

TORCH

NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE

JUNE 15-JULY 14, 1982

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Israeli War Machine Strikes Again

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JUN 22 1982

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN

Zionists Wreak Terror in Invasion of Lebanon **DEFEND THE PALESTINIANS!**

The Revolutionary Socialist League condemns the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as an act of imperialist aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. Unfortunately, as we go to press June 14, the war is ending in what appears to be a decisive triumph for Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's regime.

Leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) trapped in West Beirut—the organization's last remaining stronghold in Lebanon—are asking the Egyptian government to arrange a cease-fire, while admitting that their situation is "desperate." Meanwhile, the Israeli government is calling for the surrender of Yasir Arafat and other PLO leaders.

Invasion planned for months

It was hardly a secret that the Begin government for months has been planning a major strike against the PLO's bases in Lebanon. Arafat warned that an invasion was coming as early as November 1981. In March of this year a U.S. official pre-

dicted: "It's no longer a question of whether Israel will attack, but when."

The immediate pretext for the invasion was the shooting of Shlomo Argov, Israel's ambassador to Great Britain, on June 3. Although the PLO had nothing to do with the shooting, which was carried out by members of a radical Arab group hostile to the PLO leadership, the Israeli government immediately launched massive air and sea attacks on PLO positions in Lebanon. When the PLO responded by shelling settlements in northern Israel, the Begin regime had the excuse it needed to invade Lebanon in force.

On June 6 at least 25,000 Israeli troops swept into Lebanon. Within a few days the Israeli forces pushed up to 65 miles into the country, capturing PLO strongholds at Beaufort Castle, Nabatiye, Tyre and Sidon.

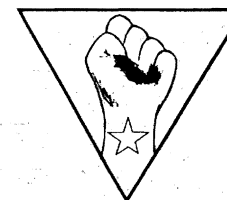
The war escalated sharply when the Israelis assaulted Syrian troops that have occupied parts of Lebanon since 1976. The Begin government at first stated that Israeli forces would not invade Syrian-controlled Lebanese territory if the Syrian

(Continued on page 10)



Israeli bombs fall on Lebanese capital of Beirut.

**Lesbian & Gay Pride
Day, 1982:
Fight For Our Lives!**



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**Women's Groups Plan
Large Protest at July 17
'Right to Life' Convention**

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**Nazis Run Off the Streets
of Detroit Suburb**

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

**History of Haiti:
Black People
Struggling to Be Free**

See page 6

**our
readers
write...**

Send letters to:

TORCH, PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116

'Socialism will come if we want it and fight for it'

Friends & Comrades:

I let my subscription to the **Torch** lapse, and I am now resubscribing. The articles on the workers' movement in Poland have been consistently excellent. While socialists must criticize national chauvinism and church mysticism, it is nevertheless understandable why the Polish Solidarity movement cannot shake either off completely at this time. Solidarity is essentially a populist movement against oppression, and like all populist movements it is open to both reactionary and revolutionary currents. The RSL has taken a strong position in support of Solidarity, and rightly so. Despite all weaknesses, the Polish Solidarity is a mass-based workers' movement which does not seek to destroy socialism, but to extend democracy.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, sent a message to Solidarity delegates during their national convention in Gdansk in 1981, saying that there was "no task more urgent than unlinking human rights and freedom from the question of who owns the means of production..." So much for liberal and social democratic "solidarity" with Solidarity! For revolutionary socialists, human rights and freedom will always be linked to who owns the means of production (though a truly socialist economy will not, in and of itself, guarantee such rights and freedom).

The Spartacist League condemns Solidarity as counter-revolutionary. One of their favorite phrases is, "Trotskyists are the best defenders of the Soviet Union." In fact, the Spartacist League has shown itself to be a great defender of Stalinism. The RSL, in contrast, calls the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union, Poland, and else-

where by their true name: state capitalist.

I believe socialism is an ideal, and not a "science." History does not guarantee that socialism will inevitably triumph, but socialism will come if we want it and fight for it. As a socialist with anarchist sympathies, I question many of the doctrines of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky; Rosa Luxemburg and Emma Goldman make more sense to me. Putting doctrinal disputes aside, I nevertheless recognize that the RSL is committed to revolutionary socialism. I must add that the RSL also has a principled commitment to lesbian and gay liberation at a time when much of the left is backtracking from this struggle. Let the Red and Black flags fly side by side!

**Scott Tucker
Lavender Left
Solidarity: A Socialist-Feminist
Network**

Folsom prisoners report big increase in guard brutality

Greetings:

This communique concerns the inhumane treatment prisoners are subjected to, particularly Blacks presently held here at Folsom State Prison. Harassment of Black prisoners is apparently on the agenda from the top of this administration to the bottom, by means of intimidation and brutal attacks.

Black prisoners are escorted at random from their work assignments or exercise yard to B-section (the hole) for reasons of a so-called investigation. This contains no truth, but eliminates what limited freedom we do have.

Presently, Black prisoners are being held incommunicado in B-section, without charges, only on fabricated note-dropping. Complaints against wrongful lockups and inhumane treatment are disregarded and/or destroyed. Prisoners in B-section are beaten viciously by prison guards. There are witnesses to these attacks who are willing to speak to concerned individuals. Some prisoners after being beaten are injected with restraint drugs, to be carried away on a stretcher, to get patched up.

On April 29, 1982, in the prison kitchen area, two Black prisoners, Houston B-83720 and White B-96527, were brutally attacked by guards and seriously injured, then handcuffed and dragged to B-section. Houston was badly beaten about the head and face, with deep cuts above both eyes. White's jaw was broken. The person who instigated this reactionary act is Vera Gordon, a Black female officer. After the last meal of the day was served in the kitchen, where Houston and White are assigned, Houston approached officer Gordon to

discuss a problem concerning his assignment in the kitchen, where she holds the position of supervisor. Officer Gordon refused to discuss the problem with Houston and without reason ordered him out of the kitchen in a threatening manner. Prisoner Houston responded slowly to her demand—evidently too slow for her, because she immediately phoned her counterparts and signaled a guard on the gun-rail.

A handful of guards rushed in and started attacking Houston with sticks and fists. Prisoner White was there and came to Houston's aid. A warning shot was fired and both prisoners were subdued.

White is presently being charged with resisting a body search. It is rumored that Houston is being charged with attempted rape on officer Gordon. All charges on both prisoners are falsified to cover up officer Gordon's instigation of the brutalization of both prisoners.

We urge all freedom loving

people to call or write the superintendent of Folsom prison to protest racist guard attacks on Black prisoners, the gang beatings of Black prisoners in B-section, and the wrongful lock-up of Black prisoners in B-section and 4-A. As this communique is being written, Black prisoners locked down 24 hours a day in B-section are being attacked by guards. We need all of the people's support.

Black prisoners held incommunicado: Fred Hawthorne, B-74618; Harold Brooks; Herbert Thurman, C-17045; William Bell; Houston, B-83720; Larry Roberts; White, B-96527; Fred Tidmore; Paul Jones, B-26077; Gary Davis; and many more whose names we don't know. Write letters of protest for an investigation of ill treatment of prisoners in Folsom's lockups and against the brutal attacks on Blacks by guards to: **Paul J. Morris, Warden, PO Box W, Represa, CA 95671, (916) 985-2561; and Ruth Rushen, Director of Corrections, PO Box 714, Sacramento, CA 95814, (916) 445-7682.**

(Unsigned)

'Proletarian Psalm'

Dear RSL,

The **Torch** may publish my poem (enclosed), "Proletarian Psalm of the Year '82." It is a satirical exposure of capitalism's eternal but false claims to "sanctity." It is based on the famous psalm, "The Lord Is My Shepherd."

Ronald Reagan thinks he is our Shepherd, but he leaves us in want. He leaeth us from still factories; He restoreth our doubt in the justice and economics of the religion of capitalism;

He guideth us in paths of unemployment for the Auto Makers', the Banks' and Oil Companies' sake; We fear evil for he is against us; the oppressed working class, the poor, the elderly, children and Gay people;

His Cabinet and his Congress, they discomfort us.

He did'st prepare a destruction of our Unions in the presence of our employers—the corporate capitalist ruling class exploiters; He annointeth our labor with reduction of wages, so our expense over-runneth our incomes.

He depriveth our youth of good education, jobs, and will call the military draft to dupe and prepare them for another imperialist war.

Then threateneth our Social Security with extinction.

Yea, though we walk through dirty alleys and ghetto soup kitchens, we still go hungry and needy, due to the greedy religion of capitalism.

He pursueth a path from Hollywood's "Death Valley Days" on toward new, deeper valleys of economic depression and moral decay in his lust to make nuclear war, a rich man's war for greed and private profit;

He provokes hostility in and between nations, and fools us—always saying that "Russia and communism are our enemies." Or is bloody capitalism our real enemy? Yes!

Surely, poverty, oppression, racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, hard times, violence, perhaps war and the threats of nuclear war will follow us all the days of his "Divine" Administration, and we shall live in fear for our human rights and Earth's survival forever under the dark religion of capitalism—Unless we build NOW for the hope of revolutionary socialism. Amen.

**Paul Bernardino
San Francisco, CA**

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Malvinas

By MARK KOSTO

NEW ORLEANS—Gordon Gross, an old bricklayer who has been enjoying a few years of his home in Denham Springs, Louisiana, when he noticed a small blue pickup truck driving down the road with its headlights off. The truck approached Gloria's house. Gross and others were outside, enjoying the evening. As it pulled up, headlights flashed and the truck rang out. Seconds later, the truck sped away. Gordon Gross saw that the truck had ripped through his yard.

Gordon Gross was talking to the man who had been driving the truck, Gerald Green, 18, who was the blast that struck the house.

Gerald Green was from a nearby town, having been in the nearby oil field. His work is particularly dangerous, and he imagines that Green is enjoying the company of Gloria's wife. This innocent pleasure was his life.

Klan territory

The violence against the poor might have been pointless and random for a few crucial factors. It is a center for the community in Denham Springs. The victims of the violence were Black. The guilty were white.

Denham Springs is a quiet, modern suburb of Baton Rouge. But for Black people, it is a town of about 15 percent Black population. Denham Springs is a racist terrorism. Bill Imperial Wizard of the

Summer Production Schedule

To allow our hardworking staff members to take much-needed vacations, the **Torch/Lavender** will be four pages this summer. In July and August issues, we will be 20 pages—14 in English and six in Spanish. In September, we will return to our usual 16 pages. Hope everyone has a good summer!

Report big brutality

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(signed)

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Nightriders Shoot Up Black Bar in Louisiana Town — One Man Killed

By MARK KOSTOPOULOS

NEW ORLEANS—19-year-old bricklayer Gordon Gross was enjoying a few beers near his home in Denham Springs, Louisiana, when he casually noted a small blue pickup truck driving down the road with its headlights off. The truck approached Gloria's Bar, where Gross and others were standing outside, enjoying the spring evening. As it pulled near, its headlights flashed on and shots rang out. Seconds later the truck sped away. Gross looked down and saw that a bullet had ripped through his right arm.

Gordon Gross was luckier than the man who lay near by. Gerald Green, 18, was killed by the blast that struck him.

Gerald Green was new to town, having been hired from Ville Platte, Louisiana, to work in the nearby oil fields. Oil field work is particularly hard and dangerous work, and one can imagine that Green was especially enjoying the crawfish boil Gloria's was holding that night. This innocent pleasure cost him his life.

Klan territory

The violence at Gloria's might have been written off as pointless and random, except for a few crucial facts. Gloria's is a center for the Black community in Denham Springs. The victims of the shooting were Black. The gunmen were white.

Denham Springs is a seemingly quiet, modern and prosperous suburb of Baton Rouge. But for Black people, who make up about 15 percent of the town's population of 6,000, Denham Springs is a hotbed of racist terrorism. Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Invisible

Gordon Gross, wounded in racist shooting at Gloria's Bar in Denham Springs.

Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, has long made this his home. In the 1960s, when civil rights marchers passed through Denham Springs, 600 state troopers were called to the small town to handle the racist crowds.

More recently, night-riding has become a common occurrence. Many whites in Denham Springs dismiss these incidents as harmless adolescent pranks. But Southern Blacks know better. They know night-riding is a method of intimidation the KKK has used for over 100 years. And they know it is indicative of a political and social climate in Denham Springs that allows racist terrorism.

A white owner of a recently opened sandwich shop in Denham Springs describes this climate. Shortly after opening her shop she was told "Blacks don't get away with anything here." She also reports that local white employers telephoned her to ask if their Black employees would be allowed to eat there. She expresses shock at the prevailing attitudes among the town's leading whites.

A Black resident puts it more simply: "It's a prejudiced place."

Racist violence escalating

The town's current round of racist violence was sparked by a non-fatal stabbing at a town fair on April 23. According to police the incident began when a group of white youths made insulting remarks to a group of Black youths. An argument followed and the white youths followed the Blacks to a parking lot, where fighting ensued and one white was stabbed.

Five nights later, on April 28, Gross and Green were cut down

at Gloria's.

