

El Salvador: "Negotiated Solution" Means Bloodbath

Smash the Junta, Workers to Power!

JUNE 15—Fighting has sharply increased in El Salvador's bloody civil war as leftist guerrillas are mounting a rainy season offensive that has built in intensity from week to week. From the northeastern province of Morazan to the western hills of Chalatenango, the entire northern tier of the country has been the scene of coordinated guerrilla assaults on the forces of the U.S.-backed military/Christian Democratic junta. So far, insurgent advances contrast with the January "final/general" offensive that was called off after only ten days. But government troops and police are not the only obstacle facing rebel fighters—treacherous calls for negotiations with sectors of the junta pose a dangerous roadblock to a left-wing victory on the battlefield.

As rebel forces step up their attacks, Reagan continues to pour millions in weapons into the junta's armory. Meanwhile, imperialist liberals have launched an offensive of their own, pleading for a "peaceful solution" to the civil war which has claimed 20,000 lives since January of last year. But the Reagan regime isn't buying. While supplying the junta colonels with Huey helicopters

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Cruz/Gamma

Israeli Nuclear Terrorists

JUNE 15—We may consider ourselves lucky if we get through the June 30 Israeli elections without Menachem Begin provoking World War III. For his air attack on an Iraqi nuclear power plant is only the latest criminal adventure by the increasingly desperate Zionist ruling class, a class which believes that history is *not* on its side. So the borders of "Eretz Israel" have now been extended to anywhere its U.S.-supplied F-16s can reach, and pre-emptive strikes against potential nuclear rivals are the order of the day. Syria's SAM missiles are next, says Begin. And then? Of course the indignant Arab rulers are no more moral or peace-loving, no more respecters of other peoples' rights than is the Israeli prime minister—just militarily weaker for now.

Begin's terror raid was ritually condemned right across the globe. Even Israel's great-power protector in Washington felt compelled to voice disapproval

over the "unprecedented character" of the attack and to delay a shipment of F-16s. To this transparently minimal gesture the Zionist terrorists in Jerusalem reacted with snarling defiance. "Israel doesn't equip itself with any weapons for parading purposes," the defense minister reminded his American patrons. In other words, the Zionist state will do whatever it damn well pleases with its U.S.-supplied weaponry.

Begin's only concession to the universal condemnation was to note that the reactor had, after all, been destroyed before being fueled, so the attack did not irradiate Baghdad. That was good of him. To prove his "humanitarian" concern, Begin bombed on Sunday (when no French technicians were supposed to be present), citing Israel's supposed war ethic: "Never use arms against innocent and unarmed civilians." Of course for the maniacal Zionist nationalists, no Arab can be an "innocent civilian."

Remember, this is the same Menachem Begin whose Irgun terrorists massacred hundreds of defenseless and unarmed Arab villagers at Deir Yassin in 1948 and whose planes routinely bomb defenseless Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon today.

Begin Bombs Reagan's Anti-Soviet Grand Plan

If Reagan added his whisper to the worldwide outcry over Israel's raid on Iraq, it is not because the U.S. imperialist chief is more concerned over "unarmed and innocent civilians" than the Zionist rulers. In leveling Baghdad's nuclear reactor, Begin also destroyed for the time being Washington's grand design for a "strategic consensus" in the Near East aimed at the Soviet Union. The Saudis know that Israel's F-16s could just as easily have bombed Riyadh as Baghdad and that their much vaunted American AWACs had failed to detect anything. So it's no surprise that for now the Saudis' denunciation of "international terrorism" is directed at Israel and not the Soviet Union. Even the U.S.' most important and loyal Arab ally, Egypt, ruefully noted that all the while Sadat was meeting with his "brother" Menachem to discuss the Sinai peace accords, the Israeli high command was putting the final touches on the Baghdad raid.

In fact, sowing discord between the U.S. and the Arab states was as much the purpose of the

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NYC Demo Blasts Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

NEW YORK—Nearly 100 people demonstrated June 8 outside the Sri Lankan Mission to the United Nations to protest the murderous attacks on the Tamil minority of Sri Lanka which have escalated in recent weeks. Since late March at least 89 Tamil activists have "disappeared," victims of military and police dragnets. Tamils have been arrested by the hundreds, Hindu temples and political offices burnt, and five Tamil youths have been reported killed by the police. On June 3 the predominantly Tamil Northern Province was placed under a state of emergency. Two days later this was extended to the whole island, then called off on June 9. But the military occupation of the Tamil areas continues in effect, as it has for the past two years.

The NYC demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. and joined by members of the Eelam Tamils Association, which advocates a separate Tamil state on the island (Eelam). Another protest demonstration called by Tamil groups was held in London on June 6. The Spartacist League of Britain was the only British left organization to mobilize for this demonstration. And on June 15, some 2-3,000 Tamil workers marched on the Sri Lankan embassy in Bonn, protesting the anti-Tamil terror. Again, the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands was the only group on the German left to take part in the demonstration.

What little news slips out through the wall of censorship points to the urgent need for such international protests against the murderous regime of Sri Lankan president J.R. Jayewardene. In Jaffna, city police in and out of uniform, as well as troops, including a special "search and destroy" army commando unit, torched the Tamil United Libera-



International Spartacist tendency Sinhala placard says: "Forward to a revolutionary workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka!"

tion Front (TULF) headquarters, Tamil businesses, the public library, the Tamil press, Hindu temples and cultural centers. Twenty Tamil youth returning from West Germany, where they were denied political asylum, were arrested at the airport. A Tamil member of parliament narrowly escaped with his life when his house was ransacked, and even the leader of the parliamentary opposition, TULF leader A. Amirthalingam, was arrested and released only after protests.

Slogans raised at the New York demonstration called for the freeing of victims of the anti-Tamil terror, for the withdrawal of cops and troops from the Tamil areas, and for the right of self-

determination for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. Other demands included: Stop deportations of Tamil plantation workers! Equal status for the Tamil language! Equal pay for women plantation workers! Spartacist League placards proclaimed: "Tamil workers—key to socialist revolution in Sri Lanka! For proletarian revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent!" In Ceylon only the Spartacist League of Sri Lanka takes an uncompromising stand for these and other demands that point the way toward Tamil-Sinhalese class unity.

A speaker at the picket-line protest from the Eelam Tamils Association said: "Three families have been ruling Sri Lanka for thirty years. They start the

caste war. They start the religion war. They start the language war. Everything to get the poor to kill each other." A Spartacist League speaker noted that the anti-Tamil repression "is similar, but more intense, to what you had in this country in the '60s when, after blacks rose up in the ghettos to fight against their two- and three-fold oppression, cops and troops—from Watts to Detroit—launched a brutal campaign of state terror against them.... This is nothing but Jim Crow, Ceylon style."

Before the demonstrators concluded the protest with a spirited singing of the *Internationale*, a Spartacist spokesman summed up: "American imperialism has come to Sri Lanka. It has come in two ways. One way is trying to compete with the Chinese labor of Hong Kong and Singapore and Taiwan. They take young Sinhalese girls, put them in the Free Trade Zone, pay them 25 cents an hour and work them for textiles. Cheap labor. Sweated labor. Slave labor. The other way is that American imperialism has moved into the Indian Ocean." The SL speaker stressed the importance of opposing imperialist naval bases on the island of Diego Garcia and at Trincomalee in Sri Lanka. He concluded by reminding the protesters that not only the government party in Sri Lanka has the blood of the Tamils on its hands:

"There is a man, his name is J.R. Jayewardene, and his rotund prime minister Premadasa—they are the enemies. The way was prepared by [former prime minister] Bandaranaike, the popular front of racism, of anti-Tamil oppression.... The Tamil people are oppressed. They are being dumped back out of an island. They are being squeezed. In Jaffna they are being killed. This will not continue. J.R. Jayewardene is being put on notice that as a flunky of imperialism and the West German bankers he will not win." ■

Letter

Science and Religion

New York City
17 March 1981

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

The article "Sacramento Monkey Trial" (*WV* No. 276, 13 March) rightly points out that the growth of religious fundamentalism, graphically expressed in the attack on Darwin's theory of evolution, is "on the cutting edge of the right-wing revival." It is also important to add that a belief in modern science in itself is no talisman against reactionary and conformist ideological influences. For example, Edward Teller, "the father of the H-bomb," is no less an anti-communist fanatic than the Rev. Jerry Falwell and is perhaps an even more dangerous servant of U.S. imperialism. Whatever Reagan's personal prejudices, the men and women who design his MX missiles and neutron bombs will not be members of the Moral Majority. On the contrary, most Pentagon-financed scientists are agnostics or atheists, all accept the evolution of species and they are generally contemptuous of religious fanatics like Falwell. Yet they will join hands with Reagan and even Falwell in defense of "country" if not of "god."

Religious fundamentalism is the opiate of the most backward and often oppressed sections of society, people for whom this earth is a vale of tears. It is not the reigning ideology of the keyholders to the Fortune 500 boardrooms. And it can never be the ideology of the men who build cyclotrons or search for a cure for cancer.

It is important to draw a distinction between the social impact of science before and after the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. In an age when kings and lords ruled "by the grace of god," materialism was necessarily subversive of the existing social order. This remains true today in the backward, priest-ridden countries of the East (Iran, India, Indonesia). However, with the bourgeois-democratic transformations religion was displaced by nationalism as the

dominant ruling class ideology. Most of the scientists and engineers who work for imperialist governments share the national loyalties of the educated petty bourgeoisie in general.

In considering the relation of ideological irrationalism to the scientific establishment it is useful to look at Nazi Germany. Trotsky pointed out that Hitler and his henchmen could not totally reshape an advanced capitalist country like Germany in accordance with their reactionary-utopian ideological notions. To do so would utterly destroy the German economy and its military capability. Long before this occurred the Nazi leaders would have been overthrown by the officer corps and other elements of the old state bureaucracy. Hitler's men despite their subjective prejudices had to and did collaborate with non-fascist elements in the German bourgeois ruling elite.

This is clear in the case of nuclear physics. Predictably, the Nazi movement was associated with "German physics" which dismissed Einstein's theory of relativity as a "Jewish world-bluff." However, the Nazi government didn't push "German physics" that hard and it never displaced the real thing. The prestigious Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Physics and the Uranium Society remained firmly in the hands of "modernists" like Heisenberg, who utilized the work of Jewish scientists.

To be sure, the Nazi regime did grave damage to science in Germany by driving out Jewish scientists (Einstein) and some non-Jewish liberals like Peter Debye, director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute. Still, a number of top nuclear physicists (Werner Heisenberg, Carl von Weizsäcker) remained in Germany and worked under and for Hitler. These men were capable of constructing an atomic bomb if given sufficient resources. That they did not do so was not a result of their unwillingness or resistance (as some later claimed).

Certainly the brilliant German scientists of the U (uranium) Project were utterly contemptuous of Nazi

ideology, its ridiculous claims for Aryan racial superiority, not to speak of reviving the cult of Odin and Thor. Heisenberg and his colleagues were motivated, predictably enough, by "defense of the fatherland." In 1942 Heisenberg submitted a report to Albert Speer, tsar of the Nazi war economy, indicating the possibility as well as the practical difficulties in constructing an atomic bomb. Speer rejected constructing such a weapon on economic grounds and instead favored using nuclear fission to generate energy.

The general philosophical outlook of the German scientists of the U Project was one of rational humanism, basically similar to that of their opposite numbers working for the American Manhattan Project (who did build the bomb). Despite this outlook these scientists worked loyally and productively for the imperialist mass murderers of Auschwitz and of Hiroshima.

It is not a question of building the bomb *per se*, but of doing so for an imperialist state. The Russian scientists like Kapitsa who developed the atomic bomb in this way defended the USSR—a bureaucratically-ruled workers state—and the interests of humanity from American nuclear destruction.

Early (utopian) socialism saw the triumph of socialism arising through the spread of a rational world outlook. This view found its supreme expression in Saint-Simonism, which looked to scientists and engineers as the vanguard of the socialist transformation of society. But under advanced capitalism the scientific/technical intelligentsia is a privileged social group, close to the bourgeois ruling elite and therefore subject to conservative and conformist ideological influences. As the victim of capitalist exploitation and the product of collective organization and struggles it is the industrial proletariat, not the scientific/technical intelligentsia, that is the central historic agency for the rational reorganization of society. By championing scientific truth against religious bigotry, the workers movement and its political vanguard facilitate winning the intellectuals to the proletarian socialist cause.

