

Join the Anti-Imperialist
Contingent May 8!

WORKERS VANGUARD

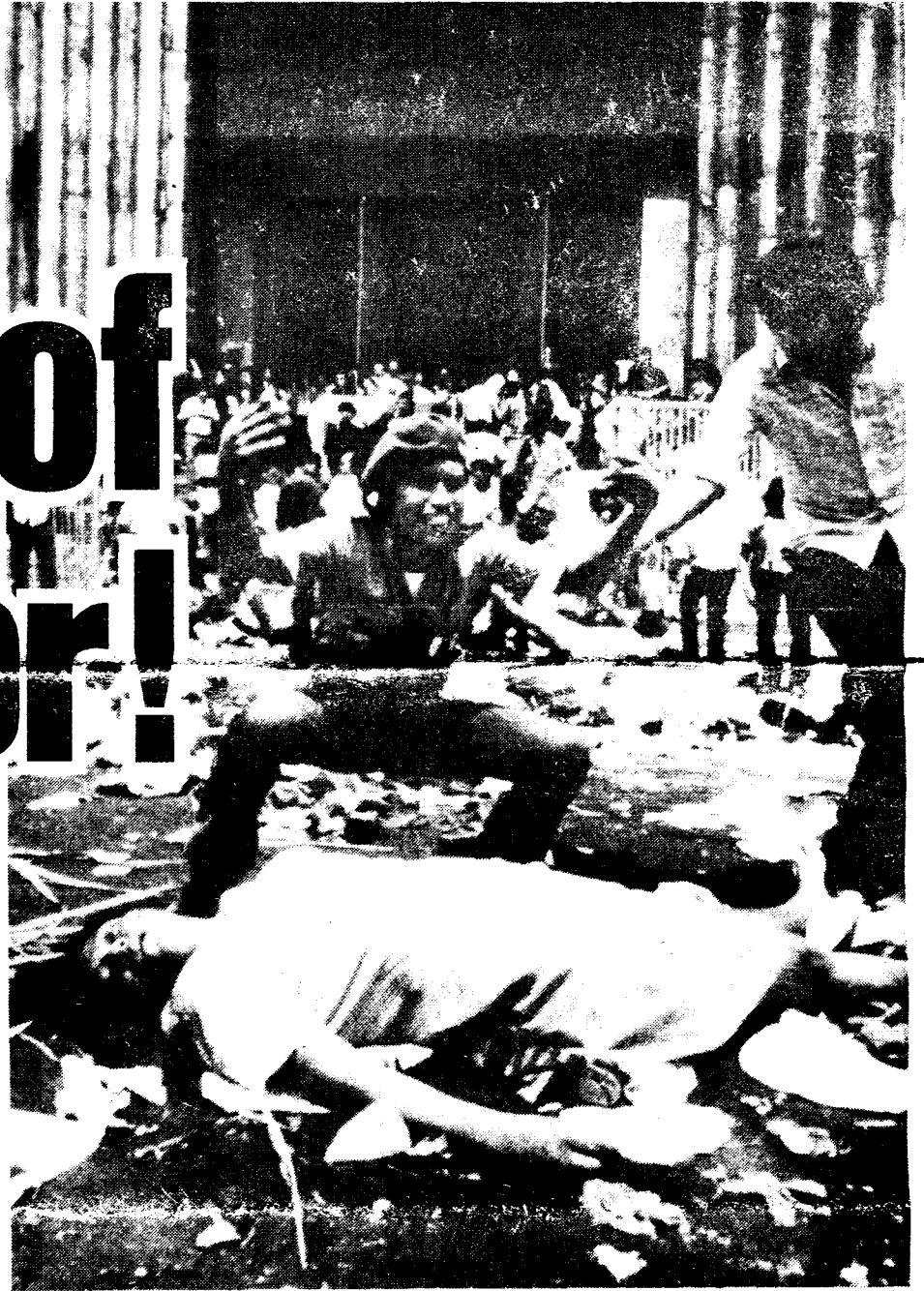
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24 April 1981

Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!



Alfonso Rojo

For Workers Revolution!

APRIL 21—While screaming bloody murder about "Soviet terrorism" in Central America, the Reagan administration's campaign of imperialist lies and slander aims at throwing a smoke-screen around its own support to the criminal military junta which is presently carrying out a war of extermination against leftist insurgents in El Salvador. The Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador recently announced

that so far this year the government and rightist death squads have assassinated more than 5,000 victims, three-quarters of them peasants and workers. Since January 1, over 200,000 have been left homeless as the rivers of this impoverished land run red with the life's blood of its martyred masses. Reagan/Carter and their butchers have turned El Salvador into a "human rights" house of

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March for Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

"Leftist Rebels Must Win the War, Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!" On May 3, thousands will march demanding no U.S. intervention in Central America. It's not enough. Reagan has chosen El Salvador as the front line of his red-hot anti-Soviet Cold War. That's the real issue. In response, we must demonstrate our determination to strike a blow against Yankee imperialism and its bloody tinpot dictators.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus

Youth League (SL/SYL) call on all opponents of junta terror and imperialist war to march on May 3, in Washington and San Francisco, as part of an Anti-Imperialist Contingent demanding, "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" Join us! It's a matter of revolution or death!

The old miners' strike song says it best: "Which side are you on, boys, which side are you on?" The civil war in El Salvador pits the masses of workers,

peasants and the poor against a blood-thirsty oligarchy backed by U.S. imperialism. "There are no neutrals here." It should be a simple choice. Reagan and Haig have their side. They stand by their butchers. Which side are you on?

The stakes are high in El Salvador. Washington has decided to make Central America the "winnable" example of its global plans to "stop Communism." Behind U.S. threats to starve, blockade and bomb Nicaragua, Cuba

and the Soviet Union into submission lies imperialism's drive to turn back the clock of history by wiping out the conquests of the October Revolution of 1917.

That is why we proclaim: "The Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

The liberal and reformist organizers of May 3—for all their squabbles over march sites, speakers lists and money—

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A Film Review

"Revolution or Death"

One of the chief myths used by successive U.S. administrations to justify arming the Salvadoran junta is that the government there is formed by "centrist" moderates under attack from "terrorists" not only of the left but of the right. The opening scenes of the film *Revolution or Death* provide direct visual evidence that in El Salvador the bloodthirsty rightist *escuadrones de la muerte* (death squads) are only the junta killers out of uniform.

On the sound track the viewer hears a pompous government spokesman call on the population to defend "civic duty" and "our freedom" against "communist threats." On the screen you can see U.S. imperialist-backed "freedom" in action. Men and women are being beaten and dragged into unmarked cars by gun-toting thugs. The cameraman, precariously hidden behind a tree, captures the entire brutal scene. You know the victims will never be seen alive.

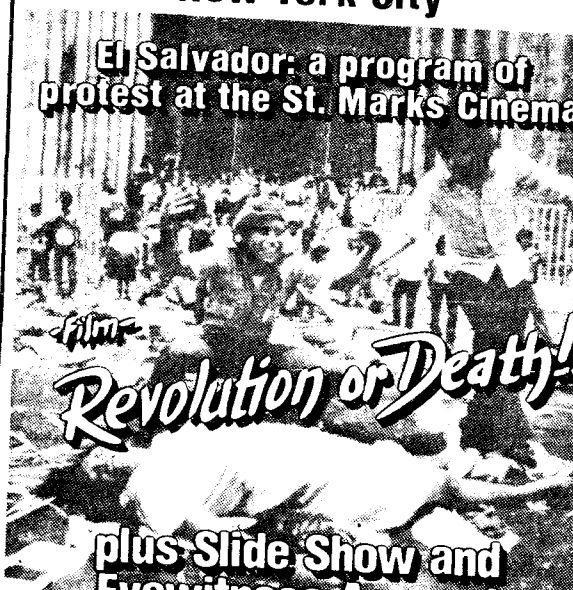
The scene shifts. The camera focuses on the headquarters of the National Guard. The floors are strewn with bodies and awash with blood. The victims of the death squads end up here. Gunmen in olive drab and plainclothes strut around nervously, their fingers on the triggers of German G-3 automatic rifles. The camera cuts to a scene of a crowd in panic. It is the funeral of murdered archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero last spring. Rightist assassins are shooting up the crowd. Inside the cathedral corpses litter the aisles. A survivor dips his finger in a pool of fresh blood and writes a slogan on the wall: REVOLUCION O MUERTE!

Revolution or Death is a 45-minute film produced by a Dutch team that went to El Salvador with financing from the World Council of Churches. Interspersing live footage and interviews of key figures on both sides of the civil war in El Salvador, it is an impressive documentary. It is a close-up look at a truly sadistic, mass-murdering regime of military butchers produced under the most dangerous conditions by a talented and courageous film crew.

El Salvador Bleeds

The scenes shown in *Revolution or Death* cover a period from the fall of 1979 through the spring of 1980, a period in which the State Department-authored "reform junta," which succeeded the dictatorship of

General Carlos Humberto Romero, split between military hardliners and "moderate" reformists and in which the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) came together. The film is in political solidarity with the popular-front FDR, an alliance of

New York City
El Salvador: a program of protest at the St. Marks Cinema

Revolution or Death!
 plus Slide Show and Eyewitness Account by Tom Janota
 Last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador. Eyewitness to 1979 coup.
Thursday, April 30, 7:45 & 9:45 pm
Saint Marks Cinema \$3 per show
 (133 Second Ave. at St. Marks Pl.)
 Benefit for May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

guerrilla leftists and opposition capitalist politicians. But the explicit politics of the FDR in the film are overwhelmed by the eye of the camera. In fact, the power of recorded truth tends to undercut the FDR's advocacy of a peaceful negotiated compromise in a country where the alternatives are truly revolution or death.

The camera takes the viewer to one of the key moments in the development of the opposition: the giant 22 January 1980 protest march in San Salvador commemorating the anniversary of the 1932 *matanza* (massacre) in El Salvador, a failed Communist-led revolt crushed at the cost of 30,000 lives. The march was backed by the newly-united leftist front and brought an estimated 200,000 people into the streets. You see the huge crowd pour into the central square—and then the shooting from the balconies and roofs of the National Palace and bank which dispersed the crowd. You see the corpses on the streets and you are there with the outgunned leftists who try to defend the demonstrators from the unprovoked attack.

The film has several scenes of Guillermo Ungo, a member of the ruling junta who switched sides and now heads the FDR, leading its diplomatic efforts to secure a compromise with the military regime and its new civilian puppet, Napoleón Duarte. It shows Ungo on the balcony of the National Palace in October 1979 together with Colonel Majano, leader of the "Military Youth," as the masses applaud the overthrow of hated dictator Romero. But a dramatic scene of street fighting tells another side of the story. Youthful urban guerrillas, scarves over their faces, stage a fighting retreat before government troops. They are shouting "Down with Colonel Majano!" to the soldiers pursuing them. Ungo's FDR has repeatedly appealed to Majano to join the opposition front. But the young guerrillas shown in *Revolution or Death* were risking their lives against overwhelming odds to overthrow Majano and all the colonels in the bloody-handed junta.

The well-known film *Battle of Chile* documents and glorifies the mobilization of masses of militant workers behind the murderous deadend of the popular front. *Revolution or Death* portrays the desperate struggle of a long-suffering people to survive the reactionary reign of terror. The film is thus utterly convincing on one crucial point: there will be a winner and a loser in this war of extermination. *If the junta wins they will hunt down every rebel and rebel sympathizer in every village and every shop and schoolroom. Recalling the massacre of 1932, its slogan today is "a peace of 100,000 dead." Revolution or Death makes it clear: it will take workers revolution to avenge the blood of El Salvador!* ■

Letter

Independent Gay Movement?

