

TORCH

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JANUARY 15-FEBRUARY 14, 1982

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Reagan's New Year's Promise: Fewer Jobs, More Cuts, Higher Taxes

By SUSAN EDMUNDS

The December holiday season may have been merry for President Ronald Reagan—who took his sixth vacation in a year at a cost of \$250,000 of taxpayers' money—but for poor and working people across the country it was a time of hardship.

In early January, the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that the jobless rate had jumped to 8.9 percent in December, an increase of half a percent in a single month. This translates into nine and a half million people out of work and looking for jobs. In addition, the Bureau said there were more than a million others who were unemployed but who had become too discouraged to look for work.

Officially, therefore, some 11 million people in the U.S. spent the holidays without a job and with little prospect of getting one. Many spent it hungry,

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After taking sixth vacation in a year, a relaxed Reagan termed soaring unemployment rate "tragic." His new budget cuts will eliminate even more jobs.

**Lessons of the
Polish Workers'
Struggles**

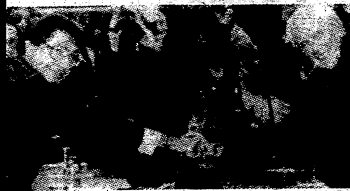
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Solidarność
BIAŁOŚKA

**Socialists
Organize to
Defend
Solidarity**

See pages 10-14

**UAW Reopens
GM and Ford
Contracts**



See page 9

**SECCION
EN ESPAÑOL**

Government Gives Tax Breaks to Racist Schools

Their white supporters call them Christian academies. But they are more properly called segregation academies.

At Bob Jones University in South Carolina, for example, only 10 out of the 6,000 students are Black. The Black students are not allowed, according to the college's public relations director, "to date outside their race, as we don't let whites date out of their race, as we don't let our yellows (!) date out of their race."

For 12 years, there has been a government regulation denying tax-exempt status to Bob Jones and the hundreds of other private schools in the South and elsewhere that practice racial discrimination.

On January 8, with one stroke of a pen, Reagan's Justice Department wiped out that regulation. This change paves

the way for segregation academies throughout the country to pay no taxes, and for the contributions of their racist backers to be tax-deductible. It amounts to having the government underwrite the cost of schools whose main purpose is to provide a virulently racist, conservative education to white students.

Moreover, not only will Reagan's action aid the segregation academies that already exist, but it will encourage the development of thousands more.

Segregation academies sprang up in 1960s

Segregation academies sprouted up all over the South in the 1960s, as the struggle against Jim Crow gained steam.

One common ploy of racist-controlled school boards, and almost all were at that time, was to sell off the white public schools. Thus the all-white "Baxter Public High School" might become... "Baxter Academy," a private, all-white school funded by small tuition charges and considerably larger tax-deductible gifts. The former Black schools would then often become the only public schools, funded at the same rotten level as before, or even worse.

The segregation academies, as these instant private schools became known, went into decline when the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) denied them the tax-exempt status most private schools have. The IRS did this in 1970, under the Nixon administration. But it did so only because a permanent injunction, enforced

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**our
readers
write...**

Send letters to:

TORCH, PO Box 1288
New York, NY 10116

Prisoner placed in isolation for political views

Dear Torch,

I am a member of one of the many Torch/La Antorcha study groups across the country. I've been active in the prison struggle for quite some time, I've filed writ upon writ against the conditions that we prisoners face every day, and because of this I am thought of as a trouble maker by the prison administration.

About two weeks ago I became the victim of racist and reactionary attack. My cell was searched and my notebook as well as letters from RSL comrades were confiscated.

Based upon these materials being in my possession I have been singled out and named as a member of a so-called prison gang known as the Black Guerrilla Family. Subsequently I was relocated from Vacaville and sent back to Soledad. Once here I was placed in Isolation. I did

take legalistic action against this attack, but the administration that runs this racist prison system allowed the courts no time to act.

I believe I am the first prisoner since 1961 to be placed into Isolation solely based upon his or her political beliefs. I ask that the Torch join me in this struggle against the reactionary California Department of Corrections, for far too long Blacks have been thrown into these holes solely because they choose to say no to U.S. Imperialism, and say yes to Revolution! For solidarity in struggle, Imara Sekou (s/n Weldon Wiggins, CO2859)

(Editor's note: To protest the placing in isolation of brother Sekou, readers should write to the Superintendent, California Training Facility, Soledad, CA 93960.)

Reader describes INS raid in Los Angeles

The following letter to the Torch was translated from Spanish to English.

Dear Torch:

I am writing to say hello and tell you what's happening here. One morning during December in the garment district here in Los Angeles, it struck me to go to the unemployment office to check for work, since that day I had only worked three hours when the boss sent most of us home. I was sitting inside when I looked toward the window and saw outside a police car blocking traffic. Soon a Black man asked another person sitting there who was also looking closely, "Hey man, do you know what's going on out there?" The other man answered "No," shaking his head as the first one continued excitedly, "The police are going after illegal Mexicans that shot at INS agents with a .22 rifle." And he continued with his story while I jumped up to investigate the facts for myself.

When I went out I saw not just one police car, but two, blocking the street and other officers whose job is just to give parking tickets—the ones who patrol on motorscooters—also lending a "helping hand." And the most outstanding thing here (which looked like a scene from a movie) was the famous SWAT squad, with approximately four or five individuals heavily armed with combat weapons out and ready to attack whatever prey might appear in view. Five minutes later, when I tried to get a little closer to the place which was surrounded by these respectable "protectors" of society, which was a hard-luck hotel where maybe 99.9 percent

of its tenants are working class, lumpen, and Latinos—I heard the sound of a police helicopter. Now the scene was complete! And I forgot to say that also there were two vans and a car from the INS, "la Migra."

I think what happened was without precedent. It all happened in less than a half hour and everything cleared up, except for the Migra vehicles which remained "loading" people. I don't think they had intended to take so many people and only went for the two or three individuals who they had had reports were "illegals." But because they were "provoked" after their arrival with the report in one hand and in the other an ID card from the INS agency, they had to arrest however many Latinos they found in the hotel for "investigation."

Except these tenants, seeing themselves in danger of being attacked, decided to arm themselves and defend themselves in a manner spontaneous and without premeditation, guided only by their instinct for survival. What happened is that these comrades armed themselves with a .22 rifle or pistol and opened fire on the agents without hitting any (what a shame!). That's why these latter called for reinforcements which quickly arrived.

Although, as I said, all this apparently was without precedent, and although I saw a person with an expensive camera who looked like the classic middle class reporter, taking photos of the incident, nothing appeared in the press the next day. Not in La Opinión, whose offices are seven blocks from the incident, nor the Herald

Examiner, which also is only some four blocks away, nor the Los Angeles Times, which is a bit more distant but still in the area in downtown L.A. From this I conclude that if one of the "Migras" had been hit by a bullet maybe (and I emphasize maybe) it would have "merited" coverage the following morning, maybe a headline. That's why I said before that it was a shame it didn't happen.

These comrades in distress didn't do the best thing that could have been done, but regardless, that does not take away from the support which "we" should offer them. "We" is me, you and the readers and supporters of the Torch and in general all the people conscious of the attacks that we workers are subjected to day after day.

Solidarność with all our brothers and sisters who fight against oppression! Down with the Migra and its raids! On to the socialist revolution!

Yours,
JZ

Correction

As a result of an error in production, a section of "Central America: A Region in Revolt" in last month's Torch/La Antorcha appeared in the wrong place. The paragraph beginning "At the same time, we believe that the only lasting solution to the crisis in El Salvador and throughout Central America..." and the next two paragraphs belonged earlier in the article, following the paragraph ending "But at the moment, it is a big issue in the movement, both in El Salvador and here, and we do have something to say about it." Our apologies.

Help Us Reach Our Goal!

With just two weeks left in our emergency ten-week fund drive, we have raised \$8,140. To meet our \$10,000 goal we need to raise an additional \$1,860. We urge Torch/La Antorcha readers who have not yet contributed to help put us over the top.

Many of our readers have not only sent us a contribution, but have also made a monthly pledge to the RSL. These pledges are particularly important in overcoming our financial crisis. In sending in a contribution of \$50 and pledging an additional \$25 a month, one reader from Chicago wrote: "I honestly wish that I could give more. To me, you are the only sane political voice in this country."

We agree. Unfortunately, our voice may be muffled if we are unable to raise additional funds. Layoffs and inflation have wreaked havoc on our budget—we are now running a monthly deficit of \$2,500. Unless we meet the goal of the emergency drive, we will be forced to make immediate and substantial cutbacks, including cutbacks in the Torch/La Antorcha.

Please give us a helping hand. Every contribution, large or small, will be important to the success of the drive. Thank you—and best wishes for the new year! (Make checks payable to RSL or Christopher Z. Hobson and send to: RSL, PO Box 1288, New York, NY 10116.)

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while others sought kitchens and priv food distribution ce cularly in the econo vastated Midwest se country.

For workers wit situation was bright pared to the plight o ployed. With the expected to top 9 1982, thousands o workers face layo coming months. Me flation, now "only" percent a year, c whittle away at w checks. And those getting smaller, as more companies ar wage concessions givebacks from their

A happy new

As if all this were the Reagan admini gan the new year by it will seek new cu programs. While hu tions such as Occid leum, IBM and DuF the dough by buying each other's tax cre who live just on the survival would be p the edge by the foll

• A new formula f out tenants' rent in federally subsidized This would affect a million people. Curre tenants pay no mor percent of their inco rent and utilities. Fc are not counted as inc they may be used to only. Now the Reag istration wants foc counted as income—that it is estimated crease rents by at percent, on average. tion, the administrat to raise the 25 percent that tenants would h up to 30 percent of th in rent and utilities.

What this would thousands of families ly illustrated by Cus beare, president of the Low Income Housi tion. "If you count fo as income in Missis average family on would have \$8 a m after paying 30 per cent for rent." While welfare payi Mississippi are lower t age, millions around try would be left— quite literally—out in by the new Reagan reg •Cuts in the Medicaid (health care

Reagan's New Year's Promise

(Continued from page 1)

while others sought out soup kitchens and private charity food distribution centers, particularly in the economically devastated Midwest section of the country.

For workers with jobs, the situation was brighter only compared to the plight of the unemployed. With the jobless rate expected to top 9 percent in 1982, thousands of employed workers face layoffs in the coming months. Meanwhile, inflation, now "only" around 10 percent a year, continues to whittle away at workers' paychecks. And those checks are getting smaller, as more and more companies are extorting wage concessions and benefit givebacks from their employees.

A happy new year?

As if all this were not enough, the Reagan administration began the new year by announcing it will seek new cuts in social programs. While huge corporations such as Occidental Petroleum, IBM and DuPont rake in the dough by buying and selling each other's tax credits, people who live just on the brink of survival would be pushed over the edge by the following:

• **A new formula for figuring out tenants' rent in public and federally subsidized housing.** This would affect some eight million people. Currently, these tenants pay no more than 25 percent of their income toward rent and utilities. Food stamps are not counted as income, since they may be used to buy food only. Now the Reagan administration wants food stamps counted as income—a change that it is estimated would increase rents by at least 10 percent, on average. In addition, the administration wants to raise the 25 percent ceiling, so that tenants would have to pay up to 30 percent of their income in rent and utilities.

What this would mean for thousands of families was vividly illustrated by Cushing Dolbear, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition. "If you count food stamps as income in Mississippi, the average family on welfare would have \$8 a month left after paying 30 percent of its income for rent," she said. While welfare payments in Mississippi are lower than average, millions around the country would be left—probably quite literally—out in the cold by the new Reagan regulations.

• **Cuts in the Medicare (health care for the elderly) and Medicaid (health care for the**

poor) programs. There are a number of changes in these programs that the Reagan administration is seeking.

Among them is an increase in the amount that Medicare patients must pay for hospital stays. Currently, patients must pay \$260 for their first day in a hospital but then get the second to 60th days paid for by the government. Reagan now wants

on specific commodities).

Unlike income taxes, which take a bigger percentage of your income the more you earn, and are therefore known as progressive taxes, excise taxes are regressive. They take a bigger percentage of your income the less you earn. If you buy something that has a dollar excise tax added on, obviously that dollar takes a bigger bite out of your

program—specifically tax cuts and budget cuts—would restore health and vigor to the economy. The personal and corporate income tax cuts, he claimed, would encourage greater saving and investments, particularly among the rich and the corporations. With companies investing in modernizing outdated plants and machinery and in building new ones, jobs would be created. More people working would mean more people paying taxes, so that even with tax cuts the budget deficits could be eliminated, thus bringing down inflation.

This program only has a chance (and that a small one) of helping the economy if the capitalists actually invest in the modernization and expansion of the productive apparatus. But that's the big if, and so far, despite everything Reagan has done to create a "favorable business climate," the corporations have shown little inclination to invest in production. Instead, they have continued to put their capital where they can get quicker returns—buying up and merging with other companies, speculating on the commodities and futures markets, etc.

Indeed, Reagan's own Treasury Secretary, Donald Regan, recently stated that if he were back in business (he was formerly the head of Merrill Lynch, a stockbrokerage firm), he wouldn't be investing right now. November figures for orders of machine tools, which are made to make new machines and machine parts, and are therefore an important indicator of where the economy is headed,

income if you're poor than if you're rich. (Technically, excise taxes are paid by the manufacturer but, in most cases, they are passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices.)