Comradely,
JS

WORKERS VANGUARD

Letter to the Communist Party

Tim Yeager
Communist Party of Iowa
P.O. Box 531
Clinton, Iowa
8 June 1981

Dear comrade:

I just received a copy of the June 5th issue of WORKERS VANGUARD. The Vanguard is the paper of the Spartacist League. On page 12 there is a story, a copy of which I will send along to you, under the headline AT CHICAGO EL SALVADOR PROTEST/STALINISTS SET COPS ON ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT. The story is about a May 30th demonstration, in Chicago, at which the SL's anti-imperialist contingent was excluded by the police who were acting on instructions from the Communist Party organizers of the march.

The SL marched under the banners "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents", and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador". As a Communist I support these slogans, and if I had been in Chicago I would have been found under that banner. *But*, even if I did not support the SL's slogans, I would still support their right to express themselves without police oppression, and when that



Chicago, May 30—CP calls cops on revolutionaries who demand "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftist Insurgents!"

oppression is instigated by the Communist Party, then I believe we have a major scandal on our hands. I am writing this letter to express my outrage and to protest the action of the Party in the strongest terms I can.

You know what this reminds me of? The TUAD conference in Gary, Indiana last year. At that time, too, the police were called by leaders of our party to stop the SL from passing out literature and raising a resolution

endorsing the Keith Anwar picket line defense case. At that time I stood with the SL, as did the members of Grain Millers Local 6. We were so disgusted by that Stalinist nonsense that we walked out of the conference. It was our feeling that if we wanted to fight police, all we had to do was go down to our own picket line, we didn't need it at a union conference, and one sponsored by the Party at that. At that time, I raised a protest within the Party, and was assured that the blunder of Fred Gaboury was an isolated instance that would not be repeated, and that a written apology would be forthcoming. A month short of a year has gone by and there has been no apology, and the incident is repeated, this time on the streets of Chicago.

As a member of the Party, I request that you raise a protest at the next meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA. Actions of this nature must be condemned in the strongest possible terms, and those responsible should be held accountable for their actions.

Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents of El Salvador!

Michael L. Messina
Marshalltown, Iowa

cc: Gus Hall
Workers Vanguard
Comrade G.D.

Gay Activist Alliance Leader Joins SL

We reprint below the application for membership in the Spartacist League of Derek Hirst. For the last two years, he was the only elected leader of the NYC Gay Activist Alliance (GAA). While today a small residual group, the GAA has been the recognized organization of leftist gay activism in the city. Like the fusion of the SL with the Red Flag Union in 1977, Derek's recruitment to the SL confirms the continuing power and appeal of the Trotskyist program for leftward moving gay activists.

On May 3rd, 1981 I spoke at the Anti-Imperialist Contingent Rally. I supported the call for the military victory of the leftist armies in El Salvador and for the revolutionary victory of the workers and peasants. Additionally, I was speaking *against* the pacifists, the reformists, the opportunists and nationalists who capitulate to the Democratic Party as they united on the Pentagon steps.

The Spartacist League is unique in its ardent principled defense of the picket line, its labor-black defense against the Klan and the Nazis as exemplified in San Francisco last April, in its application of the full Transitional Program and its determination to actually do

what others, lacking the program, can only call for: rebuilding the Fourth International. I wish to join the Spartacist League (U.S.) and the iSt to help lead the working class programmatically for the fight for socialism.

My basic political experience has been in organizations which ultimately feared revolution. In 1969 I worked around the Gay Liberation Front, which led me into the International Socialists. I split from the I.S. with the Revolutionary Socialist League and served as Managing Editor of the *Torch*. I left the RSL disillusioned with its bureaucratism, opportunism and clear cliquism. I can now more clearly see that the RSL was and is heading in the direction of the Socialist Workers Party in tailing sectoralist movements, together with the lumpen, and that its program is essentially reformist economism. However I allowed the RSL to lead me backward into the gay movement.

The rightward turn of the bourgeoisie and the leftists with them has led me to reject the state capitalist theory of Russia. I look at each of its proponents and see that this theory has led all of them into a peace with U.S. imperialism which I cannot share. It has become implausible for me to think that a Leninist Communist would protect the so-called self-determination of semi-feudal Islamic barbarians in Afghanistan from the Red Army and the social impact it brings with it. I call for the unconditional defense of Russia from imperialist attack and the defense and extension of the collectivized property forms and the planned economy created by the Russian Revolution.

On Thursday, June 4th, I resigned my leadership position of the Gay Activist Alliance of New York City and urged it to dissolve rather than lead militants into an alliance with reformism. GAA has at least one thing in common with the early Red Flag Union, a Los Angeles-based gay revolutionary group which fused with the international Spartacist tendency in 1977 after a long fight with the RSL and numerous other opportunists. The Red Flag Union, before its decisive break towards Trotskyism, like GAA today, derived its pride from being "the revolutionary

wing of the gay movement."

The gay movement, though, is a recluse for religionists as well as militants who deny the need for clarification of political issues in order to savor a specific theater of events. This is classic liberalism—the division of political situations into segmented "topics for concern" which divert its followers into the Democratic Party. The attempt to win democratic rights, let alone socialist revolution, is betrayed when it is consciously splintered among autonomous sectors. GAA has been a dominant sectoralist betrayer which defends a lifestyle more than it does any political issue. By applying for membership in the international Spartacist tendency, I place myself squarely on the side of building revolutionary international proletarian leadership as *opposed* to the autonomous sectoralism which leads to dispersion and defeat.

Within GAA I have always declared myself a Trotskyist. My commitment to the Spartacist League has developed

quickly following my intervention in a SL forum, representing GAA, on the questions of feminism, age of consent legislation, Women Against Pornography, the nuclear family, sexual liberation and sectoralism. Not only did I find that I had basic agreement with the Spartacist League on almost all of these questions, but I found as well the nucleus of a vanguard party which could unite the working class around these questions and towards socialism. There is no other ostensibly revolutionary organization in this country about which I could say this. I leave political sectoralism behind me forever to help rebuild the Fourth International.

In applying for membership to the Spartacist League (U.S.) I accept its program, the Trotskyist Program, and accept the Spartacist League's discipline in forging a vanguard workers party which will prepare to lead the working class to revolutionary victory and socialism.

Derek Hirst

Leading Gay Activist Joins Spartacist League From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

Derek Hirst
Spokesman and Political Chairman
New York Gay Activists Alliance, 1979-1981
Formerly Managing Editor, *The Torch*

Sunday, June 28, 6:30 p.m.

Peppermint Lounge
128 W. 45th Street

NEW YORK CITY

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Walt Sloan
Former Leader, Lavender and Red Union/
Red Flag Union
SL Central Committee

Thursday, July 2, 7:30 p.m.

Church Street Community Center
519 Church Street

TORONTO

For more information, call the Trotskyist League:
(416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

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19 June 1981

San Diego Cop Entrapment—Threat to Labor

NASSCO 3 Railroaded

LOS ANGELES—On June 5 a federal district court in San Diego convicted three workers, Mark Loo and Rodney Johnson, supporters of the Communist Workers Party, and militant trade unionist David Boyd of conspiring to bomb power transformers at the giant National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO). More than the NASSCO 3 were railroaded that day. This frame-up is a sinister government/company plot aimed at the most fundamental rights of labor. With this case the government declares the legal basis to run search-and-destroy operations in the unions. The state has thrown its murderous secret police behind NASSCO's union-busting drive, using every trick in its dirty book. And now the unionists face 35 years in prison.

The case of the NASSCO 3 is the culmination of sharp battles between the workers and bitterly anti-union bosses. NASSCO is the nation's largest and most profitable shipyard, and it pays the lowest wages. It is notoriously unsafe in a particularly dangerous industry. For years it has tried to bust the Iron Workers Local 627. Last summer NASSCO fired 17 union officials who joined a protest over health and safety conditions. The workers responded with a three-day wildcat, and the company fired more workers. Then on September 2, two workers were found asphyxiated at the bottom of an open unmarked tank on the ship, *Cape Cod*—the same ship where Loo and Boyd had led a work stoppage over noxious fumes only months before. Adding the most hideous insult to the deaths, the federal safety agency OSHA fined NASSCO a paltry \$2,400!

It was after these deaths, the government claims, that the bomb plot was cooked up. But who did the cooking? In court the NASSCO 3 defense showed it was the admitted, paid FBI agent provocateur, one Ramon Barton, who entrapped the others. It was Barton posing as an outraged union member who proposed the idea of bombing NASSCO for revenge. It was Barton who coined the slogan: "Lights Out for NASSCO!" It was Barton who supplied the home manual for bomb-making, *Poor Man's James Bond*, and purchased some of the materials used to construct the pipe bomb found in Barton's 1965 van on September 16 when the NASSCO 3 were arrested. And it was the testimony, the whole testimony, and only the testimony of this same agent provocateur which convicted the three.

In setting up the NASSCO 3 for the company and government, Barton



Defendants Loo, Boyd and Johnson with attorney Weinglass (right). Drop all charges against NASSCO 3!

attended meetings of the Iron Workers wired for sound. He had a microphone taped to his chest, an FBI tape recorder in his right cowboy boot and a police transmitter in his left boot. His van was also bugged (*Newsweek*, 11 May). He gave his information to the FBI, the company, the cops and of course the federal prosecutors for trial. The jurors heard plenty of taped conversations, but a crucial twenty minutes was "missing." A technical malfunction, according to the cops, but a defense expert acoustical technician testified at the trial that the clicks and gaps on the tape showed it had been tampered with.

It may be that the real story of the bomb plot is on the "missing" tape, for David Boyd testified that by September 6, he and the others had dumped Barton's bomb plan. The defense argued that when the defendants were picked up with the bomb, they were on their way to destroy it. And on September 12 they told Barton they were against it. It is this section of the September 12 meeting which is "missing" conveniently for the government. On the existing tape, however, Barton is heard goading Boyd not to quit the project: "You can't quit now, man... you know, then we'd just stand to lose too much." And then after the "missing" portion, Barton harangues the "sell-outs" including Loo and Johnson of whom, the FBI provocateur says: "They better be there, man... 'cause I'm going to be just as [angry] at them as what I am at NASSCO... 'cause a sellout's a sellout no matter which way you look at it" (*Los Angeles Times*, 6 May).

There never was a bombing, and there never would have been a bomb plot were it not for the FBI provocateur. The blatant entrapment was succinctly summed up by defense lawyer Dan Siegel: "No Barton, no book, no bomb." David Boyd testified, "It was a stupid thing to do. It just happened" (*Los Angeles Times*, 21 May). That's putting it mildly! Such actions are also a dangerous diversion from the urgent tasks of the class struggle. Certainly, in the face of the government provocation to set up union fighters, it is the duty of the labor movement to defend the self-admittedly "stupid" militants who fell for the FBI company trap (see "Defend NASSCO Frame-Up Victims!" *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980). But what does it take to be taken in by Ramon Barton?

Barton, an incredible hulk in his cowboy clothes and long hair, his skull-and-crossbones tatoos, seems to be the spitting image of a Klan-biker. He is such a repulsive character that even the government lawyer, anticipating the jurors reaction to his witness, advised the jury that this "vulgar, loud, volatile" man could be believed even though "they might not invite [him] home for

dinner" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 June). Why invite him anywhere? Barton arrived on the scene at NASSCO with his *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, his do-it-yourself bomb book, knife-wielding and macho-baiting for violent action. A South African immigrant, he boasted that in the army (from which he was dishonorably discharged) he broke into the armory to steal guns and painted "black power" on the walls to pin it on the blacks. At NASSCO he talked of blowing up his bombs on Mexican independence day so that Chicanos would get blamed (*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 3 June).

That the CWP supporters accepted racist provocateur Barton as an honest, angry worker says more than a volume of polemics about their image of the American working class. After years of capitulating to the most backward prejudices—on busing, the ERA, homosexual oppression, anti-Communism—they capitulate even to Ramon Barton. After politically careening between macho-adventurism and low-level reformism, tragically the CWP supporters were easy prey for the FBI, NASSCO and Barton.

For A Labor Defense of the NASSCO 3

The government's case against the NASSCO 3 was simple and ominous. Following the Reagan/Haig equation, "communism=terrorism," the three were accused of being "predisposed to violence" because they are leftists. Ever since the Greensboro massacre, when Nazi/KKK killers gunned down CWP leaders in broad daylight and catapulted their organization into the national spotlight, the witchhunt of CWP members has been a top priority of the capitalist state's secret police. At NASSCO when Boyd was interrogated by FBI agents he was told that they weren't after him, but after the CWP (*San Diego Union*, 21 May). A NASSCO 3 defense committee spokesman told *WV* that Boyd was offered immunity if he would turn against the CWP for the state. Boyd decently and courageously refused.