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

I would like to comment on your article in which you headline Gay Activists Alliance's opposition to the right wing anti-porn crusade that is being conducted by some feminists. I am a GAA member and would like to offer my own opinions and perhaps clear up a few items left hazy.

For years GAA has worked with feminist groups and we continue to do so. In fact, gays and feminists are on both sides of the porn issue—some embracing middle class interests, supporting the police "clean up" of Times Square—while others (including GAA) organize to defend black street women, gays and youth who are among the first victims of the "clean up" crusades. So it is very much a class issue, not really one of "gays versus feminists." I'm happy that you see it as a class issue also, and are coming into this fight.

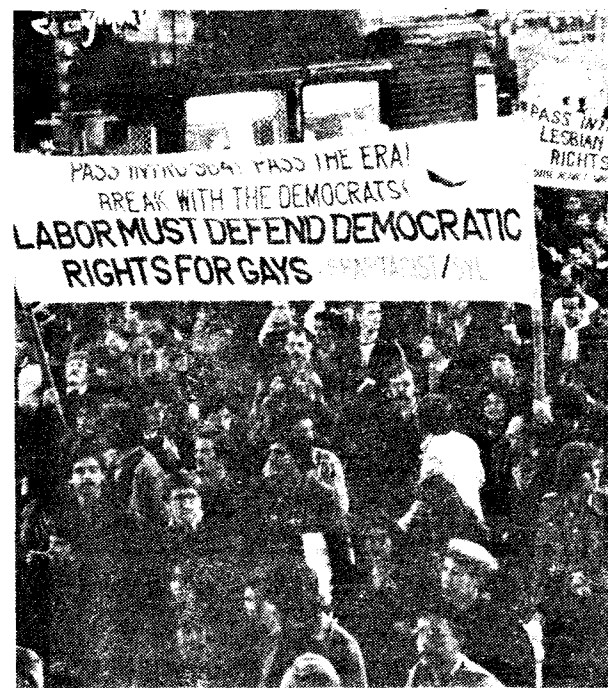
What disturbs me about your article is that you seem to sneer at an independent lesbian/gay movement and think that the Spartacist League should be enough for us. Most left groups (including the SL) devote only a small amount of energy in defense of homosexuals—and none in defense of prostitutes and transvestites. And were it not for the gay movement, would you even consider us at all? Fighting for socialism alone does not ensure us that we won't be in prison camps even after the revolution.

The SWP is a prime example of a "left" organization that once decided it had the one, true road to gay liberation. SWP members within gay rights groups pushed their program to the point that non-SWP members would feel unwelcome. We lost some good people, and in the end the SWP decided it wasn't really into homosexuality after all. Our movement needs all the militant fighters that it can get, not just those who agree with the SWP on Siberia or the RSL on Afghanistan. We can't afford mental masturbation, in my opinion, we must tackle the crap coming down upon us in order to stay alive even one more day. And we won't have our issues pushed to the back of the bus.

Sincerely,
 Robert D'Avanzo

WV replies: The Gay Activist Alliance's concern that only autonomous gay organizations can be relied on to guarantee the interests of homosexuals is an expression of the New Left belief that only each oppressed group can liberate itself. Thus, for Robert D'Avanzo an "independent" gay organization is necessary and a vanguard party presumably is not.

But the GAA presents a very narrow and ultimately false conception of "defense of homosexuals." "Gay



WV Photo
 SL demonstrates against Anita Bryant bigotry, NYC, November 1978.

power" has been proved to be illusory. After a decade of big "gay pride" demonstrations and homosexual candidates getting elected, homosexuals are among the targets of the Moral Majority in Reagan's America. The current crusade against "gay rights" is but one small part of a broad right-wing mobilization, a key aspect of which is the war drive against the Soviet Union. Whether there are mass labor struggles against Reagan's austerity or mass opposition to resurgent militarism will have a far greater effect on the position of homosexuals in this country than the activities of the

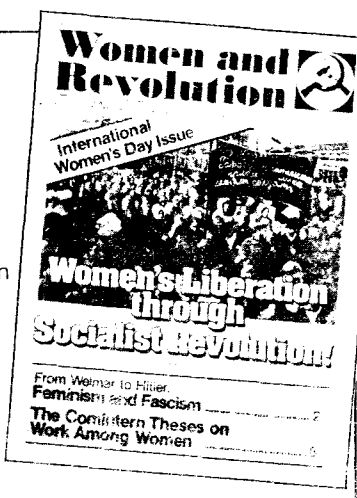
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Reagan Pardons FBI Criminals

Green Light for Secret Police

APRIL 18—With his “full and unconditional” pardon of two convicted FBI criminals last week, Ronald Reagan sent a clear signal to American capitalism’s secret police: step up the attacks on the left, blacks and labor movement; load up the black bags and guns, the Watergate is all dried up. The U.S. ruling class figures Carter’s “human rights” campaign sufficiently refurbished imperialism’s “moral authority” after their dirty, losing Vietnam debacle. So in the name of fighting an “international Communist conspiracy” the Reagan administration has now given its spies and thugs a green light to treat all opponents like faceless, nameless “terrorists”—“wanted dead or alive.”

W. Mark Felt, former No. 2 man (acting associate director) in the FBI, and Edward S. Miller, the Bureau’s former chief of intelligence, were convicted last November of ordering on at least nine separate occasions “black bag jobs” and “surreptitious entries” into homes of families and acquaintances of members of the Weathermen. The charges—“conspiring to violate the civil rights of Americans”—stemmed from the FBI’s “search and destroy” operations in the early 1970s against the radical New Left group.

At the trial, agents testified how teams of FBI men had broken into homes without search warrants, how they went through the mail, how they photographed documents, diaries, love letters in their futile search for the whereabouts of the fugitive antiwar

radicals. L. Patrick Gray, acting director of the FBI at the time, was indicted along with Felt and Miller, but charges against him were dropped last December on the grounds that the evidence against him was “unconvincing.”

Reagan’s act of pardon was



UPI

Black Panther Fred Hampton: Shot in bed by terrorists with state power.

reportedly initiated by the White House, not at the request of Felt and Miller. And it came before either had served a day in jail or paid a penny’s fine. Indeed the sentence was not in question—last November after their convictions, the federal judge had merely ordered the

two to pay small fines, and even these were under appeal. Reagan went right to the heart of the matter—curing the “Vietnam syndrome” as he gears up for World War III. Noting that Jimmy Carter had pardoned thousands of “draft evaders” of the Vietnam era,



White/Chicago Daily News

Reagan proclaimed, “We can be no less generous to two men who acted on high principle to bring an end to the terrorism that was threatening our nation.”

For Reagan American imperialism’s dirty war in Vietnam was a “noble

cause,” and Felt and Miller had served the U.S. with “great distinction.” If there are to be symbolic medals for “distinguished service” for Felt and Miller, why not one for service to the Mafia? After all, some of them did their bit in helping the CIA dream up ever more diabolical schemes to assassinate Castro. And the presidential pardon went way beyond the Nazi war criminals’ “Nuremberg defense,” alleging that the two top-cop criminals “believed” they were only following orders. So why didn’t these “law enforcement officials” refuse to break their own capitalist laws, just as some high-ranking SS officers rejected orders to liquidate Jews?

The American left, for the first time in a decade, is once more in motion over El Salvador, which many regard as “another Vietnam.” Gearing up for a new Cold War effort and anticipating the need for stepped-up repression at home, the U.S. bourgeoisie wants increased authority for its secret political police. In the immediate post-Watergate years FBI agents on routine assignment complained that they might become the next objects of some token “clean-up” operation. No more. Reagan’s pardon, said Mark Felt, “is going to be the biggest shot in the arm for the intelligence community for a long time.” Miller added that the pardons were “a very fine thing for the present FBI” because they would erase any reluctance that agents might have to “do their job

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San Jose Chicanos Drive Out KKK

APRIL 11—The Ku Klux Klan got a small taste of working-class justice today as nearly 2,000 angry residents literally chased the racist scum out of town. If only the powerful labor movement would take anti-KKK/Nazi action—including labor/black/Chicano defense guards—then the mounting wave of fascist terror in the U.S. could be quickly crushed. As it was, the bosses’ police arrested 26 anti-Klan demonstrators while protecting the KKK in retreat! Labor must demand: Drop all charges now!

It was the first time the KKK had dared show their faces in heavily Chicano downtown San Jose. Over a thousand residents were already waiting for them at the site of their scheduled two-hour “recruitment rally” in St.

James Park. The moment the 17 white-sheeted KKKers appeared in view flanked by 240 San Jose police in riot gear, the bottles, rocks and full soda cans began to fly. “Supreme Cyclops” Steve Seager was beamed on the head as he raised his bullhorn to speak; his voice was drowned out by the roar of the crowd as it swelled to nearly 2,000.

Within 15 minutes, the cops were forced to hustle the Klan out of the park with the justly enraged crowd at their heels. A *San Jose Mercury* reporter noted, “The Klansmen stripped off their robes and rolled them into bundles as they ran while police, including eight officers on horseback, held back demonstrators.” It was clearly not an organized demonstration, but it’s a good thing that enough angry San Jose workers were on hand to stop this race-hate provocation from taking place.

Predictably, the reformists who claim to lead the working class did everything to prevent this action from happening, for fear of antagonizing the so-called “progressive” capitalist politicians in government. Thus a week earlier, the Communist Party (CP), the Communist Labor Party (CLP) and other “ban-the-Klan” Stalinoids organized a “Coalition Against Racism” to pressure the capitalist government to dispatch the fascists. They presented a petition to the city council with 200 signatures on it demanding the Klan’s parade permit be revoked, but Mayor Janet Gray Hayes said the race-terror rally was a matter of “free speech.” (So this is what Mayor Hayes means by calling her city “the feminist capital of the U.S.”!)

So instead the coalition held a “peaceful, nonconfrontation” rally on the other half of St. James Park complete with monitors who ineffectually tried to keep people away from the Klan rally site. Their own rally drew



Bryant/San Jose Mercury

KKK came to organize race terror, left ducking eggs and cans tossed over the lines of cop protection.

perhaps a couple of hundred who could loll in the grass in safety only because a couple thousand local residents across the street had other ideas.

Meanwhile, ministers and local community groups held a “celebration of life” at Kelly Park several miles away, and when Mayor Hayes endorsed this gathering as an “alternative” to anti-Klan demonstrations, the CP bolted their own coalition and followed the mayor’s advice to “ignore” the Klan away. Joan Baez entertained the crowd with songs and this wisdom: “If there is a young KKK member who wants to talk to you, let him into your heart...” The role of these liberals and labor reformists is to try to paralyze the working class, but fortunately they failed in San Jose!

The angry crowd contained some representatives of the macho Progressive Labor Party/InCAR and the Mao/Avakian-cultist Revolutionary Communist Party, who usually seek adventurist confrontations ignoring the balance of forces—often courting disaster. Fortunately they did not lead this anti-Klan crowd.

By their outrage and determination to drive out the Klan, the thousands of Chicano and other working-class citizens in San Jose showed how to beat the fascists. What is needed is not PL-type bravado, but the social power of the labor movement backed by the masses of blacks, Chicanos and other minorities. We say: for labor/black/Chicano mobilizations to stop fascist terror! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager), Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mark Kellermann, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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No. 279 24 April 1981

Miners, Railroad Workers: Strike Together!