Black people in Denham Springs were shaken by the killing in their neighborhood. "You're afraid of going to church. You're afraid of going to the store. You're afraid of doing anything now," is how one Black woman stated she felt at night.

Nevertheless, people have refused to be intimidated. A graphic example of this occurred one week after the shooting. The incident began, according to a white counter-worker, when a group of Black youths entered a local McDonald's and a white male customer already there ordered the young Blacks to leave, specifically to "Go on." When he left, the youths followed him across the street, where a fight occurred. The racist lost his teeth. Police were soon on the scene, arresting both the racist and a Black man. Also on the scene were between 100 and 200 Black people who had quickly mobilized from a nearby neighborhood in an impressive show of unity.

A visit to Gloria's Bar two weeks after the shooting revealed the anger and frustration patrons felt toward city officials. No arrests had yet been made. "Doesn't seem like they are doing much about it [the killing]," one man stated.

And in fact arrests came only after the state NAACP pressured Louisiana Governor David Treen to send state police to assist the all-white Denham Springs police force. Finally, on May 20, four white men were arrested and charged with murder in the death of Gerald Green.

Others at Gloria's expressed feelings that the town does not provide for the needs of their community. For example, one pointed to the modern yet totally dilapidated school which stood two blocks away. The

building served as the Black school before the Civil Rights Movement forced integration. "That old school should be turned into a playground." But the school board has done nothing but talk about it for years.

Better lighting the answer?

The town's white politicians trot out a handful of carefully cultivated middle class Black "leaders" to deny their town is racist. But when the names of these Black "leaders" are mentioned at Gloria's they are greeted by head shakes indicating disgust. "We never see them down here," one woman points out. "I don't see what they do for us."

(When one of these leaders was later contacted by this writer, he blamed the victims for the slowness with which the police were proceeding. "If someone would have gotten the license number . . ." he suggested—hardly something most people would do while dodging bullets. When asked what might be done to stop racist attacks in the future, he thought perhaps "better lighting in the area" would do the trick.)

The people at Gloria's are not quick to judge, nor is it their style to speak harshly despite their anger. Even talk of the Klan doesn't cause voices to rise. Was the Klan responsible for the nightriders? Perhaps, they say, but it could have been a lot of other people also. Certainly the presence of the Klan and their at least benign acceptance by the city fathers, they note, would lead local racists to believe it's acceptable to take potshots at Blacks.

Despite the arrests, the killers' link to organized racists may never be known. But certainly

Bill Wilkinson's past statement that "when the police can't protect white people the Klan will" seems made for this situation. For the record Bill Wilkinson has denied the Klan is involved in any way. He may be feeling the pressure of civic leaders who are upset with the bad name the town is receiving. In an effort to make the Klan look better, Wilkinson issued a statement "condemn[ing]... the murder of the young Black man."

How do non-Klan white townspeople feel about the killing? They universally express regret over Gerald Green's death. But after discussion one is left with the impression the regret is less for Green's death than for the "bad name it's giving our town." Despite the long active presence of the Klan in Denham Springs, many professed to be "shocked that this could happen in our town." Before the arrests whites often preferred to believe Blacks were in the truck, despite numerous eyewitness accounts to the contrary.

Organize for self-defense

As long as this racist atmosphere exists and groups like the Klan exist, Blacks will be threatened with incidents like that at Gloria's. These conditions are not confined to Denham Springs but are true of towns and cities in both the South and the North. Black people are unable to look to the police, politicians, most whites or even middle-class Blacks to defend them. Only when Black people organize, along with those non-racist whites who exist, to defend themselves and smash the Klan and all racist groups, will the situation begin to be turned around. □



Torchfotos

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Hope everyone has a good summer!

Stop Nuclear Madness!

Hundreds of Thousands March for Disarmament in NY

NEW YORK CITY—"Stop Nuclear Madness!" Those three words perhaps best sum up the sentiments of the hundreds of thousands of people who participated in the June 12 march and rally timed to coincide with the opening of the United Nations' second "Special Session on Disarmament."

Demonstration organizers termed the protest "the largest peacetime peace demonstration in U.S. history." Whatever the precise size—estimates ranged from a half million to a million—the massive disarmament rally showed that the anti-nuclear movement that has been sweeping Europe for the past several years has now taken firm hold in this country as well.

Participation in the June 12 demonstration was diverse. Marchers came from cities across the country and from countries around the world. Dozens and dozens of contingents—reflecting different occupations, political affiliations and outlooks—marched through the streets of Manhattan and converged on New York City's Central Park to listen to an afternoon of speeches and music.

Many contingents carried banners that went beyond the official demands of the June 12 march. "U.S. Out of El Salvador," "Money for Human Needs, Not War," "Stop the Draft," and "End Racist and Sexist Attacks," were some of the most frequently seen slogans.

However, the vast majority of marchers simply expressed a deep desire for peace, an end to the nuclear arms race and a "better world." Few had any clear idea just how to achieve these goals and, unfortunately, many had illusions that their government would somehow listen to and heed their appeal.

Liberal politicians no alternative

This illusion was reinforced by most of the speakers at the Central Park rally. While politicians running for office were kept off the official speakers list, the recurrent theme in many of the speeches was the same: "Watch out, Reagan, the disarmament movement will make itself felt in November."

The meaning of this message should be clear: The sponsors of the June 12 rally are urging that our movement put its faith—once again—in the promises of liberal politicians that they will



Police carry off participants in June 14 civil disobedience campaign.

end the nuclear arms race and bring about world peace.

The hypocrisy of such an appeal could not have been more strongly underlined than by the fact that at the precise time the June 12 rally was taking place, British troops—backed by the entire U.S. ruling class—were launching their final assault on the capital of the Malvinas and Israeli troops—backed by the U.S. ruling class—were on the outskirts of the Lebanese capital of Beirut, having already destroyed and occupied much of southern Lebanon.

Disarm the capitalists

The RSL handed out thousands of copies of a special supplement to the *Torch* that addressed this question. Titled "Which Way to Nuclear Disarmament? Will the Governments Disarm—Or Do We Need to Disarm Them?" it said in part:

Capitalist politicians often talk about disarmament. Talk is cheap. But all the talk of "arms control" has never led to disarmament and never will.

The governments of the major world powers participated in the Hague Conferences on disarmament of 1899 and 1907. This did not prevent World War I. After the war, the great powers set up the League of Nations. They signed an assortment of treaties and held various conferences, such as the 1925 Kellogg-Briand Pact to "renounce war," the 1932 Geneva Disarmament Conference of 59 states, and the 1933 No Force Declaration of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. These did not prevent World War II. After that war, the victors set up the United Nations and began other fruitless rounds of disarmament negotiations.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of such negotiations was



the 1963 Test Ban Treaty. Yet today, in spite of that treaty and others, in spite of years of negotiations and detente, the nuclear arsenals are larger, their destructive power is far greater, and more nations have them, than ever before.

It is right to support limited demands for "no first strike" and a nuclear freeze. But if we are fooled by the capitalists' empty promises of disarmament, we will only be setting ourselves up for World War III.

Since the capitalists, both East and West, cannot and will not seriously disarm, they must be disarmed. The capitalists' armaments must be taken away from them. Their rule must be replaced by the rule of the workers and other oppressed people, who have no need to oppress the peoples of other lands or to threaten to exterminate them. The capitalist social system must be replaced with a system that is capable of bringing about a peaceful world. This

replacing of the rule of a capitalist minority by the working majority is what we mean by a socialist revolution.

June 14: Civil disobedience campaign targets nuclear powers

The June 12 demonstration was followed by a large civil disobedience demonstration on Monday, June 14. Supporters of the RSL joined in this action.

Over 1,600 people were arrested for trying to block the entrances to the missions of the five nuclear powers: the U.S., Russia, China, Britain and France.

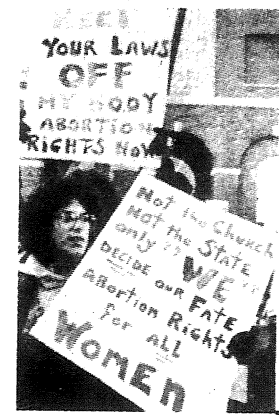
The demands of the June 14 action were more militant than those raised by the official June 12 organizers or the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, and they were directed at both the Russian and U.S. imperialists, unlike the pro-Russian position of much of the U.S. left. A separate grouping also broadened the demonstration to include South Africa and Israel—the "secret nuclear powers" (those that have nuclear bombs, by all evidence, but won't admit it).

The June 14 "Blockade the Bombmakers" campaign was directed by the radical pacifist War Resisters League. Everyone who participated in the action was required to take a six to eight hour training program in nonviolence. Yet, large numbers of those who took part

were not pacifists. Many saw nonviolence as one possible tactic, but not a political program or philosophy. At one training session, for example, participants expressed their support for the armed struggles of the Salvadorean and Irish peoples.

Probably, most who participated in the June 14 civil disobedience have not fully worked out the whole question of nonviolence and whether they would ever use violence. (Actually, if the June 14 actions had succeeded in blockading the missions, in shutting them down against the wishes of the imperialist governments, this would have been an act of force, an act of violence—imposing one's will on another by physical means.) The majority of participants, including those committed to a strict nonviolent philosophy, saw the June 14 action, which included breaking the law, as the most militant way at this point to oppose the war-making governments.

It was for this reason that the RSL participated in the June 14 civil disobedience campaign. We are not pacifists. In our view, the violence of the oppressed and the oppressor cannot be equated. Human liberation—whether in the U.S., El Salvador or South Africa—will never come without a violent struggle to defeat the tyranny of the rich and powerful. But we believe the broad support and participation the June 14 campaign received will help to strengthen the more militant and radical wing of the growing disarmament/anti-war movement. □



By PAT NELSON

Women's rights activists are estimating that as many as 10,000 people may participate in the July 17 demonstration against the National Right to Life Committee convention at Cherry Hill, New Jersey.

The march and rally, called by a coalition that includes the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2), the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Women's Health Network, will demand full abortion rights for women, without restrictions based on age, race or economic status. The right-to-lifers seek to make abortion totally illegal in this country.

To build for the demonstration, local coalitions have been set up in a number of cities, and the action's organizers say that women from as far away as Texas have indicated they will attend.

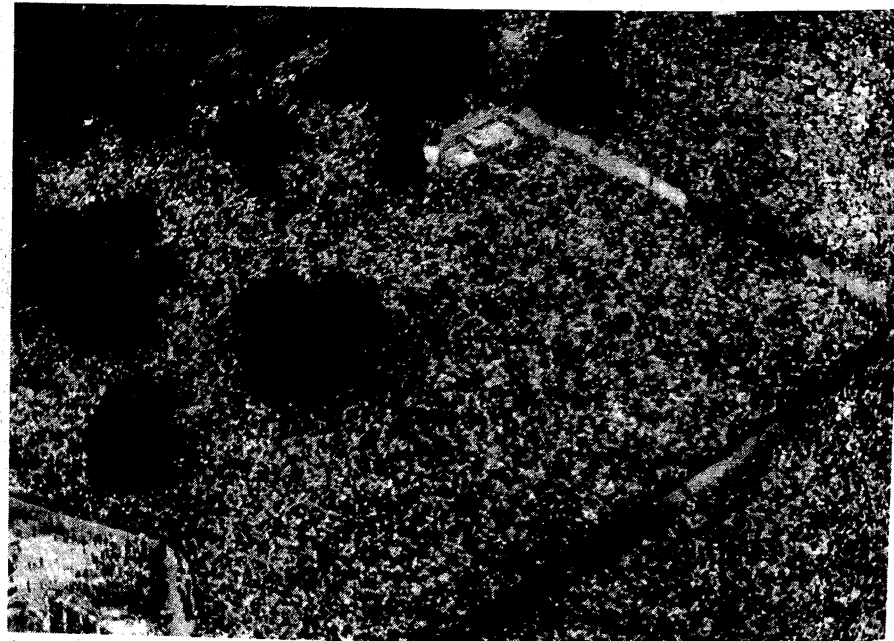
The RSL Women's Committee in New York has been active in building for Cherry Hill and is distributing a leaflet it wrote discussing the attacks on women and urging people to come to the demonstration. It has also reserved a bus to go to

Nazis

On May 22 anti-racist activists in the Detroit suburb of Birmingham broke up a Nazi rally before it could get started.

The day's events began when a dozen members of a Nazi faction called the SS Action Group, brandishing baseball bats and table legs, attempted to march into Birmingham's Shain Park. The Nazis were met by 30 to 35 anti-racist demonstrators who quickly drove the racists back. One Nazi was captured by the crowd and kicked until rescued by the police. The Nazis' van was damaged as the frightened storm-troopers huddled in and behind it waiting for police help.

The anti-racist forces involved in chasing the Nazis out of Shain Park included the Progressive Labor Party/Internation-



An aerial photo of part of huge June 12 disarmament rally in NYC's Central Park.