Specifically, it appears Reagan is planning huge increases in the excise taxes on cigarettes, alcoholic beverages and gasoline. Sources indicate that Reagan will ask for a doubling of the current taxes on these items, which would mean that:

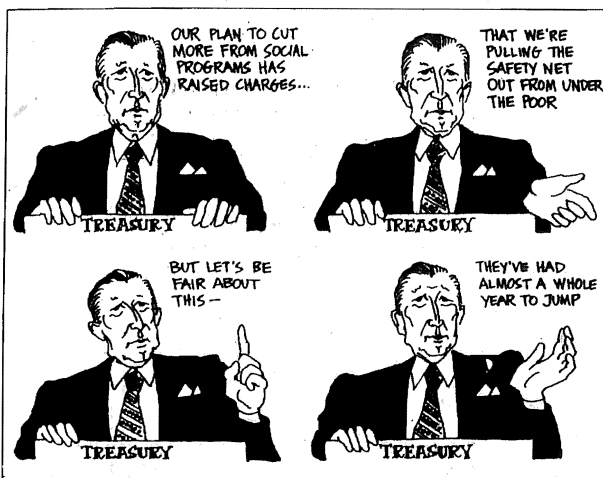
- a pack of cigarettes could cost four cents more;
- a six-pack of beer could cost 16 cents more;
- a fifth of 80-proof liquor could go up an astronomical \$1.66;
- a gallon of wine, a 17-cent rise;
- four cents could be added to the price of every gallon of gas.

In other words, Reagan wants to take away some of the few pleasures that working class people are left with in this society.

Reagan's program not working

This new round of anti-working class measures proposed by the Reagan administration is not simply phase two of Reagan's program. Rather, it is also an increasingly desperate attempt by Reagan to stop the downhill slide of the economy and with it, his popularity ratings.

Reagan was elected last year in large part because he said his



Medicare patients to pay not only the \$260, but also \$26 a day for each day up to 60 days. Where elderly poor people are supposed to get this money, Reagan, of course, doesn't say. The administration is also proposing to cut by 3 percent the amount of money it reimburses the state Medicaid funds for "optional services"—eyeglasses, dental care and physical therapy. While Reagan and other wealthy top officials receive totally free, first-class medical care paid for out of public funds, poor people are apparently supposed to survive (and look for jobs) while half-blind and with rotting teeth.

These announced cuts in public housing and Medicare/Medicaid are just the tip of the iceberg. Reagan is supposed to give his State of the Union message to Congress on January 26; administration sources state that he will be asking for an additional \$30 billion in cuts in domestic social programs.

At the same time, Reagan will be proposing a defense budget of nearly \$250 billion—that's a quarter of a trillion dollars—for the coming fiscal year!

Wait, there's more

White House advisers indicate that there will be another budgetary proposal in Reagan's State of the Union message that will hit poor and working people particularly hard: steep increases in excise taxes (taxes

bear him out. New orders dropped 10 percent in November over the October figures, and that's part of a 37 percent decline since Reagan took office.

At the same time, the budget deficit, which Reagan insisted could be totally eliminated by 1984, has continued to soar, and is expected to be over \$100 billion in the coming fiscal year.

Faced with the near collapse of his program, Reagan is digging in his heels. The additional budget cuts are supposed to offset the decline in revenues brought about by the income tax cuts and the high unemployment. The excise tax increases, for their part, are supposed to bring in new revenues. Meanwhile, working class people will be caught each way they turn: fewer jobs, fewer social services, higher prices at the stores.

The beginning of the end?

The forecast for 1982 is that it will be a very bad year for us. But it will also be a bad year for Reagan, as his economic Nirvana collapses around his ears. More and more people, particularly white blue-collar workers who had illusions in Reagan, are coming to see that his give-to-the-rich strategy is not in their interests. More and more people in general are becoming fed up. Reagan's popularity ratings are plummeting.

A united working class movement, organized to defend all working, poor and oppressed people, can begin to beat back not only Reaganism, but the capitalist/corporate offensive he is spearheading. 1982 may be the beginning. □



While cutting social programs, the Reagan administration has come up with its own solution to the crisis facing low-income families—five pounds of government surplus cheese. In Washington, D.C. thousands of people jammed local churches to apply for the cheese, and many were turned away empty-handed.

By JUDY GARSON

In October of last year, the Labor Department legalized industrial homework for knitted outerwear. Industrial homework is giving out factory work to be done at home.

The government wants to legalize homework to make it easier to attack the wages and working conditions of all workers. Originally the government tried to legalize all forms of industrial homework, including button and buckle manufacturing, women's apparel, handkerchief making, embroidery, jewelry, and glove and mitten manufacturing. But this step provoked so much protest from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and some manufacturers that the final ruling only legalized knitted outerwear.

The move to legalize homework was started by a legal suit brought by two Vermont firms that engaged in giving out homework. These firms were supported by two right-wing legal foundations, the Capital Legal Foundation of Washington, D.C., which specializes in attacking every government regulatory agency from OSHA to the FCC, and the New England Legal Foundation. Both of these foundations take up legal cases that most big capitalists favor but don't want to support publicly.

In their suit, the two Vermont companies and their women homeworkers claimed that homework was pleasant, working conditions were healthy and the pay was at or above the minimum wage. There was, therefore, no need for a government ban on homework.

Unhealthy conditions

But the truth about homework for most workers is very different.

•Elisa Perez is a homeworker. She makes \$100 a week.

•Vicki Chao is a homeworker. She earns \$600 in a good month but she has to pay off her \$400 knitting machine.

•Delfine Salazar and her mother and sister make decorator ribbons and bows at home at night. All three together earn a total of \$1.25 an hour. And her boss deducts phony state and federal taxes for allowing her to work at home.

•Isabel Magriz also works at home at night where she earns \$1.30 per dress or 15-40 cents a piece after working all day at a factory for \$2.25 an hour.

These conditions are typical. Garment work, whether in the factory or at home, is usually very unhealthy. In 1978, 50 percent of all Los Angeles garment workers, about 62,000 people, carried the tuberculosis

Industrial Homework: Workers Suffer, Manufacturers Profit



germ. All other communicable diseases—typhoid fever, intestinal parasites, hepatitis and infectious hepatitis—are also on the rise among garment workers, from 1,256 cases in Los Angeles in 1979 to 1,493 in 1980.

But homeworkers face additional dangers. Fumes, lint and dyes from the material fill the home, increasing the already high chances of getting sick. Children can easily be injured by industrial-strength machines which can sew through fingers as well as fabric. Material often contains roach eggs. There is a greater danger from fire because of the large amount of material lying around blocking doors and windows. Often every member of the family is forced to help out to make ends meet—the children, the sick, the elderly.

Most homeworkers are undocumented

Homeworkers are forced to put up with these conditions because the overwhelming majority of them are undocumented workers who are afraid that if they complain they will be deported.

Many homeworkers work full time in garment or other sweatshops during the day and still have to take work home to pay their bills. In these sweatshops workers are also brutally exploited. The boss is constantly breathing down their necks, cursing, shouting, telling everyone to work faster.

Most workers in garment

shops make less than the minimum wage. They are often robbed of all or part of their pay. Many bosses regularly call La Migra on payday, forcing the workers to flee and not get paid.

Health conditions are also terrible—rats, roaches, dirt, no heat in winter, no ventilation. Many bosses demand sexual favors from women workers as the price of a job. Women are often forced to bring their children into this unhealthy environment because they can't afford childcare.

No wonder many workers prefer homework to working under sweatshop conditions—at least there's no boss at home, they can look after the children and they think they're making more money than in the factory.

But the truth is that homeworkers earn much less than they could in a factory because each worker must pay the costs of her machine and the extra electricity it uses. She has to buy thread for the garments and pay for gas to pick up and return the work to her boss.

Moreover, the boss will often say that the work has been damaged or done wrong and the homeworker then has no choice but to do the work over at less pay or no pay at all. Still other times the boss simply disappears after collecting the work and the worker is cheated out of all her money.

Many manufacturers actually cut their costs in half by giving out homework. This has made homework a big business. One New York Congressman estimated that there are 50,000

homeworkers in New York City alone. In California, 50-60 percent of the \$3.5 billion worth of garments produced each year are made at home. And the profits are enormous, especially for the big garment manufacturers.

Stronger laws will not end exploitation

All workers have an interest in ending the superexploitation found in homework. As long as some workers can be exploited in this brutal way, the wages and working conditions of all workers are continually threatened. This is obvious in the case of garment workers. But the danger to other workers is no less real. Parts of most products made in light manufacturing—from radios to shoes—could be made at home. If that ever happens, workers in heavy industry will also find their wages, working conditions and even their right to have a union under even more heavy attack than they are today.

It is not enough, however, to fight for stronger laws against homework. As long as economic and political conditions force workers to work at home, stronger laws will have little effect. For example, in New York between 1979 and 1981 only 35 companies were fined for giving out homework. The average fine was under \$500. In California, fines are also around \$500.

When prosecutions do occur, they usually get the small manu-

facturer or the contractor (the person who gets the pre-cut garments from the large manufacturer for a flat price set by the manufacturer and then hires workers to sew and finish the garments). These are the people who generally give out homework. The big manufacturers usually do not—so they aren't prosecuted even though they make the biggest profits from homework.

Where bigger garment houses employ homeworkers directly they are either mob-owned firms or they use mob-owned trucking companies to distribute the work to homeworkers. In either case, the Mafia is usually able to avoid prosecution, win if prosecuted and, if convicted, get fined so little that it has no effect on them.

In any case, the backlog of cases is enormous. In the Chicago area alone it is over 3,500.

However, even when the government does prosecute those who give out homework, or closes down a shop that distributes to homeworkers, or confiscates garments made at home, the homeworker is no better off. She is often left without work, while her boss uses government prosecution as an excuse not to pay her for past work.

In fact, the government often treats the homeworker as more of a criminal than her boss. Government prosecution may expose a homeworker to deportation by the INS as well as to prosecution for other "crimes" forced on all homeworkers by the brutal conditions they work under and their boss's rules: She can be accused of child neglect, violating health and fire codes, working at home, collecting welfare while working, etc.

Workers' movement can end brutal homework

If stronger laws won't end brutal homework conditions, neither can the efforts of homeworkers by themselves. Each worker is isolated in her home and forced to deal with her boss alone—a no-win situation as every worker knows.

To end their exploitation, homeworkers and all revolutionary and militant workers must unite to build a working class movement that fights to end those political and economic conditions that force women to work at home. For example:

•We must build a movement that fights to end immigration quotas, to open the borders to any worker who wants to come to the U.S., to end deportations, to get rid of the INS—in short, to end all legal distinctions between U.S.- and foreign-born workers. This will go a long way to making presently undocumented workers feel able to fight for better wages and

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March Demands Freedom for Refugees

Haitians Flee Poverty and Dictatorship

By WILLIAM FALK

"Freedom for the refugees!" and "Hey, hey, USA: Stop supporting Duvalier!"—these were the most popular chants of the nearly 5,000 people who marched through central Brooklyn in New York January 2.

The march, and a rally that followed it, were organized by a coalition dominated by Haitian groups to support 3,000 Haitian refugees now imprisoned by the U.S. government. The focus of the demonstration was opposition to both Reagan's racist immigration policies and the U.S.-supported Duvalier regime in Haiti. Most of the demonstrators were Haitian.

The "crime" of the imprisoned Haitian refugees is simply that they risked their lives in small boats to leave the extreme poverty and brutal political repression of Haiti and came to the U.S. without documents. Since 1957, Haiti has been ruled by the rightist dictatorship of the Duvalier family: first "Papa Doc" and now his son "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Like the Haitian dictators that preceded them, the Duvaliers have worked closely with U.S. corporations and the U.S. government.

Forced to sell their blood to U.S.

Haiti today is one of the poorest nations in the world.



Demonstrations to support Haitian refugees, like the December 12 march in Washington, D.C., have been organized in many cities.

Most Haitians earn less than \$200 a year. One fifth of all children there die before they reach four years of age. For every 100,000 people there are only seven doctors. Over 80 percent of the people can't read or write; for every high school there are 35 prisons; for every teacher, 189 soldiers.

Over 6,000 Haitians live by selling their blood—five tons of it each month—to three U.S. pharmaceutical companies who pay them \$12 a month. Reportedly, disease is so rampant in Haiti that the blood of adults who survive is among the richest in the world in antibodies.

The economic situation in Haiti is intertwined with political repression. Arbitrary arrests, torture and executions are common. The main props hold-

ing up the regime are the support of the U.S. and Western Europe (who, combined, give Duvalier \$150 million a year, half the total government budget) and the terror imposed inside the country by the Tonton Macoutes. The Tonton Macoutes are a private gangster army created by the Duvalier family and now given official status. They carry out murders and extortion for the Duvaliers' private gain and conduct terror against political opponents. The Tonton Macoutes thugs make their own law in the countryside. In the wake of the damage of Hurricane Allen in August 1980, the upper levels of the ruling class took most of the international relief money sent to Haiti for themselves, for example, while the Tonton Ma-

coutes used the opportunity to force thousands of peasants to sell their land to them for little or nothing.

Leaving Haiti a necessity for many

A large number of Haitians have come to depend on money from family in the U.S. to survive. "People are our most important export," admitted one government official when reviewing the Haitian economy. About 60,000 Haitians have come to the U.S. in the past 10 years. Many Haitians have worked as migrant farm laborers on the East Coast. Farm bosses there like to hire Haitians because their desperate poverty forces them to put up with nineteenth century plantation-like conditions and because a language barrier—Haitians speak their own unique French-African Creole rather than Spanish or English—works to keep them isolated from other workers and unaware of their rights as U.S. residents.