**For a Special UMWA
International Convention to
Recall Church and the
Bargaining Council!**

APRIL 20—As 160,000 coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) enter their fourth week on strike, 21 railway unions representing 500,000 rail workers, whose contracts expire this month, will be protesting in Washington April 29 against Reagan's proposed cutbacks in federal subsidies to Amtrak and Conrail. Striking miners and railway workers must unite to demand: No to Reagan's cutbacks in railway subsidies, black lung benefits and social programs for the poor! Smash the anti-strike Taft-Hartley and Railway Labor Acts! What's needed to beat back the government/employer anti-union offensive is the kind of militant labor strike action which built the CIO in the 1930s. *A joint national coal/rail strike would be a powerful one-two punch that could really bust the union busters!*

But UMWA president Sam Church, who negotiated the contract proposal voted down 2-to-1 by the ranks three weeks ago, is still crawling in front of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). His first yellow-dog deal, which encouraged non-union mines and further threatened the pension fund, could have led to the extinction of the UMWA in a matter of a few years. When the coal bosses finally sat down again with the union they did everything but spit on the UMWA leader. BCOA's chief negotiator Bobby Brown "flatly rejected" the seven major items which Church introduced, and commented later that in voting "no" on March 31 the ranks had "repudiated" their own leader. At the next session on April 17, BCOA negotiators told Church that their previous offer should be resubmitted to the membership. And with that they stalked out.

It is a simple and obvious fact that Church was "repudiated" by the UMWA ranks. Yet on April 9 and 10 the International executive board and the bargaining council each presented the treacherous union president with *unanimous* votes of confidence after the



**Miners in Virginia
vote down Sellout
Sam's contract
two-to-one.**

tentative contract was rejected. (This miserable capitulation was hailed by reformist fakers, like the *Militant* and *Daily World*, in the name of "unity." Uniting with Sellout Sam and the BCOA, that is, not with the ranks in militant class struggle!) This vote can mean only that, just as in 1978, not one among the International or district leaders, including recently elected "dissidents" in several states, can be trusted to come forward with a program to beat the bosses in 1981. It's time for a *special international convention to recall the leadership* and elect a new one with a class-struggle program.

While Church sulked in Washington the ranks were mobilizing in the coal fields to shut off scab coal. On April 7 about 200 District 6 miners rallied to protest Ohio Coal Company's continuing operations and, according to one official, half that number made a "show of force" at the mine, resulting in its closure. A local president in southern West Virginia's District 17 told *WV* that pickets are "keeping the mines in this area shut down to the bone." A Pennsylvania miner reported that "so far there's nothing non-union moving,"

enabling pickets to hit scab operations in Maryland.

But scab coal continues to flow out of non-union mines in Kentucky and elsewhere—by rail, truck and barge—and the operators will use force to keep it moving. Virginia's governor John Dalton, who was elected four years ago with the help of \$100,000 in contributions from mine owners, has assigned 240 state troopers to keep the non-union mines operating (*Washington Post*, 17 April). And on April 14 West Virginia police arrested two mine guards from Philpott Coal Corporation on charges of shooting at two UMWA officials outside the union's District 29 office in Beckley. The same day a union field rep in Kentucky's District 30 was shot in the thigh as he and another picket allegedly tried to stop a scab coal truck from entering a mine compound.

For a Joint Coal/Rail Strike!

Some solidarity actions by other unions have already occurred. In the early hours of April 10, miners in Pennsylvania set up a floating picket line on the Monongahela River and the unionized crew of a towboat lashed to

Consolidation Coal barges refused to cross it. "They tied the barges up alongside the river," a miner told *WV*. "The guys brought the boat over and they said, 'We won't go through your picket lines.'" An official in the Pittsburgh office of the National Maritime Union confirmed to *WV* that "if there are picket lines out there, we as a rule honor that picket line because we have language in the contract not to cross a picket line and we don't want anybody getting hurt." Unfortunately this incident was the exception rather than the rule—real labor solidarity mobilization could stop *all* scab coal!

Solidarity actions by other unions, specifically hot-cargoing *all coal*, are key to victory for the miners. Particularly crucial are the rail unions, whose members will be without contracts by the end of April. The April 29 railroad workers' demonstration in Washington could be the opportunity to organize a joint strike. Miners must elect strike committees to coordinate strike action. And the rail workers, saddled with numerous backstabbing craft union bureaucracies, must take matters into their own hands to smash the anti-strike laws.

The chief obstacle to a mine workers' victory this year is the pro-company UMWA leadership. Church is badly discredited, at least for now, but what's urgently needed are militant leaders with a program to win, including: fully funded pension and medical insurance, no non-union subcontracting or leasing, no probationary period for new miners, a big wage boost with full COLA, and the unlimited right to strike. Otherwise, Church or some other faker will eventually reestablish control over an exhausted and demoralized rank and file. It's time to recall Sellout Sam and his spineless bargaining council!

Three years ago, when Arnold Miller was the most hated man in the coal fields, the Labor Department suggested a crew of "dissidents" (District 12 president Kenny Dawes, District 23 president Tommy Gaston and District 17 president Jack Perry) to push through a giveaway contract. Today Gaston and Perry along with Harrison Combs, the UMWA legal counsel who gave away the miners' health card in 1977, are still members of the negotiating team. And Church, who filled in for Arnold Miller in 1978 when Miller was forced into hiding, has become the union president! This crew negotiated two sellouts in 1978 (the second was accepted only after 110 days of striking) and one already this year. Enough is enough! Oust the union traitors, build a class-struggle leadership! Victory to the UMWA! ■

Militant L.A. Phone Workers Say:

U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!

Campaigning for upcoming delegate elections to this summer's convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC) is centering its campaign on U.S. and CWA involvement in El Salvador. The MAC candidates in the Los Angeles area—Barbara Britton, Manuel Delgado and Barry Janus—issued a leaflet on April 12 which noted the MAC's planned participation in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the demonstration at the Salvadoran consulate on April 18. The MAC slogans in the demo were: "U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off El Salvador! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents! Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive! AFL-CIO Break

with the AIFLD! Boycott All Military Goods to El Salvador!" The leaflet is excerpted below.

The U.S. means bloody business in El Salvador. Every single union hall was bombed and destroyed. Whole villages have been burned to the ground. 12,000 mostly workers and peasants were slaughtered last year alone. Operating under the cover of the CWA-supported American Institute For Free Labor Development (AIFLD)'s "land reform," the CIA transplanted the Phoenix pacification program from Vietnam to El Salvador.

The war in El Salvador is a civil war. This war pits the workers and im-

poverished peasants against the coffee barons, the landlords, the right-wing death squads, the military junta, and the U.S. government. The American labor movement has a stake in this fight. We in the Militant Action Caucus call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents. And we call on American labor to take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters win. The ILWU showed the way when they resolved not to handle military cargo bound for El Salvador. But the military boycott has to be made real on the docks and extended to teamsters and seamen. And if war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines, labor had better be prepared to strike to stop U.S. military intervention. The

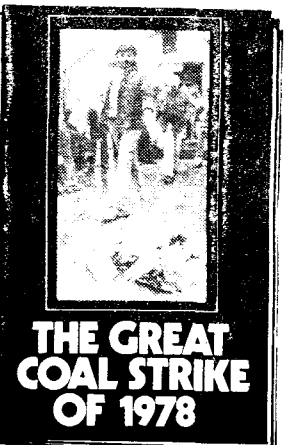
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Workers Vanguard Pamphlet

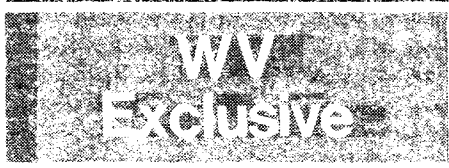
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Salvadoran Insurgents Speak



We publish below a recent exclusive Workers Vanguard interview with Oscar Acevedo and Enrique Guatemala, representatives of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador.

WV: Concerning the general offensive which was launched on January 10 of this year, what is the evaluation of this offensive by the FMLN? What aims did you set and what were the results?

Guatemala: The general command of the FMLN has drawn up a balance sheet of the general offensive, and we can say that the results were highly positive. From the beginning what we proposed was a general offensive and not a final offensive, as was suggested many places. Rather it was to be a turning point in the war, marking a qualitative jump in the character of the military action. We also felt it was important to win recognition of our political-military potential at the international level, so that we would be considered as a real alternative within the spectrum of El Salvador. We were able to win international recognition of the dual power which now exists in our country.

There's no doubt that we had an unsurpassed opportunity to undertake insurrectional actions—that is, testing the means of incorporating the masses in military struggle, and also efforts at implementing people's power in the different zones under our control. However, we also have to be self-critical and recognize that there were deficiencies in running the offensive. First of all, for a time it was presented internationally as a "final offensive." Secondly, several political steps such as the strike call, which objectively did not bring about the hoped-for results. After a certain point, a strike can be called in a war situation only if it has the military support of an army. We have to admit that we missed this, or we didn't give it sufficient attention. It's also true that international attention was focused on the big cities like San Salvador, where we couldn't keep up the military action for long. And since the military support had to drop, we couldn't maintain the strike in a situation which would expose the unions to annihilation.

We feel that these measures, and the call for a general insurrection itself, are experiences which we were able to assimilate. As a result we were able to win international recognition as a political alternative. We created a historical contradiction, in that within El Salvador, a country of only 8,000 square miles, there now exist two regular armies. That historical contradiction can only be resolved by the victory of one side or the other. Although we don't think the war will be resolved quickly, it can't be long before the conflict in El Salvador points toward a resolution. We feel that the situation is highly favorable to our side. Our forces passed through quite a test of battle. The junta's army failed in its repeated attempts to penetrate the areas we control, despite intense bombardment and even using white phosphorus. Our strategic forces remain intact, and they are now retaking those areas.

WV: With Reagan's intervention in the form of military "advisers" and weapons, the United States government is clearly attempting to implement its own domino policy, if we could call it that,

seeking first to smash the leftist forces in El Salvador, then on to Nicaragua, Cuba and so on. What is the response of the FMLN to this?

Guatemala: That's exactly why we say that the fundamental objective of Reagan's policy is to once again turn the United States into the gendarme of the world; and to implement a warmongering policy aimed at returning to the worst moments of the Cold War, and even looking toward a hot war. He even tries to arbitrarily present the conflict in El Salvador as an East-West conflict between the powers. "Arbitrarily" because he is fully aware that the Salvadoran situation is not the result of a communist conspiracy nor a conspiracy by the Soviet Union. It is due to the particular conditions of El Salvador, to unjust structures of land ownership and even more to the mistaken U.S. policy of supporting dictatorships and bloody repression in Latin America. Therefore, we feel that at present all peace-loving forces in the world should join together in an anti-interventionist, anti-imperialist front against the warmongering policies of Reagan.

WV: In our view such an "anti-interventionist anti-imperialist front" is impossible. Social-democratic governments in West Europe, above all West Germany, may prefer a policy of détente with the USSR, but fundamentally they line up with the U.S. and the rest of the imperialist countries against the Soviet bloc. They might try to "soften" U.S. policy, but when push comes to shove they will be on the side of Reagan. The same is true of the bourgeois governments of Latin America as well.

Guatemala: Well, such a front doesn't have to have an organic structure. But we think that even if in the final analysis these countries may have common interests with the United States, they can play an important role in holding back imperialism in Latin America. For example, if the U.S. intervenes in El Salvador it will affect all Central America, and for Mexico it wouldn't be at all pleasant to have two borders with the U.S., particularly with one border so close to its oil fields.