NY

pacifists. Many saw as one possible tactical-political program. At one training example, participants expressed their support and struggles of the and Irish peoples. Most who participated in the June 14 civil disobedience were not fully worked out the question of and whether they use violence. (At the June 14 actions in blockading the streets, the organizers wish of the importance of this would act of force, an act of imposing one's will on others by physical force. The majority of participants in those committees are nonviolent philosophers. The June 14 action, however, was breaking the traditional militant way at the time to oppose the warmongers. This is the reason that the demonstrators in the June 14 campaign. In our opinion, the presence of the open oppressor candidate. Human liberation in the U.S., El Salvador, South Africa—come without a doubt to defeat the rich and powerful. We believe the broad participation the campaign received will strengthen the more radical wing of the movement/anti-war



Women's Groups Plan Large Protest at July 17 'Right to Life' Convention



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Cherry Hill. In Detroit, where there are no groups in the R2N2, the RSL Women's Committee called a meeting to build for the event. Those attending the first meeting formed themselves into the Detroit Abortion Rights Coalition (DARC) and are planning organizing activities for the demonstration.

Women are under attack

The Cherry Hill demonstration comes at a time when women are under attack from many directions.

President Reagan's budget cuts have hit women especially hard, since women are the majority of recipients of food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, social security benefits, etc. At the same time, job training programs, childcare, and programs for battered women and children are being slashed.

Legislation such as the Family Protection Act would cut these vital services further or eliminate them entirely. It would also place severe restrictions on sexuality, with specific

emphasis on teenagers and lesbians and gay men.

Attempts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, which simply forbids discrimination based on sex, have not been successful and the amendment has little chance of passing by the June 30 deadline.

And there are a whole series of bills designed to make abortion either completely illegal or practically unattainable for most women. Already, poor women face difficulties getting legal abortions.

This is the context of the July 17 march and rally against the Right to Life Committee convention.

Court to 'review' 1973 ruling

In a move that highlights the importance of the upcoming demonstration, the U.S. Supreme Court recently agreed to "review" its 1973 landmark ruling legalizing women's right to abortion, as part of its review of several restrictive state abortion laws.

Although the court has heard several abortion-related cases

since 1973 and has so far not backed down on the constitutionality of its original decision, it has upheld restrictive legislation such as the Hyde Amendment, which cut off Medicaid funds for abortions—virtually denying poor women access to legal abortions. In addition, two of the justices who supported the 1973 decision are no longer on the court, and at least one of their replacements, Sandra Day O'Connor, has publicly stated her opposition to abortion.

It is not possible to say for certain what the court will decide, but one thing is definite. The 1973 ruling came after years of struggle by a militant movement that fought for women's rights—free abortion on demand; free quality childcare for all; equal pay for equal work, etc. In the context of this movement, as well as the Black, Chicano, gay and anti-war movements, important reforms were won.

Today, the political climate has changed drastically. With the country in severe economic crisis, the ruling class is moving to take away the gains of the last few decades. They are being aided by the right wing, which

has a powerful, well-financed network and which is pushing repressive laws and a conservative, neo-Puritan morality.

On the other hand, most progressive movements have either fallen apart or are very weak.

Given the fact that the courts are influenced by public opinion—and even more by political clout and the needs of the ruling class—it is likely that the court will modify the 1973 decision to further restrict a woman's access and right to abortion.

The only way we can keep the right to abortion and extend this option to all women is through a militant, organized movement. We cannot put our hope and trust in the courts or politicians because, as should be increasingly clear, "what the lord giveth, the lord can taketh away!" We must rely on our own strength and link the struggle for abortion rights for all women to the struggles of other oppressed groups—and to the fight for total liberation for everyone.

(For information about how you can participate with the RSL at Cherry Hill, please see the Events box on page 14 or call your nearest branch.) □

Nazis Run Off the Streets of Detroit Suburb

On May 22 anti-racist activists in the Detroit suburb of Birmingham broke up a Nazi rally before it could get started.

The day's events began when a dozen members of a Nazi faction called the SS Action Group, brandishing baseball bats and table legs, attempted to march into Birmingham's Shain Park. The Nazis were met by 30 to 35 anti-racist demonstrators who quickly drove the racists back. One Nazi was captured by the crowd and kicked until rescued by the police. The Nazis' van was damaged as the frightened storm-troopers huddled in and behind it waiting for police help.

The anti-racist forces involved in chasing the Nazis out of Shain Park included the Progressive Labor Party/Interna-

tional Committee Against Racism (PLP/InCAR), the RSL, supporters of the Local 600 Organizer, the Revolutionary Workers League and a few unaffiliated young people.

No anti-racist demonstrators were injured in the confrontation, though four PLP/InCAR supporters were arrested.

The Nazis had been given permission by city authorities to rally in Birmingham. This was not surprising since the stated purpose of the Nazi rally was to show support for an earlier city council decision to block plans for a low income housing project. A federal court recently found the city guilty of racist housing discrimination because of the council vote to block the project. The Nazi rally was

called in reaction to this decision.

This was not the first time the Nazis had tried to rally in Birmingham. Last summer, a Nazi rally in the same park met strong opposition from local youths, though no violence took place. This year, neither the Nazis nor the city government publicized the racists' plans. Undoubtedly, this was because several well-publicized Nazi rallies in Detroit and Ann Arbor over the past year have been met by large crowds that drove the racists off the streets. This time, the Nazis hoped that by picking a suburb and avoiding publicity they would encounter little opposition.

The SS Action Group—the Nazi faction that tried unsuccessfully to hold a "Rally

Against Communism" in Ann Arbor on March 20 (see April 15 *Torch*)—suffered another defeat in Birmingham on May 22. However, it is important to note that the racists carried heavier, more dangerous weapons than they had on previous occasions and seemed to be looking for an opportunity to go on the offensive. Moreover, this same group of Nazis paraded, unannounced, in downtown Detroit on May 8 and 9 and on three different occasions over that weekend picketed "Revolution Books" on Woodward Avenue near Wayne State University without being challenged.

These incidents point to the importance of all anti-racist, left and movement organizations being keenly aware of the

need for defense/security arrangements for public meetings, offices, demonstrations, etc.

In this regard, the RSL is now discussing with Detroit-area movement organizations a proposal to set up an anti-Nazi/ KKK network to help protect against Nazi/Klan provocations or attacks. The proposal includes: a standing agreement for joint defense of public activities; arrangements to provide defense for houses/households under racist attack (there have been many firebombings and other forms of racist harassment of Black families in the Detroit area over the past several years); a sharing of information on Nazi/Klan-type activities and organizing; and plans to mobilize against racist rallies and demonstrations. □

THE HISTORY OF HAITI — BLACK PEOPLE

STRUC

Part One

'The most profitable colony the world had ever known'

By WILLIAM FALK

The history of Haiti is the history of the triumphs and trials of Black people struggling to be free. Africans brought to Haiti as slaves in the 18th century rose up in 1791 and within 10 years established there the world's first Black republic. They fought off the world's two best armies of the time, the British and the French. And in 1804 Haiti became the second independent state in the Western Hemisphere and the first one where slavery was abolished.

The Haitian revolution provided an inspiration and an example for slaves throughout the West Indies as well as in the U.S. Denmark Vesey, for example, leader of one of the most well-planned slave revolts in the U.S. (1822), was hoping for aid from Haiti if he and his followers succeeded in capturing Charleston (South Carolina) harbor.

But the Haitian people, after defeating the greatest imperial powers of one era, were defeated by the chief imperialist power of the next. Today Haiti, like most of the West Indies, is dominated and exploited by the U.S. It is one of the poorest countries in the world. There are five and a half million people in Haiti and about 80 percent of them live by farming on the less than 2.25 million arable acres. The average Haitian eats around 1,700

calories a day.

Haiti is run by one of the most brutal police states in the world, headed by President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier. Prison is a constant threat and the prisons are "death traps," according to Amnesty International, "where the variety of torture to which the detainee is subjected is incredible."

In the last few years, thousands of Haitians have risked their lives, and sometimes lost them, fleeing from their homeland in small boats bound for Florida. "We can take the poverty," said one Haitian woman now living in Brooklyn, "we can take having to send our people to the Dominican Republic to slave in the cane fields, but a Black government robbing and killing Black people—it's that we can't take...."

The movement in support of political asylum for the Haitian refugees and against the U.S. government's support for the Duvalier regime is becoming a prominent part of the Black movement in the U.S. And with good reason.

"Right now it's the Haitians they're picking out, but it could be any one of us," is the way one elderly Brooklyn woman, originally from Jamaica, put it.

In fact, the Haitian struggle is of importance to all workers. In the history of the Haitian people we see both great victories and horrible defeats, but always a struggle for freedom

and liberation that we can learn from.

This article is the first in a series the *Torch/La Antorcha* will periodically print on the history of the Haitian people.

The first Africans to come to Hispaniola as slaves arrived around 1500 on the island's eastern end, which was then ruled by Spain and is now the Dominican Republic. As early as 1503, some of those Africans had recovered their freedom: "They run away from their owners in gangs through the country into the mountains to the Indians...." complained a report written at the time.

The Spaniards mostly kept to the east end of the island and were the only Europeans with an established presence until 1659. In that year, French troops successfully defended several buccaneer settlements on the island of Tortuga, off Hispaniola's northwest coast, and on the nearby shore of the main island against Spanish and English efforts to expel them. The central French government then asserted control over the settlements and began converting them from an economy based on hunting, trading and pirating to one based on large-scale agriculture—that is, slave agriculture.

Almost as soon as the French attempted to set up a significant slave system, the Black slaves responded. In 1679, Africans who had run away from Spanish slavery, and lived free near land newly claimed by France, were led in an uprising against the French colonists and their governor by an ex-slave named Padrejean. They burned plantations along a 20-mile stretch of coast, killing the whites and freeing the slaves. Soon afterward, however, a French expedition caught Padrejean in his mountain redoubt, and crushed the rebellion, making the area safe for French settlement.

Spain recognized France's claim to the western third of the

island in a treaty signed in 1697, removing the last obstacle to French colonization of the area. The French named their colony St. Domingue.

Back in 1681, there were only 2,000 slaves in the French-controlled territory. By 1701, there were 10,000, about a third of them captured in raids on English plantations in Jamaica. By the 1740s, however, 10,000 slaves a year were being brought from Africa.

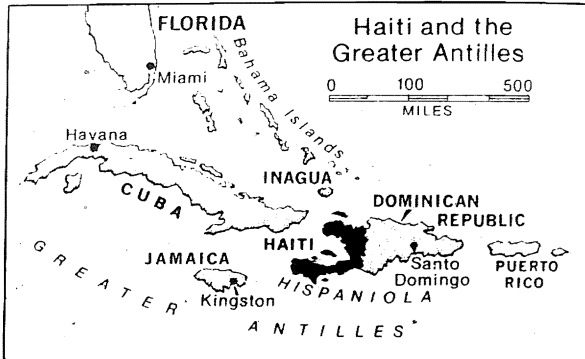
The best estimates are that in 1791 there were 700,000 slaves in St. Domingue. Two-thirds of them had been born in Africa (mostly in what is now Angola, Zaire and the Congo, with many others from Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Ghana).

In contrast to slaves in the U.S., who typically worked with a dozen or so other slaves

700,000 slaves, and reaping the wealth they produced, were 40,000 French settlers, 5.2 percent of the population. This tiny white ruling class had to fight a constant battle to keep the slaves obedient. Their main weapon was terror—systematic terror so extreme it would be unbelievable if it were not so well documented.

Writing in 1814, Pompée Vastey, a Haitian who spent half his life as a slave, recalled the methods of the French.

"Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive, crushed them in mortars? Have they not forced them to eat shit? And, after having flayed them with the lash, have they not cast them alive to be devoured by worms, or onto anthills, or



on small and medium-sized farms, most of the Africans in St. Domingue worked on large plantations and in the sugar refineries. Concentrations of over 150 slaves were not unusual.

With the labor of the Africans, St. Domingue became the crown jewel of all French possessions. By the 1740s, the colony was producing more sugar than all the islands of the British West Indies combined. St. Domingue also produced cocoa, coffee, cotton and indigo.

By the 1780s, more than one-third of all French foreign trade and nearly two-thirds of French foreign investment was with this one small colony. In 1791, St. Domingue, smaller than the state of Maryland, exported \$41 million worth of goods. In contrast, total U.S. exports for 1791 (including the re-export of products from the West Indies) amounted to only \$19 million.

Whites ruled through sheer terror

Fear and greed and desperation—these were the motor forces of society in 18th century St. Domingue. Ruling over the

lashed them to stakes in the swamp to be devoured by mosquitoes? Have they not thrown them into boiling caldrons of cane syrup?

"Have they not put men and women inside barrels studded with spikes and rolled them down mountainsides into the abyss? Have they not consigned these miserable blacks to man-eating dogs until the latter, sated by human flesh, left the mangled victims to be finished off with bayonet and poniard?"

"Besides the atrocities cited in Vastey's outcry," write Robert and Nancy Heintz, modern-day historians of Haiti, "colonial archives tell of tin masks hung on slaves to keep them from gnawing sugar cane, of cinders, aloes, salt, pepper and citron rubbed into flesh raw from the lash; of red-hot irons laid across buttocks; of boiling wax poured into ears; of gunpowder exploded inside a slave's rectum."