Since last summer, the U.S. government has actively tried to stop Haitian immigration. Although they have suffered from U.S. domination all their lives, the Haitians are now considered too Black and too poor to enter the U.S. In addition, the Haitian boat people, unlike the Cuban refugees, cannot be used for anti-"communist" propaganda. Instead, they embarrass the U.S. government by fleeing from an allied country.

This fall the U.S. Coast Guard obtained permission from the Haitian government to stop boats believed to be from Haiti on the high seas and search them for people possibly trying to enter the U.S. illegally. (See the October 1981 *Torch/La Antorcha*, page 7.) If Haitians manage to get through this blockade, but are captured by the Immigration and Natural-

ization Service (INS—La Migra) inside the U.S. they are given special treatment reserved only for Haitians: They are held without bail. Although most Haitians request political asylum, the INS has never granted it.

Right now there are 3,000 refugees in 17 separate jails and detention centers around the U.S.

In response to these moves, a protest and support movement has grown in the Haitian and U.S.-born Black communities. On December 12, a march in Washington, D.C., drew over 3,000 people. Haitians imprisoned in Brooklyn, Miami and Puerto Rico went on a five-day hunger strike beginning Christmas Day. And on December 27, 300 demonstrators charged the main gate at the Krome detention center near Miami and were turned back only when the police used tear gas. During the fight, 150 imprisoned Haitians managed to escape over a back fence. About 100 have avoided recapture.

The January 2 Brooklyn march, which demanded freedom and political asylum for the refugees, was endorsed by at least 10 Haitian groups. Four people from the New York RSL attended, carrying a banner that read, "Full rights for foreign workers/Free immigration." Over 30 *Forwards*, the newspaper of our sister organization, the Revolutionary Marxist League of Jamaica, and a smaller number of *Torch/La Antorcha* were sold, even though neither paper has a French or Creole section.

The march in Brooklyn was the most explicitly political event of the refugee support movement so far. "Que sont la solution? Revolution! Que va le faire? People Haitien!" one group of people who marched near us chanted over and over. ("What's the solution? Revolution! Who's going to do it? The Haitian people!") □

L.A. CISPES Plans Campaign to Defend Salvadorean Refugees

Western Airlines has been targeted by activists in the Echo Park (Los Angeles) chapter of CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) as a focus for a campaign in defense of Salvadorean refugees. Hundreds of thousands of Salvadoreans have fled to the U.S. in recent years, victims of right-wing violence, the economic crisis, and civil war conditions in El Salvador. But, unlike refugees from the state-capitalist countries (Vietnam, Cuba, Eastern Europe), Salvadoreans have been denied refugee status and are constantly threatened with arrest and deportation. An estimated 1,000 are deported each month from Los Angeles alone!

Western Airlines flies most of these deportees out of the country, under contract with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). CISPES has documented evidence that some of these deported refugees have been tortured and murdered upon their arrival in El Salvador. All the deportees are suspected of disloyalty and receive some degree of mistreatment from the U.S.-sponsored Salvadorean military junta.

A picket of Western Airlines' downtown ticket office is planned for January 30 in Los Angeles. CISPES activists hope this will touch off an ongoing campaign against both the Western

Airlines' "death flights" and the underlying reactionary policies of the INS.

For more information on this campaign, write: Box 26723, Los Angeles, CA 90026, or call Don at: (213) 660-4587.

Meanwhile, a sub-regional conference of CISPES, held in Los Angeles January 9, voted to establish a Committee on Refugee Defense, which will lead and expand the campaign undertaken by the Echo Park chapter. The committee will cooperate with social service and religious groups in the area already doing refugee work, but will have a special emphasis on direct action protests.

The 70 participants at the CISPES conference also approved a resolution to organize against the recent arrival of 1,500 Salvadorean troops for training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. This training represents a significant increase in direct U.S. aid to the shaky Salvadorean junta. Until now, troop training has been done only inside El Salvador and at U.S. bases in Panama.

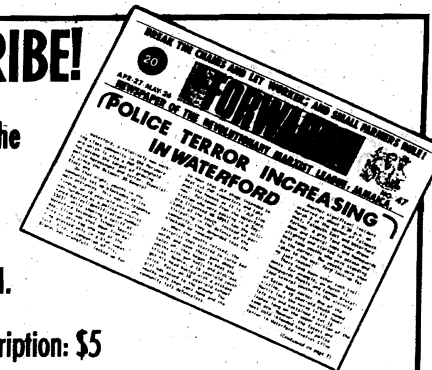
The conference also agreed to form links to the growing anti-draft movement, and to encourage closer ties between the various Central American support committees which presently exist. □

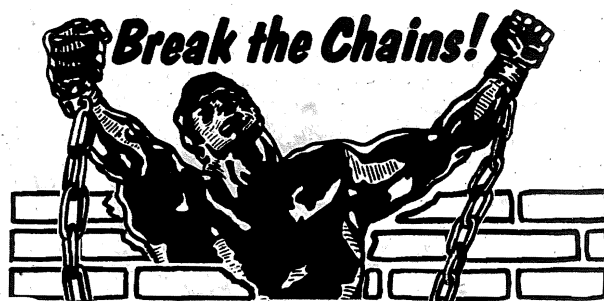
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Thurmond & Kennedy co-sponsor 'grandson of S.1'

Recently the U.S. Senate passed bill S.1722, the federal crime law "reform" bill. Some people might remember the notorious S.1 bill introduced during the Nixon years. S.1722 could be called the grandson of S.1, since it's really a new version of the same bullshit. This bill, if also passed by the House, will mean "people charged with [federal] crimes can be locked up before trial without a right to bail when it is thought they might be dangerous," as an article in the *Washington Post* (12/28/81) states.

S.1722 also stipulates that the federal government will be able to appeal sentences it considers too soft. It gives jurisdiction to the federal government for arson, criminal entry and aggravated property destruction when the alleged crimes are against facilities engaged in production or distribution of energy (so, anti-nuke groups, look out!). It beefs up provisions for federal conspiracy charges, making someone liable for prosecution for merely thinking out loud about or planning an alleged crime—whether or not the alleged act ever occurs. And the bill says you can be charged with federal crimes for evading FBI surveillance, even if that surveillance is not legal.

These are really only brief summaries of a few of the aspects of this reactionary bill and should be checked out in more detail by those interested. By the way, the co-sponsors of this bill are the arch-conservative segregationist Strom Thurmond and so-called big liberal Ted Kennedy.

Indiana prisoners form Jack Burnett defense committee

Prisoners at Indiana State Prison have formed a Committee to Defend Jack Burnett. Burnett, 22, is a prisoner at Indiana State who was gang-raped on October 13, 1981. A few days later, according to literature from the committee: "One of the assailants who had been with the party that raped him approached him again, with a knife, and threatened to make Jack his 'kid,' a word used to describe homosexuals that are dependent on someone to buy them cigarettes, etc., in exchange for sexual favors. This time, however, a brutal knife fight occurred. . . . In the aftermath of it all one prisoner is dead, and Jack is waiting to be arraigned on first degree murder charges."

The committee's goal is to expose Jack Burnett's case in light of the conditions that exist at Indiana State Prison, conditions that have led to four killings there in the past six months. An immediate goal is to obtain an outside lawyer to defend Burnett in court. To contact the Committee to Defend Jack Burnett, write: Joseph C. Dickerson, PO Box 41, Michigan City, IN 46350.

In brief...

James "Dexter" Simmons, a Native American imprisoned at Walla Walla in Washington state, was acquitted of first degree murder in late December. The charge was entered after a Walla Walla guard, William Cross, was killed in a prison fight on June 15, 1979. The fight touched off when Cross desecrated a Native American sweatlodge. Earlier this year, Dexter Simmons's brother, George, was convicted of second degree murder of Cross, and committed suicide in prison. The Washington State Prison News Service, put out by some prisoners at Walla Walla, reports that Dexter Simmons, who has been in solitary since June 1979, is still being subjected to harassment from guards. On January 7, Simmons was transferred to Monroe prison, and faces the possibility of being put in the Monroe "Special Offenders' Unit" . . .

Fulani Sunni Ali (also known as **Cynthia Boston**) was freed December 18 after federal prosecutors dropped their attempt to have her lawyer, who like Sunni Ali is a member of the Republic of New Afrika, barred from representing her (see last month's *Break the Chains*) . . .

On January 11, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a 40-year sentence imposed on a Virginia man for possession and distribution of nine ounces of marijuana. The court rejected the argument that the sentence was cruel and unusual because it was out of proportion to the crime, saying that the length of sentences for felonies was "purely a matter of legislative prerogative."

—WF & MR

Two Black Women Jailed for Helping Elderly to Vote

Two Black women of Pickens County, Alabama, both of them long-time civil rights activists, were sent to prison this January 11 for alleged vote fraud. The alleged crime comes from the two women's campaign in 1978 to get elderly housebound illiterate Black men and women to vote by absentee ballot.

Julia Wilder, 69, was convicted in 1979 of vote fraud by an all-white jury and sentenced by the same jury to five years imprisonment. In a separate trial arising from the same set of events, Maggie Bozeman, 51, was also convicted, again by an all-white jury, and sentenced to four years in jail.

Recently, after losing an appeal in the Alabama State Court of Appeals, and after the State Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case, lawyers for Wilder and Bozeman made last-ditch motions to the original county trial judge for suspension of the sentences. At a hearing on these motions January 11, Judge Clatus Junkins denied them. He turned the two women over to the Alabama state police, who took the pair to Tutwiler prison.

Bozeman and Wilder were essentially convicted on the testimony of one person, 79-year-old Sophie Spann, out of a total of 39 people they helped to vote in 1978. The other 12



Maggie Bozeman (left) and Julia Wilder.

witnesses told conflicting and confused stories. Bozeman and Wilder claim that when they visited people prior to the 1978 elections, they informed the individuals of their rights and helped them fill out absentee ballots. On election day, however, Sophie Spann went to vote. When she was told she had

already voted by absentee ballot, she claimed she knew nothing about it. (Spann died three days after the second trial.)

Pickens County is 40 percent Black, but no Black holds a county office or an elected position in a principal town. At the county courthouse in Carrollton, where the two women were tried, a picture of a lynching that occurred in the early part of the century sits in the window.

Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman both have a history of fighting for Black rights in this bastion of racism. Julia Wilder is president of the Pickens County Voters League. Several years ago, she organized a boycott of the Carrollton Piggly Wiggly to get them to hire Blacks. Bozeman, a school teacher, is a past president of the local NAACP.

An irony of the case is that Judge Junkins was elected with Black voter support. One person involved with defense efforts for Bozeman and Wilder told the *Torch/La Antorchita* that in private the judge said he refused to change the sentence because the two women "didn't beg for mercy."

On Saturday January 16, supporters of Bozeman and Wilder are meeting with them at Tutwiler and the following week plans for more defense efforts will be announced. They will most likely focus on asking the governor to issue a pardon or grant early parole.

To contact Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman, write them at: Tutwiler Prison, Route 1, Box 30, Wetumpka, Alabama 36092. □

Reagan Continues Draft Sign-Up; Threatens to Prosecute Non-Registrants

In a none-too-surprising reversal of position, President Reagan announced on January 7 that he favored the continuation of draft registration.

Reagan said that young men who have failed to register will be given a 30- to 60-day "grace period" to sign up. After that, the Justice Department will begin prosecutions. The law provides for fines of up to \$10,000 and/or jail terms of up to five years for non-registration.

Since registration was revived in 1980, more than a million men—nearly 15 percent of all those liable—have not signed up with the Selective Service System.

Until his January 7 statement, Reagan had maintained that he was "morally opposed" to a peace-time draft or draft registration. Now he claims it is a "practical necessity." But he maintains that the continuation of registration "does not foreshadow a return to the draft."

Anti-draft activists point out, however, that it is hard to think of a purpose for draft registration other than for a draft.

Paul Trudeau, a member of Berkeley Resistance, told the *Torch/La Antorchita*:

"Reagan's decision is a clear indication that the government is preparing for war."

Trudeau added: "We in the resistance movement are ready to support any non-registrant who faces prosecution. We have built a nationwide network of anti-draft organizations that will hold demonstrations and provide financial and moral support for anyone whom the government busts." □

By P

I just can't
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Am I Black
or gay

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writes music that dea
racism and sexuality.

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openly gay. More than
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Let me take yo
let me take
You don't need
you don't
It's the Second
Sexuality is all
Sexuality, let yo

Come on every
I'm talking abo
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New age Revela

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Racist Scho

(Continued from page 1)

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But this line of reasoni
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support for racist segrega

Reagan retreats, but not much

The January 8 announce
with a storm of protest,

CONTROVERSY

By Prince — a record review

By PAUL CARSON

I just can't believe all the things
people say
Am I Black or white, am I straight
or gay

These are the first lines of a recent disco hit song, "Controversy," by Prince. Prince is of mixed parentage (Black and Italian) and is gay or bisexual. He writes music that deals frankly with the subjects of racism and sexuality.

Sexuality is the main theme of his latest album, *Controversy*. Of course, much of disco music is sexual, but Prince takes it further. For one thing, he is openly gay. More than that, he sees free sexuality as something to be fought for in a society that represses all sexuality and especially gay sexuality. These words, from the song "Sexuality," are a call for a sexual revolution:

Stand up everybody, this is your life
Let me take you to another world,
let me take you tonight
You don't need no money,
you don't need no clothes
It's the Second Coming, anything goes
Sexuality is all you'll ever need
Sexuality, let your body be free

Come on everybody, this is your life
I'm talking about a revolution,
we gotta organize
We don't need no segregation,
we don't need no race
New age Revelation, people gotta taste . . .

