invasion, from entering the country.

Even more important, Sovan may have tried to gain maneuvering room against his Vietnamese advisers by establishing independent ties to the Russian government. The Russians are closely allied to the Vietnamese rulers but would also like to strengthen their own influence in Southeast Asia. In July 1980, Sovan asked the Russian government for direct aid for the Kampuchean army. He subsequently established close personal ties to Leonid Brezhnev and other Russian leaders. When Sovan was suddenly ousted in December 1981, the Russians gave Sovan's successor, Heng Samrin, a cold reception, waiting over a week before congratulating him on his ascension to power. More significantly, Russian aid to Kampuchea was reduced from \$95 million in 1981 to \$65 million in 1982, following Sovan's arrest and dismissal.

KCP BUTCHERS STILL IN POWER

Both the Vietnamese occupiers and their Kampuchean clients constantly parade the crimes of the Pol Pot regime in order to justify the Vietnamese invasion and the policies of the new government. But both the "reformed" Kampuchean Communist Party and the state apparatus are led by officials who not only supported Pol Pot, but actually carried out his reign of terror.

Sovan, Samrin, Foreign Minister Hun Sen and Minister of Justice Ouk Bun Chhoeun were all middle-level government leaders or army officers under Pol Pot. With the exception of Hun Sen, who fled in 1977, all of these leaders supported the Pol Pot regime until mid-1978, only a few months before its overthrow. They fled or sought to organize revolts only when their own lives were threatened by the power struggles within the Kampuchean Communist Party.

The Vietnamese rulers have had an understandably difficult time explaining

ables are used to cover up crimes of the entire Kampuchean Communist Party, and to justify keeping Pol Pot's former officials, now loyal puppets of the Vietnamese, in power, over the very people they victimized.

U.S. IMPERIALISM BACKS POL POT

While the Vietnamese government is using Pol Pot's collaborators to secure its hold over Kampuchea, Pol Pot has allied himself with U.S. imperialism. The Reagan administration—which regularly thunders against "communist totalitarianism"—supports the claim of Pol Pot and his henchmen to be "the legitimate government of Kampuchea." Together with its allies in China, Thailand and other Asian countries, the U.S. government provides Pol Pot's forces with arms, supplies and political backing.

To overcome worldwide hatred of Pol Pot, the U.S. and Chinese governments have pressured him to ally with more "acceptable" Kampuchean politicians who also oppose the Vietnamese occupation. Thus, last July they engineered a shaky alliance between Pol Pot, Sihanouk, and Son Sann, a former army general and prime minister under the Sihanouk regime.

Currently, around 20,000 troops loyal to Pol Pot, along with a few thousand who support his allies, occupy guerrilla camps along the Kampuchean-Thailand border. From these bases they have conducted occasional raids into Kampuchean territory.

But no one pretends that Pol Pot's "Coalition Government" has any real support within Kampuchea itself. On the contrary, the ample evidence that most Kampuchean people prefer the occupation of their country by Vietnamese troops to the restoration of the Pol Pot regime—despite centuries of hostility between the two peoples—is itself the most damning condemnation of the Khmer Rouge.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Jamaica: Socialist Revolution is the Only Way Out of this Crisis

(Below we are reprinting an article by our sister organization, the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica. The article is by Jon Thomas and is from the April 27-May 26 issue of the RML's newspaper, the Forward.)

As we approach the middle of the right-wing JLP [Jamaica Labour Party, headed by Prime Minister Edward Seaga—Ed.] government's present term of office, the crisis in the country remains so deep that even the regime's staunchest supporters have begun to quake. Thus, on April 10, in a column entitled "Running Out of Hope," *Gleaner* columnist and Seaga fan John Hearne lamented the fact that there seemed to be no hope of getting out the total mess in which Jamaican capitalism has sunk. He also expressed grave concern that the JLP may be booted out of office come next General Elections without the liberal capitalist PNP [Peoples' National Party, led by former Prime Minister Michael Manley—Ed.] even trying. Another pro-JLP columnist, Veron Witter, in a *Star* column of April 13, expressed similar views to Hearne's.

Carl Stone, the reactionaries' darling pollster and an open supporter of Seaga and the JLP all along, has also been writing for the *Gleaner* in much the same trend as the two above-named columnists during the recent period. And well he might, for one of his most recent polls shows that a clear majority of the Jamaican people feel that things have gotten worse under the JLP.

The truth

Which is only the truth. The cost of living is continuing its runaway rise. Housing remains very scarce. Of late a very grave water shortage has been added to the persistent crisis in the other utilities. Layoffs are continuing throughout the economy. In the crucial bauxite/alumina industry, during the month of April, 100 workers have been laid off at Reynolds and 65 at Alpart. This is in spite of Seaga's announcement that 200 bauxite workers would be taken back as a result of a new deal to sell bauxite to the U.S. government stockpile. For according to Reynolds it will not be involved in providing any bauxite under this arrangement.