Under these conditions many slaves died, many became completely demoralized, many committed suicide with the belief that they would wake up in Africa.

But many slaves also rose up against their masters. The biggest slave insurrection up until the revolution of 1791 took place in 1751. It was led by



François Macandal, an armed religious man who practiced Islam. His group, mountains, conducted raids for seven years, being caught. The Macandal's band was the whites and the colony.

It was an idea easily to the slaves. Domingue, through torture, the African midnight meetings singing a song that dreaded and tried to

Eh! Eh! Bomba Canga, baffio t Canga, mouné Canga, do ki l Canga, li!

(We swear to destroy and all they possess rather than fail to vov.)

Mulattoes view as potential

As the years went the slaves made the w and more uncomfortable a third group that St. Domingue—the "chis" or mulattoes—mixed race, part Fr part African. French that masters could slaves if they wanted

"Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive, crushed them in mortars?"—Pompée Vastey, a former Haitian slave, writing in 1814.

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François Macandal, a one-armed religious man from Guinea who practiced a version of Islam. His group, based in the mountains, conducted extensive raids for seven years before being caught. The goal of Macandal's band was to kill all the whites and take over the colony.

It was an idea that came easily to the slaves. All over St. Domingue, throughout the century, the Africans convened midnight meetings to dance and sing a song that the whites dreaded and tried to stamp out:

**Eh! Eh! Bomba! Heu! Heu!
Canga, bafio té!
Canga, mouné de lé!
Canga, do ki la!
Canga, li!**

(We swear to destroy the whites and all they possess. Let us die rather than fail to keep this vow.)

Mulattoes viewed as potential traitors

As the years went by, fear of the slaves made the whites more and more uncomfortable about a third group that lived in St. Domingue—the "affranchis" or mulattoes—people of mixed race, part French and part African. French law said that masters could free their slaves if they wanted and many

white men granted freedom to their children by Black women slaves. There were over 25,000 free mulattoes in the colony in the 1780s, about 3.5 percent of the population.

Some of the mulattoes were educated in France. By working hard and living far less lavishly than the French planters, a few mulattoes actually became quite wealthy, and bought land and themselves became slave owners.

Overall, about 25 percent of the land and slaves in St. Domingue was owned by these "gentlemen of color."

Other mulattoes were less well off and were socially and culturally close to the Black slaves. But in any case, all mulattoes had mothers, sisters or cousins in slavery and therefore—no matter how rich, no matter how Francophile and racist towards dark mulattoes and Blacks, no matter how harshly they treated their own slaves—were viewed as potential traitors by the whites.

In 1758, after Macandal's defeat, the whites of St. Domingue began persecuting the mulattoes with a vengeance. Mulattoes were forbidden to wear European clothes, meet together in large groups, buy ammunition, or emigrate to France. They were forbidden to eat at the same table as whites, forbidden to take the titles of Monsieur and Madame. If a mulatto struck a white, his hand was cut

off; if a white struck a mulatto, he was fined. The mulattoes alone had to serve two years—without pay—in the local militias, whose main duty was to capture runaway slaves.

Rivalries among French settlers

The whites, while united against the slaves and the mulattoes, were nevertheless divided among themselves. The petits-blancs—small whites—distrusted the big plantation owners. The plantation owners, in turn, felt cheated by the rich white merchants who had a monopoly of trade and owned the shipping and export-import companies. Meanwhile, the shippers, who depended on the agents of the French king in the colony to keep out competition from English and U.S. merchants, resented the French government and its colonial agents because they had no role in decision-making.

All these rivalries and tensions were intensified by the large stakes involved in St. Domingue: the enormous wealth that came with success in the colony on the one hand, and the constant danger of slave insurrections that rarely spared white lives, on the other.

"This was Santo Domingo of 1789, the most profitable colony the world had ever known," summarized C.L.R. James in his **The Black Jacobins**, the definitive book on the Haitian Revolution, **"to the casual eye the most flourishing and prosperous possession on the face of the globe; to the analyst a society torn by inner and outer contradictions which in four years would split that structure into so many pieces that they could never be put together again."**

And, continues James, **"It was the French bourgeoisie that pressed the button."** □

"Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive, crushed them in mortars?"—**Pompée Vastey, a former Haitian slave, writing in 1814.**



Government retreats in prosecution of RCPers

After three and a half years, the U.S. government's attempts to prosecute 11 Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) supporters on numerous charges of assaulting police officers and felonious riot ended this May with a government retreat. The charges stem from a protest the RCP held near the White House in January 1979, during Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's visit to the U.S. The RCP points to China under Mao Tse-tung as the model for how the world should be run and opposes the Deng government that has ruled China since soon after Mao's death. The January '79 protest was organized to denounce, among other things, the arrest of the so-called "Gang of Four" in China and Deng's openly pro-U.S. foreign policy.

During the protest, the police charged the crowd of 500, beating, macing and clubbing the demonstrators, and arresting 78 people. Seventeen RCPers, including RCP Chairman Bob Avakian, were charged with 11 counts of assault plus felonious rioting and miscellaneous other things. This was the first time since the 1960s that charges anywhere near this serious had been brought against protest demonstrators and, in fact, there have not been such charges in similar circumstances since.

In the last three years the RCP has been forced to put major resources into defense work, which they have conducted under the slogan "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian!" Many individuals and organizations, including the RSL, endorsed the demand that the charges against the "Mao Tse-tung Defendants," as they call themselves, be dropped. At one point all the charges were dropped, but in early 1981 they were reinstated. Then, about a year ago, the prosecution dropped charges against six defendants, but seemed ready to proceed against the others.

This May, however, the government and defense attorneys reached agreement on a plan: All defendants but Avakian pleaded guilty to two misdemeanors. In exchange they received sentences limited to parole, community work and fines and all other charges, including those against Avakian, were dropped.

In March 1981, Avakian went to live in Paris and requested political refugee status from the French government. The RCP has not announced whether he now plans to return to the States.

In brief . . .

The **Committee to Defend Jack Burnett (CDJB)** formed by prisoners at Indiana State Prison (ISP) in Michigan City and reported on in **Break the Chains** last January, is continuing its efforts. Burnett, 22, was the victim of several gang rapes at ISP last year. In October he was involved in a fight with someone who had raped him days before and was now threatening to make Burnett his "kid." Burnett's assailant died of stab wounds and Burnett is now in segregation pending criminal charges.

One supporter of the CDJB recently sent the **Torch/La Antorcha** an unsigned leaflet "from a group out west" that helps publicize the Burnett case but also criticizes the committee for not clearly separating out the question of rape—an act of violence—from being gay—a healthy form of sexual expression. **"I think it's a good criticism to struggle around political responses to gay struggles inside and outside of prison,"** writes the CDJB supporter. For more information on the Burnett case, write to **Joseph C. Dickerson, PO Box 41, Michigan City, IN 46350 . . .**

The **Body Politic**, the magazine for gay liberation published in Toronto, Canada, is on trial again for **"using the mail to distribute immoral, indecent or scurrilous material"**—the December 1977 issue of **TBP**. The publishers were found not guilty of this charge in a trial that ended in February 1979 but Canadian law gives the prosecution the right to appeal an acquittal, which is exactly what the agents of Her Majesty the Queen choose to do in this case. Money to help the defense efforts can be sent **c/o Cornish, King & Sachs, 111 Richmond St. West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5H 3N6. Make checks payable to Lynn King . . .**

Four Haitians attempted suicide at the Krome Avenue Detention Center in Miami this May. Five other Haitians, depressed and demoralized by their confinement, attempted suicide at Krome in the previous two months.

—WF

GM Demands New Concessions From UAW Locals

The General Motors Corporation, which recently forced its workers to swallow a three-year wage freeze and other give-backs, is trying to gouge still more concessions from them.

GM is demanding that autoworkers in 23 of its 147 bargaining units around the country renegotiate their local contracts and accept sweeping work-rule changes that would eliminate thousands of jobs and lower wages and safety standards.

The stage for this offensive was set in the national contract between GM and the United Auto Workers union (UAW) that was ratified by a narrow margin in April. Among other things, the pact gave the company the power to re-open local contracts before their scheduled expiration on September 15, 1982.

GM officials call these local contract negotiations "the core of the new contract." Their goal is to raise productivity 25 percent, and save some \$2.4 billion at the workers' expense, by pushing through takeaways such as combining job assignments, cutting back break time, eliminating medical relief, and reducing protective clothing benefits.

Unfortunately, GM is in a good position to carry out this offensive. Although auto sales are rising slightly, the industry as a whole remains in depres-



Many autoworkers believed GM's promise that concessions in national contract would save jobs. Now GM is again threatening layoffs and plant closings unless it gets further concessions in local contract bargaining.

sion. GM workers, particularly those at plants producing cars or parts for cars that are not selling, may face the choice of surrendering to company demands or losing their jobs.

If workers at GM parts plants in particular attempt to resist the company's demands, GM can blackmail them by threatening to resort to outsourcing—buying parts from outside suppliers rather than producing them at its own plants. According to the recent national settlement, once GM officially notifies workers in any plant that it is considering outsourcing, they will have just 30 days to offer

concessions, including wage cuts, to keep jobs in their plant.

Most importantly, what GM has going for it in the local negotiations is the cooperation of the UAW International leadership in pushing through work-rule changes at the local level. In the past, local union officials have had a degree of autonomy in negotiating plant-level agreements. But in the recent national contract UAW President Douglas Fraser agreed "to be responsive to innovative job assignments." According to Ron Miller, president of UAW Local 653 in Pontiac, Michigan, Fraser is already pressuring local

officials to accept concessions. And if all else fails, the national contract empowers UAW national leaders and top GM management to "assist" local negotiators if they are unable to reach a settlement after 60 days.

Despite these pressures, however, and the fact that at least 12 local bargaining units have already renegotiated their contracts, workers at other GM plants are likely to resist give-backs beyond those in the national contract. That contract was rejected at one third of GM's plants, often by large margins. Workers at these plants are continuing their fight at the local level.

For example, the more than 3,000 workers in UAW Local 15 in Detroit opposed the last contract by a two-to-one vote and, according to Local President Alfred Warren, are expressing even stronger opposition to a "laundry list" of 18 local concessions demanded by GM.

At the same time, some locals that approved the national contract are now opposing further concessions. Workers in Local 653 not only ratified the national contract, but also agreed earlier in March to give up some jobs by combining skilled and non-skilled job categories. But Ted Creason, the local's bargaining chairperson, told reporters: "We have no alternative [in local contract talks] but to maintain the current contract

or try to negotiate gains for our members. We cannot and will not take one step backward."

Many local UAW officials who oppose further concessions fear that Fraser will try to negotiate local contracts over their heads. To prevent this, officials from over 80 locals, mainly in the Midwest, met in Lordstown, Ohio, on May 4. They demanded that Fraser attend a second meeting in June to "clarify" the UAW national leadership's role in local plant negotiations.

In a related action, leaders of a group that opposed the national contract, UAW Locals Opposed to Concessions (UAW-LOC), met in Hillside, Illinois, with about 90 rank and file workers from GM, Ford, International Harvester, Chrysler and independent parts plants on May 22. In addition to discussing GM's offensive, the meeting took up the Chrysler contract talks scheduled to begin July 20 and the revolt by Canadian UAW sections that are refusing Fraser's demands to go along with concessions to the auto companies.

Bob Weissman, president of UAW Local 122 and a leader of UAW-LOC, told participants at the meeting that GM's demands would arouse "anger and demoralization" among GM workers, but that "this would eventually turn to greater militancy." □

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

Electrical workers face off against companies

Unions representing over 150,000 electrical workers are negotiating new contracts with the General Electric Company (GE) and the Westinghouse Corporation. The current GE contract runs out on June 27, while the Westinghouse pact expires July 12. Separate negotiations with each company began in May.

Most electrical workers belong to either the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) or the United Electrical Workers (UE). Another 11 unions that represent some GE and Westinghouse workers are also involved in the negotiations. The unions are asking for pay increases and improvement of the last contract's cost-of-living formula. But the main issue in the negotiations appears to be job security. Both companies are eliminating thousands of jobs through automation, setting up runaway plants in the Southwest or overseas, and farming out some jobs to non-union subcontractors. The companies insist such measures are necessary to overcome "a sharp increase in business competition." In response, union negotiators are asking for job guarantees, retraining programs and higher severance pay.

In recent months autoworkers and teamsters have been forced to take wage freezes and other concessions in similar national bargaining. But conditions in the booming electrical industry are far different from those in the crisis-ridden auto and

trucking industries. GE raked in \$2.7 billion in profits last year, while Westinghouse earned nearly \$1 billion.

Consequently electrical workers are bitterly opposed to granting the companies any concessions in the upcoming contracts. They have already organized a number of militant local strikes against company takeback demands. IUE workers at a tool plant owned by the Gulf and Western Corporation in Lynn, Massachusetts, have been on strike since May 7. Earlier in April 3,000 IUE workers at GE's Schenectady plant shut it down for three days to protest GE subcontracting.