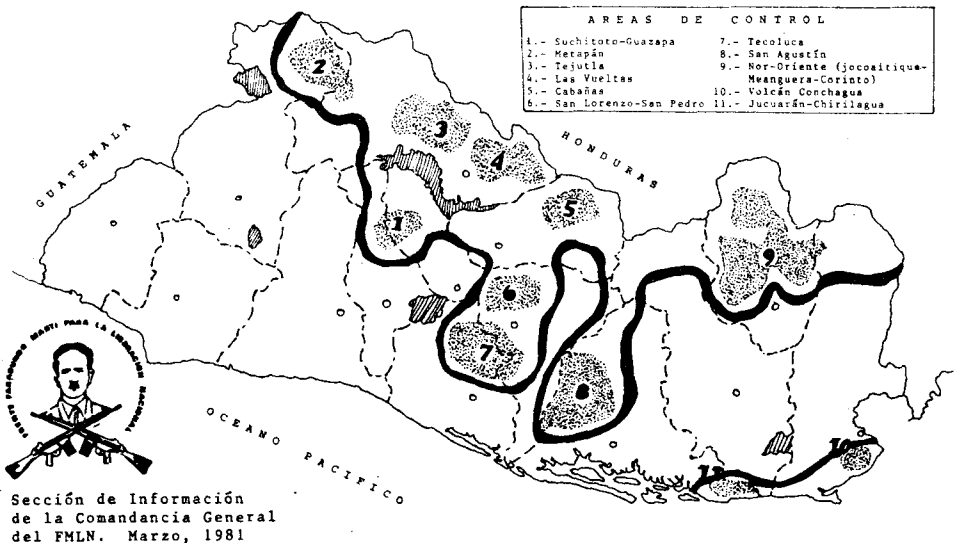
WV: Reagan has made El Salvador the focus of his Cold War against the Soviet bloc, using accusations that arms are coming from Cuba or the Soviet Union, and threatening to throw a *cordon sanitaire* around Cuba. We think it's necessary to give an answer to this imperialist attack, because it is the axis of Reagan's policies. For our part we've said repeatedly that the Salvadoran insurgents have the right to get arms wherever they can, particularly, if they can get them, from the Soviet bloc. Thus we have raised the demand: "The

defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!" That is, Reagan attacks the rebels in El Salvador as a key part of his Cold War policies of attacking the Soviet Union, and we say that while we have very different politics than Moscow, we also have to defend the social conquests there, and also in the case of Cuba. So we would like to know what is your response to Reagan's attack.

Guatemala: In the first place, we feel that Reagan's main objective is to take the world back to the Cold War, and

an "Anti-Imperialist Contingent" in the May 3 El Salvador demonstration, with our main slogan being, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador." In the coming weeks this will be the major concentration of the work of the Spartacist League/U.S., and we would be interested to know your views on what are the tasks facing revolutionaries in the United States.

Guatemala: Fundamentally, their forces should be focused on turning these big demonstrations into demon-



Zones controlled by FMLN guerrillas shown by shaded areas.

that endangers world peace. The attempt to raise the conflict in El Salvador into an East-West conflict aims at presenting a defeat of our revolutionary forces through military intervention as a military defeat inflicted on the Soviet Union. Thereby they hope to regain the respect and confidence of their international capitalist allies. So we think it is important to raise the banner of non-intervention, and defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, as well as defense of the Carter-Torrijos Panama Canal treaty, which is a first step toward self-determination for the Panamanian people. We think that this is the time to make the American people understand the negative aspects which Reagan's policies can have for them. It's vitally important to respond to Reagan at the international level, but even more so within the United States.

WV: As a Trotskyist organization, we fight not simply at the level of general propaganda, but also in the unions, against U.S. threats of blockading Cuba. We have called on the labor movement, particularly maritime and dock workers, to boycott military cargo to El Salvador, and support efforts by class-struggle militants to put this into practice. We have also raised the call for

strations in support of El Salvador. In Mexico and elsewhere we have called for turning May Day into demonstrations of solidarity with the Salvadoran workers in their struggle against imperialism. At this moment we feel that it is important to concentrate efforts on preventing a massive intervention in El Salvador. This could have different variations, depending on the character of the political forces involved. Without a doubt, revolutionary forces should demonstrate not just for non-intervention, but in support of us. But we won't be able to win other forces to this position, and they should demonstrate against intervention. It is crucial that April and May should be months filled with large-scale actions, because these can be decisive in the development of the war.

Acevedo: And to use these demonstrations so that they receive international coverage, especially in Europe and Latin America, so that they see that solidarity is increasing in the United States. Especially to announce and propagandize the boycott of the dock workers in San Francisco, which has already had a big impact and which could be publicized even more, to show that in the U.S. protests against intervention are mushrooming like those over Vietnam.

WV: There shouldn't be illusions as to the extent at this point. It's a lot lower than Vietnam at the high point. There is a lot of unrest among young people. And sections of the Democratic Party are worried. But as we have pointed out, you have to remember what the Democratic Party is—the imperialist party which brought us the Bay of Pigs and the Gulf of Tonkin. They aren't "peace-loving" in any sense—they're warmongering to the core, but just have a different policy of how to do it.

We would like to ask a final question: there's been a lot of talk about a "political solution" in El Salvador; above all the Socialist International and liberals in the U.S. are talking about this. We've said that obviously any struggle has a political outcome—when you march into the presidential palace, that's a political solution too. But what



Los Angeles, April 18: Anti-imperialist contingent shames CISPES reformists.

WV Photo

continued on page 8

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

terror. And it will take nothing less than workers revolution to avenge the grisly tragedy inflicted in the name of defending the "free world" against the spectre of communism.

The most deadly massacre so far in the Salvadoran civil war occurred March 25, when almost 1,500 peasants were buried alive as they sought to flee from government troops into neighboring Honduras. The Latin American Human Rights Association reported this hideous slaughter which occurred at the La Sentada cave in the eastern department of Morazán. Peasant survivors told the Salvadoran leftist broadcasting station Radio Venceremos that 600 old people, 700 women and 150 children were killed when aerial bombardment from U.S.-supplied Huey helicopters and artillery fire hit the cave where they had sought shelter. "Then the Honduran and Salvadoran soldiers began to shoot and launch smoke bombs; the children that went out were massacred by the gunfire." Finally, troops "sealed the cave and left all those who remained to die of suffocation" (*Uno Más Uno* [Mexico], 9 April).

A week earlier, on March 18, a similar incident involving Honduran and Salvadoran troops occurred on the Lempa River in Cabañas department. Leftist guerrillas together with some 8,000 refugees were being encircled by government forces who were systematically burning villages and crops in order to force peasants out of the area. The insurgents tried to break through the net to escape across the border at Lempa River. Many never made it, as soldiers from both countries and gunmen from the fascistic paramilitary ORDEN squads killed at least 50 during the crossing. The Lempa River massacre recalls a similar atrocity last May on the Sumpul River, also along the Honduran border. At that time, some 600 refugees were massacred as they tried to escape the kill-crazy soldiers. These repeated bloodbaths dwarf My Lai in the savagery of the slaughter.

Massacre "Made in USA"

Last week the Defense Department released figures showing that in the first quarter of 1981, the United States poured in far more arms to the Salvadoran generals than it claims were ever delivered by the Soviet bloc to the leftist rebels. From the beginning of the year it reported 343 tons of bombs, bullets, machine guns and other "lethal" military hardware shipped to the murderous junta, compared to the 200 tons alleged by a discredited State Department "White Paper" to come from Cuba, Vietnam and the USSR. This doesn't even include "non-lethal" military aid and the more than 240 million in U.S./IMF "economic" credits scheduled to keep the military dictatorship afloat for the coming year.

Military Victory to

But all this firepower has not produced any victories on the battlefield for the government headed by Christian Democratic puppet Napoleón Duarte (known locally as "Bonaduarde"). In Morazán department, government troops can't go more than six miles outside of the provincial capital. In western Chalatenango, the army estimates close to 5,000 guerrillas and supporters in base camps of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), but has been unable to touch them in occasional raids. Junta troops took two weeks to climb to the top of Conchagua volcano in the southeast without inflicting serious casualties on the guerrilla defenders. And on Guazapa volcano, only 20 miles from the capital, army forces are still pinned down half-way up the slope after several months of fighting.

In frustration the junta soldiers have been doing the only thing they know how—mercilessly gunning down defenseless peasants and slum-dwellers in an attempt at mass terrorization of the populace. For the most part, the U.S. works hand-in-glove with the junta in the cover-up (denying, for instance, that the Sumpul River, Lempa River and La Sentada massacres ever occurred). One of the few mass murders Washington has confirmed came after a large force of FMLN guerrillas staged a lightning raid on the main Ilopango air force base April 4, getting away without a loss. Two days later the Treasury Police retaliated by dragging 30 men, women and teenagers out of their homes in the working-class suburb of Soyapango, shooting them in cold blood and leaving the bodies strewn along a dirt road. This particular atrocity was hardly exceptional, but this time the U.S. admitted the butchery in order to further its propaganda campaign portraying the junta as "moderates" beset by extremists of both left and right. A State Department spokesman said the Soyapango killings "serve to reinforce our determination to support the centrist government" (*Washington Post*, 10 April).

Meanwhile in Washington, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, now the darling of liberal and reformist protesters, was trying in his own way to excuse the junta (as well as the Carter administration and himself) over the March 1980 assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero. White told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee April 9 that he had supplied the State Department with documentary proof, supplied to him by ex-junta member Colonel Adolfo Majano, that rightist death squads led by ex-major Roberto D'Aubuisson were responsible for hiring the gunmen



New York City, April 18 at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza.

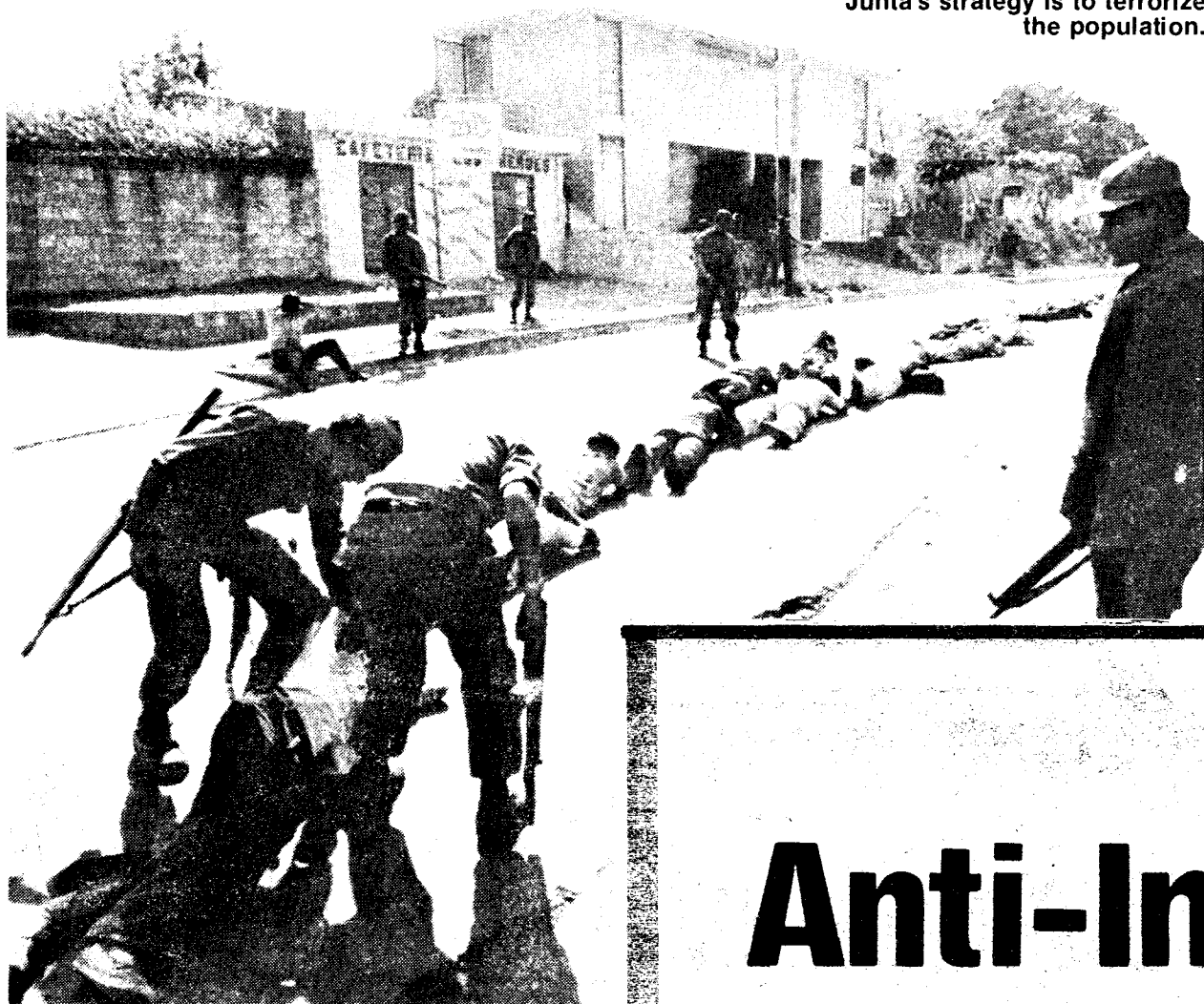
who killed Romero as he celebrated mass in a hospital chapel. But why wasn't this made public earlier? Because at the time they were supporting the murderous junta. These liberals and "social reformers" also have blood on their hands, and share in the blame for Romero's assassination.