The conspiracy to get the labor militants, the "reds" at NASSCO, involved the whole apparatus of state and company secret police: local cops, company spies, naval intelligence, FBI. Of course there are laws against entrapment. Government undercover agents are supposed to be prevented from engaging in criminal activities to secure convictions. But entrapment laws don't mean much, as the present case illustrates. "Surveillance" necessarily leads to violence of all sorts as the recent COINTELPRO exposures made clear. The bourgeoisie has never allowed their laws to stand in the way of defending

their class rule. Their laws are designed to keep the oppressed in line, not themselves. Even as the government prepared to slam the prison gates on the NASSCO 3, Reagan pardoned two FBI agents convicted for COINTELPRO crimes against the left and blacks.

Thus with the case of the NASSCO 3, the Reagan gang has launched a COINTELPRO for labor. With the NASSCO contract coming up, this frameup is an *open* attempt to use the power of the state—its cops, courts, agents—to pick off leftists and intimidate the entire workforce.

On July 14 defense attorneys will present a motion to dismiss the case claiming "outrageous government conduct," but for the government this is all part of the job. Sentencing will be immediate if the motion fails.

The power of the unions must be mobilized to defend the NASSCO 3 and stop this frontal assault on the labor movement. But the Iron Worker leadership placed NASSCO Local 627 in trusteeship precisely to distance themselves from the NASSCO 3. This cowardly refusal to defend their own members has undercut the defense of these brothers. But the local leaders responded by suing the union—in the same courts that are railroadng their members to jail and which put the fascist murderers of Greensboro back on the streets!

The NASSCO defense committee has not one word of criticism of dragging the union before the capitalist courts. Yet if the case of the NASSCO 3 proves anything, it is that the state is an instrument of class rule and class terror. The fight to keep the unions independent of the bosses' state—its cops, courts, secret police—is essential in building a powerful labor/left defense of the NASSCO 3. It must be the principles of



San Diego Union

Gross provocateur Ramon Barton.

the class struggle that guide the building of the defense, not trust in Democratic Party liberals like Ron Dellums and in the capitalist courts to "clean up" the unions. The NASSCO defense committee calls for a "fair trial or drop the charges." This is no choice. The only fair trial in this case would be the trial of Ramon Barton and all the other FBI/company spies before workers tribunals. And that will take nothing less than workers revolution. We look forward to that day of justice when they will be held accountable for their crimes against the proletariat.

Drop the charges against the NASSCO 3. Government, cops, courts, company stooges out of the labor movement! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Why CWP Flip-Flopped on Russia

Not since the McCarthyite period of the early 1950s has anti-Sovietism so dominated American political life as it does today. Every cutback in school lunches for poor children, in Social Security benefits for the aged is justified as "strengthening our defenses" against a "Russian menace." The one and only purpose given for U.S. support to rightist butchers from Central America to the Near East to southern Africa is to counter alleged Moscow-inspired "international terrorism." And now Washington's Captain Queeg, Alexander ("I'm in charge here") Haig flies off to Peking to present jet fighters to one of the few regimes in the world as fanatical anti-Soviet as he.

Just as U.S. imperialism now finds Maoist China one of its staunchest allies against the USSR, so the American Maoists with their shrill ranting about "Soviet social-imperialism" have in their own small way contributed to the present Cold War II. As we wrote when the Soviet intervention against Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan set Washington and Peking howling about "Russian imperialism":

"Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who deny that the USSR is a proletarian state (although bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves—some more, some less willingly—on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism. [emphasis in original]

—"Maoists United with Uncle Sam," *WV* No. 250, 22 February 1980

Attacking mainstream liberalism from the right, the once relatively large Maoist formations have now become despised, demoralized and disintegrating sects (see "End of the Line for American Maoism," *WV* No. 281, 22 May 1981).

Seeking to avoid the miserable fate of its erstwhile sister/rival Maoist organizations, the Communist Workers Party (CWP) led by Jerry Tung has just sharply changed its line on the Russian question. The new line is heralded in a front-page editorial, "The Socialist Road," in the CWP's *Workers Viewpoint* (25 May), which includes an excerpt from Tung's to-be-published opus on the subject. The General Secretary, it seems, has suddenly discovered that Maoism represents "an idealist view of socialism" and that the Soviet Union is a "socialist" country.

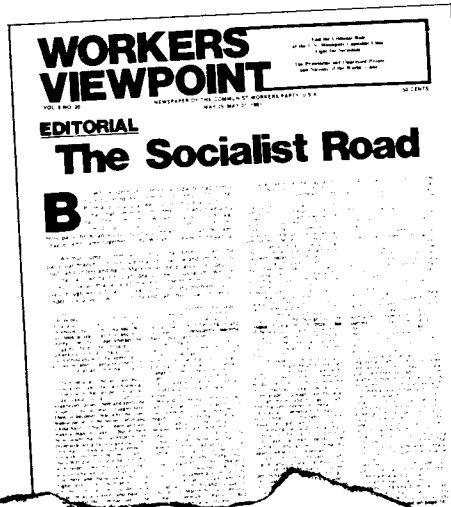
Does this mean the CWP will now defend the USSR against Washington's imperialist war drive? Hardly. At a time when even many liberals are scared that the celluloid cowboy in the White House will plunge headlong into World War III, Tung has belatedly discovered the virtues of détente:

"The Soviet Union is a socialist country without spontaneous economic forces and needs driving it blindly towards war. The CWP upholds the policy of détente. We regard the struggle for détente as one major struggle for world peace. Policies of détente, independent of U.S. intrigues, lessen the danger of World War III...."

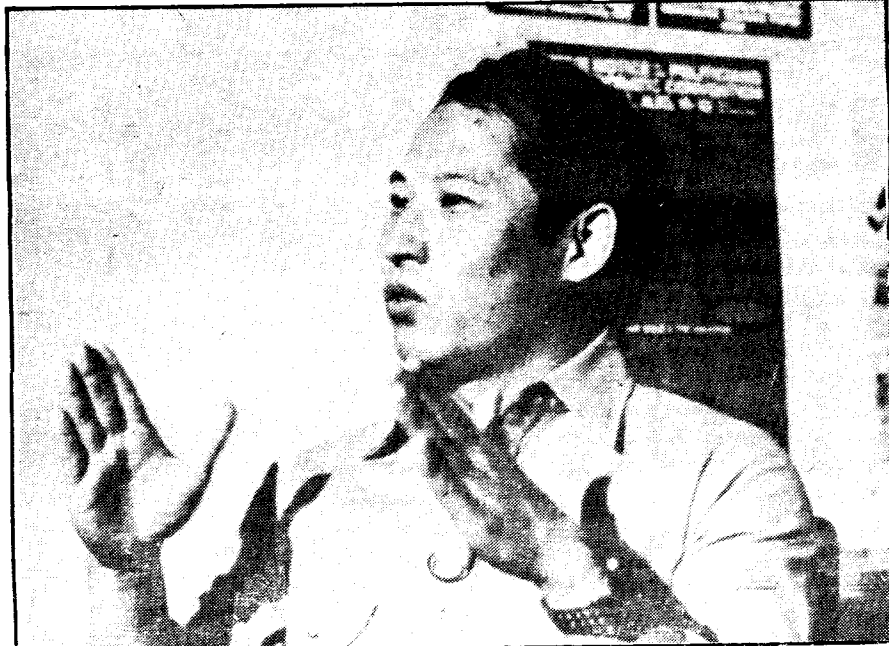
Remember how in the early '60s the Maoists denounced the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism at the expense of revolutions in the colonial world. It's a long way down to détente!

The Red Guard That Failed

A few years ago the Workers Viewpoint Organization (now the CWP) was competing with Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) for the mantle of frenzied Red Guardist cult. A photo of a mummified-looking Jerry Tung flanked by Mrs. Mao and her cohorts regularly graced the pages of *Workers Viewpoint*. However, after the bloody Greensboro, North Carolina massacre in November 1979, where Klan/Nazi gunmen murdered five of its



For a decade "profoundly understanding" Tung has pushed reactionary doctrine of "Soviet social-imperialism." Now to buy into anti-Reagan popular front, exalted leader has dumped Mao, discovered "détente."



Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the CWP has profound understanding of the revolution in advanced capitalist countries. Under his meticulous guidance, the Party is leading the U.S. people in their day to day struggles against the bourgeoisie.

members, the CWP in fear of isolation moved sharply to the right. While at first threatening to attack left groups (notably the Spartacist League) who protested the fascist killings of the "CWP 5," soon they were attempting to put together typical Stalinist popular fronts with liberal Democrats. This Chinatown-derived organization began spouting a hokey nativism which sounds as if it was learned by listening to Nashville's Grand Ole Opry.

Hoping to avoid the prickly question of resurgent anti-Soviet militarism, the CWP focused its popular-front projects on domestic issues—the Klan, civil liberties cases, economic struggles. But Reagan has brought the Cold War home with a vengeance. He is literally taking milk from the mouths of black ghetto children to pay General Dynamics for more Trident submarines. Reagan has made domestic economic austerity inseparable from anti-Soviet militarism. There is thus a basis for a "fight-the-right" popular front extending from Teddy Kennedy to various self-styled Communist groups. We saw the beginnings of this in the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), whose May 3 protest in Washington was not simply and narrowly focused on El Salvador but instead presented a rad-lib response to Reagan reaction in a general sense.

The CWP very much wants into the "butter vs. guns" anti-Reagan coalition and is willing to pay the ideological fee. Had Jerry Tung attacked "Soviet social-imperialism" when he spoke at the May 3 PAM rally, he would have alienated the liberals present, who were upset over Reagan's portrayal of the Salvadoran civil war as a prime case of made-in-Moscow terrorism. So he didn't. Predictably, the Avakianite RCP denounced the PAM rally and especially the CWP from the right, accusing them of "pro-Soviet amnesia" which "was meant to cover over the cardinal point that there are two imperialist blocs committing

crimes all over the world" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 15 May [emphasis in original]). But this Maoist line is suicidal in the El Salvador protests (and not only there). So that is why the CWP is singing a different tune.

Singing Along with Teddy

Superficially it may appear that the CWP's new position on the Soviet Union is similar to that of Nelson Peery's Communist Labor Party (CLP) or the wing of the ex-Maoist "Trend" around Irwin Silber, who hold that the USSR is a "socialist" country in its economic base but saddled with a "chauvinistic" leadership. The similarity is merely formal. The CLP has become critical Brezhnevites while the Silberites are moving toward, if they haven't already become, Muscovite fellow travelers. Both the CLP and Silber support Russian intervention in Angola and Afghanistan, for instance. But not the CWP, which is basically dumping all its international baggage so as to accommodate its popular-front appetites. It is not going to defend the USSR in any way that is unpopular with the liberals.

And where liberals condemn "Soviet imperialism," as over Afghanistan, Tung willingly joins the chorus. The *Workers Viewpoint* excerpt from his new book reasserts that "their [the Russian leaders'] invasion of Afghanistan and opportunist practice in Angola... have held back rather than helped the internal basis for revolution in those countries." So, true to his Maoist past, Tung still condemns the Soviets and Cuba for saving the Angolan black nationalists from the U.S. imperialist-backed South African apartheid army! But where rad-lib activists want to pretend that the Cold War is not the issue, as in El Salvador, the CWP can sing that tune as well.

For years the arch-Maoist CWP campaigned against "Soviet social-

imperialism," recruiting and training its members to the line of "two superpowers." Now practically overnight the organization changes its position on such a fundamental question as the class nature of the Soviet Union. For any serious Marxist tendency this would mean a profound political upheaval and likely splits. Not so for the CWP. "Basically we have to continue what we've been doing, but also deepen our study," writes Tung. "It's not instant coffee." The CWP helmsman acts as if nothing really has happened. In a sense, it hasn't. This light-minded revision of the Russian question demonstrates the cultist nature of the CWP.

But the Tung cult is not unique among the erstwhile Mao-Stalinists, only slower on the uptake. As China's alliance with U.S. imperialism became increasingly repellent in the petty-bourgeois radical milieu, a number of once-Maoist groupings changed their position on the Russian question for essentially opportunist reasons. In contrast, we Trotskyists have consistently insisted that ever since Stalin usurped power the Soviet Union has been a bureaucratically ruled (degenerated) workers state. While the RCP, CP-ML, CWP, etc. all were trying to discover a falling rate of profit and a "red bourgeoisie" in the Soviet Union, the Spartacist League uniquely offered a scientific Marxist analysis of Stalinism and a program of unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism together with workers political revolution to oust the ruling bureaucracies from Moscow to Peking (see the SL pamphlet, *Why the USSR Is Not Capitalist* [1976]).