After a 205-day strike, 3,700 UE workers in Wilmerding, Pennsylvania, have won their battle against the Westinghouse Air Brake Company (WABCO). Workers at the company, a division of American Standard, Inc., walked out last November 1 after it demanded a three-year wage freeze in the new contract. WABCO also wanted workers to give up the right to strike, seniority protection and other benefits. The strikers returned to work May 25 only after the company withdrew almost all its takeaway demands and granted wage and pension increases.

Virginia slashes Medicaid benefits

On June 8 the Virginia Board of Health announced it was drastically cutting back Medicaid

programs that protect the health of over a quarter-million of the state's poorest residents. Earlier the board had warned that 12,000 people would be eliminated from the program entirely, starting July 1.

Medicaid recipients will now have to pay some of the cost for previously free services, including fees of \$30 if they are hospitalized for "nonlife threatening" illnesses. Board official Leonard Weyl admitted it was "fantastic" to expect poor people to come up with the money. The cutbacks also restrict the number of visits recipients can make to doctors' offices and the number of prescriptions they can have filled.

The board claims cutbacks are necessary to overcome a projected \$122 million deficit over the next two years. It will lose \$46.4 million in federal Medicaid funds because of Reagan's budget cuts. Rising medical costs account for the rest of the deficit.

But state officials are pushing the entire burden of the deficit onto the backs of Medicaid patients, while protecting the interests of nursing home operators and pharmaceutical companies that reap vast profits from the Medicaid program. For example, the board withdrew its plan to limit reimbursements to nursing home owners after they mounted a massive lobbying campaign against it. Board members likewise dropped a proposal to eliminate coverage for buying Valium, a tranquilizer used by about 8,000 Medicaid recipients, following objections from Hoffman-LaRoche Inc., the company that manufactures the drug.

—PB

Right Hal

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Having gained control of the National Assembly in the March 28 elections, El Salvador's ultra-right parties are now moving swiftly to dismantle programs the U.S. government considers vital to defeating guerrilla insurgency in the country.

In particular, the rightist coalition is junking the land reform program implemented under U.S. direction, by th

Since the accompanying article was written, new evidence of massive fraud in the March 28 Salvadorean elections has come to light. On June 3 the New York Times released results of a study of the election returns by researchers at El Salvador's Central American University. They revealed that at most 800,000 people voted in the elections—little more than half the official tally of 1,551,687 votes. These results blow apart Reagan administration claims that the Salvadorean people enthusiastically backed the various pro-U.S. parties running in the elections and rejected the FMLN.

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Rightist Coalition in El Salvador Halts Land Reform Program

By PAUL BENJAMIN

Having gained control of the National Assembly in the March 28 elections, El Salvador's ultra-right parties are now moving swiftly to dismantle programs the U.S. government considered vital to defeating guerrilla insurgency in the country.

In particular, the rightist coalition is junking the land reform program implemented, under U.S. direction, by the

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Clockwise from left: Roberto D'Aubuisson leads rightist coalition that ousted José Napoleón Duarte (seated, second from right) in March 23 elections; D'Aubuisson and his rightist allies are halting limited land reform begun under Duarte regime to win the allegiance of El Salvador's farmers, 60 percent of whom own no land at all.

own enough land to survive on, while 60 percent own no land at all. Meanwhile, a plantation aristocracy making up just 2 percent of the population—the so-called "14 Families"—owns fully 60 percent of the land. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that many landless farmers have either joined the FMLN or otherwise support its struggle against the Salvadorean rulers.

To undercut the FMLN's popular base U.S. agricultural experts, connected with the CIA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development, devised a three-stage land reform program in 1980 to be carried out by the Duarte government. It included: 1) setting up farmers' cooperatives on large estates over 1,250 acres; 2) later establishing similar co-ops on medium-sized plantations; and 3) the "land to the tiller" law.

But these measures were bitterly opposed by El Salvador's landholding oligarchy. They sabotaged the first stage of the program by stripping the large plantations of cattle and equipment. At the same time the army and right-wing terrorist squads murdered many of the newly elected peasant co-op leaders.

The landowners' pressure also forced the government to "temporarily" suspend implementation of the second stage of the program. Meanwhile, only a relative handful of

are also following up the elections—by murdering increasing numbers of not only suspected FMLN sympathizers, but even members of the Christian Democratic Party. In San Salvador, the national capital, they are killing around 35 people every week, most of them workers or farmers. They have also assassinated at least a dozen Christian Democratic officials since May 12.

Such activities are arousing opposition both from the Christian Democrats and from more moderate elements within the Salvadorean army. In April, a group of junior military officers circulated an open letter calling on other officers to reject the rightists and "resume the process" of reform that began with the 1979 coup. They also accused senior officers of trying to silence dissenters within the officer corps by ordering them to commit atrocities under threat of execution.

U.S. liberals balk at new policies

The actions of the new Salvadorean government are also provoking increased opposition within the U.S. Congress. On May 26, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Charles Percy (R-IL), voted 12-0 to slash \$100 million in proposed military aid to the Salvadorean government in the 1983 budget, and to cut off aid entirely if the government "alters, suspends or terminates" the land reform program.

Christopher Dodd (D-CT), a member of the committee, warned: "Land reform is the linchpin. If the people sympathize with or join the guerrillas, there isn't any amount that could save El Salvador."

The recent developments in El Salvador—and in Congress—have proved embarrassing for the Reagan administration. According to a law passed last year, the administration must certify "progress" in human rights in El Salvador, including land reform, as a requirement for economic and military aid to the Salvadorean government. During the Salvadorean election campaign, the administration went on record to warn that its support for the new government would hinge on continuation of the land reform program.

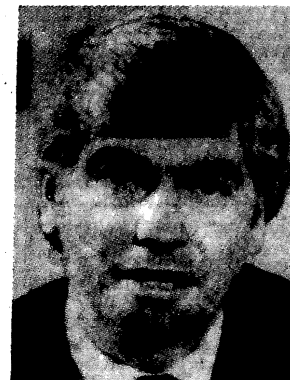
Reagan now faces the task of explaining away the Assembly's rejection of land reform. His administration is claiming that the Assembly's actions need "clarification," are being

"misinterpreted" by Congress, and are simply "temporary" measures to ensure "agricultural efficiency"—all at the same time.

Ironically, its efforts are under attack not only from congressional liberals, but from the opposite direction, by its most ardent right-wing supporters as well. The *Wall Street Journal* and various "New Right" columnists are hailing D'Aubuisson as a "democratic capitalist" whose policy of promoting "free enterprise" by junking land reform deserves support from the Reagan administration.

In fact, the administration is in a box. Reagan and his advisers may privately sympathize with D'Aubuisson's version of "free enterprise." But the Reagan government is officially committed to a more centrist policy of legitimizing U.S. intervention in El Salvador through support for "free elections" and "social reform" that it inherited from the Carter administration.

This strategy is now blowing up in Reagan's face. The Reagan administration helped engineer "free elections" in El Salvador and wound up having to defend an ultra-rightist regime dominated by D'Aubuisson. It advocated nominal reforms but had



Liberal politicians such as Sen. Dodd (D-CT) are concerned that rightists' policies will strengthen support for FMLN.

to watch as D'Aubuisson cancelled them as soon as he got into power.

These developments are likely to drive increasing numbers of Salvadorean workers and peasants into supporting the FMLN. And in the U.S., the Reagan administration's policies are drawing fire not only from the anti-war movement, but from liberal and conservative politicians who disagree with Reagan over how to "save" El Salvador for U.S. imperialism. □

DEFEND THE PALESTINIANS!

(Continued from page 1)
 army did not aid the PLO and its Lebanese allies. And in fact Syrian President Hafez al-Assad ordered his forces to give only token support to the PLO.

Nevertheless, on June 9 the Israeli army attacked Syrian forces in the strategic Bekaa Valley, which provides an easy invasion route into Syria itself. Israeli airplanes wiped out Syrian anti-aircraft missile sites in the valley that had been a bone of contention between the two governments since they were installed in 1980.

Meanwhile, Israeli ground forces occupied two-thirds of the valley after heavy fighting. Three days later the Israeli government accepted a cease-fire with Syria, in part because of U.S. pressure, and in part because it had already achieved its immediate military goals in the Bekaa Valley.

On the evening of June 12 the Begin regime also consented to a cease-fire with the PLO. But this quickly broke down when the Israeli government insisted that the cease-fire applied only to PLO forces in Beirut and not to those continuing to resist the Israeli army elsewhere in southern Lebanon.

Following the breakdown of the cease-fire the Israelis marched to the outskirts of Beirut and took control of the Beirut-Damascus highway, cutting off the last escape route for the PLO's forces in the city.

Although both PLO and Syrian forces suffered many casualties, the main victims of the Israeli invasion have been the defenseless Lebanese and Palestinian civilian populations. The Palestinian Red Crescent Society—the Islamic equivalent of the Red Cross—estimates that up to 12,000 people were killed and wounded in the fighting. Israeli air and artillery attacks reduced major cities like Tyre and Sidon to rubble, leaving tens of thousands homeless and without food. Israeli commanders have imposed strict censorship restrictions in the territory they occupy in an effort to cover up their slaughter in Lebanon.

Zionists want to cripple PLO

From the beginning of the invasion Begin has insisted that his government is waging a "defensive" action in Lebanon aimed only at preventing the "PLO terrorists" from attacking Israel. At first he claimed that "If we achieve a line of 40 kilometers [25 miles] north of our northern border then our work is done." But it is obvious that the Zionist government has far more ambitious goals in



Beirut residents sort through rubble in aftermath of Israeli bombing.

Lebanon, and will occupy the country until these are at least partly achieved.

Israeli officials are now openly stating that their goal is to cripple and if possible destroy the PLO as an independent force in the Middle East. The PLO is the chief leadership of the Arab people's efforts to recover their homeland, Palestine, from the Zionist conquerors. This struggle is the focal point of the Arab people's opposition to Israeli expansionism and U.S. imperialism throughout the Middle East. The Zionists can secure their conquest of Palestine only by crushing the Palestinian liberation movement. To do so they need to gain effective control over Lebanon, the PLO's only remaining territorial base.

In recent years the struggles between the Zionists and the PLO, together with their respective allies in Lebanon itself, have reduced the country to a shambles of warring factions. In 1975 a major civil war broke out in Lebanon. The capitalist press usually describes the major factions in this war as "Muslims" and "Christians." While this is partly true, the war was fundamentally a struggle between the PLO and anti-imperialist Lebanese Muslims—who make up the majority of the population—on the one side and the pro-Western Christian wing of the ruling class on the other.

After a year of warfare the PLO-Lebanese leftist alliance was on the verge of winning the civil war. But they were denied victory by the Syrian government. With the support of other Arab rulers who, along with Assad, feared the emergence of a leftist regime in Lebanon, the Syrian government invaded the

country and prevented the PLO-leftist alliance from taking power.

Since then Lebanon has barely existed as a unified, independent state. The Israeli rulers provide economic and military support for the various rightist groups in the country. They have also launched constant attacks on PLO-leftist bases, including a full-scale invasion of southern Lebanon in 1978.

Within Lebanon itself the nominal central government of President Elias Sarkis is virtually powerless. Meanwhile, Lebanese society has been shattered by constant warfare among over 40 armed political factions. PLO-leftist forces and rightist militias have clashed constantly with both each other and the Syrian occupation troops. Conflicts have broken out among rival factions within the "Christian" and "Muslim" camps as well.

In the aftermath of the Israeli invasion, the Begin regime is proposing to "reconstitute" Lebanon by installing a new government dominated by rightists friendly to Israel. It insists that Israeli troops will remain in the country until a "strong, independent central government" is established. It is also demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops, namely the PLO and Syrian forces, as a condition for Israeli withdrawal.

Israeli officials are calling "in principle" for the complete ouster of the Palestinians from Lebanon. Their actual aim, however, appears to be to confine the much-weakened PLO to the northernmost part of the country, from which it could not attack Israeli territory effectively. In addition, the Israeli government wants the establishment of a "multina-

tional force," preferably including U.S. troops, to police the Palestinians.

Various international developments are leading the Begin regime to believe it can accomplish these goals. The Arab world is in disarray and in no shape to put up strong resistance to Israeli demands.

Conservative Arab rulers are preoccupied with ending the Iran-Iraq war and preventing the spread of the Iranian Islamic revolution to their own countries. The Syrian and Iraqi governments, both ruled by Baathist (Arab "socialist") parties, are not only bitter enemies, but also face mounting internal opposition from Islamic fundamentalists. In February, Syrian strongman Assad's regime, which is dominated by members of the minority Alawite sect, had to destroy the city of Hama to put

down a major rebellion by Sunni Muslims who are the majority of the Syrian population.

At the same time the Western powers are too concerned with other issues to intervene effectively in the Middle East. The invasion took place at the precise moment when Western leaders were trying to resolve differences over economic strategy, the Malvinas war and relations with the Russian government at an "economic summit" in France.