Meanwhile, a *Gleaner* article of March 25 implied that contrary to the government's claims of record growth for the tourism industry last year, most hotels have experienced an average, break-even occupancy. Yet



tourism is the only remaining economic sector with prospects for increasing foreign exchange earnings at present.

On top of this, it is now widely accepted that the JLP has failed the IMF [International Monetary Fund—Ed.] tests for the quarter ending March 31. The negotiations for the third year of the three-year agreement are still dragging out in Washington. It is generally known that the IMF is demanding sharp cuts in government spending. This is what lies behind the JLP regime's refusal

to offer teachers, civil servants and other public employees more than \$100 million. It also accounts for Public Service Minister J.A.G. Smith's threat during the recent Civil Service strike to lay off 10,000 civil servants. This danger still hangs over the heads of civil servants.

To cap off the present mess, the near-trade war between Jamaica and its main CARICOM [Caribbean Community—Ed.] trading partners is still simmering.

Today, the vast majority of the working and oppressed

people of this country are fed up with the present terrible suffering. Stone's polls show that more people (although only by a small edge) today prefer a PNP government to a JLP government. Up to *Forward* press time the wave of strikes and other labor action involving Jamaica Telephone Company technicians, nurses, teachers, civil servants, local government workers, prison wardens and other public employees has still not ended.

It is therefore not accidental that the regime has now moved

Thousands Protest Pinochet Regime in Chile

Tens of thousands of people in Chile participated in a "national social protest" against General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte's military regime on May 12. The action was by far the largest display of opposition to the military government since it took power in 1973.

According to union leaders who called the demonstration, up to 70 percent of Chile's 11 million people joined or supported it by marching in the streets, boycotting classes or refusing to shop. Security police had to use clubs and tear gas to break up protests in several parts of Chile's capital, Santiago. At least two people were killed and 350 jailed by police.

Opposition to Pinochet's rule is growing because, after years of relative prosperity, the Chilean economy has totally collapsed. Chile's economic "boom" of the late 1970s was based primarily on the suppression of the workers that followed the 1973 coup. After the military overthrew President Salvador Allende Gossens' government, it outlawed political parties, suppressed the trade unions, and drastically cut workers' wages and living standards. Thousands of militants were also murdered or imprisoned.

In 1975, the government introduced a series of measures intended to reduce the state's role in the economy in favor of a wide-open capitalist "free market." These steps were the work of conservative economic advisers known as the "Chicago Boys" because they had studied at the University of Chicago under right-wing U.S. economist Milton Friedman.

Chile's economy grew at an 8.5 annual rate between 1977 and 1981—and the "Chicago Boys" took all the credit. Friedman boasted that Chile's economic growth was "comparable to the economic miracle of post-war Germany." As a result of the boom, Pinochet was able to win a stage-managed 1980 plebiscite approving a new constitution that mandated continued military rule through at least 1989.

But the bottom fell out of Chile's "economic miracle" in 1982. The economy shrank 14 percent, dozens of companies went out of business, and the country's banking system collapsed. Currently, 25 percent of Chile's workers have no jobs, another 13 percent work only part-time in emergency public works jobs for \$27 a month, the

inflation rate is 30 percent and the government owes \$18 billion in foreign debts.

Now, due to the economic collapse, opposition to the government among all sections of the population is increasing. Since mid-1982, workers and students have been organizing protests against military rule. Bankers and industrial leaders who previously gave enthusiastic support to Pinochet have started to openly criticize his policies.

Significantly, Pinochet is also losing support among the rightist small business owners and politicians who played a major role in bringing down the Allende government, and later formed a popular base for the military regime. Last October, independent truckers, farmers and the National Chamber of Commerce mounted anti-government protests. Also in October, Roberto Thieme—a fascist leader whose attempted coup against Allende in June 1973 was a prelude to the army's takeover—led an unsuccessful coup against Pinochet.

Faced with growing opposition that ranges from the left to the extreme right, it is unclear how long Pinochet's government can maintain its hold over Chilean society. □

to restrict the flow of news to the public. Hence its stubborn refusal to say what happened with the last IMF tests despite many public demands that this be done. Also the abrupt closure of the more liberal *Daily News* which often put forward PNP, WPJ [Workers' Party of Jamaica—Ed.], RML and other views critical of the regime. Finally, there has also been Police Commissioner Joe Williams' action in virtually closing down the Police Information Centre and taking all control for the release of news to the media and the public into his own hands.

Joe Williams' statement that not even the Minister of National Security can tell him how to run the police force is a dangerous announcement of ambitions toward a naked police dictatorship in Jamaica. That the Minister, Winston Spaulding, was unable to hand him even the mildest rebuke for this outrageous statement is a measure of his own personal cowardice and that of the JLP regime. They are afraid of the cops and even worse afraid of the masses. They are, therefore, prepared to give bully police Joe Williams a free hand rather than run the risk of being deserted to face the wrath of the masses.