Jerry Tung's conversion to détente between U.S. imperialism and "socialist" Russia is a cynical maneuver to appeal to liberals scared by Reagan's thermonuclear warmongering. However, there may well be CWPers who now realize the absolutely counterrevolutionary import of the Mao-Stalinist dogma of "Soviet social-imperialism" and who recognize that the USSR, despite its bureaucratic, nationalistic leadership, continues to embody vital social and economic gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. To such disoriented ex-Maoists we say: defense of the gains of October (and of the Chinese Revolution) lies not in popular fronts with imperialist "doves" but in implacable class struggle, directed against the liberal Teddy Kennedys no less than the conservative Ronald Reagans. Imperialist militarism, as Lenin taught us, is not a reversible policy but the very essence of capitalism in the present epoch. Only proletarian revolution worldwide can stop U.S. imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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A Class-Struggle Answer to the Irish Question

CHICAGO—"Smash H-Block, British Troops Out of Ireland Now!" chanted pickets at the British Consulate here on May 22. The protesters at the Spartacist League-organized demonstration also demanded "Hands Off Northern Irish Aid!" "Reagan Out of El Salvador, Thatcher Out of Northern Ireland" and "Free the Hunger Strikers, Free All Victims of Imperialist Repression in Ireland." That evening a well-attended forum on Ireland was addressed by Paul Bigman of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), who gave an eyewitness account of the situation in Northern Ireland based on his recent trip there as part of an NLG delegation, and by Spartacist spokesman Ed Clarkson.

Bigman began by noting that he was pleased to be appearing on a Spartacist platform, pointing to the SL's "refreshingly principled attitude." "It has consistently applied a class perspective, which is why you find them taking a rather different position on international issues such as Ireland or El Salvador or Iran than most of the American left does." He went on to give a revealing description of the brutal methods of British repression in Northern Ireland, including its "Emergency Provisions Act" and "Prevention of Terrorism Act":

"The Prevention of Terrorism Act can get you six months in prison or a fine of about \$1,000 for arranging or assisting in the arrangement or the management of or addressing any meeting of three or more persons whether or not it is a meeting to which the public are admitted, knowing that the meeting is to support or to further the activities of a proscribed organization or is to be addressed by a person belonging to or professing to belong to a proscribed organization."

In other words, he explained, you can go to jail for speaking to two other people, one of whom claims to belong to one or another wing of the Irish Republican Army. Or they put you in jail for merely dressing like the IRA is supposed to: "People literally were being sent to prison for wearing black berets as a show of support for the IRA."

Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, Bigman noted, you could be held for up to a week without charges or even the right to see a lawyer. When this proved inadequate for the draconian regime of imperialist repression imposed by the "genteel" British ruling class on this unfortunate province, the Emergency Provisions Act was passed. The speaker pointed out that terrorism was defined here as violence for political ends, yet Thatcher refuses to grant political status to IRA prisoners. The new act has 53 "scheduled offenses," including such open-ended categories as making photographs or tape recordings which could be useful to terrorists. Bigman reported that the NLG delegation was stopped by British soldiers because one of the lawyers had taken a snapshot of the Belfast courthouse!

The speaker pointed out the hollowness of the claim that the Provos have no support. More than 100,000 came out into the streets to mourn Bobby Sands' death. But this is not the same as political support to the Hibernian or Green nationalist program of the Provisional Sinn Fein or the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP). Bigman reported that in conversations

with the delegation, neither IRA nor IRSP supporters had a program to win over the Protestant workers. He concluded by addressing the perennial question, "What happens if the British army withdraws—won't there be a bloodbath?"

"You know, it depends upon how much blood has to be spilled before you call it a bloodbath. Obviously when the British army is withdrawn there will be blood shed. There is bloodshed every day in Northern Ireland, there is blood shed by the British army every day. I think the question is not so much 'won't there be bloodshed if the British army withdraws,' as to what is going to happen if the British army doesn't withdraw. The answer to that is pretty

ies, right? So today they run over children, pump plastic bullets into them, have assassination squads in the North of Ireland. The speeches in the parliament about the murderers in Ireland just reek with sanctimony. The real murderers, quite evidently, are the British. And it was nice that the Catholic minority in the North spit in the face of that British ruling class by electing Mr. Sands to parliament. We wouldn't have voted for him, but it was a nice symbol, forcing the British imperialists to exterminate one in their own sacred parliament."

Clarkson explained the SL's demand for all Republican prisoners to be released and our call for British troops out now: "They have no business on that



Spartacist-initiated picket at British Consulate in Chicago, May 22.

clearly more of the same for a long, long time to come. And the answer has been raised in the slogans of the Spartacist League, that you have to form a struggle along class lines and not along religious lines."

SL spokesman Ed Clarkson began his remarks by noting that for all the contending forces in Northern Ireland "it's a recognized dead-end on all sides there today." The IRA doesn't even call for the British troops out, but simply for them to withdraw to barracks. The British know they have a tiger by the tail, but don't quite know how to let go. The Paisleyite Unionists occasionally play around with talk of an independent Ulster but mainly in order to pressure the British. The Irish Republic, too, while it makes noises about a "united Ireland," goes along with Thatcher and even arrests IRA soldiers in the South. The SL spokesman noted that the putative assassins of Lord Mountbatten are being held in the South, for example.

On the origins of the Irish situation, Clarkson observed, "I believe it's the longest uninterrupted domination of one nation or people by another on the planet. It's the first example, and still enduring example, of direct capitalist, imperialist exploitation. Which, in case one is a New Leftist, reminds one that white people can oppress white people, that imperialism wasn't something designed by white people to oppress people of color." Regarding the "mother of parliaments," he remarked:

"It's instructive to see the hypocritical veneer of civilization stripped from the British ruling class. Supposedly this class quietly retired from the stage of history, democratically ceding its colon-

island. Not withdraw to the barracks but out now, because their presence there delays even the possibility of social progress in Ireland." In the U.S. the SL demands that the Reagan regime keep its hands off the Irish Northern Aid Society, against which the government has begun a McCarthyite witchhunt. Above all, the SL speaker insisted:

"The real question is what program is capable of knitting through this internecine conflict and forging a movement for human progress on this beautiful and dismal island, for a fighting working-class party pledged to a socialist transformation of society. The Irish question really is an acid test of the applicability of the Leninist position on the national question."

Clarkson discussed the bitter communal polarization in Northern Ireland, noting that in the early days of the Irish civil rights movement, which contained Protestants, the IRA was known as "I Ran Away." They didn't become active until the Orange sectarian terrorists had so polarized the situation that a military component on the other side became inevitable. "And this, incidentally, is what the nationalists on both sides always do," he said. "That's why they kill the workers in the pubs. That's why they fight fraternization among Catholics and Protestants. They attempt to shape the struggle in Ireland along the lines with which they are most comfortable, i.e., nationalism. And they tend to punish anything that bridges that gap."

"Now, this brings us to the Leninist conception of self-determination, which has been bastardized by the putative left to justify support for a Green Ireland. For Leninists, self-determination is

very simply this, the right for a nation to decide whether it wants to erect its own state. Period. That's it. It has no positive progressive content other than that. To quote Lenin:

"The several demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but only a small part of the general democratic, now general socialist world movement. In individual concrete cases the part may contradict the whole. If so it must be rejected."

Most of the left has changed this democratic demand into a sort of moral imperative by which all historical injustice will be remedied, Clarkson noted. Part of the left has tried to argue that the Protestants in Northern Ireland are simply a privileged labor aristocracy. "Well, if this is a labor aristocracy we are all doomed," he continued, pointing out that all sections of the working class in Northern Ireland face massive unemployment. Working-class conditions are worse in Northern Ireland than in the South, and far worse than in Britain itself, which has become one of the most wretched, decayed, ground-down industrial nations on earth.

Another argument often advanced against a class-struggle perspective by so-called leftists is that it's utopian to expect Ulster Protestants to ever unite with Catholics. "This argument simply says that any sectoral difference within the working class is stronger than the forces that make that class a coherent whole," Clarkson noted. If you believe that, "Why call yourself a socialist? Why not just talk about the survival of the fittest?"

Against this despairing capitulation to nationalism, Clarkson pointed to several examples of Protestant/Catholic solidarity in Northern Ireland. In Belfast last year, at the Royal Victoria Hospital, generally recognized as a "no go" area by everybody—"where people go to get put back together after they get blown up"—the British army began firing, and the working class, both Protestant and Catholic, instantly struck against this imperialist provocation. A gasoline drivers' strike last year was supported by both communities, because the drivers, who are mainly Protestant, had a policy of delivering gas to the homes of both Catholics and Protestants.

What distinguishes the Spartacist League from virtually the entire left, Clarkson said, is our insistence that:

"We are against the forced unification of Ulster with the South. What we are for is an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. Not Orange against Green, but class against class. Which leaves the question of where the Protestants fall deliberately open. We do not say to the Protestants that you must accept a certain national arrangement or else. It is open, to be decided after the socialist revolution."

In conclusion, Clarkson recalled Karl Marx's analysis of Ireland: "This is another Irish first, along with whiskey. I believe Ireland was the first case where Marx realized the importance of the colonial question on the planet. Marx's realization was that the Irish question was a key, if not crucial component of the mobilization of the English proletariat, on the basis that any proletariat which remains in league with its bourgeoisie's imperialist aims would be unable to mount a class struggle against that ruling class." ■

From Provo Cheerleading to Labourite Imperialism

Ireland Divided: Fake-Lefts Change Tune

REVIEW

Austen Morgan and Bob Purdie, eds.,
Ireland: Divided Nation, Divided Class
(London: Ink Links, 1980), and
Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon
and Henry Patterson,
The State in Northern Ireland, 1921-1972
(New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979)

British prime minister "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher presides over an empire so bankrupt that it can no longer afford the small luxury of hypocrisy, an empire so devoid of colonial possessions that Britain's immense imperial arrogance and savagery must be vented openly and entirely within her own backyard. Thatcher callously starves to death courageous Irish nationalists in Long Kesh who merely demand the status of political prisoners. The British army carries out Gestapo-like raids in the middle of the night to fill the hideous Maze prison cells and in broad daylight murders H-Block protesters on the streets of Belfast. Their raids are supplemented by those of the Paisleyite gunmen. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leader of the H-Block protests, a prominent spokesman for civil rights for Northern Ireland's oppressed Catholic minority and a former member of British parliament, is gunned down in her home along with her husband by Orange thugs while British patrols wait conveniently nearby to take these assassins into custody.

The heyday of the Civil Rights Movement is long past when earnest college students like Bernadette Devlin thought they could break Orange supremacy through mass marches. So, too, are the glory days of the Irish Republican Army Provisionals when most of the left chanted "Victory to the IRA." Despite the courage and dignity of fighters for Irish freedom like Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes, the sectarian nationalism and terror campaigns of the Provos have brought the Catholic minority no closer to ending their oppression. So in response to the seeming intractability of British and Orange domination, disillusionment with the Republican tradition has set in among a layer of intellectuals who used to be some of the most vociferous leftist cheerleaders for the IRA. Recently there has been a spate of books by self-styled experts on the "Irish Question" talking of the need for "class unity" of Catholic and Protestant workers. A belated step in the right direction, perhaps?

On the contrary. These pseudo-Marxists are actually moving to make

their peace with British imperialism and Orange supremacy. While the anger rises in Belfast's Catholic ghettos against the murderous army of occupation and as Provo hunger striker Bobby Sands is elected to Parliament from his H-Block jail cell, in Britain various New Leftists have been moving rightward toward Labourism. Their talk of "class unity" is a social-democratic cover to support for "democratic" imperialist rule in Northern Ireland. Perhaps the best, worst example is the work of three academics, Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson, reflected in their recently published book, *The State in Northern Ireland, 1921-1972*, and a collection, *Ireland: Divided Nation, Divided Class*, edited by Bob Purdie and Austen Morgan. Significantly, the former don't even mention the essential call for British troops out of Northern Ireland while the latter slip it in exactly once. And no accident, for the lot of them have become Labourite Unionists. In fact, they stand with the right wing of the Labour Party on the Irish question, since Tony Benn is now talking about the desirability of withdrawing British troops.