Workers Revolution or Death!

With Reagan and Haig vowing to "draw the line" against "Communist subversion" in Central America, and the Salvadoran junta moving steadily to the right ever since being installed by Jimmy Carter in October 1979, it should be clear that all the talk of a "political solution" in El Salvador is dangerous illusion. In February Reagan's State Department refused to meet with representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the coalition of leftist guerrillas and bourgeois politicians opposing the junta. The FDR, undeterred, sought negotiations through Socialist International president Willy Brandt. When that attempt fell through, the popular-front leaders dropped their insistence that they meet only with "the puppeteer, not the puppets" and indicated their willingness to discuss with civilians (the Christian Democrats) in the junta. The military's answer was to publish a "black list" of 138 names of priests, human rights activists, academics and former junta members labeled "traitors" and thus marked for death.

What kind of "political solution" can there be for the savagely oppressed Salvadoran workers and peasants short of a revolutionary victory over their landlord/capitalist/military class enemies? So long as the bloody officer corps remains intact and a rapacious oligarchy continues to rule the land, the death squads will continue their killing and abysmal poverty will be the fate of the masses in El Salvador. The only ones who stand to gain by an illusory "compromise" are the capitalist politicians (many of them former junta members) who now seek to play games with the buffoon Duarte. Alarmed by the extreme class

Junta's strategy is to terrorize the population.



Montes/Gamma

March v Anti-Imperialist C

Leftist Insurgents!



WV Photo

confrontation in El Salvador, their main concern is to stave off the "threat" of workers revolution.

But for the suffering working masses, this is the only solution. For them the alternatives "Revolution or Death" are the terms of survival—and to win the workers must rule by expropriating all the exploiters. That is why the Trotskyists call not for a bogus bourgeois "political solution" but for *military victory to the leftist insurgents! U.S./OAS hands off El Salvador! Break with the bourgeoisie—For workers revolution throughout Central America!* ■

"Military Victory" ...

(continued from page 1)

are united in refusing to go beyond the demands of "self-determination" and "U.S. hands off!" Angling for an alliance with the imperialist liberals, they refuse to take a stand for "the enemy." They want *another policy* for American imperialism—"Spend U.S. money in the U.S.," etc. We want to *defeat* it!

All the talk about a "political solution" with a section of the junta, or an "anti-intervention front" of "peace-loving democracies" is suicidal illusion. From FDR's "Good Neighbor Policy" to JFK's "Alliance for Progress" and Carter's "Human Rights," the ravines on the Salvadoran volcano sides have been littered with the victims of five generations of military dictatorship.

In this fight to the death, the only program for survival is for the working masses to win the civil war

continued on page 8

Get on the Bus!

For transportation and information about the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 demonstrations, call:

Ann Arbor (313) 994-9313	Cleveland (216) 621-5138	Madison (608) 255-2342
Berkeley/Oakland (415) 835-1535	Detroit (313) 868-9095	New York (212) 267-1025
Boston (617) 492-3928	Los Angeles (213) 662-1564	San Francisco (415) 863-6963
Chicago (312) 427-0003		Vancouver (604) 681-2422

Look for our banners in Washington and San Francisco!



Just hop on the bus, Gus!

WV Photo

Tour for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent El Salvador Eyewitness

- A report and slide show by Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador
- A speaker from the Spartacist League

Tom Janota witnessed the October 1979 coup which brought the "human rights" junta to power. He saw the "reform by death" pacification program and brutal massacres of worker and peasant protests. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League are sponsoring this tour to build support for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the March on the Pentagon May 3. Don't miss this first-hand account of the struggle against junta terror.

Ann Arbor

University of Michigan
Michigan Union, Keunzler Room
7:30 pm, Wednesday, April 22

Detroit

Wayne State University
Student Center Building, Hillberry C
7:30 pm, Thursday, April 23

Cleveland

St. Alban's Church
2555 Euclid Heights Blvd., Cleveland Heights
7:30 pm, Friday, April 24

Oberlin, Ohio

Oberlin College
Wildier Hall, Room 110
7:30 pm, Sunday, April 26

Boston

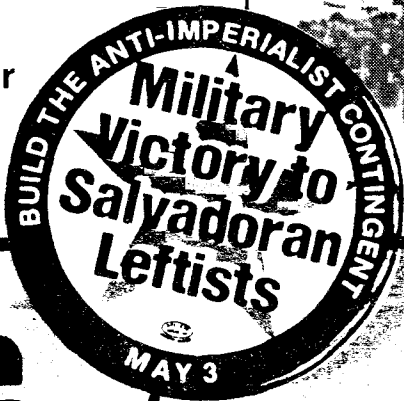
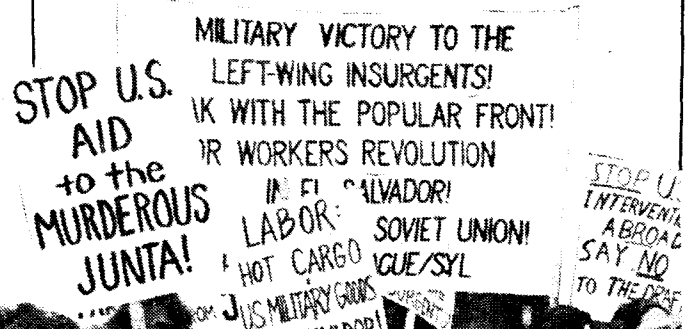
Boston University
College of Liberal Arts (CLA),
Room 214
12 noon, Tuesday, April 28

Harvard University
Phillips Brooks House
7:00 pm, Tuesday, April 28

Brandeis University
Kutz 2
7:30 pm, Wednesday, April 29

New York

St. Marks Cinema
133 Second Ave. at St. Marks Place
Double bill with "Revolution or Death"
7:45 and 9:45 pm showings, Thursday, April 30



Get Yours! Send for Buttons—\$1.00
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, N.Y., N.Y. 10116

with the contingent May 3!



Young Spartacus

"Military Victory" ...

(continued from page 7)

and smash the bloody officer corps and its capitalist masters.

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent, launched barely two weeks ago, is already in high gear. At a New York El Salvador protest on April 18, more than 100 supporters of the contingent stood out as the only serious force in the demonstration. Led by the Trotskyist SL/SYL, the anti-imperialist protesters chanted: "Abajo la junta, Obreros al poder!" (Down with the junta, Workers to power) and "Break with the bosses parties, Build a workers party!" "Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home," proclaimed the Contingent leaflet. Thousands of leaflets calling for military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador were distributed to the crowd and several dozen names collected for the buses to Washington May 3.

Across the country in Los Angeles, at an April 18 demonstration organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the disciplined SL/SYL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent caused quite a stir as it unfurled its banners. Also participating were a group of militant L.A. phone workers carrying signs calling for "Labor Boycotts of Military Goods to El Salvador!" and "Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive." To the official chant, "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador!" the Anti-Imperialist Contingent responded, "No Draft, Class War, U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

Already the Democratic Party liberals and their reformist cheerleaders are beginning to feel the fire on their necks from the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. The People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM), controlled by the Workers World Party (WWP), is now belatedly trying to cover its left flank. PAM had carefully avoided even mentioning the word "imperialism" in its leaflets, while both it and CISPES continue to support a Kennedy-sponsored bill in Congress that calls for cutting off *only* military aid to the junta. Now, however, WWP/PAM is muttering "we're all anti-imperialists here"—what kind of anti-imperialism is it that gets its political line from Teddy Kennedy—and chanting "Victory to the Salvadoran People!"

On the West Coast, march organizers are openly squabbling among themselves. The Communist Party (CP) dominated May 3 Coalition is accusing PAM of trying to run off with the cash box. In Los Angeles, CISPES is boycotting the May 3 West Coast demonstration scheduled for San Francisco because of bad blood over interminable petty maneuvers. Asked about the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at a PAM/May 3 planning meeting, CP spokesmen replied, at least they're not trying to steal the money!

Meanwhile the reformist march organizers are also feeling pressure on

their right. The ultra-legalist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) first tried to steal the PAM/CISPES thunder by organizing its own May 9 March, managing to engineer a paper endorsement by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD). But after this coup came undone, the SWP found itself sitting alone, and dumped its own march. For a while it pushed for a "sane May 3," trying to shift the march away from the Pentagon, hoping to intersect liberals' desire for a more sedate location. When that fell through, the shameless "best builders" of yesterday effectively pulled out of the El Salvador protests, instead leafletting for their "socialist Watersuit" trial!

The SWP's vicious "violence"-baiting is seconded by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists (DSOC) who have refused to endorse the May 3 march because it doesn't include enough big name Democrats and union bureaucrats among the speakers. If these social-democratic front men for Kennedy can't control the demo, they're determined to kill it with the most pernicious anti-communist slander. Furthermore this feeds into a new outburst of right-wing witchhunting. The *Boston Globe* (17 April) reported that the new Congressional "terrorism" subcommittee headed by Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton was planning an investigation of the groups behind the May 3 march as its first order of business. With all the anti-Soviet "terrorist" hysteria, are the social democrats trying to isolate and set up the Pentagon marchers for cop attack?

Which Side Are You On?

While the heat from the Anti-Imperialist Contingent has forced the PAM/CISPES/May 3 Coalition organizers to adopt a little more left-wing rhetoric, in reality nothing has changed in their fundamental perspective of appealing to the Democratic Party liberals. When they talk vaguely of victory to the Salvadoran "people," they give political support to capitalist politicians and military officers who for months went along with the junta-sponsored massacres. Echoing anti-communist propaganda down through the years, their only defense is to ask rhetorically, "who are you to tell the El Salvadoran people what to do?" Well, who was the American revolutionary Tom Paine to tell the French people what to do as he sat in the Convention in 1789? In the modern period true revolutionaries have always been internationalists. And by not warning against the dangers represented by the "progressive" capitalists and "constitutional" officers, the reformists are only preparing the road for a bloody disaster on the order of Chile 1973.

In the mid-'60s the WWP used to be gung-ho Guevarists, chanting "Two, Three, Many Vietnams." The CP boasted of its ties to the Vietnamese and Cuban Communist parties. But today the main slogan of the April 18 NYC El Salvador protest was "No More Vietnams!" To propose today only the slogans of "self-determination" and "U.S. hands off" is to adopt the same treacherous imperialist program as the non-intervention pact on Spain in the 1930s. Under this slogan the Stalinists and liberals drove the nails in the coffin of the Spanish republic (and strangled the beginnings of workers revolution), while Franco was armed by fascist Italy and Germany. For the Reagans and Haigs of yesterday and today don't stop at national borders. As for Vietnam, there the imperialists and their flunkies were swept out by the victorious peasants and workers. What the liberals mean by "No More Vietnams" is: no more *losing* American adventures.