Change wanted

The masses clearly want a change now from the brutal suffering under the JLP. Thus, more people today have expressed a preference for the PNP over the JLP. But not all that many; only 3 percent over the JLP according to Carl Stone's Polls. Besides, half of the people questioned by Stone didn't feel that the PNP was ready to form the government if it should win the next election. That more and more people want a more radical alternative than PNP liberalism is indicated by the fact that the WPJ—which has positioned itself a little to the left of the PNP—has recovered some of the popularity it has lost. Its standing has moved from a high of 2 percent in November 1981 through a low of 0.3 percent in October 1982 to 1 percent in March this year.

The truly true alternative to the present mess is socialist revolution leading to a workers' and small farmers' government. Working and oppressed people in Jamaica need to build a revolutionary party to lead that struggle. The Revolutionary Marxist League represents the foundations of that party. □

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

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

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

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

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

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

While such revolutions are most likely to develop on a national basis, we believe that to be successful they must become worldwide in scope. Capitalism

Events

DETROIT

MAY 26—Meeting to plan campaign for Mexican Airlines' deportation death 7:30 pm, Casa de Unidad, 1920 25th St. by Chicano Students Association of E. Michigan University and Detroit CISPE; more info, (313) 331-7757.

JUNE 18—Demonstrate Against U.S. War Central America! Money for Jobs, Not for 12 noon, Grand Circus Park. March to Ke Square for 1 pm rally. Sponsored by Ju Coalition. For more info, (313) 577-3451

LOS ANGELES

MAY 21—Stop the Death Flights picket in front of Mexican Airlines, L.A. Interna Airport. 12-1 pm. Rides leave at 11 am Working Peoples' Law Center, 1467 Echo Ave. Cosponsored by Committees of Solidarity with Central America, Santana Chirino A Refugee Committee and Echo Park CISPE; more info, (213) 660-4587.

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

Program in Brief of the Revolutionary Socialist League

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

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

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

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

While such revolutions are most likely to develop on a national basis, we believe that to be successful they must become worldwide in scope. Capitalism is

an international system, with a world economy and a world market. Only through an international socialist revolution can the workers and their allies eliminate all capitalist oppression and have access to the human, natural and technical resources necessary to solve the problems confronting human society.

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

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

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

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

4 Socialism does not exist anywhere in the world today. What is called socialism in countries like Russia, China, Cuba, Albania, Poland, etc., is **state capitalism**, a 20th century variation of traditional, private shareholding capitalism. In the state-capitalist (often called Stalinist) countries, as in the "regular" capitalist nations, all the elite dominates society, making all the decisions and reaping all the benefits. Working and oppressed people have no more control of the factories and other workplaces, the economy, the government or anything else than do workers in traditional capitalist countries. The state-capitalist ruling class controls the state apparatus and nationalized industry, while the workers are in the position of being wage slaves, chained to a giant capitalist machine.

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

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

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

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

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

socialist revolution will surely triumph.

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

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

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

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Events

DETROIT

MAY 26—Meeting to plan campaign against Mexicana Airlines' deportation death flights. 7:30 pm, Casa de Unidad, 1920 25th St. Called by Chicano Students Association of Eastern Michigan University and Detroit CISPES. For more info, (313) 331-7757.

JUNE 18—Demonstrate Against U.S. War in Central America! Money for Jobs, Not for War! 12 noon, Grand Circus Park. March to Kennedy Square for 1 pm rally. Sponsored by June 18 Coalition. For more info, (313) 577-3451.

LOS ANGELES

MAY 21—Stop the Death Flights picket line in front of Mexicana Airlines, LA International Airport. 12-1 pm. Rides leave at 11 am from Working Peoples' Law Center, 1467 Echo Park Ave. Cosponsored by Committees of Solidarity with Central America, Santana Chirino Amaya Refugee Committee and Echo Park CISPES. For more info, (213) 660-4587.

JUNE 11—Slide show on El Salvador, followed by party. 8 pm. Sponsored by Gay & Lesbian Committee of Echo Park CISPES. For info and location, (213) 385-6029 or (213) 660-1823.

JUNE 26—Annual Christopher Street West Parade (Gay Pride March). Join the "U.S. Out of El Salvador!" contingent, organized by the Gay & Lesbian Committee of Echo Park CISPES. All welcome. For exact details of time and starting place, call (213) 385-6029 or (213) 660-1823.

MIAMI

MAY 20—Rally Against U.S. Involvement in El Salvador! 7:30 pm, Florida International University, North Campus. Reagan will be addressing a Cuban-American luncheon in Miami area on May 20. Sponsored by Latina America & Caribbean Solidarity Association (LACASA).

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