Morgan and Purdie, a former leader of the International Marxist Group, (British section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat), bemoan the "Marxist" theoretical debates on Ireland over the last decade which "reproduced the dominant nationalist and unionist ideologies." Usually this took the form of tailing after the IRA Provisionals, of which Purdie and the IMG were among the foremost exponents. Criticism of the Provos was then equated with imperialist apologetics and deemed a denial of the oppression of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. All IRA actions were hailed whether or not they targeted real representatives of British imperialism, like Earl Mountbatten, or were indefensible atrocities like the killings of 13 Protestants in the 1978 firebombing of the La Mon pub.

Now Purdie and Morgan write in their introduction to *Ireland: Divided Nation, Divided Class*, "It is by no means clear why socialists should pose a national question as the central political issue when this merely raises a problem which cannot be solved and also obscures the global class struggle." So these vicarious Irish nationalists of yesteryear simply dismiss the national question because it "cannot be solved" (i.e., they don't have the answer). Purdie's self-critical contribution is appropriately titled, "Reconsiderations of Republicanism and Socialism." And



Protestant Unionists demonstrate in Belfast. Revolutionaries say: Not Orange against Green, but class against class.

v.s.



Philippot/Sygma



Marlow/Magnum

IRA carries coffin of martyred Republican Bobby Sands, starved to death by British imperialism.

he has plenty to criticize. As author of the IMG pamphlet *Ireland Unfree* (1972), Purdie had proclaimed: "A fusion between revolutionary Marxism and Republicanism is the future for the Irish revolutionary movement." Dismissing the Protestant workers as an "aristocracy of labour," he concluded: "To fight the Irish revolution in face of the hostility of these workers would be terrible and costly, but it may be necessary." But when this perspective of a Republican-Marxist "Revolution Against Workers" (as he put it) proved bankrupt, Purdie now chooses to liquidate into Labour reformism.

In their essay, "Aspects of Nationalism and Socialism in Ireland, 1968-1978," in the Purdie/Morgan collection, Bew, Gibbon and Patterson make the astonishing assertion that there is only a "marginal material basis for a national struggle in any part of Ireland." Were this the case, the IRA should have long since disappeared from the scene. Moreover, in denying that the national question exists at all in Ireland, these "Marxist" savants advocate a slightly reformed version of the status quo, a version of "democratic" Unionism. They argue that "the aim of the struggle

in Northern Ireland is for the construction of a progressive alliance to reform the state." They write of the "indisputable democratic gains of the past ten years" and assert that "the current system of direct rule by Westminster for all its deficiencies is an improvement on the regime it replaced" (the Stormont parliament). Tell the families of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes how direct rule by Westminster is an "indisputable democratic gain"!

Bew et al. and Purdie/Morgan attack most of the British left for viewing the Ulster problem through the lens of one side or another of the sectarian divide. The vicarious green nationalists like the IMG or Socialist Workers Party (and more recently the academic-centrist

continued on page 15

"THESES ON IRELAND"

Spartacist No. 24, Autumn 1977
50 cents

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Bay Area



Chicago educational ends with singing of Internationale.

WV Photos

Spartacist League Educationals in Bay Area, Chicago, New York **SL/SYL Recruitment Drive Takes Off!**

During late May and early June, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League held three regional educational conferences. These semi-public events were well attended: 197 in the SF Bay Area, 152 in Chicago and 197 in New York. They were part of following up the SL/SYL's success in organizing Anti-Imperialist Contingents which marched for military victory to the leftist insurgents at the May 3 El Salvador protests. The Contingents—which tended to polarize the left-liberal El Salvador protest milieu between the partisans of class-struggle solidarity with the Salvadoran left rebels and the reformist “left” whose “anti-Reagan” rhetoric boils down to support for the Democratic Party—brought around the SL/SYL a new layer of young people drawn to radical politics in this period of frenzied capitalist anti-Soviet war-mongering and dismal economic crisis.

As the spectrum of bourgeois politics shifted markedly to the right, the ostensible left has itself moved right to keep in step with the so-called “doves,” “progressives” and “friends of labor” in the Democratic Party. The Spartacist League stands out sharply as the real revolutionists whose program for working-class power throughout the world is flatly counterposed to reliance on any bourgeois “democrat” politician or pro-capitalist union out-bureaucrat, any Stalinist ruling clique or nationalist demagogue. The elevation of our political “profile” as the fundamental and irreconcilable opponents of the status quo obviously brings opportunities to increase our support among workers, blacks, student youth who feel directly threatened by unemployment and the draft, by racism and the ominous escalation of ultra-rightist race-terror. And it must bring dangers,

not the least of which is government-inspired provocation/repression against our still small forces.

An urgent task is therefore to consolidate the gains of our recent political work—among El Salvador protesters, opponents of Klan/Nazi violence, labor militants and student activists—into new recruitment. The educational conferences—aimed centrally at broadening, deepening and grounding in historically evolved Marxist understanding the commitment to struggle of the youthful radicals who participated with us on May 3—were part of an SL/SYL recruitment drive which has already brought into membership dozens of new people, ranging from students who lately attended their first demonstration to long-time SL supporters just now making the leap to disciplined involvement in the communist movement.

As many *WV* readers will recall, this is not the first time the SL/SYL has announced a recruitment campaign. But the April 1979 SYL recruitment drive remained pretty much a dead letter, and its new recruits didn't much more than keep pace with normal membership turnover. The 1980 SL national conference centered on a balance sheet on the drive in the context of struggling to harden the organization to face the oncoming “Reagan years.” This struggle, which has included some sharp fights, places us in a strong position for winning and assimilating new comrades.

And we had better be! In the weeks since May 3, the SL/SYL has grown by 16 percent net, just in the first month. Much of our work this summer will be geared toward training the new comrades, three-quarters of whom are youth members, in the program, historical

Join the SL/SYL!

“Which Side Are You On?”

We reprint below several excerpts from applications for membership in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League from among the dozens of new members who have joined since participating in the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 El Salvador protests.

Amanda D., *Detroit, is a black student from Oakland State University who grew up in the South.*

Approximately 11 months ago I met a young woman representing the SL/SYL. After hesitating listening to her trying to convince me to buy a *Workers Vanguard*, my attention was drawn to a supplemental display of anti-Klan literature. I'm from Savannah, Georgia, have lived 17 out of 23 years there and was damned if I'd pass this through! She gave me a 5-cent supplement printed with special regard to the anti-Klan rally in Detroit a few months preceding. I struggled through the rhetoric, but it was impressive.

Since then I've viewed the video of the rally, compared the strategic speeches and tactics to other fly-by-night presses of fake-left groups. After a few months of personal documentation and investigating the SL/SYL, I decided to extend my political learning with the aid of the people whose politics I trusted. I attended forums, caucuses, presentations and joined meetings with them. The most rewarding was a debate held in Chicago, between the Sojourner

Truth Organization and the Spartacist League. I was also part of the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Editors from Wayne State University's editorial board. The school paper had not only suffered censorship but had printed a most profound apology for the 1980 Greensboro, North Carolina acquittal of Nazi/Klan murderers. Needless to say, we knew whose side the WSU board of governors were on.

Finally, the turning point was the blatant issue of El Salvador. Although it became a popular news item, a selective few drew any clear distinctions of precisely what's going on, why and what must be done, and by whom. My decision was quite conscious to help build for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent on May 3.

Gloria H., *Detroit, is a black student at Wayne State University and comes from an auto worker family. She was first attracted by and became a major spokesman for the SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Oust the South End*

Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murders.

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Chicago met a lot of expected and unexpected opposition [see “Stalinists Set Cops on Anti-Imperialist Contingent,” *WV* No. 282, 5 June]. The most fundamental action taken was the blocking off of the Contingent from the CP-organized march. The most outrageous act was not a goon squad, as encountered [on May 3] in Washington, but a police block which separated us from “the others.” The line was drawn in Chicago. It was quite clear, not only to our comrades' understanding that popular frontism leads to more murder in El Salvador, but also to those who marched with that front.

But one thing that CISPES, PAM and the CP overlooked was that people aren't stupid. Those at the rally became confused by our exclusion. They began to investigate and listen to what we said about El Salvador. “Victory to the Leftist Insurgents!”

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traditions and organizational methods of Leninism. The regional educationals, which sought to make accessible to the new generation of subjective revolutionaries some key lessons from the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks and from the earlier history of the Spartacist League, were for many of the new comrades an exciting beginning.

Why Leninism?

The leadoff talk in the SL/SYL educationals was on "Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Détente, Cold War II," by comrade Joseph Seymour. "The government of the most powerful capitalist country on earth, namely this one, is on a straight course toward war with the Soviet degenerated workers state," he began, pointing to the wave of scared liberalism which has been generated in response. The flurry of rad/lib protest, centered mainly on El Salvador, has turned attention to the Vietnam War. The speaker pointed out that the popular-front Vietnam antiwar movement subordinated young radicals to the program of bourgeois liberalism, while the U.S. was actually defeated on the battlefield by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

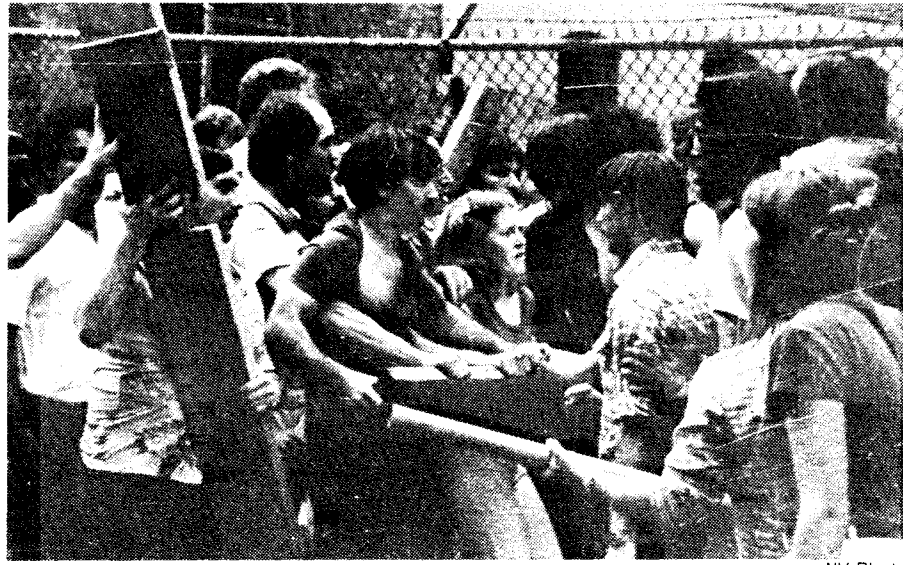
Following its debacle in Indochina, U.S. imperialism was stymied by a "Vietnam syndrome"—the widespread popular rejection of imperialist adventures which intersected domestic discrediting of the American government (Watergate). Yet half a decade later, right-wing reaction is triumphant with Reagan's Cold War II. One of the reasons the "Vietnam syndrome" was so short-lived, remarked comrade Seymour, is that the big antiwar marches were seen as a bloc with and pressure on the Democratic "doves" rather than a revolutionary struggle against capitalism/imperialism. One of the first, in October 1965, called only for "Stop the War in Vietnam Now" in order to appeal to the liberals. In breaking from the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, *Spartacist* issued a statement objecting to this slogan. The speaker noted:

"It's quite uncanny. If you replace Vietnam with El Salvador, and you replace Johnson with Reagan, we could pass it out at PAM. Quite literally—the same refusal to take a side in the conflict, the same misuse and hiding behind self-determination, the same appeals to the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie in 'our' national interest."

George Foster spoke on "Lessons of the 1905 Revolution," noting that the Mensheviks and Trotsky were fixated on the soviets and spontaneous action from below. The Bolsheviks saw the high point of the 1905 events in the December insurrection in Moscow. Lenin cited Marx's observation that "revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counterrevolution." The December Moscow fighting was the culmination of what he had been hammering at throughout the year: "It was necessary to *organize* the insurrection to bring the tsar down; it would not happen spontaneously," the speaker stressed. This was key for the Bolsheviks in 1917, because they went through this rehearsal and were able to make the leap from general strike to insurrection.