Prince's music contains references to religion that are open to different interpretations. As I see it, Prince rejects organized religion, which is responsible for much of the sexual repression in society. You could call him the music world's answer to the Moral Majority. He takes a lot of playful digs at the church, like the line with a double meaning about the "Second Coming" quoted above. Later in the same song he complains about people who "teach the kids that love is bad."

In *Controversy*, Prince ridicules people who instead of enjoying their life on Earth are waiting for



their reward in heaven: "Some people want to die so they can be free." Prince's strongest statement on the subject is a bitter, sarcastic song called "Annie Christian." I see the song's main character (also referred to as "Annie Christ") as representing the church itself. The song starts by mocking the church's arrogance at thinking it can tell the world how to live, and is the only true religion, founded by the only son of God:

Annie Christian wanted
To be number one
But her kingdom never comes
Thy will be done
She couldn't stand the glory
She could be second to none
The way Annie tells the story
She's His only son

The song goes on to link "Annie" to the murders of Black children in Atlanta, the shootings of John

Lennon and Ronald Reagan, and the Abscam scandal. In the context of the rest of the album, I think Prince is saying he wants no part of a church that condones racism, violence, and corruption, but persecutes him for his sexuality.

In the course of the album, we hear Prince commenting on issues like gun control and nuclear war, but these issues are an extremely minor part of his music, and the album is mainly political in the sense that sexual freedom is a political question, especially with the rapid growth of the religious right wing.

Prince's music is a lot of fun to listen to, which is why his records are selling well. His music is largely a cross between disco and rock. Unlike some bands that have just two sounds (fast and slow), Prince experiments a lot, and there are several songs on the album with their own distinct sound. He is a talented musician who plays several instruments and can create a sound equal to the top disco bands all by himself in the studio. His voice is versatile and appropriate for the variety of moods on the album: playful, sarcastic, angry, pleading, seductive, ridiculous, and, at times, stereotypically gay.

Prince is the kind of artist people either love or hate. His stage act apparently is very suggestive of gay sexuality, and he wears very little clothing on stage. When he was the opening act for some Rolling Stones concerts last year, he was pelted with fruit and bottles. Whatever Prince may have in common with Mick Jagger, Jagger's music attracted a sexist and, of course, white audience, which wasn't ready for Prince. He is controversial in the Black community as well, mainly because he is gay and is willing to tell the world about it.

I thoroughly enjoy Prince's music because it's performed well, it's a lot of fun, and because he's a rebel. Maybe this is best exemplified in his hit song "Controversy," when after reciting the Lord's Prayer, he counters by reciting a verse of his own:

Some people call me rade
I wish we all were nude
I wish there were no Black or white
I wish there were no rules

I also wish there were no rules, and I hope Prince keeps on breaking them. □

Racist Schools . . .

(Continued from page 1)

ing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was about to be issued by a federal court ordering them to do it.

It was this 1970 IRS regulation that the Reagan administration revoked on January 8. Reagan claimed he wanted to stop the IRS from "governing by administrative fiat" and "exercising powers that the Constitution assigns to Congress."

But this line of reasoning—a Reagan favorite—is, like his call for "states' rights," just a cover for Reagan's real support for racist segregation.

Reagan retreats, but not much

The January 8 announcement was met with a storm of protest, including by

Reagan's Black advisors and moderate members of the Republican Party, as well as Black leaders across the U.S.

The NAACP, for example, has point-

ed out that the ruling not only gives support to schools that discriminate against Blacks, but actually threatens public education for Black youth alto-

Ever since 1976, Bob Jones University has been appealing its loss of tax-exemption in the courts. This fall, its appeal, along with that of the all-white Goldsboro Christian Schools, Inc., of North Carolina, reached the U.S. Supreme Court. Both schools are arguing that they practice racial discrimination for religious reasons and therefore denying them tax-exempt status is a violation of their religious freedom.

Last December, fearing a probable Supreme Court ruling against Bob Jones, the right wing made a big push to "beg the administration to save Bob Jones." Reagan's ruling has done so.

There is good reason why Bob Jones is so important to the right wing. It is one of the two or three colleges in the U.S. that provide teachers for the growing number of fundamentalist Christian (and white racist) elementary and high schools. These schools are being founded at the rate of three a day; there are now about 7,000 of them, with a total of 750,000 students.

These so-called Christian academies seek to "program the mind of the child in Biblical education." They feature strict discipline and an emphasis on morality and patriotism. Most of the schools are in the South and, with few exceptions, they are all-white. Some have been tax-exempt because of their connection with a church, but that status is constantly endangered by their (never explicit) white-only admissions policies. Other schools have never applied for tax-exempt status because they feel sure they would be refused. Others actually have been refused.

The Reagan administration ruling opens the door for this already extensive network to form the basis for a whole new generation of segregation academies.

gether. With openly racist private schools enjoying the benefits of tax-free living, many public school systems in the South could become virtually all Black. In this situation, racist school boards and white voters could underfund the school systems to the point of not providing an education.

Having made an obvious political blunder, Reagan backed off four days later—about a quarter-inch. Claiming that he was firmly opposed to all discrimination against Black people, and school segregation in particular, Reagan said that he would ask Congress to pass legislation mandating the IRS to withhold tax-exempt status from schools that discriminate. But nobody is saying when such a bill will be introduced. And Strom Thurmond, the ultra-conservative senator from South Carolina, whom the administration has never chosen to cross, has already announced he will oppose any bill that penalizes schools that discriminate for "religious reasons."

Meanwhile, and most to the point, Bob Jones and all the segregation academies have their damn exemption. □

OCAW Pact Signals Year of Labor Concessions

The 1982 bargaining round started with a splat this January 11. The leaders of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), the first large union negotiating a contract this year, announced a tentative agreement with Gulf Oil that was far, far below what the union leaders claimed was the minimum they would accept. The agreement at Gulf was reached four days after the old contract had expired, but no strike was called. The Gulf contract will now set the pattern for OCAW's contracts with the other oil companies.

Going into negotiations, OCAW leadership called a substantial wage increase and a no-layoff clause the prerequisites for a new contract. The no-layoff clause was considered an especial concern of Gulf workers because the company recently announced plans to reduce the workforce at its largest plant, in Port Arthur, Texas, by 400 workers. Just two weeks before the agreement, OCAW President Robert Goss said: "The no-layoff clause is the most important part of the contract. . . . Otherwise, we sign a two-year agreement and two months later they shut the plant or sell it and the contract is meaningless."

But the tentative agreement has no job security provision. And the wage increases are only 9 percent this year and 7 percent in 1983, below all but the most optimistic estimates for inflation. "It's the best we could negotiate without a strike," Goss said. "We've made a settlement and we'll have to live with it."

The second big contract of the year is the one for over-the-road truckers: the

Master Freight Agreement (MFA). On January 5, representatives of the trucking industry and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) resumed early negotiations on the new MFA. Reportedly, they are close to an agreement, and will go public with it either after a January 19 IBT executive board meeting or in early February.

The reported agreement would cost thousands of Teamsters their jobs. Currently, over-the-road drivers go from city to city and local drivers then take loads from central depots to the final destination. But according to well-informed sources, the new MFA will allow the trucking companies to force over-the-road drivers to deliver goods directly to the final customer. City drivers all across the country would be laid off.

The straight wage increase is little or nothing, according to reports, and discussions are being held on changing the cost-of-living allowance as well. It might be paid annually instead of twice a year and, on top of that, some health and welfare benefits might be paid out of it as well.

In 1982, 40 percent of all unionized workers will be negotiating new contracts (see box). The first two contracts negotiated have deepened and confirmed the giveback trend we've reported on in the past months. Unless one of the big unions makes some kind of fight, somewhere, sometime, 1982 will turn into a year of labor defeats that will lower the living standards of U.S. workers for years to come. □

Some of the Major Contracts Expiring in 1982

DATE	COMPANY OR INDUSTRY	UNION	# OF WORKERS
March-June	13 textile manufacturers	ACTWU	25,000
March 31	Trucking	Chicago Truck Drivers Union, IBT	300,000
March 31	Metropolitan Transportation Authority (NYC)	TWU, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU)	34,000
March 31	Men's suits and coats	ACTWU	75,000
April 20	Rubber	United Rubber Workers	42,500
April 30	United Parcel Service	IBT	80,000
May 31	Ladies' clothing	ILGWU	85,000
June 28-July 12	GE, Westinghouse	IUE, UE, IBEW	150,000
June 30	Food processing (California)	IBT	35,000
September 14	GM, Ford, Chrysler	UAW, IUE	658,000
September-October	Meat packers	Food and Commercial Workers	50,000
September 1-November 1	Men's pants, shirts	ACTWU	80,000
October 1	Farm and construction implements	UAW	109,000
November 30	Chicago Transit Authority	ATU	11,000
Throughout the Year:	State and local governments	AFSCME, AFT, others	1,900,000
	Construction	Building trades councils	750,000
	Supermarket chains	Food and Commercial Workers, IBT	300,000
	Airlines	IAM	60,000
	Pulp and paper mills	Paper Workers, Western Pulp and Paper Workers, others	43,000

LABOR IN STRUGGLE

PA workers strike over giveback demands

3,700 electrical workers in Wilmerding, Pennsylvania, have been on strike since their contract expired on November 1. The workers, members of the United Electrical Workers Union, are employed by the Westinghouse Air Brake Company and Union Switch and Signal, both divisions of American Standard, Inc. The company is demanding that workers accept a three-year wage freeze and give up seniority rights for skilled jobs.

The company also wants the right to "overhaul" pay incentive plans that have been in the union's contract for 20 years. Such an "overhaul" would permit management to set higher quotas for the incentive plans, forcing workers to choose between pay cuts or speedup. And to head off worker resistance to higher quotas, the company is insisting that the union surrender a contract provision allowing the workers to strike over any action the company takes that affects pay rates.

American Standard claims such measures are necessary because its transportation division suffered a "marked reduction" in operating profits. But it is refusing to open the division's books to the union, and has announced overall profits of \$97.3 million for the first three quarters of 1981. Consequently, union officials scoff at the company's claims, saying: "They're eating caviar, and they put themselves in the soup line at contract time."

This strike is attracting national attention, as its outcome is likely to affect contract negotiations

involving 150,000 electrical workers at General Electric and Westinghouse whose contracts expire this summer. It is also one of the few major struggles by any union recently against company takeback demands.

Death in the mines

Statistics released by the Federal Mine Health and Safety Administration on January 2 reveal that coal miners are paying with their lives for the coal companies' productivity drive. The government reported that 153 coal miners died in accidents in 1981, 20 more than in 1980. The increase took place despite a strike by the United Mine Workers union (UMW) that shut down many mines for 72 days. What is worse, 89 miners died in the last half of 1981, indicating that safety conditions have deteriorated sharply since the UMW strike ended in June.

Starting in the late 1960s and through most of the '70s, rank and file miners organized a series of major wildcat strikes and demonstrations to demand improved mine safety. Their militancy forced the federal government to enact a mine safety act in 1969 that led to a substantial reduction in coal miner deaths. But in recent years coal miners have been losing ground in their fight for safe mines. The number of miners killed in accidents has jumped about 25 percent since 1979, when 115 workers were killed. And the number of workers permanently disabled in mine accidents has been

steadily rising since 1975.

One reason for this increase is the high number of accidents in non-union mines. Although only about one-third of coal miners are non-union, over half the miners killed in 1981 worked in scab mines. For example, 21 of the 27 miners killed in a series of disasters in Eastern coalfields late last year were employed at non-union mines.

The rise in scab coal production is also undercutting the UMW's ability to protect its own members. Over half the coal mined in the U.S. is mined by non-union workers, mainly from Western strip mines. Consequently, the union is steadily losing the power to win mine safety—or much of anything else—by shutting down coal production. Unless the union organizes non-union mines, its very survival may soon be threatened.

Unfortunately, the UMW leadership has all but given up any struggle either to improve safety conditions for its membership, or to organize non-union miners. In 1977-78, miners fought for the right to strike over safety issues. But Arnold Miller, then UMW president, gave up this demand in contract negotiations. In the 1981 negotiations President Sam Church, who replaced Miller in 1979, also refused to make safety demands a major issue. And he granted concessions to the coal companies in the 1981 contract settlement that will give them more freedom to set up scab mines and subcontract work at UMW mines to non-union workers.

—PB

UAW
to

By W.E. SCH

On January 8, Ford bargaining United Auto Workers (UAW) voted to sent contract negotiations immediately of concessions to companies. The tract expires this A new agreement givebacks could early as January

Most autoworkers chance to vote tations. In fact, ties voted against negotiations in a enda last year.

But at the Jan UAW President made sure that tions would pass delegates who opener were ex er. The chairm meeting refused number of local were known opp backs. Amendm terproposals we order. Roll call allowed.

COLA, pers days in jeop

But even so th cant opposition t Independent S Council and passed out leaf early negotiati backs.

"GM and For Chrysler contra Kelly, an officia 160. He was r \$1.068 billion th ers at Chrysler over the last tw

The concessi by the auto con heard of since 1 Citing "excessiv in competition v ese, the compan ing cuts in the wage and benef include the cost- ance, which the l in 1948. They w autoworkers' pa off, and cut and medical ben panies also wan new contract be three years in or all their attacks

Already Am has demanded t defer \$150 mil wage increases a percent of thei And Internatio asking for \$100 cessions.