The Salvadoran masses are heroically fighting against tremendous odds, sacrificing their lives in an unequal struggle against the most powerful imperialist war machine in history. They have chosen their side. Where do you

stand?

If you want to fight for the military victory of the leftist insurgents and the defeat of the bloody junta:

If you are for militant struggle against imperialism, to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution and smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive:

Then march with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent May 3! ■

Salvadoran Insurgents Speak ...

(continued from page 5)

they're talking about is the possibility of an agreement between sectors of the military junta and sectors of the FDR. We have warned that this is a trap for the workers and peasants, that it's necessary to fight for military victory and also workers revolution throughout Central America. So we would like to know what is the policy of the FMLN/FDR concerning a "political solution"? **Acevedo:** Yes, they have tried to divide the FDR in the hopes of splitting off the democratic sectors from the revolutionary sectors. But this policy has failed. Our policy at this time is that in order to win a military victory inside the country it is necessary to inflict a political defeat on imperialism at the international level. And thus we have proclaimed to the world the characteristics of our revolution, and our call for democracy and freedom. But in order to defeat imperialism on a world scale it is necessary to expose its warmongering policies, and it's in that framework that our organizations are posing the question of mediation. This does *not* mean that within the country our fighters are going to put down their arms. Never. Our soldiers are attacking, arms in hand, and are defending the principles which we support at the international level.

WV: Just to end, we'd like to stress that for us the question of El Salvador is not simply a question of solidarity. Rather, it's an integral part of the struggle of revolutionaries and proletarians in all countries, as El Salvador has become the focal point of the Cold War. It is the obligation of all those who call themselves Marxists to fight to the hilt against American imperialism, to *smash* it, so that it suffers a defeat on the scale of the rout it experienced in Vietnam. This is our policy. Thank you. ■

L.A. Phone ...

(continued from page 4)

CWA must break with the CIA's labor front in South America, the AIFLD. Our local must immediately cease its financial contributions to "Operation South America."

Madison Events for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Benefit

Speaker, Music, Beer
\$2 Donation
Le Chateau Co-op, 636 Langdon
8:30 pm, Friday, April 24

Rally

University of Wisconsin
Library Mall
12:30 pm, Tuesday, April 28

Forum

"El Salvador: Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents"
University of Wisconsin
Memorial Union
7:30 pm, Thursday, April 30

Only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a bloodbath. But real victory for the workers and peasants can only be won through *independent* struggle in their own interest. A real victory means the establishment of workers and peasants governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America—governments that nationalize without compensation the coffee plantations, the corporations and the estates. This means that the workers and peasants must break from the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) led by so-called "friends of the people" like landlord Alvarez and Ungo, the former junta member. The FDR leaders are angling

UAW Militants:

Victory to the Brothers in El Salvador!

The following motion was put forward today by the Rouge Militant Caucus at the UAW Local 600 Maintenance and Construction Unit (Skilled Trades) meeting:

The Maintenance and Construction Unit of UAW Local 600 endorses the anti-imperialist contingent in the May 3 march on Washington. We stand opposed to all U.S. military and economic aid to the murderous junta in El Salvador, and to Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

In the civil war between the leftist insurgents and the U.S.-supported junta, we are for the victory of our working-class brothers and sisters who are under the heel of one of the longest continuous military dictatorships in Central America.

—submitted by Rouge Militant Caucus,
UAW Local 600, 21 April 1981

for a "political solution"—a deal with the junta and its U.S. masters that would leave the corporations and landed estates intact and social conditions for the workers and peasants unchanged.

Down With Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive

Reagan's war drive begins in El Salvador. But that is not where it will end. His real targets are Cuba and the Soviet Union. He hates the Soviet Union and Cuba for the same reason he hates the unions. Both stand in the way of corporate profit. The USSR is no workers' paradise. Russian workers have numerous scores to settle with the likes of Brezhnev, just as we have some scores to settle with the bureaucratic misleaders of our unions. But we are better off with a misled union than no union at all. Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organizing a planned economy that provides economic necessities. Just as we defend our unions against government and company attacks we are for defending Soviet and Cuban workers and their planned economy against profit-hungry Reagan.

The war drive means mainly black and Latino youth fighting and dying in the jungles of Central America to boost the profits of the big corporations. It's not the Russians who are closing our factories, letting our cities rot and eliminating CETA programs, food stamps and unemployment insurance. It's not the Russians who are closing schools and hospitals while going after our unions with a vengeance. Our enemy is at home.

We in the MAC are fighting for a new leadership in the CWA—a leadership that will stand up to Reagan/Haig's thermonuclear lunacy. Labor must break from the parties of big business, the Republicans and Democrats. To rid this society of war, racism and fascist terror requires a workers party—a party that will bring the working class to power and establish a workers' government and a planned economy. ■

\$ Urgent \$

I want to help build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

Enclosed is \$ _____ contribution to the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Name _____

Address _____

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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist League
Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116

Fight Tory Racist Attacks!

Blacks Battle Cops in South London

LONDON—They said it had to happen, and on the weekend of April 10 it did. Black youth of Brixton, South London fought back in three nights of spontaneous anger against the racist brutality of the occupying Metropolitan Police force. After three nights of resistance, fought behind makeshift barricades of burnt-out police vans, smoke rising above the country's best known black ghetto signalled in many eyes the coming of the "long hot summer" to Britain.

The police and press tried to label the Brixton upsurge a "race riot" or, alternatively, the work of "outside agitators." But the overwhelming testimony of eyewitnesses and the local community was, as the London *Times* acknowledged, that "the objects of the hatred were blue, not white." Many local white youths joined in the running street battles against the police. In this area many youth under 20 have never had a job; for years the police have roamed the streets, arresting at random blacks under the hated "sus" laws (loitering with intent to commit a crime); and Special Patrol Group thugs earned such hatred that they were withdrawn from the area. The events of the weekend were but the culminating explosion of years of seething resentment in Brixton against a police force seeking to make it an offence to walk the streets if you're black.

Police indifference to the increasing spiral of racist/fascist murder is captured in the case of the New Cross massacre, where 13 black teenagers were incinerated at a party in January. Faced with evidence of a firebombing and strongly made allegations of a police coverup, the large police team on the case has seemed most concerned to arrest black youth. Coming after a smaller upsurge in Bristol last April, Brixton is the second massive explosion of black anger against unrelenting cop racism in as many years. The deepening social crisis has increasingly ripped apart the myth of the friendly British bobby. It has also provided a context of chronic, climbing unemployment and decaying social services which hit at blacks particularly hard, while providing a fertile recruiting ground for fascist terror among lumpenised white youth. Augmenting this climate of "get the blacks" is official Tory racism exemplified in the new Nationality Bill before Parliament.

Just in the week preceding the Brixton explosion, an intensive plain clothes police operation code-named "Swamp '81" had stopped 1,000 people on the street, charging 150 with offences. In one instance, local school-teachers were horrified to observe from their staff room window a group of white men beating up a black and repeatedly banging his head against the pavement. They investigated. The white men were plain clothes policemen.

The violence began on Friday evening when a black youth, seriously wounded in a stabbing incident, was picked up by the police. Instead of rushing the youth to medical care, the police held him in a police car and began interrogating him. Other youths, this time spurred into action by the sort of callousness they have come to expect, attacked the cops, rescuing the youth and seeing him off to hospital. The police reacted to this challenge to their control of the streets through a massive increase in their presence the following day. On Railton Road, at the heart of the black community, there were police on guard in pairs at every corner from early morning. As one black resident put it, "There was more police than humans on the street."



Photographers International

After years of racist cop brutality, the streets of Brixton finally explode.

Then just before 5:00 pm the police moved in to arrest a black mini-cab driver for no apparent reason. The crowd gathered, and fighting broke out. Within an hour Railton Road looked like the Falls Road, Belfast as young blacks and whites hurled missiles at the police, now huddled behind their riot shields. Buildings were set alight. The firemen, who were prevented from extinguishing the fires by the youths, refused to turn their hoses on the protesters. "It doesn't matter what happens, we can't turn the hoses on people," said one fireman. "That makes us enemies as well."

On Saturday night, when the main confrontations occurred, police were forced into chaos and panic by the fierce resistance of local youths, at last taking the opportunity to vent their hatred of the enemy with bricks and cans, with makeshift petrol bombs and bare hands. Then with the cops in retreat, the explosion overflowed, as local buildings, shops and public houses were set alight, broken into and looted. Some of the violence was wantonly misdirected against small Asian-owned shops. But many of the targets were more consciously chosen. A local pub, which had refused to serve blacks, was burnt to the ground. As the cops counted their toll, reportedly 143 injured and 63 of their vehicles damaged, they began to take their revenge, with plain clothes police in squads armed with clubs, rubber hoses and chains, indiscriminately beating local residents they got their hands on.

On the following Monday in Westminster, front bench MPs, both Tory and Labour, rose unanimously to condemn the local population and to commend the police brutality. Chief opposition Labour spokesman for Home Affairs, Roy Hattersley, deplored the "suggestion" that the police should have scaled down their operation and "abandoned the protection of residents." This "suggestion" had come with unerring uniformity from community leaders and local Labour municipal councillors alarmed by the inflammatory behaviour of the cops. But what has particularly worried the ruling class was the manifest breakdown in the police's ability to maintain control. When racist bigot Enoch Powell taunted the government that they had "seen nothing yet," Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could only respond weakly, "I hope with all my heart it isn't true."

Tory Home Secretary William Whitelaw announced a public inquiry under the direction of Lord Scarman,

veteran of three previous inquiries aimed at whitewashing state repression. As proficient as anybody in dishing out a vicious beating in a nice, quiet police station cell, British cops are neither armed nor trained for the type of situation that arose in Brixton. The army, however, has developed ruthless professionalism in "police actions" in the former empire and today in Northern Ireland. The *Times* editorial on the Monday after was clear on the purpose of a public inquiry as an immediate measure ("An inquiry could take the heat off the streets and put it in the tribunal room"). But in the aftermath Metropolitan Police commissioner Sir Robert Mark pointed to the need for the British police to adopt "American" solutions—the use of "controlled gunfire at selected targets" (*Sunday Times*, 19 April). The British cops no doubt lust for the same sort of firepower employed by their American counterparts, who would have left plenty of dead blacks behind under similar circumstances. As black community leaders and local Labour politicians prattle about community control over the police force while offering support to Scarman's whitewash inquiry, the local black population sees little difference between their brutal treatment at the hands of the nearly all-white police force and fascist terror.

The deep-going social crisis of British capitalism has thrust the country's minority West Indian and Asian communities to the forefront in a battle for self-preservation. The pervasive racism

which is the fruit of Britain's long-decayed colonial past is today crystallised in Margaret Thatcher's Tory government's Nationality Bill, which would take away citizenship rights from non-white immigrants who have lived and worked in the country most of their lives—as well as from their children actually born here. By creating new categories of "citizenship," only one of which is meaningful, it will also make it virtually impossible for non-whites to secure citizenship rights. (The felt outrage at this racist legislation was reflected in the protests by Her Majesty's former colonial subjects which greeted Thatcher on her recent tour of India.) This official racism encourages the increasingly brazen assaults of the fascists—typified by a recent incident in which an Asian youth had the initials of the Young National Front carved into his chest by knife-wielding fascist skinheads. (The cops could "discern no racial motive"!)