Comrade James Robertson gave a retrospective talk on "American Communism, 1915-1980." The speaker asked, "Why Leninism? Well, the answer I have to give you is the archetypal, pragmatic American answer: it works, and the others don't." He quoted from C. Wright Mills, who wrote in 1948 of the Leninist left, represented by the Trotskyists:

"Its followers know what they want and they want it all the time. They want capitalism smashed and socialism with 'workers control' triumphant. To gain these ends they demand independent working-class action, which requires an independent labor party. The members of this public operate on what is probably the most systematized view of political reality now available. Indeed, it is so well worked-out that, for most



Panicked, plank-wielding YAWF goons (left), pushed aside by SL protesters. WV Photo

Pop Frontists in NYC Anti-Red Attack YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo

NEW YORK—On May 3 in Washington, D.C., Sam Marcy's goons blocked El Salvador protesters from attending the rally of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, initiated by the Spartacist League. The class line was drawn that day between revolution and counter-revolution, between those who called for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" and those like Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) who supported the liberal Democrats' "negotiated settlement." On June 6 in New York City that line was drawn in blood when Marcy's goons tried it again. They got a taste of what can happen to those who try to deny communists their right to protest. They will get hurt.

The YAWF gooning for the imperialist "doves" had to be protested, politically. And that is what we did on the night of June 6. About 125 SL supporters and friends demonstrated outside a publicly-advertised speech by Sam Marcy carrying signs that read: "Sam Marcy: Water Boy for Teddy Kennedy," "Sam Marcy: Self-Proclaimed Counterrevolutionary," "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" "Smash the Bloody Junta Through Workers Revolution!" "U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" YAWF tried

to stop the protest and failed, miserably.

When the SL demonstrators came to the corner of the block at East 15th Street and Union Square, some 40 YAWF goons, already there, linked arms and brought cars into the street in an attempt to completely seal off the entire block. An SL spokesman at the head of the line of demonstrators repeatedly stated the SL's intentions to the YAWF squad:

"We are going to have a demonstration protesting your meeting. We do not intend to obstruct your meeting. We intend to have a picket line just this side of your building."

The YAWF goons attempted to direct the demonstration to the other side of the street, but the SL replied "no negotiations" and swiftly, simply and effectively swept aside their goon squad. The cowardly YAWF thugs who tried to pick off SLers at the sides of the demonstration got a well-deserved drubbing. In seconds the SL picket line set up about one-third down the block and chants resounded all over Union Square: "Leftist rebels win the war, avenge the blood of El Salvador!" "Smash Stalinist gangsterism!" "Leftist rebels need victory, Marcy fronts for the bourgeoisie!" "Sam Marcy, in bed with Bella," "Sam Marcy, reformist runt, latest fool of the popular front!" It was a powerful demonstration that brought scores of

onlookers to East 15th Street.

During the melee, SL supporters quickly repelled the attack and established our line. The Marcyites, hysterical, used anything they could get their hands on, including broken bottles and huge 2-inch by 10-inch by 7-foot wood planks from construction saw-horses. A long-time leader of Workers World, Fred Goldstein, crept up behind an SL spokesman and was about to deliver a deadly blow with one of the planks when he was brought down by a flying tackle.

Their goon squad covered behind police lines as soon as the police arrived (within five minutes), frantically feeding the cops the lie that the SL had weapons. They probably hoped the police would do what YAWF had been sorely unable to do by themselves. And the question still remains: who *did* call the police in New York City? In Chicago, at a May 30 rally, the Marcyites went along with the Communist Party which called the cops to exclude the SL from an El Salvador march.

The SL purpose was clear, and we accomplished it. But in the pages of *Workers World* (12 June) the Marcyites claim that this protest demonstration was an "organized sneak attack" to break up their meeting. In the same article they say we had a police permit to demonstrate. Quite true (see illustration). But they can't have it both ways. One doesn't get a demonstration



WV Photo

permit for a sneak attack to break up a meeting. Nor does one bring dozens of placards emblazoned with political slogans. Ultimately, the proof that we had no intention of breaking up that meeting is that the meeting took place! And we remain willing to defend Marcyite meetings against rightists.

The Marcyites, faithful to the old Stalinist gangster technique of fascist-

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occasions, people who believe but who are not very intelligent can formulate an attitude on any given issue."

"Well, that's nice to know—that you don't have to be that smart and still be able to act with maximum effectiveness," the speaker commented.

Leninism was born in and around the tsarist empire, comrade Robertson noted, where revolutionaries found a wide variety of elements necessary to forge a many-faceted and effective vanguard party. A dose of parliamentarianism, bouncing back and forth between legality and illegality; the country was simultaneously imperialist and a semi-colony; the land question was posed sharply, together with a modest proletariat concentrated in huge factories; there was a full spectrum of political parties, including the Social Revolutionaries, so that the Russian Social Democrats had to fight the issue of terrorism out over and over again.

What was unique about Leninism, the

speaker stressed, was that it "resolved all the old contradictions that had effectively paralyzed the Second International." The latter was blocked as a force for socialism:

"... because every party was always split between parliamentarianism and industrial action; possibilism (that's a minimum program) and impossibilism (which is only a maximum program); the issue of nationalism and racism and colonialism.... The particular thing that came to be known as Leninism—that is, the left wing of the Russian social democracy—transcended all these either-ors."

In the United States during the 1960s the bankruptcy of the Stalinist Communist Party gave rise to the New Left, a blend of Americanized anarcho-syndicalism with a heavy dose of sectoralism. After presenting a partial list of the competing sectoralist ideologies—from feminism, black nationalism and workerism to "mentally challengedism" and anti-pornism—he

pointed out that in the past decade and a half no significant Leninist combat party had been able to draw the lessons and unite these sectors against the bourgeois state. "But Reagan has ended all that, with a fist. He's against everything and everybody." Speaking of recent political developments, comrade Robertson pointed to the wreckage of the New Left and the Maoists, the pronounced rightward motion of the SWP:

"At the beginning of the '70s we picked up several hundred people.... We struggled hard and with limited but real success to develop sections in other countries, and at the end of eight years the lid came off. There's less than nothing special about our line on El Salvador. We've had much brighter, more perceptive, bolder, more incisive political positions on a whole range of phenomena. But this time two things happened. One is that the disintegration and the vast rightward motion of the rest of the American left found us an

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Recruitment Drive...

(continued from page 9)

intact and functioning organization out in left field. And the El Salvador issue became a felt one among the large numbers of the American population. It's that conjuncture that has given us this surge."

The Black Question—Key to the American Revolution

Each of the regional educationals had a particular focus. On the West Coast, May 23-24, where the Spartacist League has historically had its most important roots in the labor movement, the attendance of a number of new recruits from the University of California Berkeley campus stimulated older SL cadres to speak of their days as student New Left activists, and the political dead end of that movement. Recalling the Vietnam War years, one comrade noted that, thanks to the reformist Socialist Workers Party, "for an entire generation of the New Left, Trotskyism was associated with liberal class collaborationism." Against this social-democratic pacifism, she recalled Lenin's "peace" slogan during World War I:

"Peace, yes. Peace to the cottages, War on the mansions. Peace to the oppressed masses and the working class. War on the bourgeoisie."

Building for the SL/SYL educational weekend, our Midwestern branches also campaigned for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 30 El Salvador demonstration sponsored by a CP-led coalition. At the demo, the SL called for military victory to Salvadoran leftists; the Stalinists called on the cops to keep the reds away from their reformist demo (see letter, page 3).

The focus of the Chicago discussions was on Trotskyism in the struggle against black oppression in the U.S. In discussing the "American Communism" talk, a black industrial worker comrade from Detroit took up the frequent black-nationalist bait against communists that the Russians were white Europeans with nothing to offer colored minorities. Dead wrong, he said. "It was the Bolsheviks who put it to the Communist Party against the traditions of Debsian socialism of 'we have nothing special to offer Negroes.'" Trotsky also insisted to his American comrades, in conversations with Cannon, Swabek, etc., that the black question was key to the American revolution.

The SWP, the comrade went on, had a formally correct line, but "never really had a concise conception of the strategic importance of the black question.... So if you read back to the *Militant* in the '40s and '50s, programmatically it's Trotskyist, but it reads a lot different than *Workers Vanguard*. The black question is permeated throughout the pages of *Workers Vanguard*." In the sequel, the SWP capitulated to black nationalism, and its Revolutionary Tendency (predecessor of the Spartacist League) was founded fighting on the Cuban and black questions. Understanding the centrality of black liberation is what made November 10—the SL-built "Stop the Klan" demo:

"...if we didn't fight for revolutionary integration in Boston, and for labor/black defense in Boston, and had not instilled ourselves with that program, we would not have been prepared for November 10 in a political sense—that is, fighting black mayor Coleman Young for the independent mobilization of workers and blacks."

The speaker replied that a lot of our policies are determined by a critical examination of the SWP in its period of decline.

"We owe Richard Fraser a great debt for pressing on to the key phrase—revolutionary integrationism. There isn't going to be any reformist integration. There isn't going to be anything between black and white in this country without a revolution. All we're going to have is racism and violence and hatred

and misery. But the perspective of revolution is a perspective of black freedom."

A high point of the New York educational was the report on the Spartacist League of Sri Lanka, formed by the militants of the Bolshevik Faction of the centrist Revolutionary Workers Party of Edmund Samarakody. The BF defended the Trotskyist position of no political support to any wing of popular fronts, and upheld an earlier RWP conference resolution for a principled unification with the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The unification decision was sabotaged by Samarakody's cowardly walkout from the 1979 iSt conference (see "Toward the International Trotskyist League!" *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80).

A speaker underlined the importance of the national question in Sri Lanka. And on the following Monday, nearly 100 people participated in a demonstration outside the Sri Lankan mission to

the verge of victory, you take the machine guns back!"

The Shachtmanite LRP accused the SL of selling out by carrying banners of the El Salvador guerrilla coalition FMLN, and they retrospectively condemned the Spartacist slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist" as an apology for the Stalinists. SLers pointed out that among the red flags with hammers, sickles and fours we carried the banner of the Salvadoran leftist rebels because we *fight for their victory in the civil war* against the U.S.-backed killer-junta, as we also fought for an NLF/DRV military victory in Vietnam. One speaker noted:

"The slogan 'All Indochina Must Go Communist' was primarily one of solidarity with the social revolution against American imperialism. Secondly, it is also directed against the Stalinists, and against the popular front, because the Stalinists did not want military victory—they wanted a 'political solution,' a coalition government. *They didn't want a military*

SL recruits for May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent.



the UN, protesting the wave of chauvinist terror and state repression unleashed by President Jayewardene against the oppressed Tamil minority of Ceylon (see article, page 2).

The NYC weekend was punctuated by a militant demonstration denouncing the counterrevolutionary role of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF), front men for imperialist "doves" on El Salvador. Beginning with the May 3 Pentagon demonstration organized by the WWP-controlled People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), the Marcyites have gone to any lengths to prevent communists from raising the demand for military victory to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. But on June 6, a 125-man SL demonstration effectively swept aside the YAWF thugs. This also focused the next day's discussion, where SL speakers stressed that a leftist victory in the civil war was vital to the struggle for workers revolution in Central America.

The discussion was sharpened by the presence at the conference of a tiny social-democratic Shachtmanite group, the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), which *opposes* military victory for the Salvadoran rebels, and which walked past the Spartacist demonstration against the WWP/YAWF thuggery for liberal Democrats to go into the Marcyite meeting. On May 3, as well, they had attended the PAM rally for Bella Abzug and the Democrats at the Pentagon. An LRP leaflet to the conference claimed to stand for "socialist revolution" in El Salvador and "military support of the guerrilla organizations against the murderous junta but not for *their* victory." As a Spartacist speaker noted, "How do you give military support without being for victory? Presumably, when they're on

victory, don't you understand that?!"

"In a similar way, the slogan 'Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador' is a *knife in the popular front!* Because the popular-front leaders do not want a military victory, they want a 'political solution.' So the germ of that slogan is, 'Split the Popular Front.'"

A second Spartacist speaker pointed out that:

"The difference between us and the LRP is we expect to affect the course of history. We are in there calling for military victory of these people and they will see in the course of struggle that it is that program, and not the program of their vacillating leaders which will lead to victory of the socialist revolution there.

"We might listen to you if you were on the same side of the barricades with us, but you've been on the other side twice in the last few weeks: once at the PAM march and once last night. And there is a reason why: you guys are right there with your nose up the ass of the popular front. That's why you have been politically defeated, because you are on the other side of the class line on this struggle in El Salvador!"

These social-democratic scabs on the struggle in El Salvador had received two speakers in all three conference sessions. Yet they would not abide by the democratic rules of the conference and tried to heckle the next speaker, who had been injured in the fighting the night before. A marshal removed the disrupters from the hall. In his summary, comrade Foster remarked of the LRP that "if Stalinism is the syphilis of the working class, lerpies is a minor but incurable political disease."