UAW Leaders Stifle Opposition in Vote to Reopen GM and Ford Contracts

By W.E. SCHWEIZER

On January 8 the GM and Ford bargaining councils of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) voted to junk the present contract and begin negotiations immediately on dozens of concessions demanded by the companies. The present contract expires this September 14. A new agreement containing the givebacks could be reached as early as January 23.

Most autoworkers had no chance to vote on early negotiations. In fact, large majorities voted against reopening negotiations in a few local referenda last year.

But at the January 8 meeting, UAW President Doug Fraser made sure that early negotiations would pass. Canadian GM delegates who opposed a reopener were excluded altogether. The chairman of the GM meeting refused to call on a number of local presidents who were known opponents of givebacks. Amendments and counterproposals were ruled out of order. Roll call votes were not allowed.

COLA, personal days in jeopardy

But even so there was significant opposition to the vote. The Independent Skilled Trades Council and other groups passed out leaflets denouncing early negotiations and givebacks.

"GM and Ford are out for a Chrysler contract," said Pete Kelly, an official of GM Local 160. He was referring to the \$1.068 billion that UAW workers at Chrysler have given up over the last two years.

The concessions demanded by the auto companies are unheard of since the Depression. Citing "excessive" labor costs in competition with the Japanese, the companies are demanding cuts in the UAW's basic wage and benefit rates. These include the cost-of-living allowance, which the UAW pioneered in 1948. They want to eliminate autoworkers' paid personal days off, and cut vacation time and medical benefits. The companies also want to extend the new contract beyond the usual three years in order to carry out all their attacks "legally."

Already American Motors has demanded that its workers defer \$150 million in future wage increases amounting to 10 percent of their current pay. And International Harvester is asking for \$100 million in concessions.



UAW president Doug Fraser (right) hardly looked distressed about reopening auto contracts as he shook hands with Ford management on January 11.

Over the last year the companies softened up the union by waging a fierce series of attacks on local agreements. For example, workers at GM's Clark, N.J., bearing plant took a 25 percent pay cut last fall in a forced buyout after GM threatened to close it. Workers at Ford's Rawsonville, Mich., carburetor plant gave up an estimated \$25 million in local contract benefits after Ford threatened to move the work to Japan. A similar threat last fall forced still more concessions at Ford's Livonia and Sterling Heights, Mich., transmission plants.

The U.S. auto industry has been in a deep crisis since 1979, a crisis that is now spreading to all sectors of U.S. capitalism. Domestic car sales have plunged from over nine million units in 1978 to 6.2 million last year, the worst since 1961.

At the same time, the companies have been forced to plunge into a multibillion dollar retooling program to produce long-overdue small cars. As a result, profits have collapsed. Chrysler has wobbled on the edge of bankruptcy for three years. Last year, U.S. auto companies lost an estimated \$1.4 billion. Even giant GM is having trouble with its cash flow; Moody's bond rating service recently downgraded the quality of its debt.

The long auto crisis marks the end of the industry's prosperity, when it rode the long postwar boom of U.S. capitalism. From 1945 until the mid-'70s, the industry followed a strategy of building the large cars which were an integral part of the U.S.'s huge, suburban expansion. The UAW rode this prosperity as well, demanding—and winning—many contract provisions which were pacesetters for U.S. labor.

Last fall the auto crisis intensified as the companies tried to hold up their profits by laying

off tens of thousands more workers. This further demoralized and divided the workforce, which already was shell-shocked from attacks. For example, one effect has been to divide older workers, who want to keep what they've fought for, from younger workers, many of whom think giving concessions will save jobs.

"Some want to reopen the contract to save jobs," one 17-year veteran of Ford told the *Torch/La Antorcha*. He is a body shop assembler at the Metuchen, N.J., plant. "That's like 15 steps back and one step forward."

Do concessions save jobs?

The notion that granting concessions will save jobs is a trap. In the first place, almost the entire world capitalist economy is falling apart. In these conditions cars still won't sell—and jobs will continue to vanish—despite contract concessions.

Second, there is no guarantee the companies will invest the money they save in new jobs. As

part of their massive retooling program, the companies plan to install thousands of robots, wiping out additional thousands of auto jobs. If the UAW agrees to concessions, auto workers will in fact be financing the elimination of their own jobs.

And there is no guarantee that the companies will even put the money back into car production. Capitalists invest their money in whatever is most profitable, not necessarily in what is good for the masses of people. Therefore, there is nothing to prevent the auto companies from using any money saved from concessions to buy oil companies or speculate in real estate, casinos, gold, or anything else which is profitable but non-productive.

Several years ago U.S. Steel workers in Youngstown, Ohio, got a taste of what concessions mean. In 1978 the company demanded that the workers take a pay cut or else the mill would be shut. Reluctantly, the workers made the concessions.

One year later U.S. Steel closed the mill anyway, throwing thousands out of work. Today, after that shutdown and others, Youngstown is in a depression. U.S. Steel, meanwhile, has just used some of the money extorted from its workers not to reinvest in more steel jobs, but to buy out the Marathon Oil Company for \$6.2 billion.

The auto companies say they can't compete against imported—mainly Japanese—cars unless they reduce their costs. They have been claiming that the Japanese companies pay their workers only \$12 per hour while the "excessive" UAW contract forces them to pay \$20 per hour in wages and benefits.

The figures are a distortion. First, they don't include at all one huge benefit which Japanese autoworkers get: virtual lifetime guarantees of jobs. Second, other independent stud-

ies show the difference to be smaller than what the companies claim. In any case, the figures largely come from the companies' books, which are not open to workers for independent confirmation.

Also, the actions of the companies themselves indicate that the cost differentials are not as wide as they seem. In 1980, GM boasted of its marketing program to sell new power steering pumps, headlamps, hydraulic valve lifters and electric door locks to the Japanese car companies.

Japanese factories more modern

The main cost difference between the U.S. and Japanese auto companies, however, is not labor. The Japanese have built modern, highly productive plants run by a few low-paid managers, which produce well-made, fuel-efficient cars. Using modern equipment producing small engines, for example, a Japanese engine plant is 2.5 to 3 times more productive than a U.S. factory. "When you have productivity like that, wages hardly matter," comments one U.S. auto consultant.

On the other hand, the U.S. companies kept investing their capital in traditional, increasingly obsolete big car lines, even after the price of oil soared in 1973. And in contrast to their lean Japanese counterparts, the U.S. companies loaded themselves with bureaucracy. Ford, for example, struggles under 12 layers of management; Toyota has only seven. And a U.S. auto executive gets three to four times the compensation of his Japanese counterpart.

Also, to some extent, the U.S. companies are simply crying crocodile tears. The reason is that they have a stake in the

(Continued on page 16)



In 1980 Ford Chairman Philip Caldwell (with tie) and workers at the company's Metuchen, N.J., plant celebrated production of the first "world car" that was supposed to revive Ford sales. But last month Ford laid off the entire night shift at Metuchen.



WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Coup overthrows government in Ghana

On December 31 a military coup in Ghana overthrew the government of President Hilla Limann. A Provisional National Defense Council led by former flight lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings now rules the country. The council has suspended Ghana's constitution, banned all political parties, and jailed Limann and more than 100 officials from Limann's People's National Party.

The coup marks the fourth government to take power in Ghana in less than three years. In June 1979 Rawlings and other junior military officers overthrew General Frederick Akuffo's military regime and set up an Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) that ruled Ghana for 112 days. During this period Rawlings reportedly won widespread popularity for his campaigns to hold down prices and eliminate "kalabule"—the notorious system of corruption and profiteering by government and business leaders.

In September 1979 the AFRC held elections and, a month later, turned power over to Limann, who had won the elections. But Limann's government soon lost support as prices zoomed upward again and corruption ran unchecked, leading to strikes by sailors, miners, and other workers within months after he took office. The Limann regime also angered junior officers by dismissing Rawlings from the army in November 1979 and later harassing him and his supporters. As a result, Rawlings was able to resume power with relatively little resistance.

The political turmoil in Ghana reflects the country's near total economic collapse. Prices have gone up over 900 percent since 1977, and basic goods like bread cost one and a half times the daily minimum wage. Other food items like sugar and rice have disappeared from the markets. Meanwhile, Ghana's largely nationalized industry is running at only 10-20 percent of capacity.

Rawlings has promised to work for "nothing less than a revolution—something that will transform the social and economic order." The ruling council has seized the assets of many political and business leaders, and has sworn to "closely examine" foreign investments in Ghana. But it is also telling business leaders they should "entertain no fears" as long as they remain law abiding.

Rawlings' "revolution" will apparently follow the model of Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi's radical capitalist regime. Rawlings himself is an open admirer of Qaddafi. He has already announced that the council will set up "people's committees" like those in Libya to monitor the economy and "re-educate" the people. And the council's first foreign policy action was to resume diplomatic relations with the Libyan government, which had been broken off by Limann.

FMLN advances in El Salvador

On January 13, the Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (FMLN—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) announced it had captured the town of Jocaitique in northern El Salvador. Earlier on January 2 the FMLN, which leads the armed struggle against President José Napoleón Duarte's pro-U.S. regime, blew up electrical installations, causing a nationwide blackout.

Despite massive U.S. military aid, the Salvadorean army has been unable to defeat the FMLN. In an effort to strengthen the army and achieve a military victory against the FMLN, the Reagan administration has begun training Salvadorean troops at military bases in the U.S. The first of these troops arrived at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, on January 11. All told, 1,000 Salvadorean soldiers are scheduled to come to Fort Bragg for training by mid-February. In addition, 600 officers will be trained at Fort Benning, Georgia, starting January 26.

Anti-imperialist groups in the U.S. have condemned the administration's action as "a marked escalation of U.S. intervention in the affairs of El Salvador." Several hundred demonstrators massed outside Fort Bragg on January 11 to protest the training program. Similar demonstrations took place in New York and other cities. The protests were sponsored by the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador.

Socialist Groups Organize to Defend Solidarity, Expose U.S. Hypocrisy

Socialists have a particularly important role to play in supporting the Polish workers. The workers' movement in Poland is being snuffed out by a regime that claims it is acting in the name of socialism. This discredits the very idea of socialism in the minds of many working people. At the same time, the U.S. ruling class is hypocritically claiming to support the struggles of the Polish workers, further confusing people about what the real issues are.

This means that socialists have two important tasks. First, we must combat the lie that General Jaruzelski and his secret police are representatives of socialism. Nothing could be

massive U.S. military buildup. Thus, while the U.S. ruling class screams about Russian interference in Poland, Secretary of State Alexander Haig threatens U.S. military action against Cuba and Nicaragua. And, for all the pious words about human rights violations, it is the U.S. imperialists who are sending money, arms and military personnel to the reactionary, ruthless right-wing dictatorship in El Salvador.

Much of the U.S. ruling class, for all its noise about the "Polish tragedy," in fact supports the crackdown in Poland. U.S. capitalists don't like to see workers get too "uppity" anywhere. In particular, U.S. bank-

tions, pickets, rallies, teach-ins and other educational events, we must explain what socialism really means and why Poland's rulers have nothing in common with the battle for workers' freedom. At the same time, we must explain why Reagan and the entire U.S. capitalist class are the enemies of U.S. workers, the Polish workers and working people throughout the world. Finally, we must make clear that the Polish workers and U.S. workers have a common struggle and a common enemy—for socialist revolution—against worldwide capitalism.

Many socialist groups in the U.S. responded quickly to the martial law crackdown in Poland by organizing demonstrations and other activities in support of the Polish workers. In some cities, ongoing coalitions have been formed and further support work is planned.

DETROIT: Socialists rallied on December 15, two days after the imposition of martial law in Poland. A lunch-time picket drew 65 people, including supporters of the International Socialist Organization, Revolutionary Workers League, Muslim Student Society, International Socialists, News and Letters, the RSL and individuals active in the anti-draft, anti-war and El Salvador-support movements.

In a press release, the sponsors of the Detroit picket stressed that the struggle of the Polish workers for bread and

SOLIDARNOŚĆ!

further from the truth. Socialists stand on the side of working and oppressed people struggling for their rights and freedom—not on the side of those crushing such struggles. Through our solidarity work, we must rescue the idea of socialism from those perverting it and explain to as many people as possible what socialism really is.

Second, socialists, particularly socialists in the U.S., have a special responsibility to expose the maneuvers of Reagan and the U.S. ruling class. Reagan's support for the Polish workers is sheer hypocrisy—after all, this is the man who fired the air traffic controllers and busted their union. Reagan's use of the Polish situation to make easy propaganda points is just a cover for stepped-up capitalist attacks on U.S. workers and workers around the world.

On the one hand, Reagan hopes to divert attention away from a rapidly deteriorating U.S. economy—and a growing awareness that his "give-to-the-rich, take-from-the-poor" policies are a sham. On the other, he is using the Polish situation as added fuel for a

ers are letting it be known privately that they welcome the "stability" martial law has brought to Poland. Says one top Citibank executive: "Who knows which political system works? The only thing we care about is: Can they pay their bills?"

Socialists need to wage an aggressive, highly visible campaign to expose the lies of both the Polish bosses and the U.S. bosses. Through demonstra-



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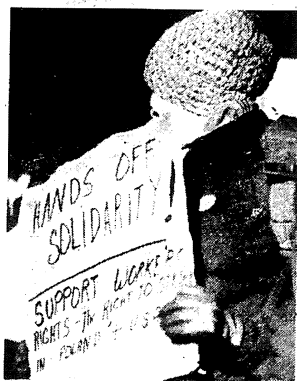
es protested martial law

freedom was the same as the struggle in the U.S. against budget cuts, racism and government union-busting.