Begin sets U.S. policy

In particular, the invasion is exposing the inability of the U.S. ruling class to control the actions of its Israeli allies. In the recent period, the Reagan administration has been advocating the building of a "strategic consensus" among Israel and conservative Arab states against the threat of Russian expansion in the Middle East. But the Begin regime has sabotaged this policy by pursuing its own imperialist ambitions in the region.

Over the past year the Israeli ruling class has embarrassed U.S. policymakers by bombing an Iraqi nuclear plant last June, by annexing the Golan Heights in December and by making clear its intention to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip territories. Neither threats nor pleas from U.S. officials have stopped the Zionist rulers from going against the administration's Mideast strategy whenever they felt it was in Israeli interests to do so.

In fact, the Begin regime is effectively defining U.S. policy in the Middle East. Although the Reagan administration would have preferred the Israe-



lis not to have in non, it has rap modated itself to facts" the Israeli at

On June 13, U.S. the UN reported delegations that t tional withdrawal troops "is no long avenue" for ending Lebanon. Meanwh of State Alexander ing for a settlem cludes withdrawal troops and creatio Lebanese governm that virtually echo government's dema

Arab rulers: 'stunning sile

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On June 13, U.S. officials at
 the UN reportedly told other
 delegations that the uncondi-
 tional withdrawal of the Israeli
 troops "is no longer a realistic
 avenue" for ending the crisis in
 Lebanon. Meanwhile, Secretary
 of State Alexander Haig is call-
 ing for a settlement that in-
 cludes withdrawal of Syrian
 troops and creation of a new
 Lebanese government in terms
 that virtually echo the Israeli
 government's demands.

Arab rulers: 'stunning silence'

We cannot predict the details
 of any Lebanese settlement, or
 even if a settlement will occur at
 all. What is clear is that the
 PLO has suffered a devastat-
 ing military and political defeat.

The various leaders of the
 Arab world contributed heavily
 to this defeat. Arab capitalist
 rulers initially responded to the
 invasion with what one PLO
 leader called "stunning si-
 lence." Although they later
 raised weak protests against the
 invasion, not one made any
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To be sure, the Iraqi govern-
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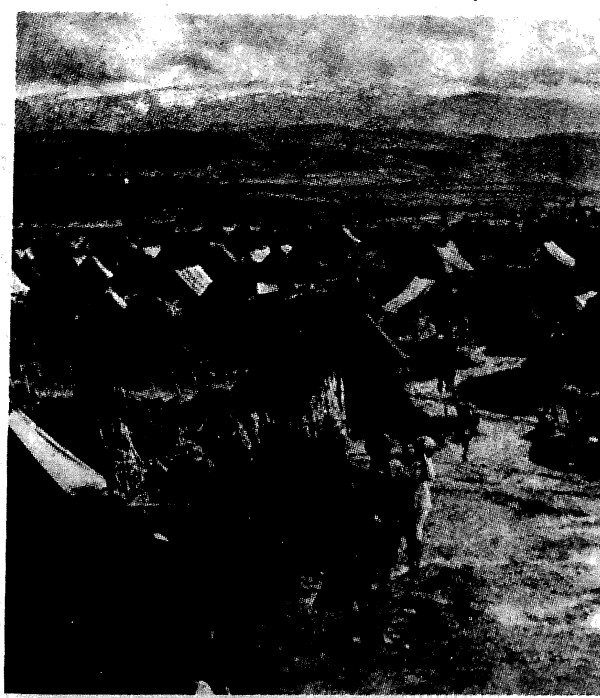
The Syrian government,
 often termed "hard-line" in the
 capitalist press, also took little
 action to support the PLO.
 Syrian troops fought back when
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 hope of retaining a foothold in
 Lebanese territory. Moreover,
 Assad may have privately wel-
 comed a PLO defeat that would
 allow him to seize control over
 the Palestinian liberation move-
 ment while parading as the
 "defender" of the PLO.

PLO increasingly isolated

This being said, it is also true
 that the invasion exposed the
 limitations of PLO leader Yasir
 Arafat's moderate policies.

Arafat increasingly relied on
 Western diplomatic pressure to



Palestinians were driven from their homeland by Israel and forced to settle in squalid refugee camps such as this one in Lebanon. Now, Begin government is carrying out wholesale slaughter of Palestinians.

force the Israeli rulers to accept
 the PLO at the bargaining table
 and consent to the creation of a
 Palestinian mini-state on the
 West Bank. And to gain West-
 ern acceptance he forced a gen-
 erally peaceful policy on the
 more radical leaders within the
 PLO.

But Arafat's strategy required
 maintaining the PLO as an in-
 dependent, armed movement
 capable of disrupting any Mid-
 east peace arranged by the
 Western imperialists. With the
 near-destruction of the PLO's
 military apparatus, the West
 European leaders who previous-
 ly lobbied for the PLO will have
 little reason to actively promote
 its interests against the Israeli
 ruling class.

In addition, the PLO is on the
 verge of a shattering political
 setback within Lebanon itself.
 President Sarkis has convened a
 "National Salvation Council"
 that includes the Lebanese right-
 ist leaders and could form the
 basis for the kind of "strong
 government" demanded by Be-
 gin. The formation of the
 council is apparently provoking
 a split between Muslim leftist
 factions that can only weaken
 the political influence of the
 PLO.

One major Muslim leftist
 group, the National Movement,
 is refusing to join the council.
 But Nabim Berri, head of the
 Shi'a Muslim militia group
 called AMAL, has agreed to
 join it.

The nearly only million Leba-
 nese Shi'a Muslims make up the
 largest single religious group in
 the country. While Shi'a mili-
 tias fought alongside the PLO
 during the invasion, tensions
 between the two groups are
 high. Many Shi'as in Lebanon
 reportedly look to the Ayatol-

lah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islam-
 ic regime in Iran, rather than to
 the PLO, for leadership. In
 August 1980, May 1981 and
 again in April 1982 bitter street
 battles broke out between the
 PLO and AMAL in Beirut. The
 Lebanese rightists—and the Is-
 raeli rulers—will take advantage
 of these splits to further isolate
 the PLO and its remaining Le-
 banese allies.

The invasion represents a
 defeat not merely for the PLO,
 but for the Palestinian-libera-
 tion movement as a whole. The
 victories of the Israeli war
 machine will undoubtedly stif-
 fen Israeli opposition to any
 concessions for the Palestinians
 living in the West Bank and
 Gaza Strip, while encouraging
 the Begin regime to step up its
 repressive campaign against
 them. Moreover, in the wake of
 the PLO's defeats conservative
 Arab governments may move
 closer to deserting the Palestin-
 ians entirely and recognizing the
 Israeli conquest of their coun-
 try.

Nevertheless, as even the
 Begin regime admits, the Pales-
 tinian liberation movement is
 far from crushed. The Palestin-
 ians suffered equally major de-
 feats in 1948, when they lost
 their homeland, and in 1970,
 when King Hussein drove them
 out of Jordan, slaughtering
 thousands. They recovered
 from these reverses, and may
 come back from their latest set-
 back as well.

As long as there are Palestin-
 ians, who were kicked out of
 their own country and are
 yearning to return, there will be
 a Palestinian national liberation
 movement. But it may be years
 before it regains the political
 and military power that it has
 just lost in Lebanon. □



WORLD IN REVOLUTION

British imperialism retakes Malvinas

British imperialism has reconquered the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. On the afternoon of June 14 commanders of the Argentine garrison in Puerto Argentina (Port Stanley) arranged a cease-fire with British troops surrounding the city. Several hours later some 15,000 Argentine troops throughout the Malvinas surrendered to the British.

The Malvinas war began on April 2 after the Argentine government recaptured the islands, stolen from Argentina by British imperialism in 1833. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government sent the British navy and 10,000 troops to restore British rule in the Malvinas. The Reagan administration aided the British invasion with arms, fuel and information on Argentine military movements. The combined efforts of the two imperialist powers was too strong for the outgunned Argentine military to withstand.

The British paid a high price for their victory in the Malvinas. British forces reportedly lost about 250 killed and over 300 wounded in the invasion. The Argentine air force sank at least six British ships and damaged 10 others. But Argentine losses were much higher. They include an estimated 700 killed, 106 wounded, and 342 missing.

Following the surrender Thatcher made plain her intention of restoring British colonial rule over the Malvinas. Her government is sending the colonial governor expelled by the Argentines back to rule the islands. And it plans to station a permanent garrison of at least 3,000 troops on the Malvinas. Thatcher earlier proposed stationing a U.S. garrison there as well, and some British politicians are talking openly of transforming the Malvinas into a stronghold for Western imperialism in the South Atlantic.

In a speech on June 15, Thatcher rejected both a negotiated settlement with the Argentine regime and the possibility of United Nations administration of the Malvinas. She told the British parliament that British troops "risked their lives for the British way of life, to defend British sovereignty. These islands belong to us."

Such flag-waving rhetoric is a sharp contrast to the policy of earlier British governments. For over 15 years successive British regimes have implicitly recognized the legitimacy of Argentine claims to the Malvinas and negotiated with the Argentine government over transferring sovereignty over the islands. As one British diplomat put it: "We wanted to get rid of the place, and the wish of the islanders was only a diplomatic obstacle, not a cause worth dying for."

While the British victory has bolstered Thatcher's Conservative government, within Argentina the loss of the Malvinas is setting off a major political crisis. President Leopoldo Galtieri, along with several other commanders, wants to maintain at least the pretense of continuing the war. But it is unclear how long his regime can survive. Galtieri has angered other members of the junta by refusing to take responsibility for the Argentine defeat. Moreover, many officers, particularly in the air force, believe the government cannot afford to get bogged down over the Malvinas in the face of rising popular opposition to military rule.

The junta retook the Malvinas in part as a desperate attempt to deflect the growing opposition movement by capitalizing on the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Argentine people. But while Argentine workers rallied to the defense of the islands, they continued their resistance to military rule. In April and again in May demonstrators in Buenos Aires denounced the government as well as the British imperialists.

Moreover, throughout the conflict the junta consistently lied to the Argentine people about the setbacks suffered by its forces on the Malvinas. These tactics only increased popular anger as the magnitude of the Argentine defeat became clear.

The loss of the Malvinas is already setting off new anti-government protests. On the night of June 15 up to 10,000 people massed in front of the presidential palace in Buenos Aires chanting "The military dictatorship is going to end!" "Treason, treason!" and "Go away, go away!" at the military leaders in the palace. Police firing concussion bombs, plastic bullets and tear gas eventually broke up the crowd. But new and even more militant demonstrations can be expected to break out in the future.

—PB

For several years, the Revolutionary Socialist League has been active in the lesbian and gay liberation movement and has stressed the importance of this struggle in other areas of our political work. From our point of view, the issue is important not only in its own right—lesbians and gay men being among the most hated and persecuted people in capitalist society—but also as a statement of what kind of society we are fighting for. A free society cannot exist unless everyone is free; for us, therefore, socialism can mean nothing less than the systematic attempt on the part of the toiling majority of society to eliminate everything that fetters people under capitalism: hunger and poverty; national, racial and sexual oppression; wars and fascism; and the general dog-eat-dog struggle to survive.

In this context, we are pleased to announce the publication of a new RSL pamphlet, "Socialism and the Fight for Lesbian and Gay Liberation." Written by Paul Carson, the pamphlet discusses the nature of lesbian and gay oppression and the connection of that oppression to the capitalist system. The pamphlet also takes up the role of the family and other institutions in socializing people to fit capitalist norms—and how those who don't, and don't want to, fit those norms (such as lesbians and gay men), represent a threat to the system and are therefore defined as immoral and/or unnatural. Finally, the pamphlet puts forward our view that socialist revolution is the only road to lasting lesbian and gay liberation. It explains that socialism is not what exists in Russia, China and other state-capitalist countries, but would be a society based on human cooperation and freedom.

Below are excerpts from our new pamphlet. We hope readers will also write us for the whole pamphlet, which costs one dollar.

The oppression of lesbians and gay men is an essential part of the capitalists' system of domination and exploitation. But before we can understand this, it is necessary to describe, however briefly, the ways in which capitalism actually enforces and maintains this oppression on a day-to-day basis—the ways in which the system keeps lesbians and gay men down.

This description is necessary for two reasons.

First, the majority of straight (non-gay) people are simply not aware of the depth and pervasiveness of the gay oppression that surrounds them. This lack of knowledge among straight people about the lives of lesbians and gay men—who are often family members and close relatives, friends or co-workers—is an example of the degree to which the system suppresses homosexuality.

Secondly, to most people, including most gay people, this oppression and persecution often appears to be the result simply of bigoted individuals rather than of the system as a whole. We want to show how gay oppression is in fact built into and reinforced by the very nature of the whole capitalist system.

The idea that homosexuality is sick, perverted, abnormal, immoral or evil, and that gay people are inferior, unequal and therefore not entitled to the freedom to live openly with respect, is an idea that pervades today's society on almost every level. Lesbians and gay

Socialism and The Fight for Lesbian and Gay Liberation

men are among the most despised and feared people in society. They are accused of everything from being "of the devil" and committing "crimes against nature" to being child molesters, from being a "diseased product of capitalist decadence" to being responsible for the fall of the Roman Empire and the "decline of civilization."