The New York educational concluded as a dozen new members were voted into the SL/SYL common movement. A documentary movie of the May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington was shown, and as the conference ended the participants rose to sing the *Internationale*, the anthem of the proletarian socialist movement. ■

"Which Side"...

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wasn't spoken or received as a foreign language. This was the first march I ever participated in, and it won't be the last. I made the choice which side I'm on; I made that choice and submitted my application for membership in the Spartacus Youth League.

V. Drivan, New York, is a long-time trade-union militant.

That the peoples of the world are engaged in a class struggle must be evident to all who will take the time to observe the signs. Farmers are killed in El Salvador in the name of "land reform." A war rages in Afghanistan so that religious zealots can keep their women in slavery. People disappear in Argentina for voicing dissent of government policies. Governments beat the drum of nationalism to increase the burden of the workers, to raise more tax money to buy more weapons, to be used against brother workers in other lands. Union leaders collaborate with the capitalist bosses to give back the benefits of the workers to keep up the profits of the capitalists. "Those are blind who only will not see." That it has taken so long for my eyes to open is regrettable. That I must now do something about this state of affairs is imperative.

The sides in the class struggle are clearly drawn. The capitalists, with their bureaucratic lackeys on the one side, the numerous masses of the workers and peasants on the other, exploited by these capitalists. For the workers and peasants to survive, to throw off the exploitative shackles of capitalism, their path must be socialism. Only by taking control of the means by which they produce can they enjoy the fruits of their labors. Only by taking the powers of the state in their own hands can they live as people should live: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." And this seizure of power by the working class cannot be confined to one nation or small group of nations. The only hope of the workers achieving their true destiny is through an international socialist system.

The lines are drawn, the inevitable ends projected, now the choice "which side are you on?" What should have been an easy, obvious choice was a long time in coming. Many reasons for the delay, chief of which was a realization that along with the choice came many changes that had to be made in my own life, a realization that with the choice would come not just verbal support but an active involvement. I know which side I'm on.

Tim D., Chicago, is a high school student.

I have read over the basic documents of the organization and agree with its policies and agree to work under its discipline.

I hold sacred the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. I wholeheartedly take a stand against the Nazi-Klan presence in America and throughout the world. I hold sacred picket lines as something to be built, not crossed.

I will work for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

Roberta B., New York, is a graduate student and trade-union member.

Before I was sacked from the federal government, the heads of my agency, whom I was suing for sexual discrimination, illegal anti-union activities and violation of my "merit system" rights, did an FBI check of my record to see if they could fire me for "political reasons," as they put it. They concluded that I was "clean." In this time of strong reaction, and of great opportunity to seize upon people's discontent with traditional politics, I am embarrassed to have come out "clean." There is no excuse for this. And the SL is the only group with a program worth defending. ■

"Take a side and join us now"

Below are remarks by Spartacus Youth League national secretary Bonnie Brodie at the Bay Area Spartacist educational, May 24. In her remarks, Brodie compares the present-day People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) popular front to the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) of the Vietnam antiwar movement. To lure Democratic Party politicians, NPAC refused to call for "military victory" to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism and its puppets. The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) drew the line between reform and revolution in blood at the 1971 NPAC conference when those opposing the presence of bourgeois politicians were physically ejected.

Now for every SYL member sitting out there, there should be four or five more the next time we have an event like this. And the comrades who have been organized and who have learned the basics of communist politics and organization now have the responsibility to go out and act like cadres and organizers. This is the time to do it. Now most people here participated in the Anti-

Imperialist Contingent, and know why that was such a burning necessity. That without the initiative of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League on May 3rd, the red banner of proletarian internationalism would not have flown. What was the chant of those carriers of the pale green flag and the Democratic Party? "The people united will never be defeated." That is dead wrong. The people united with their class enemy will *always* be defeated. And we are the ones who make the difference.

These people are actively pushing their joint coalition with Bella and O'Dwyer. Our enemies are not passive. And they're not simply tolerant of the communist opposition either. They weren't on May 3. They are willing, willing as the SWP was in NPAC when they threw us and PL [Progressive Labor] out plate glass windows, not to embarrass Senator Hartke. These people are as willing—physically, violently, in any way they can, through slander, etc.—to seal off a whole generation of youth from revolutionary politics. That's their job. They are there to herd those kids into that Democratic Party,

physically if necessary. So, it isn't the time to sit on the fence. They're going for it, and we're going for it. And we say, "Anti-imperialism means class struggle at home."

There's just one little story I'd like to tell, that comes from the 1971 NPAC conference. The Ohio Teamsters had just had a 20,000-strong wildcat in Ohio. In fact, it was the same National Guardsmen that were called out to crush that strike that sent a detachment over to Kent State to massacre four students. Among the liberals involved in this strikebreaking was the mayor in Cleveland, the governor of Ohio and several others. That same summer, the SWP held its [NPAC] conference in Cleveland and guess who was one of the main endorsers of the NPAC conference? The strikebreaker Stokes, fresh from going after the Ohio Teamsters and helping to dispatch the National Guard to Kent State. That's what it means.

So, it's not a time to sit on the fence, to read Marxist classics for three years, leisurely pick the ostensibly revolutionary organization of your choice and wander on in. If you want to build picket

lines and not cross them; if you want to smash Klan/Nazi terror through labor/black defense; if you defend the workers states of Cuba and the Soviet Union against the very real threat of irradiated barbarism, World War III, and you're not visibly psychotic [laughter], take a side and join us now.

To people in the room who have not already joined, you really ought to be taking out your paper and pen right now. You can't be a revolutionary if you're not in a revolutionary organization. There's only one, the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League. You can't understand history unless you're involved in the struggle to change it. Without revolutionary leadership, no revolution—here's the real point. The question came up about the '60s: what happened? Why did that whole generation vanish into thin air? Why was it pissed away, instead of really putting the U.S. government on notice? It was the smallness of the forces of the revolutionary party. Well, that isn't the case now. So join the SYL and build the party of international proletarian revolution. We have a world to win!

"Fight for the principles of the picket line"

The following remarks by Milly Leonard, a militant steel worker, were made at the May 30-31 Spartacist educational weekend in Chicago. Last summer Milly received over 800 votes running for union convention delegate from United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1010 (Inland Steel), running on a class-struggle program demanding labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan, picket lines mean don't cross, and defense of the Soviet Union against American imperialism's Cold War. Leonard also is active in the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, campaigning to win back the job of the steel union militant fired by Inland for refusing to cross a picket line at his plant.

Milly refers to the recent USWA District 31 elections, in which liberal Jim Balanoff was defeated 24,000 to 22,000 in his bid for reelection as district director by Jack Parton, a conservative ally of USWA International president Lloyd McBride. The vote represented a repudiation by steel workers of the "Fightback" movement of Balanoff and Ed Sadlowski (represented at Local 1010 by the Rank and File Caucus), which in years past had promised a militant struggle against the steel companies and for union democracy, but delivered nothing.

To begin with, the United Steelworkers of America was formed in 1942, basically with support from the Communist Party, in a splitoff from the United Mine Workers. They were known as the Rooseveltian trade unionists, which basically I consider to be the runt of the litter of the CIO. They formed the union with a no-strike clause in 1942 and the bureaucracy has controlled this union from the top down since its inception. Our last strike was in 1959—it lasted 120 days and we were defeated.

Now, as the people you saw yesterday [at the May 30 Chicago El Salvador demonstration, where the Stalinists worked with the cops to exclude the Anti-Imperialist Contingent] were on the opposite side of the class line with the police, you will find every ostensibly revolutionary organization on the opposite side of the picket line and in league with the labor bureaucracy. This week Mr. James Balanoff ran for [USWA] district director on the Rank and File Caucus [slate]. The Rank and File Caucus is supported by particularly the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists and the Revolutionary Socialist League. Well, James Balanoff ran to smash the

ENA [no-strike agreement negotiated by the McBride bureaucracy] and he was against the no-strike clause and all that seven years ago. But his record in the last seven years, because he is unprincipled and does not recognize the class line, is one of defeat. So within one year the steel industry was able to wipe out 10 percent of all the jobs across the country. And nothing was done to stop that. Nothing was done to stop plant closures or layoffs. It was a supporter of the Spartacist League who called for sit-down strikes to stop plant closings.

At my last union meeting I put forward a motion that the union should join the Anwar case and pay financial support for his attorney. There was a big loud hue and cry. The Balanoff forces said, "Gee, we hear the International, the right wing, is actually going to support your motion. If they're going to use it as a campaign issue, we're going to vote against it." I said, "What do you mean, you're going to have to oppose it? You've voted for this at two district conferences. What about the principle of the thing?"

So they were running around, arguing back and forth. They decided they would plead with me not to put the motion up. Now, this is the union

leadership, this is the supposed "Fightback," pleading with me not to put a motion up on the picket line. "Please don't put the motion up on the picket line, we'll make a deal, we'll get you money under the table, do anything, do *not* put the motion up on the picket line." They didn't want the motion on the picket line, because if they voted *against* it, in the middle of a campaign, it would be public information that they voted against supporting someone who honors the picket line. But they didn't want to vote *for* it, because they don't want to have a young militant returning to the ranks of 1010. So, finally someone got the "smart" idea to table the motion, so they don't have to take a stand to defend Keith at the picket line.

So they're phonies. And the fact that Balanoff lost—what it means is the steel workers had given him a mandate to smash this stuff and he didn't do it. It's like Reagan and Carter. They didn't get anything, so they went to the right wing. What we need is more people in steel. We need more people in auto. We need people in the mine workers who will be willing to fight for the principles of the picket line and against the class collaboration of the supposed Rooseveltian trade unionists.

"The officers were afraid of the troops in Vietnam"

Below are remarks by SL central committee member Joe Vetter during discussion of the talk on "Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Détente, Cold War II" at the Spartacist educational weekend in New York, June 6.

I was a member of the Spartacist League in 1969 and I got my draft notice and went. Comrade Seymour in his speech mentioned that we exercised our constitutional rights. One of the things we simply did, and it applies under military justice as well as under civilian justice, is that you have the right to the protection of the Fifth Amendment. So one of the first things that happened when you would go in the army in that period was they put in front of you a copy of the attorney general's list. This happened to everybody: "are you now or have you ever been..." and you just refuse to answer it. That would drive

them crazy, but there was nothing they could do about it. I had an officer at one point give me a direct order to do it and I refused the order, because it was an illegal order.

I was in Vietnam for a couple of months. What happened with the slogan "we won't go" and the way it was used by the New Left is, not only did they lose access to a generation of American workers, but they also lost an opportunity to do work which might have meant that the Vietnam War, at least the American involvement directly and militarily, might have ended a year or two earlier. There was a report from a general that I read when I got back that said that one of the reasons for the American withdrawal from Vietnam was the disintegration of the U.S. Army among the troops. Everybody I think has heard of "fragging." That was quite common. As well as massive refusals on

the part of whole companies to obey orders.

Now they were genuinely afraid of the troops on the ground in Vietnam. We were disarmed six weeks before I left the country and we told them we weren't pulling guard duty because we weren't going to throw rocks. Now, one of the things that you could do because of the absolute hatred for the corruption in South Vietnam: I remember drinking beer in a hootch one night with some guys and sayin', "You know, I think the NLF should win this war." There are 12 guys there and one of them stands up and says, "You're fuckin' right, man, and then we'll get out of here!"

So that opportunity was missed—it was not just a bad slogan. It was bad in what these people wanted in terms of ending the war, and in terms of missing a generation of workers. So what came

out of the Vietnam War are a bunch of freaks and druggies. They had nowhere else to go, and they hated their situation, they hated their surroundings, so they smoked dope. You got groups like YAWF [Youth Against War and Fascism] who advocated that. What it led to was not only the disintegration of the army, but it led to the personal disintegration of a generation of would-be militants.

To conclude, I never had the experience of being a New Leftist. I was already a member of this party. I joined the party of the Russian Revolution. And comrades, if you like what you've heard, you should think about doing the same. If we go through another experience like the Vietnam War, in terms of El Salvador, you ought to want to be on the right side, on the side of people that know what they're doing and know how to win.

NYC Transit Workers: Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

TWU Tops Back Racist Strikebreaker Koch

"Koch is anti-union, anti-human. So anything Koch says, I don't agree. He's an animal, Koch is!" Millions of New York City's unionists and working people would agree with this statement made by a black picketer during the bitter April 1980 transit strike. No wonder. The mayor leaped at every opportunity during the strike to smear the membership of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 and provoke a mood of anti-union hysteria in the city. When the strike was sold out by the union misleaders, Koch went to court to make sure every striker was penalized under the no-strike Taylor Law, with fines averaging around \$700 per worker.