A community increasingly under siege, with their very right to remain in the country being called into question, Britain's black minority simply does not have a hope in hell of overcoming on its own the oppression which it faces. Blacks and Asians together amount to some four per cent of the total population. Indeed, even the Brixton area is predominantly white and a stronghold for fascist recruitment. And the fascists will doubtless attempt to exploit the Brixton events by pushing their own genocidal "solution" to the black "question" amid the more respectable racism of the Tories and the gutter press.

The road forward for Britain's blacks requires the intervention of a revolutionary, Trotskyist party, with a programme capable of transcending racial and national divisions and defeating racial oppression through class struggle. Though not a strategic section, blacks are overwhelmingly concentrated in the proletariat, providing a lever for mobilising a unified working-class response to racist attacks. Only with the support of the organised working class, which has a vested interest in combatting increased police repression and the growth of the fascists, will the struggle to defend Britain's black and Asian communities be successful. And to carry out that task, the working class must be broken from the grip of the Labour traitors who defend this dying empire built over the blood and bodies of millions of colonial slaves.

Cops out of Brixton! Smash the Nationality Bill! Full citizenship rights for Britain's blacks! For labour/black defence guards to halt racist attacks and smash the fascists! ■

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FBI...

(continued from page 3)

100 percent" (*New York Times*, 16 April).

And just what is "their job"? The "black bag jobs," for instance, are more commonly called burglaries. But unlike common burglars, FBI agents break in knowing the state is on their side. It is not just the cowardly robberies and illegal "mail covers" that are their real dirty business. "Surveillance" by the FBI/CIA inevitably leads to "disruption," and much worse: the hounding of student radicals, such as the Weatherman "most wanted" fugitives; FBI informants planted in the KKK who provoked murderous attacks on civil rights demonstrators; the killing of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, gunned down in their beds. No wonder the residual elements of that movement try to shoot first when they see the cops coming for them as in NYC recently: with two dead cops the witchhunt for Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur) and the Black Liberation Army is on again. But the real terrorists and criminals get off with a presidential medal of honor.

Ironically, the White House pardon came as the Socialist Workers Party's much-vaunted court suit finally came to trial, protesting some four-and-a-half decades of illegal FBI spying, break-ins and harassment against that organization. Even as these reformists were busy promising that the "right" to Socialist Revolution could be guaranteed in the courtroom, the ruling class was reaffirming its "right" to have its secret police get the left "by any means necessary." One of the G-men testified that he had been repeatedly commended and rewarded for breaking into the SWP's national headquarters 90 (ninety) times! But as these badge-toting cat burglars well know, in principle and in law they are at risk because a man's home is still supposed to be his castle.

In its "Watersuit," initiated in 1973 at the high-tide of liberal revulsion with the ham-handed spy agencies, the SWP hoped to demonstrate that the "democratic" capitalist courts could be used to check and control the capitalist spy system. In fact the Watergate exposures only provided the impetus for the ruling class to streamline the FBI/CIA, producing a barrage of propaganda about a so-called "new FBI." And in the eight years since the SWP case began, the rightward shift in the political climate has exposed the SWP as the Pollyannas of the left.

"This is not the 1950s," the *Militant* cheerily asserts, pointing out that the Foley Square Federal Court House was the scene of Smith Act trials of the Communist Party. "This trial is very much different. The socialists are the plaintiffs, not the defendants. This time the government is on trial" (*Militant*, 10 April). Well it's not the '50s. But it's Cold War II. And capitalism needs its secret police.

Certainly the FBI is the most

felonious outfit in the country. They steal, spy, frame up and murder, all "in the line of duty." And Marxists—unlike the SWP—have no illusions that the capitalist state will stop it. Reagan's pardon of Felt and Miller underlines the class basis as well as the boundless hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie, its state and its secret cops. First they make up the rules to suit their purposes. Then they break their own rules while framing up the left on charges of breaking the rules. Only the victorious proletarian revolution can wipe out the FBI/CIA and all their murderous deeds, creating a socialist society in which for the first time the rules will be made in the interests of humanity, and all men held accountable to them. ■

GAA...

(continued from page 2)

gay rights movement in the narrow sense.

Furthermore, the writer assumes that for a homosexual only the question of sexual oppression is really important. There is no sense that many homosexuals are also exploited workers, many are victims of racial oppression as well, and many are youth who could be drafted to fight in an imperialist war. In defending an "independent" gay movement, the writer presents a world in which homosexuals seem to exist independently of the basic social conflicts in this country and internationally.

As communists, we seek to act as a tribune of the people against all manifestations of special oppression, including discrimination against and victimization of homosexuals. We certainly do not "sneer" at any individuals for asserting their right to engage in whatever kind of consensual sexual activities they choose. In fact, we fight for it as part of our revolutionary program. Unlike the SWP, which expelled gay members, then cynically tailed "the gay movement," only to dump the issue when it became hot, the Spartacist League has a consistent record in the defense of democratic rights for homosexuals.

In the summer of 1968 we ran a candidate for New York Assembly on the Upper West Side. One of the key points in our election brochure, "The Protection of Human Rights," stated: "criminal penalties must be removed from the use of marijuana and other drugs, from homosexuality, prostitution, abortion, gambling and the dissemination of so-called pornography. These penalties must be replaced by guarantees for the right of any individual to dispose of his or her body as he or she chooses.... End police entrapment, wire-tapping, pot busts, gay busts and dragnet arrests of prostitutes." This was one year before what is generally taken to be the start of the gay movement, the Stonewall protests of June 1969.

The GAA strategy of "autonomous movements" for each specially oppressed group ignores the roots of this oppression in the racist capitalist system—for homosexuals particularly in the institution of the bourgeois family. We do insist that a homosexual leftist who wants to end sexual oppression can do so only as a member of a Leninist vanguard party leading the working class to the conquest of state power and the socialist transformation of society, which will lay the material foundation for the eradication of all forms of special social oppression.

It has been this insistence on the centrality of the class question, along with our record as fighters for full rights for homosexuals, that has won us subjectively revolutionary activists from the "gay liberation" milieu. It was the recognition of the need to build a Leninist vanguard party that led the majority of the Red Flag Union of Los Angeles, an organization of gay-rights activists who considered themselves socialists, to fuse with the Spartacist League. And this is the question which GAA members must face today. ■

Poland...

(continued from page 12)

replaced by the national hymn, "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland," and the new workers' leader, Lech Walesa, declared himself at every opportunity to be a true son of the Polish church. Many of the "dissidents" who raised their heads are openly reactionary—virulently nationalist, anti-communist, anti-democratic and even anti-Semitic (despite the fact that there are almost no Jews left in Poland).

The upsurge of clerical nationalism is associated with pro-Western sympathies, often expressed in calls for "free trade unions" like in the U.S. and West Germany. Polish workers would do well to look at the blood-soaked American neo-colonies before buying the Radio Free Europe line. The Russians would have to kill something like 150,000 Poles to proportionately match the number of workers and peasants slaughtered during the last year by Carter/Reagan's junta in El Salvador. In Brazil, the popular union leader "Lula" has been sentenced to three and a half years in prison for far less than threatening to lead a political general strike every month or so. Even United Auto Workers observer John Christensen commented:

"It's incredible to me that in comparing Brazil and Poland, a Communist country, there seems to be more freedom here than here. Walesa is freer than Lula. There the Government agreed to hold a dialogue with him, not here."

—*New York Times*, 3 April

A visit to El Salvador and Brazil by a "Solidarity" delegation might teach them a thing or two about the "free world"—if they got out alive.

With the strong clerical-nationalist influence over the new unions which became *Solidarność*, we have repeatedly warned of the danger of capitalist counterrevolution spearheaded by Pope Wojtyla's church. At the same time, we recognized that the emergence of a powerful workers movement fundamentally challenging Stalinist bureaucratic rule could also open the road to proletarian political revolution. We have therefore insisted that the key strategic task for a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland was to split the mass of workers from reactionary forces. This means fighting for a series of programmatic demands including strict separation of church and state, defense of collectivized property, defense of the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. A Trotskyist vanguard would seek to polarize the workers movement, attracting those who seek a genuinely socialist solution and are hostile to the Vatican and Western capitalism.

Solidarność in Turmoil, Communist Party Polarized

Today we see the beginnings of internal political differentiation within "Solidarity" and the Communist party. For the first time forces are opposing bureaucratic rule not in the name of the eagle and the cross but calling for "socialist renewal" and even a return to the principles of "Marxism-Leninism." The *New York Times* (12 April) now projects: "Barring Soviet military intervention, the likely next phase in the workers' revolution in Poland will not be a struggle against the Communist Party but a struggle within the party itself." This makes even more urgent the crystallization of a Trotskyist propaganda nucleus in Poland which alone can offer a way out of the desperate and seemingly endless crises which are wracking Poland.

The political landscape has changed considerably since the Gdansk-based general strike last summer. Walesa is under several-sided attack from within *Solidarność*. Meanwhile, many of the more than one million working-class members of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) now participating in

"Solidarity" must find their socialist convictions (however deformed by Stalinist ideology) in conflict with the reactionary views of Walesa and his associates. The church hierarchy, on the other hand, has pulled back, fearing a Soviet military intervention. A few days before "Solidarity" had scheduled a general strike at the end of March, Cardinal Wyszynski issued a joint statement with Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski urging that "strikes can be eliminated as extremely costly to the enfeebled national economy" (*Daily World*, 28 March).

Most striking is the impact which the workers struggles have had on the Stalinist apparatus of the PUWP. The recent Central Committee meeting at the end of March turned into a political brawl. "We must know that Solidarity is in the first place the working class itself," declared the party secretary of



SDKPIL

Polish revolutionary Felix Dzierzinski headed Bolshevik Chteka, security arm of early Soviet power.

the Baltic port of Szczecin. Only the fear of the Kremlin's reaction prevented this meeting from throwing hardliners like Stefan Olszowski off the Politburo. A recent national conference in Torun of dissident groupings within the party called for full and adequate information, secret ballots, multiple candidates. One delegate protested: "The authorities should not present the changes going on in our country as the work of antisocialist forces but as a proper restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles" (*New York Times*, 16 April).

However, overall the PUWP dissidents are not moving toward a rediscovery of authentic Leninism. They tend rather toward liberal Stalinism, "socialism with a human face," as the Czech Stalinist reformer Dubček called it during the Prague Spring of 1968, and they seek a favorable hearing from the

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present leaders of *Solidarność*. Moreover, they are quoted expressing anti-Russian prejudices and political sentiments common in Poland today. One delegate at the Torun conference remarked: "Our Soviet friends have a history that has accustomed them to absolutism in government. But the history of our nation is closely connected to democracy." And what of the national hero and fascist dictator Pilsudski, a former right-wing social democrat who defended Polish capitalism against the Red Army in 1920? As Trotsky pointed out, the Stalinist bureaucracy itself could generate a fascist wing—he called it the "Butenko faction"—which in Poland today would be imbued with virulent anti-Russian nationalism.

If the PUWP liberals are talking of a "socialist renewal" in Poland, the Kremlin is warning of "creeping counterrevolution." The Brezhnevite Stalinists dare not attack the real basis for counterrevolution, the powerful Catholic hierarchy, but instead target relatively small dissident groups, notably Jacek Kuron's Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) of Leszek Moczulski. Of course, the Kremlin hacks would denounce any political opposition, including and especially Trotskyists, as "counterrevolutionary" and even "fascistic." But Stalinist slanders notwithstanding, KOR and the KPN are each in their own ways enemies of socialism.

The KPN is openly clerical-nationalist and anti-socialist. This is not the case, however, with Kuron's KOR. In the West Kuron is widely regarded as some kind of left radical, even a "Marxist"—a reflection of his stance in the 1960s. As we have pointed out in the face of his pseudo-Trotskyist cheerleaders, he has since moved far to the right. Tamara Deutscher confirms this in an important recent article in *New Left Review* ("Poland—Hopes and Fears," January-February, 1981). She recalls that when sentenced to prison in 1964, "Kuron and his comrade defiantly sang the Internationale in court. Such a gesture on his part would be unthinkable today. He has moved towards social democracy, the Church and a nationalistic position."