Several groups involved in organizing the Detroit demonstration are planning a teach-in for February 20. The event will include sessions on the history of Poland and the Solidarity movement, the international context of the Polish workers' movement and a panel discussion on the lessons of the Polish events. (For more details, please contact the Detroit RSL.)

NEW YORK: 200 demonstrators marched in front of the Polish Consulate on December 16. The spirited picket line called for support to Solidarity and an end to the martial law repression. In addition, demonstrators voiced their support for PATCO workers and the right to strike in the U.S., hitting out at Reagan's claims to be a "friend" of the Polish workers or workers anywhere. The demonstrators also chanted "Russia Out of Poland! U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

The NY picket was organized by the Ad Hoc Coalition to Support Solidarity. Participants include: Workers Power, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Socialist Party, Libertarian Workers Group,



Demonstrator at Polish consulate in NY, December 16.

Solidarity Support Campaign, International Socialists, News and Letters, the RSL and a number of trade unionists, peace activists and feminists.

CHICAGO: A small group of demonstrators braved cold, rainy weather to rally outside the Polish Consulate on December 20. Organized by U.S. Socialists in Support of Solidarity, the picket called for victory to Solidarity, no Soviet or U.S. intervention, and freedom for prisoners arrested in the crackdown. The demonstration also attacked the role of U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean. Participants included: the RSL, So-

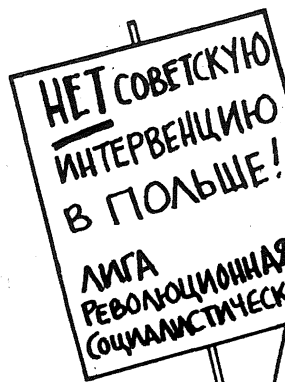
journer Truth Organization, Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, News and Letters and the Solidarity Socialist-Feminist Network.

BAY AREA: Rallying around the slogans: "Defend Solidarity—Lift Martial Law," "Defend Trade Union Rights in Poland and El Salvador" and "Russia Out of Poland, U.S. Out of El Salvador," 500 demonstrators ringed San Francisco's Union Square on December 22. The rally concluded a week of actions organized by the Bay Area Solidarity Support Committee, including a December 14 demonstration of 150 people and a December 18 indoor rally of 250 Solidarity supporters.

The Bay Area Committee will continue to link the defense of the Polish workers with opposition to U.S. imperialism by building a contingent for the January 23 mass El Salvador support march organized by CISPE (Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador). Additional plans include an all-day teach-in on the lessons of the Polish struggle, scheduled for February.

LOS ANGELES: 250 people rallied in MacArthur Park on January 10 in support of the Polish workers. The rally was organized by a socialist coal-

ition made up of over 15 organizations. Slogans of the rally linked the struggle in Poland and El Salvador and called for self-determination for women and support for the international peace movement. The LA coalition also declared: "There is no socialism without democracy—no democracy without socialism." □



RSL signs in Polish (top): "For Freedom and Socialism in Poland and the U.S." and in Russian: "No Soviet Intervention in Poland."

SWP Abstains From Polish Support Work

One of the more interesting developments within the Solidarity-support movement in the U.S. was the absence of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) from all active solidarity work.

For months, the SWP has presented itself as a champion of the Polish workers (to the point of cheering on Lech Wałęsa without once commenting on his reformist strategy). Following the imposition of martial law, SWP members around the country even attended meetings of socialist support coalitions. All of a sudden, however, the SWP withdrew their supporters from these committees and began to attack socialist supporters of the Polish workers.

An article in the *Militant*, the SWP's newspaper, went so far as to suggest that the December 16 picket organized by socialist groups in NY, was no different from various activities organized by right-wing, pro-U.S. imperialist forces. In this rather confused polemic, the *Militant* acknowledged that the socialist demonstrators raised chants attacking U.S. imperialism and Reagan's hypocritical claims to support the Polish workers, but at the same time it argued that since the media had not clearly reported the anti-imperialist slogans, the demonstration shouldn't have been held in the first place. (*Militant*, 12/25/81.)

This is strange reasoning indeed! The bourgeois media usually distorts the activities of socialists. If we were to follow the *Militant's* logic, socialists ought never to do anything publicly. Instead we should stay indoors, safely out of the reach of possible media

distortion.

If there is a serious argument here at all, it is that socialists cannot campaign to defend the Polish workers without being identified with right-wing, anti-socialist forces. But this stands things on their head.

The fact is that if socialists do not publicize their support for the Polish workers as widely as possible, it will appear that **only** the right wing defends the Polish workers. This will make it all the easier for anti-socialist forces to claim that socialists are on the side of Poland's rulers (as, unfortunately, more than a few are). Moreover, if socialists do not wage a public campaign to expose the hypocritical maneuvers of the U.S. ruling class, who will? Certainly not the right wing. It is our task to link our support for the Polish workers with our



Tanks are being used to suppress the Polish workers. What does the SWP say we should do about this? Nothing!

opposition to U.S. capitalism and U.S. imperialism.

Reports indicate that there are SWP members who agree with what we are saying here. In all probability, the article in the *Militant* was not meant as an attack on the socialist left as much as a club for the SWP leadership to use against its own members.

The root of the SWP's contradictory attitude toward defending the Polish workers lies in its view that Poland is a "workers' state." Such a theory can only lead to confusion—at best. In fact, most groups on the U.S. left with the view that Poland is some form of a socialist society or a workers' state (for example, the Communist Party, Workers World Party and the Spartacist League), are 100 percent for the suppression of the Polish workers. The SWP, however, caught between the Polish workers and the "workers' state" that is crushing them, is trying desperately to balance between supporting both the workers in Poland and the state they rose up against.

In addition to this theoretical muddle, the SWP has a somewhat more practical problem. For the past two years, it has championed the revolutionary virtues of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua. The SWP, which calls itself Trotskyist, maintains that it shares the same point of view and perspectives as Castro and the Sandinistas. Despite the fact that Castro has long denounced Trotskyism and is closely identified with the Russian Stalinists, the SWP claims that both Castro and the Sandinistas are "Trot-

skyists in practice." Moreover, the SWP has even adopted a perspective of seeking to merge with these forces to form one common international revolutionary party.

Unfortunately for the SWP leadership, the Cuban government has responded to the events in Poland by reprinting Soviet news agency dispatches—and nothing else. Needless to say, Tass dispatches do not speak highly of the Polish workers' movement.

And the Sandinistas? An article in the January 6 *New York Times* reports that *Barricada*, the official Sandinista newspaper, has hailed the imposition of martial law as "the salvation" of Poland. *Barricada* has also run articles depicting Lech Wałęsa as a "no-account worker who was always getting dismissed from jobs until he finally obtained full-time employment with the Central Intelligence Agency."

Clearly, the Sandinistas have a considerably lower opinion of Wałęsa than does the SWP leadership.

It is not surprising that a group with a highly contradictory theory and a political perspective hardly rooted in reality (the formation of a "Trotskyist in practice" international party made up of Fidel Castro, the Sandinistas and the SWP), has wound up with such a confused, back-and-forth point of view on the practical and highly important task of defending the Polish workers. Those in the SWP who do support the Polish workers and are yearning to put this support into practice should seriously examine the theory and perspectives of the SWP leadership. □

By ROD MILLER
and RON TABER

All available information indicates that the Polish working class has suffered a major defeat. While some resistance to martial law may continue, there is no question but that General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the group of military and party leaders now running Poland will triumph—at least for the immediate future.

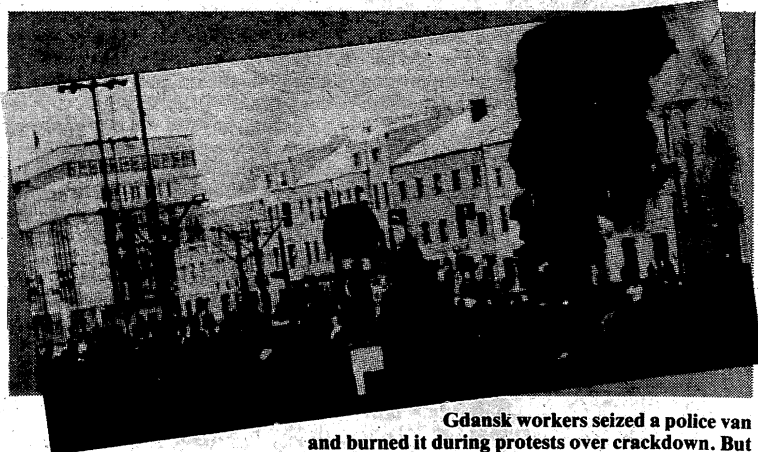
It is possible that some sort of agreement may be worked out among elements of Solidarity, the Catholic Church, the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP—the Polish Communist Party) and the martial law regime under the heading of a “reform compromise.” But deal or no, the reality is that the political rights and independent organizations won by Polish workers, farmers and students following the nation-shaking events of Gdansk, August 1980, have been snatched away. While the ruling junta may make concessions and promise certain restricted rights in order to appear to fulfill Jaruzelski’s pledge “never to return to the false methods and practices from before August 1980,” these will merely be the maneuvers of a highly discredited ruling group seeking to build a degree of popular support from an almost uniformly hostile population.

But the defeat of the Polish workers’ movement is not total. Solidarity has not been completely crushed and the ruling regime is far from secure. Moreover, the Polish economy is in desperate straits, further undermining the government’s ability to stabilize its rule. Thus the Polish workers, who have revolted time and again—in 1956, in 1970, in 1976 and now in 1980-81—will certainly rise up again.

In this context, Polish workers, along with socialists everywhere, need to draw the necessary lessons from the movement of the past 17 months to be able to apply them to the battles of the future.

POLAND IS NOT A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

On August 14, 1980, Polish workers occupied the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. They were soon joined by more than 350,000 workers—coal miners, copper miners, steelworkers, autoworkers, textile workers—in a near-nation-wide general strike.



Gdansk workers seized a police van and burned it during protests over crackdown. But Polish workers were not well-prepared to resist martial law.



The central demands of the striking workers? A wage increase and improved medical care. The right to strike. The right to organize. The right to publish political views. A voice in the running of the economy. In short, Polish workers were demanding many of the most basic rights workers have fought for everywhere for more than a century.

On the most empirical level, therefore, it would seem obvious that Poland is, in no sense a socialist country. As the Solidarity movement made clear, workers in Poland lack the most basic democratic rights such as the right to free speech and political organization; they lack elementary trade union rights such as the right to strike and the right to form independent (non-state-sponsored) unions; and they certainly do not rule the country.

Despite all this, it is not possible to prove that Poland is not a socialist country. For this is ultimately a question of one’s basic definition. Someone who defines socialism purely and simply as a society in which the state owns the major means of production—regardless of whether the workers have any rights, let alone power—will look at Poland and see... socialism.

Our definition is different. We see socialism as a society in which the capitalist class has been overthrown, its state smashed, and working people, directly, consciously and cooperatively, organize economic, social and political life through mass democratic institutions, such as unions, councils and cooperatives. This was Marx and En-

LESSONS OF THE POLISH WORKERS' STRUGGLES

gels’ definition of socialism—time and again these two founders of the revolutionary socialist movement argued that socialism was not the mere substitution of state ownership and control for private, individual ownership. Nor did they view socialism as simply a technical rearrangement of traditional capitalist economic relations, creating a supposedly more “rational,” “efficient” or “productive” society.

Rather, Marx and Engels described socialism as the unleashing of the creative potential of the mass of humanity through the act of working people themselves taking hold of the society and consciously organizing it in their own interests. They rejected any notion that a benevolent elite could do this “for” or “in the interests of” the toiling masses.

• Poland: a state-capitalist society

Far from being “socialist” or “communist,” Polish society is in fact a form of capitalism—state capitalism. Capitalism is defined most fundamentally by the fact that it is an exploitative society in which the producing class—the working class, or proletariat—is totally separated from and has no control over the means of production (the factories, mines, mills, means of transportation and communication, etc.).

In capitalist society, workers have no choice but to sell their labor-power, their ability to work, to a tiny elite, the capitalist class that owns and/or controls the means of production. The workers are paid wages which they must use to buy the food, clothes and other items they need to survive.

The difference between the total value the workers produce and what they receive in wages is appropriated (taken) by those who control the means of production. The capitalists consume some of this surplus value themselves; however, most of it is reinvested in the production process to build up and modernize the means of production. In other words, the majority of the surplus is accumulated.

In traditional capitalist societies, the means of production are owned privately by individuals, corporations and other institutions. (Even in these countries, much of the capital is not, strictly

speaking, privately owned. In Britain and France, for example, the state owns major sectors of the economy. And in the United States, where direct state ownership is relatively limited, much of the stock of the major corporations is, surprisingly, not owned by the capitalists. It is owned by the workers themselves, through their pension funds. Clearly, what really matters is not who technically owns the capital, but who controls it.)

In the countries we call state-capitalist (the so-called socialist and communist countries), the state owns the major means of production. But the state itself is not controlled by the workers; rather, the means of production and the state are controlled by a tiny political and military elite which rules through the Communist parties, the army and various other organizations controlled by the Party.