Moreover, the view that society should actively suppress, restrain, isolate, reform, jail or even murder gay people is not only widely held, but is daily put into action in various ways in every country in the world today. Lesbians and gay men face a literal onslaught of prejudice, threats and attacks on their right to exist, ranging from second-class citizenship without equal rights, to the threat of imprisonment at the hands of police, courts and psychiatric institutions or violent death at the hands of anti-gay thugs and right-wing groups like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan.

One of the most obvious ways to see how the system maintains and enforces lesbian and gay oppression is to look at the vast amount of it which is carried out on many levels directly and openly by the capitalist state itself: in the legislatures, courts, police forces, prison systems and other institutions.

On a simply legalistic level, capitalist law has by and large openly denied that gay people are equal with other citizens or entitled to the most basic democratic rights. In the U.S., governments in many cities and states have opposed laws that would merely give gay people equality on paper. In New York City, for example, such a law has been defeated by the city government many times in the past 10 years. Most state govern-

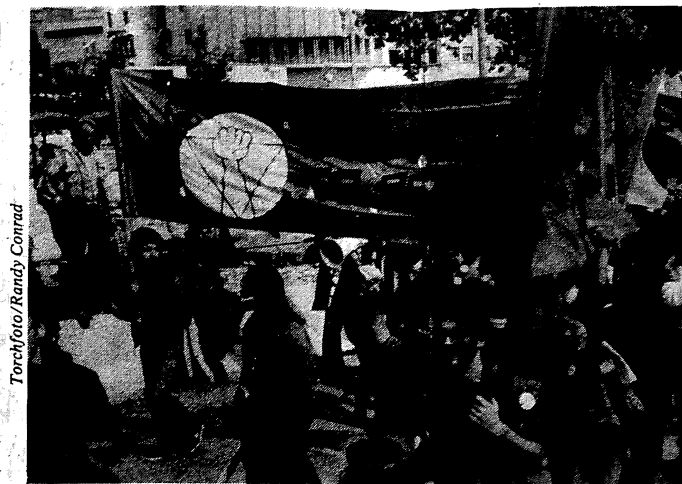
ments as well as the federal government have refused to take up the question of gay rights at all. In fact, far from defending the rights of gay people, most state governments enforce sodomy laws that make homosexual activity itself a crime. Gay people can be, and have been, thrown into jail for up to life, simply for having sex with each other....

Socialization

Capitalism has a number of different but interrelated levels of social control. At one level, there is direct repression—by the boss who fires or disciplines people, by the police who arrest and sometimes murder people who "step out of line," and by the national guard and army, when they are called out to suppress riots or to fight against revolutions.

At other levels, the approach is more subtle. There are a variety of methods of indoctrination and quiet coercion whose purpose is to condition people to accept the system as natural and as the best of all possible worlds.

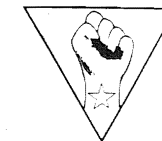
One important method is socialization, the raising of children to see the world, the social system and themselves the way the capitalists want them to, and



RSL contingent in October 1979 Lesbian and Gay March on Washington

the training of children to act in a manner that does not threaten the stability of society. Socialization is accomplished through the family, schools, churches, mass media and other institutions....

The family



One of the most important of the socializing institutions is the family. Capitalist ideology romanticizes the family and claims that it is the only living arrangement that provides people with true love and support. It also contends that the family is the natural and moral way to live, and that people have always lived that way.

In fact, the family (the nuclear family, held up as the model under capitalism) does not meet most people's emotional or sexual needs. Yet people are forced into this arrangement whether it satisfies them or not. It certainly wasn't meeting the needs of the men who were arrested in the Kalamazoo restrooms. The reason they had to look for sex in a restroom was that they were trapped in a living situation that didn't correspond to their needs. It doesn't meet the needs of thousands of women who are beaten by their husbands but who see no alternative to staying with their family. It doesn't meet the needs of the many husbands and wives who are having affairs behind each other's backs. And it doesn't meet the needs of the teenagers who run away from home.

Contrary to what we are taught, the capitalist family is no more "natural" than any other living arrangement. People have not always lived in such families, or even in families of any kind. The family developed at the same point in history when private property, class society, male supremacy and the state all developed, along with a whole system of oppressive social relations that reinforced the rule of the dominant class....

The development of the family was accompanied by the suppression of free sexuality. In part, this occurred to solve

a problem with the inheritance of new private property. It is noted in this early class society that property belonged to the father and was handed down through the father to his male child. Where female sexuality prevailed, no one was sure who his own child was. The result, monogamous heterosexual relations—one man and one woman—developed as the socially responsible way to ensure property for everyone (both men and women).

A complete description of the nature of family relations is beyond the scope of this pamphlet. It is clear that people's living arrangements and sexual lives have been shaped by the needs of different economic systems throughout history. The family, therefore, is not a natural or a specific social institution, but one that developed along with class society to maintain and reproduce capitalism....

Sexuality

Sexuality under capitalism is shaped by the nature of the family and the social/sexual roles that it imposes. Sexuality is an extension of the family since it is an integral part of the personalities. Capitalism seeks to socialize people to live in a certain way (that is, be a father or a mother, the homemaker, the needling support). By the same token, it also tries to train people to approach sex in a very specific way. A man is supposed to approach the entire relationship and sexual activity in a certain "male" style of acting, thinking, a certain "male" way of flirting toward women and men, and making love. A woman is supposed to have a specific "female" attitude toward sex, a "female" style of acting, dr

Lesbian and Gay Pride Day, 1982



1 and Gay March on Washington, D.C.

a problem with the inheritance of the new private property. Since men dominated this early class society, all valuable property belonged to them and was handed down through the family from a father to his male children. Yet if free sexuality prevailed, no man could be sure who his own children were. As a result, monogamous heterosexual relations—one man and one woman coupled up—developed as the sexual norm (ostensibly for everyone but in reality for women).

A complete description of the evolution of family relations is beyond the scope of this pamphlet. But the point is that people's living arrangements and sexual lives have been molded to fit the needs of different economic and social systems throughout history. The modern family, therefore, is not "natural." It is a specific social institution that evolved along with class society and today serves to maintain and reproduce capitalism....

Sexuality



Sexuality under capitalism is shaped by the nature of the family and the social/sexual roles that it involves. In fact, sexuality is an extension of these roles, since it is an integral part of people's personalities. Capitalism not only tries to socialize people to live and think a certain way (that is, be a father, the head of the family, tough, independent, or be a mother, the homemaker, emotional, needing support). By the same process, it also tries to train people to have a certain sexual orientation, to look at and approach sex in a very specific way and to approach the entire range of emotional and sexual activity in the same way. A man is supposed to have a certain "male" attitude toward sex, a certain "male" style of acting, dressing, thinking, a certain "male" attitude toward women and men and a particularly "male" way of flirting, touching and making love. A woman, too, is supposed to have a specific but different "female" attitude toward sex, a "female" style of acting, dressing, think-

ing, a "female" attitude toward women and men and a "female" manner of flirting, touching, and making love....

There are a number of things to understand about all these social/sexual roles. First, they are not "natural." There is nothing that biologically determines that a male human being will inevitably be aggressive, independent or self-confident, while a female will be passive or dependent. What a woman and a man are supposed to be under capitalism is defined by society. These roles are social institutions, part of an entire structure of institutions and values that are an integral part of capitalism and have evolved with class society over thousands of years. They are part of the basic structure that enables capitalism to maintain and reproduce itself.

Second, they are extremely arbitrary and narrow. Human beings are capable of expressing a broad range of thoughts, feelings, styles and behavior. Each individual is capable of expressing many different characteristics, different "sides" to her/his personality, and these can vary depending on time, place, and

situation. As a result, people in fact do not fit the tight, neat slots that capitalism says they are supposed to....

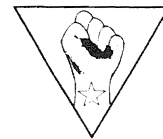
The third thing to note about these roles is that they are based on the assumption that sexual relations must be exclusively heterosexual. A female is supposed to have only "female" characteristics, to have "female" attitudes toward sexual behavior and to be sexually attracted only to males. Similarly, a man is supposed to have only "male" characteristics, "male" attitudes toward sex and to be sexually oriented only to females. But in fact, human beings and sexual orientations are not so narrowly defined. Nothing requires everyone to be sexually attracted to and involved only with individuals of the opposite sex. In fact, like the human personality in general, human beings have a broad range of potential sexual attitudes and orientations.

The narrow range of personalities and sexual orientations considered normal, natural and proper under capitalism flows from the centrality of the family to the system. Since the nuclear family is generally considered the normal and legitimate arrangement for living and raising a family, it is also considered to be the normal and legitimate structure within which sexual activity can take place. This means, for example, that sex is supposed to be monogamous, that is, two people living and having sex together, ideally for life but at least for a long time. It also means that sex is supposed to be strictly heterosexual, between a male and a female, rather than between individuals of the same sex.

This all flows from the fact that for capitalism sex exists primarily to reproduce the system and its distinct social classes, to produce and raise children, to pass on the parents' property (or lack of it), social status and position. To do this, sex has to be limited within the narrow context of the family. People have to be coupled up and married so society can tell the fatherhood of the children, so the father's property and

status can be passed on and so the child has the surroundings that will enable him/her to be "properly" raised and socialized. It also means that sex is seen primarily as a means to reproduce children, not as something that is pleasant in its own right....

Liberation



Lesbian and gay liberation would undermine the sexual repression that is built into capitalism and that flows from the idea that people exist for the purpose of accumulating capital. It challenges the notion that the only purpose of sex is to produce children, and says that sex is also for the enjoyment of the people involved. Sex can be enjoyed between women and men, men and men, women and women, alone, in large groups or however people want. You don't have to promise to live together for the rest of your lives or follow any of capitalism's rules.

This kind of liberation involves more than just gay people. It represents freedom for everyone who doesn't want to be, do and feel what capitalism tells us to be, do and feel. It represents freedom for everyone who doesn't want to be controlled and manipulated by the system. In short, gay and lesbian liberation challenges the entire psychological, cultural, social and, ultimately, economic structure of capitalism.

It is no accident, then, that the kind of freedom that gay liberation involves cannot exist for the vast majority of people under capitalism. As long as the capitalist system exists, it will need to repress and socialize the individual to fit certain norms which maintain the system. Therefore, to win true lesbian and gay liberation, the material basis for the oppression must be eliminated: The entire capitalist system must be overthrown and replaced by a society based on freedom—socialism.□

FIGHT FOR OUR LIVES!

Following is the text of a leaflet being distributed by the New York RSL during Lesbian and Gay Pride Week.

An undeclared war is being waged against lesbians and gay men. The weapons are guns, knives, baseball bats and repressive government legislation. Our attackers range from neighborhood youth and kids from the suburbs to right-wing preachers and politicians. We are the victims: people who want to live our lives as openly gay women and men. We are being attacked for our sexuality, our personalities, our insistence that we too are human beings with the right to live where we choose, socialize where and how we want, be who we want to be. Our right to love is being attacked with hate and bigotry.

The attacks are taking many forms. One is the dramatic increase in rapes and "queer-bashings." Another is the increase in petty verbal harassment: In many neighborhoods women and gay

men are subjected to sexist and anti-gay comments. More long-term attacks are in the works as well. In Congress a manifesto of right-wing ideology is currently under discussion: the Family Protection Act (FPA). While the FPA is in fact broadly directed at women, Black people, poor and working people and others, it reserves a special place for lesbians and gay men.

If passed, the FPA would deny federal money to private individuals, and public and private institutions that acknowledge homosexuality as a "lifestyle." It would deny poor gay people welfare, Medicare and legal aid. It would deny unemployment insurance and government jobs to gay workers, and it would deny federal loans and grants to lesbian and gay students. It would force schools and businesses that accept federal funds to drop their anti-discrimination protection for lesbians and gay men. The people who support the FPA want to make sure that either gay people are invisible, or suffer for openly "assaulting their morality."

Put simply, all the attacks boil down

to one thing: Lesbians and gay men are being forced back into the closet.

Why now?

It's important for us to view these attacks in the climate in which they are taking place. It should be obvious that the economy is in deep trouble. U.S. industry is in a shambles, unemployment has reached record levels, the gap between rich and poor is widening with fewer and fewer people in the middle. The people who run this crisis-ridden system—the ruling class—are freaking out. They are attempting to save their system at any cost—and that cost will be taken out on our lives.

The last thing the ruling class wants is for the masses of people to blame them for the crisis. Rather, the ruling class wants people to blame each other. Thus we have things like the FPA which say that the moral decline of society and the

(Continued on next page)

Day, 1982

FIGHT FOR OUR LIVES!

(Continued from previous page)
weakening of the nuclear family are the cause of today's problems.

The ruling class attacks have had a serious effect on today's young people: robbing them of hope, making them frustrated, bitter and angry. Meanwhile, the media image of gay people increasingly portrays us as rich, white, successful and weak. Who do alienated young people go after? Us. We are being set up for victimization.

Who are our friends— who are our enemies?

With the ruling class set against us, we need allies, and we need to work together. But we should be careful.