Above All, A Revolutionary Internationalist Party

Whether or not Moscow intervenes militarily in the near future, the Polish crisis is fast heading toward the explosion point. The economic chaos is assuming disastrous proportions. Food supplies are shrinking rapidly; hard currency exports have fallen 25 percent since last year, coal exports have dropped 50 percent. Politically the situation is anarchic. There must be a tremendous felt need for the working people of Poland to take control of society, of the economy, and direct it in their interests. Seeking to placate the masses, the Stalinist leaders are now talking about granting more powers to

the parliament, the *Sejm*, nominally the highest governing body.

In Poland today the classic Bolshevik demand—all power to the soviets, the democratically elected workers councils—would have a broad appeal. A revolutionary vanguard might well demand that the supposed powers of the *Sejm* be vested in a congress of soviets as in the Russian October Revolution. But soviets in themselves do not guarantee the socialist direction of society. Especially under present Polish conditions,



Soviet soldiers greeted as liberators in Cracow, 1945.

Der Spiegel

they could fall under the influence of reactionary nationalist forces seeking imperialist backing against the USSR. The crucial element is an authentically revolutionary workers party capable of organizing the socialist impulses among the working masses around a Marxist, internationalist program.

A communist vanguard must be militantly anti-nationalist. It would look back to the tradition of the pre-World War I socialist party of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches. In contrast to Pilsudski's chauvinist Polish Socialist Party, they called their organization the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. They maintained that the socialist transformation of Poland was inextricably bound up with the proletarian revolution in Russia.

One of the leaders of the Luxemburg/Jogiches SDKPiL was Felix Dzerzhinski, who later played a distinguished role in the Bolshevik Revolution as head of the Cheka, the police arm of the early Soviet power. Dzerzhinski, whose Polish accent in Russian became stronger when he was agitated, was chosen for this most sensitive post because he was a revolutionist of outstanding moral integrity. On a far lesser historic scale, there was Konstanti Rokossovski, a young Polish socialist who joined the Soviet Red Army in 1919. Imprisoned in the Stalin purges of the late 1930s, he reemerged to become one of the greatest Soviet commanders of World War II. Marshal Rokossovski was not a revolutionist but a Stalinist military officer. But his service in defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack does him honor—and he played a key role in liberating Poland in 1944-45 from nightmarish Nazi occupation.

In his great essay on "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party," Isaac Deutscher stressed as his main conclusion: "... if the history of the Polish CP and of Poland at large proves anything at all, it proves how indestructible is the link between the Polish and the Russian revolutions." Today it is necessary to revive the tradition of revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian proletariat. Now it must be directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, in defense of the collectivized economies and proletarian state powers against the threat of capitalist-imperialism.

The leadership of "Solidarity" stands directly opposed to these principles. Walesa and his colleagues see themselves leading the entire Polish nation against Russian "Communism." This is most strongly expressed in their active

support to the peasant organization, Rural Solidarity. In fact, the recent near general strike was called primarily on behalf of the peasant organization. Expressing the acquisitive appetites of Poland's numerous landowning peasants, Rural Solidarity aims at the complete reestablishment of capitalist relations in the countryside. Its non-economic demands include the construction of more churches, no restriction of religious education and an end to compulsory teaching of Russian in the

successors have accelerated this disastrous policy. Poland's debt to the West has increased by one-third in the last seven months alone! Repaying the bankers of Frankfurt and Wall Street will absorb all of Poland's hard-currency export earnings for years to come. (And no small share of Soviet hard-currency exports are expended on repaying directly or indirectly Poland's Western capitalist creditors.) The demand to cancel the imperialist debt is crucial in breaking the capitalist stranglehold on the Polish economy. But this would be possible only under a revolutionary soviet regime which could counter imperialist economic retaliation by appealing to the workers of West Europe to become comrades in international socialist planning in a Socialist United States of Europe.

As important as appeals to the working class of the capitalist West are to a proletarian political revolution in Poland, still more important is the perspective toward such a revolution in the Soviet Union. Should the Kremlin intervene militarily, the immediate fate of the Polish workers would in large measure depend on their ability to influence and win over Soviet conscript soldiers—that is, young Russian, Ukrainian and Central Asian workers and peasants in uniform. Anti-Russian Polish nationalism, and especially violence directed at Soviet soldiers or officers, would sabotage the proletarian cause.

Here it is important to recognize that illusions about "good will" and peacefulness of the Western capitalist powers, common in East Europe and particularly in Poland, do not extend to the Soviet Union. After losing 20 million fighting Nazi Germany, the Soviet people understand full well that NATO's nuclear arsenal is targeted at them. This understanding is now heightened by Washington's open threats of a nuclear first strike. The Soviet people legitimately fear the transformation of East Europe into hostile, imperialist-allied states extending to their own border.

The Kremlin bureaucrats exploit this legitimate fear to crush popular unrest and democratic aspirations in East Europe, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the situation in Poland today is significantly different from that during the "Prague Spring." Anti-Russian nationalism is far more virulent, while Washington and its NATO allies are being far more provocative and militarily threatening. For these reasons the question of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism takes on far greater importance in the present Polish crisis. Revolutionary Polish workers cannot hope to appeal to Soviet soldiers unless they assure them that they will defend the social gains of the October Revolution against imperialist attack.

Only by addressing their Soviet class brothers in the name of socialist internationalism can the Polish proletariat liberate itself from the chains of Stalinist oppression. With this perspective a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland could turn a looming catastrophe into a great victory for world socialism. ■

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Poland is coming unstuck. The "Solidarity" union movement (*Solidarność*) is polarizing. The Polish Communist party is in chaos. The economy is in a shambles. And United States imperialism is wildly seeking to provoke a Russian intervention. Reagan and Haig have seized upon Poland as a pawn for their superheated Cold War drive against the Soviet Union. And their ultimate aim is to overthrow the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, the main bastion of proletarian state power. Revolutionaries and all class-conscious workers must oppose this imperialist provocation and unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc states against counterrevolutionary attack.

Washington hectors its West European "allies" to stiffen their anti-Soviet resolve with nuclear missiles aimed at the "Russian aggressor in Poland." General Haig tries to line up NATO governments to break off economic and diplomatic relations with the USSR. American secretary of war Weinberger threatens terrible reprisals if the Soviet Union intervenes. He even flashes the U.S.' menacing "China card," threatening to arm Peking, presumably with atomic weapons capable of reaching Soviet cities. And the Chinese are ready, even eager: they don't just want thermonuclear missiles, they want to use them!

Ever since World War II the American bourgeoisie has tried to talk itself into the idea that they can nuclear bomb the Soviet Union and live! This goal is now openly stated by the Reagan administration. White House Russia expert Richard Pipes says the Soviets face the choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war." Reagan/Haig believe that Soviet intervention in Poland will remove all obstacles in their preparations for such a war.

Even if the Kremlin doesn't intervene, the U.S. has already made Poland a focal point of the Cold War with its endless talk of "invasion by osmosis," "indefinite extension of Warsaw Pact war games," etc. The U.S. "seem[s] to be playing some kind of game with a whole nation," exclaimed one Pole angered by Washington's constant alarms (*New York Times*, 6 April). Indeed, Reagan and Haig have made it clear they want full-scale Russian intervention, and they're doing their best to spark it. They want to see Polish workers under the eagle and the cross throwing Molotov cocktails at Soviet tanks. They want to provoke a bloodbath in Poland so that they can use the battle cry of "Russian aggression" to push forward on



Warsaw Pact tanks in Poland.

all fronts in their drive toward World War III.

Imperialist politicians and the Western press all speak of a Soviet "invasion of Poland." In fact the Soviet Army drove the Nazi German forces out of Poland and liberated the country in 1944-45. They have been there since, and today two Russian divisions guard the vital communications links to East Germany and the NATO front. To demand withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland is to demand that Warsaw leave the Warsaw Pact—tantamount to calling for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet bloc. It is not an invasion that is posed, but a Russian military intervention into the civil life and class struggle in Poland. And those processes have undergone important developments during nine months at full boil.

The massive strike wave in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counterrevolution in league with Western imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution. With the clerical-nationalist influence in *Solidarność* and now the emergence of a mass organization of the landowning peasantry, the counterrevolutionary danger remains great. But a process of political differentiation has begun. Above all, "Solidarity" has come to embrace the whole of the Polish

working class, with all of its tensions and contradictions. One million Polish party members have joined the new unions, and the party is in deep trouble—hardliners isolated, the leadership weakened, the ranks in uproar. And the church has pulled back from Walesa & Co., hoping to maintain itself as a stable pole for counterrevolution in the face of Russian military intervention.

This political fluidity by no means signifies a fundamental change in the relationship of forces, which is still distinctly unfavorable from a revolutionary standpoint. But if a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist opposition were precipitated, it could quickly grow and have a tremendous polarizing impact. Should the Kremlin, goaded by imperialist provocation, move to restore bureaucratic order in Poland, however, it would in the best case freeze that political differentiation necessary for the only progressive solution to the Polish crisis: workers political revolution. Thus genuine proletarian internationalists must bitterly protest a Russian military intervention, which would represent a defeat for the cause of socialism.

But far worse would be violent resistance by the Poles, which could produce a bloodbath. This would be a historic catastrophe. A "cold" suppression would only postpone the confrontation between the Polish workers and their Stalinist rulers. If there is a Soviet

tank on every street corner and the Polish people walk by them hissing, what has really changed? But if there is a violent response, the resulting repression would crush the Polish working class into the ground politically and produce an explosion of anti-Russian nationalism that would take years, perhaps decades to overcome. It would also fuel U.S. imperialism's war drive to a white heat, which is why Reagan and Haig are pushing for such a bloodbath. *Proletarian revolutionaries must therefore emphatically oppose all violent resistance, whether mass action or individual terror, against such a Soviet military intervention in Poland.*

The present Polish situation is the product of decades of capitulation by the Stalinist bureaucrats to capitalist forces. It makes revolutionaries yearn for a Trotskyist leadership in the USSR which would make short shrift of the Polish crisis. Only a political revolution throughout Stalinist-ruled East Europe can open the road to socialism. And that requires internationalist Trotskyist parties which can reach out to the Soviet working class in defending the gains of the October Revolution.

Stalinism Fuels Clerical-Nationalist Reaction

The Soviet armed forces entering German-occupied Poland in 1944 were greeted as liberators in a social as well as a national sense. The expropriation of the large landed estates and big capitalists in the mid/late-1940s was a broadly supported measure. Yet three decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule have turned much of the population, and much of the industrial working class, against what they view as the "Russian-imposed Communist system." And this is not simply a reaction to the police suppression of democratic rights and the gross privileges and corruption of the "socialist" officialdom. The present Polish crisis, especially the dangerous growth of clerical-nationalist sentiment, has its roots in the failures and broken promises of reform Stalinism.

When Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power in 1956 proclaiming the need for the widest workers democracy, he enjoyed enormous popular authority. Then he turned and suppressed the workers councils and dissident intellectual circles which had supported him against the hard-line Stalinists. When Edward Gierek replaced Gomulka in 1970 after the Baltic coast workers' uprising, many believed his promises of unparalleled economic prosperity. Then he ruinously mortgaged Poland's wealth to Western bankers and also ruinously subsidized the landowning peasants!

So when under the pressure of rising prices and food and other consumer goods shortages the workers exploded last summer, they looked to the powerful Catholic church as the recognized opposition to the discredited Communist regime. The *Internationale* was

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