This elite, or state-capitalist class, exploits the workers in the same basic manner as the traditional capitalists: The workers sell their labor-power to the state enterprises for wages; the surplus they create in the production process is appropriated by the state-capitalist class. Some of this surplus is distributed among the individual state capitalists (bureaucrats) for their private consumption. Party bigwigs, for example, enjoy private villas, private and state cars for their personal use, access to special shops where items not available to working people can be purchased, etc. But most of the surplus, as under traditional capitalism, is normally reinvested to build up and modernize the means of production (and to build up the state apparatus—the police, army, etc.) and to increase the power of the ruling class against both its own workers and the ruling classes of other countries.

Briefly, this describes Polish society as well as, with modifications, the countries in the rest of Eastern Europe, Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc. It is this analysis that explains why Polish workers rose up against the state, against the party and against the Russian government (without which the Polish state capitalists could not remain in power), to fight for their rights and to actually control Polish society. It explains why the Polish economy, like the economies of most countries around the world, is in an acute and deepening crisis. And, finally, it explains why the

Polish ruling class, along with their Russian backers and overlords, has moved to crush the Polish workers—the very class it claims to represent.

REVOLUTION IS NEEDED

Writing on Poland a little over a year ago, we noted:

“Among those praising the struggles of the Polish workers have been reformists and social democrats of various kinds. They have pointed to the victories of the workers as proof of the viability of a reformist perspective for transforming society, both within Western capitalist countries and in the Stalinist, state-capitalist societies.”

We rejected the reformist view, saying the Polish events “prove nothing of the kind.” We added, however, “unfortunately, this may only become apparent after the Polish workers have suffered a profound defeat at the hands of a ruling class hell-bent on reconsolidating its power.”

If a reform strategy could win anywhere, it was in Poland. There are several reasons for this. First, the ruling group, the PUWP, lacked any significant degree of support among the Polish people. Its rule was established with the aid of the bayonets of Russian troops in the aftermath of World War II and it has remained in power largely because of Russian backing.

Second, virtually the entire Polish working class was loyal to and organized in Solidarity. With 10 million members out of a working class estimated at 16 million, and with the support of broad layers of students, intellectuals, farmers (organized into Rural Solidarity) and even members of the PUWP itself, Solidarity clearly had the support of a huge percentage of Poland’s 36 million people.

Finally, the Russian state capitalists were in a weak position to intervene militarily in Poland. The Russian army is already stretched thin (millions of troops are stationed on the Chinese border and nearly 100,000 Russian soldiers are trying, unsuccessfully, to “pacify” the Afghan people) and the Soviet rulers desperately desire to maintain trade with and loans from the

OF THE WORKERS' GLLES

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Polish ruling class, along with their
Russian backers and overlords, has
moved to crush the Polish workers—the
very class it claims to represent.

REVOLUTION IS NEEDED

Writing on Poland a little over a year
ago, we noted:

**"Among those praising the struggles
of the Polish workers have been reform-
ists and social democrats of various
kinds. They have pointed to the victories
of the workers as proof of the viability
of a reformist perspective for transform-
ing society, both within Western capital-
ist countries and in the Stalinist, state-
capitalist societies."**

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the Polish events "prove nothing of the
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soldiers are trying, unsuccessfully, to
"pacify" the Afghan people) and the
Soviet rulers desperately desire to main-
tain trade with and loans from the

Western capitalist countries. As a result,
the Russians were extremely reluctant to
invade Poland (as they did Hungary in
1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968) to
stamp out the popular insurrection.

If a reform strategy did not work
under these circumstances, under what
circumstances could it be successful?

• Must smash state apparatus

The essential problem with trying to
reform the Polish system is that such a
strategy leaves untouched the basic
foundations of the state capitalists'
rule—the state itself, and in particular
its repressive apparatus (the prisons,
police and army).

Under pressure, a given ruling class
can give up almost anything and still
retain or recapture ultimate power—as
long as it maintains its control over the
police and the army. The Polish workers
and farmers virtually prevented the
PUWP from governing Poland for
nearly 16 months. Yet, as long as the
police and army remained intact, along
with the rest of the state apparatus (the
bureaucracy), the state capitalists were
still the ruling class and the workers' and
farmers' gains were not secure. This was
amply demonstrated in the events of the
last month and a half.

The only way that the workers and the
rest of the Polish people could have
permanently secured their gains and won
control over their country was by over-
throwing the Polish state capitalists,
smashing their state—including and in
particular the police and the army—and
establishing their own class rule based
on their own democratic organizations,
first and foremost Solidarity itself,
along with other formations such as
community councils, cooperatives, asso-
ciations of students and professionals, a
workers' militia, etc.

In short, a socialist revolution was
needed.

• Immediate insurrection not the issue

We are not arguing here that such a
workers' revolution—an actual insurrec-
tion—was possible at any given point
during the past 17 months. This is
impossible to determine with any cer-
tainty, in part because we are writing
from afar, but more importantly be-
cause one cannot say what "might have
been" had the forces committed to such
a revolutionary perspective been present
and active throughout the Polish events.

What we are saying is this: Not only
did the reform strategy of Solidarity
leader Lech Walesa and his moderate
allies fail to win significant permanent
gains for the Polish workers, it actually
disarmed them by leading them to
believe that their goals could be won
peacefully and through reform.

The essential point, then, is that by
following a reform strategy, the Polish
workers were not preparing for a revolu-
tion—even if the conditions for such a
revolution had not yet matured. More-
over, this meant that the Polish workers
were not prepared to defend themselves
against inevitable repression, since there
was a widespread belief that funda-

mental, far-reaching and permanent
reforms would be tolerated by Poland's
rulers.

• Regionwide revolution

Those who defend the strategy of the
Solidarity moderates point to the fact
that any revolutionary attempt on the
part of the Polish workers would have
led inevitably to an invasion by the
Warsaw Pact armies (Russian troops
primarily, supplemented with East Ger-
man, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian
and Bulgarian soldiers) and thus the
brutal crushing of the Poles.

This argument is false. Again, the
issue is not whether or not an invasion
would have taken place during the past
17 months. Rather, the question is
whether or not the breathing space of
the past year should have been used to
prepare for a future regionwide revolu-
tion.

In our view, a strategy of regionwide
revolution is a viable one. In fact, as the
worldwide capitalist crisis deepens, it will
become increasingly so. Already, the
economies of Czechoslovakia, Roma-
nia, Bulgaria and Russia itself are facing
mounting difficulties. Growth rates and

to smash widespread rebellions in East-
ern Europe.

Moreover, with their own economy in
terrible shape, the Russian state capital-
ists are likely to have enough to do to
keep the Russian workers from revolt-
ing, perhaps forestalling an invasion al-
together. Even if it didn't, there is the
likelihood that widespread discontent
among the Russian soldiers would make
them hesitant to fire on their sister and
brother workers.

No one, certainly not ourselves at any
rate, can argue that such a strategy will
lead to certain victory. What we can and
do argue is that a reform strategy—in
Poland, just as in the U.S.—will lead to
certain defeat, while an internationalist
revolutionary strategy offers the only
hope for working and oppressed people
to liberate themselves from the shackles
of both capitalism and state capitalism.

POLISH WORKERS NEED TO BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

A successful revolution in Poland will
not be possible unless Polish workers
build a revolutionary party. Before we

explain why this is so, we
would like to briefly de-
scribe what we think a
revolutionary party would
do. This is important be-
cause so-called revolu-
tionary parties have served
for decades as the instru-
ments of state-capitalist
(Stalinist) rule, profoundly
distorting the original
Leninist conception.

• Tasks of the party

The purpose of a revolu-
tionary party is not to
seize power behind the
backs of the workers. Nor
is it to rule in place
of—supposedly "for"—
the workers themselves.

Rather, a revolutionary party, a party
made up of the most revolutionary-
minded workers, would fight to con-
vince the rest of the workers of the need
to carry out a socialist revolution—that
is, for the workers themselves to seize
power, get rid of the capitalists, smash
the oppressive, bureaucratic state and
build a true workers' state based on the
workers' own democratic organizations.

In the course of an actual revolution,
a revolutionary party would seek to
organize the workers, unite them nation-
ally and unite the other oppressed people
of society, such as the farmers, behind
the workers. Such a party would not
seek to rule society by itself, but would
organize within the workers' organiza-
tions—within Solidarity, for example—
for those policies necessary to consoli-
date the workers' rule and build a truly
socialist society. It would also seek,
(Continued on next page)



**Hungarian workers took up
arms against Russian invasion
in 1956.**

living standards are declining and most
of these countries are heavily in debt
(about \$80 billion worth) to Western
banks and governments.

More important still, there are signs
of an upswing in the level of struggle and
combativeness of the working classes of
many of the Eastern European coun-
tries. Just as with the crisis of the
traditional capitalist countries, the crisis
in the state-capitalist economies is not
going away in the coming few years. As
it deepens and spreads, it will lay the
basis for massive popular uprisings
against these oppressive police regimes.

In the coming period, then, there will
be the material basis for regionwide
working class revolutions that overthrow
the state-capitalist classes and build truly
socialist societies. Such an approach will
have a real chance of winning because it
will be difficult for the Russians to
mobilize the necessary number of troops

(Continued from previous page)

wherever possible, to work with other parties and organizations which support the workers' insurrection, including those that represent non-working class sections of the population.

• Leadership and organization

Why is such a party essential? First and foremost, because the overwhelming majority of workers (in Poland and elsewhere) will never automatically and all at the same time come to recognize the need for a revolution. Some will see things clearer and sooner; others might support such a revolution, but not see how it would be carried out; still others might only be won to the idea of the workers actually overthrowing the capitalists during the course of an uprising itself.

Preparing for a revolution, however, cannot wait until the day that all the workers in, say, a mass organization such as Solidarity, recognize its necessity. Therefore, a revolutionary party is needed to bring together the most class conscious, militant, and revolutionary-minded workers, those who see the need to begin to organize now, so that a successful revolution may be possible in the future.

Such a party would be a well-organized and democratic organization that would explain to other workers what is happening at any given time. It would expose the tricks the ruling class uses

In Poland this past year, the most revolutionary workers should have attempted to organize a political grouping within Solidarity. Its key task would have been to "patiently explain" why a revolution was necessary.

to maintain its power. And it would reveal the maneuvers of those within the workers' movement who wish to hold back the struggle.

In Poland this past year, the most revolutionary workers should have attempted to organize a political grouping (a tendency or faction) within Solidarity, based firmly in the local unions and factories. From this position, it could have fought to extend its influence and leadership, both at the local level and at higher levels of Solidarity, on the basis of its revolutionary program.

Its key task would have been "to patiently explain" (as Lenin described the tasks of the Bolshevik Party in the early months of the Russian Revolution of 1917) to the workers why a revolution was necessary. In other words, it would have tried to break the workers' illusions in the viability of the reform strategy put forward by Walesa and his allies, which was based on a utopian program of a sharing of power between the Polish state capitalists and Solidarity.

This would not have meant advocating that the workers seize power immediately. It would have meant trying to convince the workers of the need to take advantage of their newly won freedom and power to prepare for a revolution in the future, including



Mass workers demonstration during 1917 Russian revolution.

building an underground network of organizations and activists with effective communication links, setting up clandestine printing operations, securing arms and attempting to build ties with the workers and other dissident elements in the other state-capitalist countries.

Above all, the task of this party would have been to organize and train a cadre of revolutionaries who were committed to pursuing a revolutionary strategy in Poland and who were capable of surviving the crackdown that was so

bankrupt economy into a healthy functioning organism.

But they can't do this. Polish state capitalism is sick and getting sicker, along with the other state-capitalist and regular capitalist economies. This deepening, worldwide capitalist crisis will create the basis for new and even more militant struggles, not only in Poland but elsewhere, in the future.

Revolutionaries should not give up hope; they should not despair because the Polish workers have been temporarily set back. Nor should they resign themselves to choosing either traditional capitalism or state capitalism as "better," "more efficient," or "easier to change."

The task is to learn from the past and present in order to prepare for the future; to study the recent events in Poland and digest their lessons, some of which we have discussed, if only sketchily, above.

We should see the events of the past year and a half in Poland as the "Polish 1905." In Russia, a revolution took place in 1905 which, as it turned out, was a "dress rehearsal" for the revolution 12 years later. In 1905, the crisis of international capitalism (which later took the form of worldwide imperialist war, World War I) was not yet mature.

Within Russia itself, the people were not strong enough or politically conscious enough to overthrow the Tsar and set up a revolutionary regime. The working class was still small and young. Many workers, and even more peasants,

had illusions in the Tsar, considering him to be their "Little Father." Moreover, the Russo-Japanese War, the conflict that actually set the stage for the revolution, did not have the disintegrating impact on the army and the rest of Russian society that World War I was to have later.

In these conditions, the army—the ultimate basis of power of the Tsar, the autocracy and Russian society as a whole—remained intact, capable of stopping the popular movement and smashing its local and national organizations. Above all, there was no large and well-organized revolutionary party prepared to fight for a revolutionary strategy and lead the workers and peasants in a national insurrection.

The Bolshevik (Leninist) faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party did its best to pursue a revolutionary approach, including carrying out an armed insurrection in Moscow, based on its own working class fighting organizations, that lasted over a week. Unfortunately, its own numerical and organizational weakness and its relative political immaturity, in the context of the adverse circumstances described above, prevented this revolutionary attempt from being successful.

But the Bolsheviks learned the lessons of the 1905 revolution. They set out to organize, steel and politically prepare themselves for the new revolution they were sure would come in the future. When the workers rose up and overthrew the Tsar in February 1917, the Bolsheviks managed (with the insistent prodding of Lenin) to be ready. After seven months of "patiently explaining" and exposing the maneuvers of those who—like Alexander Kerensky—tried to stop the revolution part way, they led the workers in the successful October Revolution which set up a revolutionary workers' government. (How and why that revolution ultimately failed has been discussed in these pages in the past and, in any case, is beyond the scope of the present article.)