The ruling class has an ideal, or a vision, of what society should look like, perhaps summed up as "Mom-Flag-Apple Pie-White is Right." Gay people, Black people, Latinos don't fit in the picture; and women must know their place. We should unite with those others who also don't fit into the ruling class' picture. Rather than accepting the fact that they are trying to pit gay against Black and Latino, Black against Latino, employed against unemployed, etc.—we should say that these divisions are wrong. If white people fight racism; if men fight sexism; then an alliance can be forged between us. If we recognize that it's us—the working and oppressed people of all colors—against them—the ruling class—we will be strong enough to resist the attacks.

Some people in the lesbian and gay community disagree with this. A good example of this is what's happening in

the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee (CSLDC—the planning group for the annual lesbian and gay pride march and rally) this year. A conservative, right-wing majority in CSLDC is making a concerted effort to "clean up" this year's march. A main part of this is their attempt to change the name of the march and rally to "parade and celebration." Celebrate what? Anti-gay violence? The FPA? Reagan's cut-backs? Similarly, rather than consciously fighting racism and sexism (both inside and outside our community), the CSLDC right wing is attempting to use tokenism and formality to get them off the hook. We need to rally our community, while there's still time, to build a movement against the rising tide of repression and reaction so that someday we can celebrate the liberation of all our brothers and sisters.

There are a lot of people going around claiming to be our friends—and aren't. Many people in what's left of the lesbian and gay movement believe that the solution to what's happening is to vote out the bad guys and vote in some good guys. More often than not, the "good guys" are various liberal Democratic Party politicians. In fact, two speakers at this year's CSLD rally are Democratic Party hacks.

In its present weakened condition the Democratic Party will look to anyone, including lesbians and gay men, to rebuild it. Both Mayor Koch and Carol Bellamy used this strategy; then once in office they coldly turned their backs on the very people that put them where they are. The Democrats have used the Black and Women's movements in this fashion before us.

But the Democratic Party is an integral part of the same capitalist

order that the "bad guys" are trying to preserve. The Democrats and Republicans are Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The problem with society is not which particular politicians are currently in charge, but the nature of the system itself. The Democrats are committed to preserving that system—but for cleaning it up a bit to make it look nicer. But they don't want to get rid of oppression.

Then there are the cops. The mayor and many gay "leaders" are trying to get us to believe that cops are our friends. They say that they will protect us from anti-gay violence. At this year's Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally, a cop—who happens to be gay—will be speaking from the stage.

To have this cop, Charles Cochrane, as a speaker is a slap in the face to the whole meaning of CSLD. Has our liberation come so far that we can have a cop help us commemorate the resistance of our valiant sisters and brothers against police repression at Stonewall? Hardly! Cochrane even takes pride in the fact that he could remain "impartial" enough to help protect the movie crew filming "Cruising" three years ago.

But it's cops who enforce the system's anti-gay laws. It's cops who arrest gay men for having sex in public places. It's cops who raid gay bars. It's cops who

In order to ensure a militant, anti-racist, anti-sexist presence at this year's Gay Pride march in New York, several left-wing members of the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee called for a militant contingent in the march. The contingent is being supported by RSL, Lavender Left, CRASH, Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, Black & White Men Together, and others. See Events listing below.

shoot down dozens of innocent people every year because they "look suspicious" or get in the way of a stray bullet. To be a cop you have to be committed to the oppression of lesbians and gays and to the racist laws of society. It's that simple: They are not our friends, but blood enemies. Remember Stonewall!

What's the solution?

Ultimately, we need a system that is responsive to our needs. We need a society where people control their own lives; where people are freed from all oppression, exploitation and repression. We need a society where we control the government and the economy; where there are no bosses, no ruling elites, no prejudice and bigotry. To get that kind of system—socialism—we need to get rid of this system—capitalism. (And if you think by socialism we mean countries like Russia, China or Cuba, think again. In those countries, anti-gay bigotry and oppression is just as much a part of the system as it is here: The vast majority of people have no control over their lives or the government. What exists in those countries is not socialism, but **state capitalism**.) Getting rid of this system means a revolution. And a revolution means starting to get organized now.

We in the Revolutionary Socialist League are getting organized to fight for a free socialist society. We're building a revolutionary party capable of uniting diverse forces to overthrow the racist, sexist, anti-gay capitalist system. We're organizing to fight back against the attacks on lesbians and gay men. We urge you to get involved. □

E V E N T S

Ann Arbor

LESBIAN & GAY PRIDE WEEK—March on Sat., June 26, workshops & social events throughout the week of June 25-July 2. Rides available to Chicago for Anti-Nazi/Gay Pride demonstration. Call (313) 921-8398 for more info.

Cherry Hill, NJ

IN SUPPORT OF WOMEN'S LIVES—Regional mobilization against National Right to Life Committee convention, July 17, Cooper River Park, Cherry Hill, NJ (near Philadelphia, PA), 11 am. RSL Women's Ctte. in New York has reserved a bus. To ride or march with the RSL, call (212) 695-6802.

Chicago

STONEWALL COMMITTEE—Sat., June 19, march to build for the counter-demonstration against the Nazis. For info about time & place, call (312) 226-5915.

DEFEND LESBIAN & GAY PRIDE DAY & STOP THE NAZIS—Sun., June 27, counter-demonstration against the Nazis, called by the Stonewall Committee. Lincoln Park, 2 pm. For more info, call (312) 226-5915.

CELEBRATE THE VICTORY OF THE JEAN WOOD DEFENSE COMMITTEE—Sun., August 1, 7 pm until 2 am; Crystal Palace (formerly The Wizz), 11935 S. Michigan Ave., music, dances & prizes. Buy a \$5 ticket to help pay off legal expenses. For more info, call (312) 226-5915.

Los Angeles

FORUM DISCUSSION—"Haiti, Jamaica & Revolution in the Caribbean." Sun., June 20, 9 am, 9428 So. Western Ave. Sponsored by People United Freedom Forum, with featured speaker from the RSL. Admission free.

LESBIAN & GAY PRIDE MARCH—Sun., June 27. Join the RSL in the Gay Latinos Unidos contingent. Meet at 10 am, corner of Santa Monica Blvd. & Crescent Heights in W. Hollywood. For more info, call (213) 385-6029.

New York

RSL FORUM—"Lesbians & Gay Men Are Under Attack! Fight For Our Lives!" Fri., June 18, 7 pm, Workers Circle Cultural Center, 369 8th

Ave. (at 29th St.). Speaker: Steve Rose, RSL. Open discussion; \$1 donation. For more info, call (212) 695-6802.

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST REPRESSION IN IRAN—Sat., June 19, 11 am, Washington Sq. Park. Organized by Moslem Iranian Students Society, supporters of People's Mojahedin.

CHRISTOPHER STREET LIBERATION DAY MARCH & RALLY—Sun., June 27. March with the Militant/Political contingent called for by RSL, CRASH, Lavender Left, Black & White Men Together. Assemble 10 am on Christopher St. between Bleeker & Hudson. For more info, contact (212) 695-6802.

Seattle

CELEBRATE LESBIAN/GAY RESISTANCE AGAINST THE RIGHT WING—March with the Stonewall Contingent in Northwest Lesbian/Gay Pride Parade. Sat., June 19, 1 pm, 11th Ave. & Pine St.

WHERE TO FIND US

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New Orleans, LA 70172

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New York, NY 10116
(212) 695-6802

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495 Ellis St., #190
San Francisco, CA 94102

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST LEAGUE
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West Indies

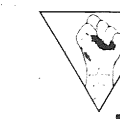
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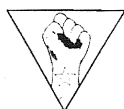
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Stonewall!



Chicago Stonewall Committee Calls For Mass Anti-Nazi Protest on June 27

Responding to the American Nazi Party's call for an "anti-homosexual, pro-life, pro-traditional American family" rally on Gay and Lesbian Pride Day in Chicago, the Stonewall Committee is continuing to build its counter-demonstration to "Defend Gay and Lesbian Pride Day and Stop the Nazis" on Sunday, June 27.

The Stonewall Committee was initiated at a May 4 meeting called by the RSL, and has since been endorsed by the Take Back the Night Coalition, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Chicago Women's Uprising, Gender Services, Chicago Black and White Men Together, Women Organized for Reproductive Choice, and Chutzpah.

The committee has called for a "militant and united show of protest to demonstrate to the Nazis and the world that we will not sit idly by and ignore those who openly seek to oppress us." In its statement of purpose, the committee says, "The Nazis' proposed demonstration must be seen in the context of the rise of the right-wing and as further encouragement, openly, for the expression of homophobic, racist, sexist, anti-semitic, and supremacist ideology."

The Stonewall Committee has drawn fire from several sources. A self-identified KKKer walked into and disrupted the second meeting of the group. He was ejected, bruised, within seconds. The local gay establishment, represented by *Gay Life* newspaper and the Illinois Gay and Lesbian Task Force (IGLTF), a lobbying group, has straight-baited and red-baited the committee. The Chicago police have announced that they will film the demonstration, the first event they've filmed since an April 10 "Peace Walk" here.

Despite all this, the Stonewall Committee has united a broad range of activists—from pacifists to militants—and has drawn strong support from the lesbian and gay community.

Role of the city

Despite the expected large turnout from the lesbian and gay community and its allies, the Nazis will be able to rally in safety, as the city has guaran-

teed them police protection. In fact, although Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne officially "supports" Gay and Lesbian Pride Day, the city has done a lot to make the Nazi rally possible.

Granting the Nazis a permit at all was a slap in the face to the lesbian and gay community. The annual pride rally has been held at the same time and place for years, a fact that makes the city's claim that "the Nazis registered first" look foolish.

But the city's actions since then have added insult to injury. The city tried to make the Gay and Lesbian Pride Committee, which coordinates the annual parade, pay a large insurance fee. In effect, the city was charging the lesbian and gay community for the protection they are giving the Nazis. They backed down on this, as well as other attempts to push the pride rally away. But they made clear that there would be plenty of cops around to protect "everybody's right to free speech."

When thousands of lesbians and gays, and a dozen Nazis, are in the same place, it will be pretty obvious who the cops are protecting from whom. On June 27, the same cops who raid the gay bars will defend the Nazis, and the city will be showing very graphically just who they stand by when push comes to shove.

Spirit of Stonewall

Unfortunately, much of the lesbian and gay community will not be present to defend itself when the Nazis rally. This is because the official Gay and Lesbian Pride Committee has refused to take any action against the Nazis, or even to alter the parade time so that it and the counter-demonstration would not conflict. Claiming that "the Nazis are no threat," and that to confront them will just draw more attention to them, the Pride Committee has done everything they can to discourage any militant response at all. They have stressed the need to show that lesbians and gays are respectable citizens, and there has even been talk that people should not dress "weird" (in drag or leather) because of the bad image this would give. This reflects not only their faith in the system—they actually think the cops will protect us—but their total



1969 Stonewall Rebellion gave birth to the modern lesbian and gay liberation movement.

contempt for anyone in the lesbian and gay community who doesn't fit into society's "respectable" mold.

Division within the lesbian and gay community around this year's gay pride activities is not limited to Chicago. At its last meeting, the Chicago Stonewall Committee voted support to the Stonewall Committee of Seattle, Washington. The Seattle group, formed independently of the Chicago committee, is planning a militant contingent for the Seattle pride parade and has been threatened with exclusion by the group that runs it—the Greater Seattle Business Association (GSBA—a group of gay Seattle businessmen, who, like the "Chicago Metropolitan Business Association," won't even hint at homosexuality in their name). The GSBA has called for a "celebration" to "reflect on advancements experienced by the gay community in recent years." The Stonewall Committee, in contrast, calls for a "celebration of lesbian and gay resistance vs. the right wing" and an expression of "solidarity with all the oppressed in our common fight for social justice."

There are striking parallels between the two cities, reflecting the split in the national lesbian and gay movement, not just in Chicago and Seattle, but in New York [see accompanying reprint of NY RSL leaflet—Editor] and elsewhere. Both groups call themselves "Stonewall" as a direct reference to the Stonewall Riots of 1969, the gay uprising that started the lesbian and gay liberation movement. Both groups have been accused by the conservatives of being "radicals, socialists, and communists," who are attempting to "take over" the pride celebration. Both groups reject the notion that gay liberation can be won by putting on a suit and acting respectable while waiting for liberals to pass bills. "Business Associations" can expect some support from liberals and even cops, but the rest of us cannot.

In Chicago and elsewhere we need to see the lesbian and gay liberation struggle as part of a broader movement of all working class and oppressed people fighting for freedom. □

New Buttons!



Black & hot pink on white; also available w/ slogan "Fight for Lesbian and Gay Liberation."



Black on white, blue or yellow.



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Black on red, green, yellow or white.



Black on red, green, yellow or white.

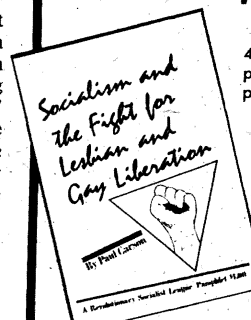
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