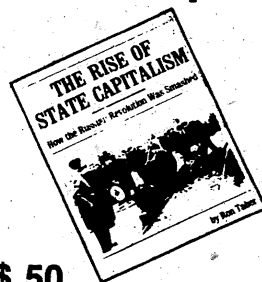
Today, world capitalism is once again falling apart. A new era of worldwide working class revolutions is in the offing. Given the growth of capitalism since 1917 and the expansion of the working class, the chances of successful revolutions, revolutions that create true socialist societies, run by and for all working and oppressed people, are greater than ever. The recent class battles in Poland—even with the temporary setback—may well signal that this new stage of revolutionary working class struggle has begun. □

• Looking to the future

But the heroic struggles of the Polish workers and farmers are not over. Almost the entirety of the Polish people oppose, if not hate, the present state-capitalist regime.

Although General Jaruzelski and his cronies may succeed in stamping out active opposition for a time, they will not be able to win the minds and hearts of the Polish people. This would be true even if the regime could turn Poland's

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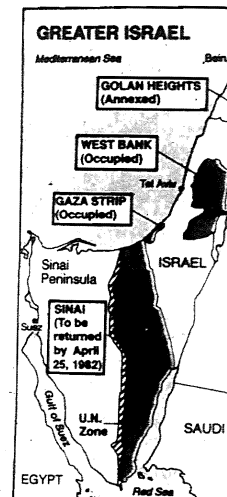
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By PAUL BENJA

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A warning to Reagan

The Begin governme never made any secret desire to annex the Heights; it even includ annexation plank in its pl for Israel's national el last June. But its recent was meant as a warning Reagan administration, e Arab rulers of the Middl that the only peace Beg accept in the Middle East drawn up on the Zionist

Israeli Annexation of Golan Heights Sharpens Middle East Tensions

By PAUL BENJAMIN

On December 14 the Israeli government suddenly annexed the Golan Heights, an economically important and militarily strategic region along Israel's northeastern border. Israel conquered the Golan Heights from Syria during the 1967 Middle East war.

Since 1967 successive Israeli governments have administered the Heights as "occupied territory" under military rule, rather than as part of the Zionist state. This left open the possibility, however slight, that the Israeli ruling class might someday be prepared to negotiate with Syria over the future of the area as

class's own terms.

The Israeli government feels such a warning is necessary because negotiations to complete the 1979 Camp David settlement between Israel and Egypt are approaching a critical turning point. That settlement included two treaties. In the first, the Begin regime won peace and diplomatic recognition for Israel from Egypt in return for a gradual return of the Sinai peninsula, which Israel conquered in 1967. In the second, the Begin government agreed to negotiate with Egypt and the U.S. over "self-rule" (in reality local autonomy under Israeli control) for the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza territories, also captured by Israel in 1967.

The last piece of the Sinai under Israeli control is due to be turned over to Egypt in April 1982. Once it is handed over, Begin suspects he will come under heavy pressure from both the Egyptian and U.S. governments to make substantial concessions to the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza.

But the Begin government opposes any meaningful concessions to the Palestinians. The Zionists set up the state of Israel in 1948 by taking over Palestine and driving the Palestinians out of their own country. The Palestinian people have never given up the struggle to regain their homeland. Begin fears that if the Palestinians are granted anything even vaguely resembling an independent state on the West Bank, they will use it as a base for operations against Israel, and threaten the existence of the Zionist state.

Palestinian liberation the real question

The Palestinian liberation movement has always been at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. The Arab peoples of the region universally support the Palestinian struggle against Israel. Their militancy in turn forces the Arab rulers to maintain verbal opposition to the Zionist state.

The Zionists have been able to maintain their conquest in large measure because they have the support of the U.S. ruling class. Following the creation of Israel, an anti-imperialist movement swept the Middle East, leading to the setting up of nationalist regimes in Egypt, Iraq and other countries in the region. Successive U.S. governments built up Israel as a fortress for imperialism in the



Arabs on the Golan Heights protest annexation.

Middle East to police the region, and to intimidate the more radical nationalist regimes and the Arab masses themselves.

But in recent years the U.S. ruling class has sought to reach an accommodation with the Arab rulers in the Middle East. In particular, it is trying to divide the Arab world by splitting the more conservative regimes, such as those in Saudi Arabia and Jordan, from more radical governments in Libya and Syria.

Such a policy shift was necessary to guarantee U.S. access to Middle East oil, and to prevent the increase of Russian influence in the region. Moreover, it was becoming clear to U.S. policy makers that conservative Arab rulers were willing to cooperate with the U.S. ruling class to ensure capitalist stability in the Middle East.

The Camp David accord was a major step in carrying out this policy. The U.S. succeeded in detaching Egypt, the most militarily powerful Arab state, from the anti-Israel Arab coalition. At the same time, the accord set up a basis for what U.S. diplo-

rats called a "just solution" to the Palestinian question. By supporting some kind of nominal "self-rule" for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, the U.S. hoped to defuse the Palestinian struggle, provide an excuse for Arab rulers to make peace with Israel, and thus achieve an imperialist settlement in the Middle East.

Since coming to office the Reagan administration has expanded this policy to include calls for Israel and the conservative Arab rulers to join the U.S. in a "strategic consensus" against potential Russian military action in the Middle East. To win Arab support for this "consensus" it sold AWACS reconnaissance aircraft to Saudi Arabia despite heavy Israeli and domestic opposition. At the same time, State Department officials issued encouraging signals about a Saudi peace plan that demands Israel's complete withdrawal from all the territory captured in 1967, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Despite the Reagan administration's assurances that it will

continue to defend Israeli interests, the Begin regime is deeply suspicious of this policy. It correctly fears that the Reagan administration is prepared to restrain Israeli imperialism in the Middle East in order to implement its own broader imperialist strategy.

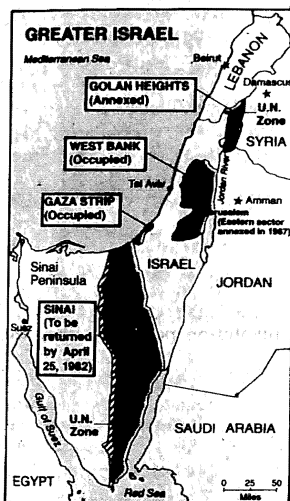
The recent aggressive actions of the Begin government, including the annexation of the Golan Heights and the earlier bombing of an Iraqi nuclear plant and Palestinian bases in Lebanon, were intended mainly to weaken Israel's Arab opponents and strengthen Israel's military position. But in authorizing such actions Begin also wanted to demonstrate he will not give in to U.S. pressure, and to actually limit the Reagan administration's options in the Middle East by provoking a new polarization between Israel, the U.S. and the Arab regimes.

Arab world condemns annexation

The annexation of the Golan Heights did in fact draw a bitter response throughout the Arab world. In Golan itself some 15,000 Arabs—mainly members of the Druse sect that in the past has had relatively friendly relations with the Zionist regime—organized a three-day general strike to protest the annexation.

The Syrian government announced that Begin's action amounted to a "declaration of war," and together with other Arab governments called on the United Nations Security Council to condemn it. In addition, they are demanding that the Security Council enact military, economic and diplomatic sanc-

(Continued on page 16)



part of an overall Middle East peace deal.

By annexing the Golan Heights Prime Minister Menachem Begin's regime has killed any such hopes. Instead it has chosen to trample on the national rights of the Syrian people to satisfy its own imperialist ambitions. In doing so it has eliminated any chance for peace with Syria, or stability throughout the Middle East, for the foreseeable future.

A warning to Reagan

The Begin government has never made any secret of its desire to annex the Golan Heights; it even included an annexation plank in its platform for Israel's national elections last June. But its recent action was meant as a warning to the Reagan administration, and the Arab rulers of the Middle East, that the only peace Begin will accept in the Middle East is one drawn up on the Zionist ruling

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UAW...

(Continued from page 9)
Japanese car industry themselves. GM owns 34 percent of Isuzu Motors, and in 1981 bought 5 percent of Suzuki. Ford owns 25 percent of Toyo Kogyo, which makes Subarus. And even tottering Chrysler holds 15 percent of Mitsubishi Motors, from which it imports its Colt and Horizon models.

A good example of how the companies' distortions have worked took place at Ford's Livonia Transmission Plant outside Detroit. In 1979 Ford completed a \$313 million program to retool the plant to produce lock-up automatic transmissions. The sole purpose of this product was to protect the company's existing investment in V-8 engines by extending their production life.

But coming in the middle of increased oil prices in 1979, the lock-up transmission was obsolete even before it came off the line. In response to its huge mistake Ford laid off over a thousand workers. Then, after a year and a half of massive

layoffs, Ford demanded that UAW Local 182 give up a series of local contract concessions or else it would give the job of producing a new front-wheel-drive transmission to its Japanese affiliate, Toyo Kogyo.

Reluctantly, last October the workers voted to make the concessions. "We beat the Japanese," crowed Robert Little, president of Local 182.

Worst disaster in UAW history

But what really went on? Was it the Japanese who were responsible for spending and losing \$313 million on a white elephant? And will it be Ford's 12 layers of management—except for the lowest ones—or its stock and bond holders who will pay for this boondoggle? No. Instead, Ford cynically made a scapegoat out of the Japanese (its own affiliate!) and maneuvered its workers to pay for the company's own mistake.

Homeworkers...

(Continued from page 4)
working conditions.

•Our movement must fight to organize the unorganized. Less than 20 percent of all U.S. workers are in unions. We need to organize the existing factory workforce so that it has secure jobs, with decent pay and conditions. Many women would leave homework to go into the factory if that were what they were going into—instead of the present sweatshops. Also, organized factory workers would be in a stronger position to find ways of ending homework abuses—such as taking action against owners who pay homeworkers less than union wages.

Those women who choose to continue working at home must

also be organized so that they can take part in the fight to end their exploitation.

•Our movement must fight for jobs for all at union wages. There are millions of workers who are unemployed. With so many looking for work, capitalists feel free to cut wages and worsen working conditions.

•Lastly, our movement must fight for free, quality, 24-hour childcare centers. Most homeworkers are women. If they are to work outside their homes, many will need childcare. If there were quality childcare available free to everyone, many women homeworkers would choose to work outside the home and those who continued to work at home would do so by choice.□

The new contract threatens to be the worst disaster in the UAW's history. It will further weaken the union and increase the demoralization and racial, sexual, national, craft and age divisions in the workforce. It will also have a strongly negative impact on all other unions, and the working class as a whole. If a powerful and trend-setting union like the UAW caves in in the face of the companies' demands for conces-

sions, can other unions be far behind? The answer should be clear.

If rank and file autoworkers are to defend themselves, they will have to begin now to organize independently, uniting all autoworkers who want to reject concessions. And they will have to unite with other workers who want to fight to save their jobs, and those who see the links between the crisis in auto and the capitalist attacks on all other

workers and oppressed people. In this way autoworkers also can begin preparing themselves politically and strategically for bigger fightbacks in the future.□

For a copy of a pamphlet put out by the RSL for the 1979 auto contract struggle, send one dollar to: RSL, PO Box 1288, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Golan Heights...

(Continued from page 15)
tions against Israel.

The annexation also set off a major dispute between Begin and the Reagan administration. The U.S. voted for the Syrian UN resolution on January 17. The next day the administration went further by suspending a security accord between the U.S. and Israel signed on November 30. Begin was privately warned that the future of the accord hinged on Israeli "restraint" in the coming negotiations over the West Bank as well as in Lebanon.

Begin reacted to this pressure by publicizing the U.S. threats and accusing the Reagan administration of treating Israel like a "vassal state" or "banana republic." He declared that after the Vietnam War the U.S. had "no moral right" to preach to Israel. And he condemned what he called the cancellation of the security accord.

Despite this dispute the Reagan administration is hardly about to abandon the U.S. ruling class's long-time support for Israel because of the annexation of the Golan Heights. It has taken no concrete steps that might force the Israeli government to reconsider its action, such as cutting off or even suspending the U.S. military and economic aid that the Zionist state depends on to survive. And it has threatened to veto any UN resolution calling for concrete sanctions against Israel. Regardless of differences over Middle East policy, the Zionist ruling class remains

U.S. imperialism's major ally in the Middle East, and will continue to enjoy support from its "senior partners" in the U.S. capitalist class.

Nevertheless, the Reagan administration's anger with Begin is not simply a show put on for the benefit of world opinion. The annexation of the Golan Heights, combined with earlier acts of Israeli aggression, is undercutting U.S. efforts to impose an imperialist peace in the Middle East.

In the light of these actions, the Arab rulers now have little reason to believe that the U.S. can engineer a Middle East settlement that could defuse the Palestinian liberation struggle

and provide them with a justification for accepting the Zionist conquest of Palestine. Consequently, they have little to lose by continuing their refusal to have anything to do with the Camp David talks. Moreover, they have fresh incentive to band together simply to protect their own territory from further Israeli attacks, let alone to recover the lands they have already lost.

This in turn may doom any hopes the Reagan administration has of uniting its various Middle East allies in a "strategic consensus." On the contrary, by annexing the Golan Heights Begin has planted the seeds of a new Middle East war that could blow apart the gains U.S. imperialism achieved through the Camp David settlement.□

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