Anti-Koch sentiment was so great after the strike that even Local 100 president John Lawe was moved to criticize the bosses' man in City Hall. After he had stabbed the strike in the back, Lawe hypocritically denounced "our union-busting Mayor Koch" in the *Local 100 News Letter* (23 June 1980). But, incredibly, one year later the Lawe bureaucracy is supporting the campaign to put this union-buster back in City Hall! Hoping nobody but Koch would notice, the Local 100 leadership quietly slipped \$300 to this avowed labor-hater and racist!!

Koch's first four years in office have been a disaster for working people, who have been made to pay—with their wages, with their pension funds, with the social services they depend on and with the general quality of life in the city—for New York's financial crisis.

Koch has directed his venom in particular against the city's oppressed minorities, slashing welfare rolls, hospital care, fire protection and other essential city services in the ghettos. When a sit-in at Sydenham Hospital last September contested Koch's plan to close several ghetto hospitals, Koch's cops went berserk and attacked the demonstrators.

Koch's cutbacks are most easily seen in the declining quality of mass transit, where the cost of the token goes up as fast as the level of the service goes down. Now that Koch is running for re-election he promises to "hold the line" on the fare...at 75¢! He hopes nobody will notice when the price jumps from 60¢ next month. Even without that 25 percent increase NYC transit passengers already pay a greater share of operating costs than in any other major city. And what do they get for it? Koch is personally responsible for those short trains you have to run to catch, for cutting night-time service so drastically that the Transit Authority advises you to huddle in anti-mugging zones to avoid assault.

The system is on the brink of total collapse—doors that don't open, lights that don't work, constant breakdowns and late trains, new subway cars and buses that don't work—and still Koch and TA boss Ravitch push for more cutbacks. They even wanted to prevent bus drivers from turning on the air conditioners! The bosses' current "solu-

tion" is to make the riders pay through the nose while squeezing transit workers through their paychecks and working conditions. TWU members are due a cost-of-living raise this fall, which the Transit Authority has threatened to withhold unless "productivity" increases. Yet the abysmal state of subway repair is the result of *deliberate* cancellation of maintenance due to cutbacks!

Koch is running as a "fusion" candidate, seeking to emulate La Guardia by running for nomination in the Democratic and Republican primaries. Given his policies, many are dubbing him the "fission" candidate—because give us more years of Koch and the city could blow apart! In response to the grotesque TWU contribution to Koch's campaign, Local 100 "dissidents" have established a Transit Committee for Mayoral Change. There's no question that "Mayatollah" Koch has got to go. But not so some other Democratic politician can continue to help the banks bleed NYC working people to death.

Arnold "I'm a card-carrying Democrat" Cherry, the "dissident" leader heading the Committee, is gearing up to support Brooklyn assemblyman Frank Barbaro, who says he wants to "liberate" the La Guardia "legend" from Koch. Transit workers might recall that La Guardia waged a war against the TWU closed shop—which gives an idea of where Barbaro stands. Barbaro is the anointed "progressive" liberal candidate, backed by black Democrats and

the reformist DSOC social democrats and Communist Party.

But *WV* took a look at the record of this so-called progressive, and here's what we found: Barbaro voted in the Assembly to set up the bankers' Emergency Financial Control Board, which has been sucking city workers dry. Barbaro opposes democratic rights for homosexuals. Barbaro supports increased state aid to private schools (i.e., to hell with the public school system). And in a city where the mass audience for an anti-Koch candidate is largely black, Barbaro opposes school integration through busing! Replace one strikebreaker, race-baiter with another? No thanks!

The Local 100 sellouts putting money in Koch's pocket took it out of TWU members' pockets by betraying the strike and getting the membership socked with Taylor Law fines. A militant class-struggle leadership in the transit strike could have waged a fight that would have shut New York City down tight and sparked a labor fight to beat back Koch's cutbacks. Instead Local 100 money is backing the man who tried to break the union, a man likely to win the endorsement of *both* big capitalist parties. When has it ever been clearer that working, poor and minority people need a workers party to fight for their interests? Only such a party could lead a struggle for a workers government, the socialist fight which is what it will take to keep New York from going down the tubes. ■

YAWF Goons...

(continued from page 9)

baiting, characterized the SL demonstration in their press as a "neo-fascist" attack, and Marcy told his audience of 250 that the demonstrators outside were "fascist goons." After May 3 they lumped together the rally of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent with the Moonies' counterrevolutionary provocation. What next? The CIA? Agents of the Mikado? Trotskyists know the sinister purpose of Stalinist slander: to justify gangsterism and set us up for cop attack.

From Stalin to Bella

Behind the Marcyites' crude slanders and frenzied violence is their rightward political turn under the pressure of the Reagan years. While the YAWF goons were outside on 15th Street swinging sawhorse planks against those who stand for military victory to Salvadoran leftists, Marcy was inside droning on about a new "vacuum of opposition" to Reagan. This "vacuum" on the left was created in part by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which played the role during the Vietnam antiwar protests to which the Marcyites aspire today—herding radicalizing youth into the arms of the liberal Democrats.

It is the attempt to get that bloc with the liberal Democrats that defines YAWF's politics today, and those of its creature, the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM). With the SL protesting outside his window against his donkey work for the Democrats, Marcy pretends that there really is no developing liberal opposition to Reagan. He would have his audience believe that Bella Abzug and the rest are not really Democrats. The Democrats' "demise is our resurrection" he proclaims. But the latest PAM multi-issue scheme for an All People's Congress to "overturn the Reagan program" tells the real story. The first sentence of its first leaflet is quite clearly a call to the anti-Reagan liberal Democrats to "fight the right": "The majority in the U.S. Congress,

including a large segment of the Democratic Party, has rubber stamped the reactionary Reagan program." What about the remaining "segment" of the Democrats? They are meant for the PAM platform.

The character of PAM cannot be hidden. Even the *New York Times* has got its number. In a 24 May article it defined PAM as a "coalition" that "enjoys support from a variety of political organizations that include Marxists, Socialists and Communists, as well as persons aligned with traditional United States politics." And just in

crudest pro-Stalinists, cheering on Moscow's tanks as they crushed the Hungarian workers' political revolution—all in the name of "anti-imperialism." Today, in the name of "self-determination," they support "negotiated settlement"—so that Salvadoran tanks can crush Salvadoran workers and peasants. It is not the "global class warriors" who call for the defense of the gains of October. It is the Trotskyists of the SL who say: Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!

In the early days of the Vietnam War, the liberals and reformists tried to hold

Marcyites—now mimicking SANE's line as the pro-negotiations right wing of antiwar protest—deserve the same fate: to be swept aside politically.

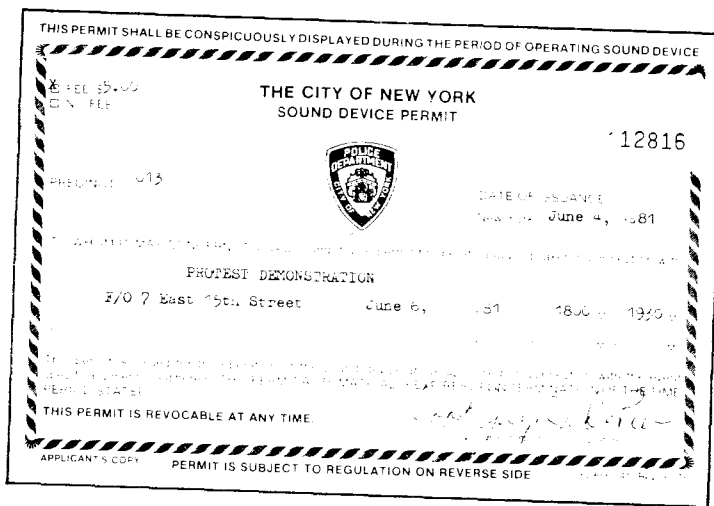
That popular front appetites lead to violence against revolutionaries is no accident. It is part of the logic of betrayal. During the Vietnam protest movement it was the SWP which organized the popular-frontist peace crawls. At a watershed meeting of their front group NPAC ("National Peace Action Coalition"), SWP "marshals" cleaned up the political opposition for their keynote speaker, liberal senator Vance Hartke. As we said at that time, this bloody act of political gangsterism against Progressive Labor, SDS and the Spartacist League was a "qualitative shift for the SWP on the road to simple reformism."

But things have changed since then. YAWF may want to play the role of the SWP, but it is by no means likely that they can pull it off. One thing is certain. The SL is far larger than it was in 1971 and is not about to be pushed around by YAWF.

This fight ought to have some educational value for the Marcyites. As the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, said of the early Trotskyists' militant defense of their rights against Stalinist gangsterism, the Stalinists saw the Trotskyists "not only stand their ground and give back blow for blow but also give the ignorant, misguided young hoodlums a propaganda speech and a tract for the good of their souls." And the Trotskyists recruited a few on this firing line.

So the Marcyites are on notice: This is a political fight, and we welcome it. If you want to bring your signs and protest our meetings with rude slogans, that is your right and we defend it. If you want to demonstrate for "military defeat to the Salvadoran leftists," go right ahead. But know this: If you throw up your goon squad, if you link arms to block our meetings, if you try to silence our revolutionary message with fists, boots and broken bottles, then you are again at risk. ■

Some "sneak attack"!



case anyone had any doubts about who and what these "persons" and "traditions" might be, the next subheading was: "Bella Abzug and Paul O'Dwyer." The article explained that PAM not only "embraced" these Democrats, but also "Third Parties" like the Citizens Party and California's Peace and Freedom Party. This is the "vacuum" that the Marcyites hope to fill—the slot for the left tail on the anti-Reagan popular front.

Gone are the days when *Workers World* was filled up with photographs of the heroic Viet Cong. There are no "Venceremos" chants for El Salvador's FMLN. Sam Marcy has come a long way down since his faction congealed as cheerleaders for the "global class war" in 1950. In 1956 the Marcyites were the

growing antiwar movement to the call for "negotiations," but it didn't work. The liberal CIA-connected SANE organization kept the fake-lefts in tow with their call to "stop the war." But the SL picketed the SANE rally in Madison Square Garden. Our call for the picket explained: "There can be no neutrality in this fight. We are not simply for stopping the war, but rather are for the *victory* of that revolution." (*Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967). Sound familiar? The SWP's *Militant* empathized with SANE, bemoaned our "sectarian" picket and quipped that "maybe the name [SANE] bugs them too." But it was the SANE line that was simply overwhelmed by the reality of struggle—military struggle in Vietnam and political struggle in the U.S. The

Italian Left Refuses to Back Abortion on Demand

Vatican Anti-Abortion Crusade Defeated

MILANO—On May 17 the Italian electorate rejected the "Right to Life Movement" referendum against abortion which was heavily pushed by the Catholic church and supported by the fascists. An overwhelming majority—21 million against 10 million—turned down a proposition to limit abortion to cases of "grave physical danger." At the same time, initiatives raised by the Radical Party, particularly the one calling for a liberalization of abortion legislation, were also defeated. This is hardly a step forward in the struggle for the emancipation of women, much less a victory for the working class. Yet all of the left organizations, with the sole exception of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency), from the mass reformist parties to the pseudo-Trotskyists, lined up *against* the Radicals' referendum and greeted its defeat!

Enacted in May 1978, the present abortion statute, Law 194 permits free, state-subsidized abortions for women over the age of 18, during the first 90 days of pregnancy, for "economic, social, family or psychological" reasons. While this statute is one of the most liberal in West Europe, its effectiveness has been greatly curtailed by the church, which has threatened physicians with excommunication for performing abortions and instructed them to make use of the "conscientious objector" clause. Consequently, at present some 72 percent of gynecologists, the only doctors allowed to practice abortion in public hospitals, are "objectors": only 964 doctors in all of Italy practice legal abortion! And in Napoli there are only two hospitals authorized to perform legal abortions, while in Sicily there is only one clinic (*L'Espresso*, 22 March).

The Radical Party referendum called for free abortion within 90 days without limitation as to age or reason, and not subject to veto by doctor or husband. It also proposed to drop all references to state jurisdiction, presently sanctioned under the rubric of promoting "responsible maternity." While the Radical referendum left untouched the "conscientious objector" clause, its stated aim was to loosen the restrictions on legal abortions. It was therefore clearly supportable as an improvement over the current law.

Of course, safe abortions from competent physicians have always been available for the women of the bourgeoisie. But because of requirements of parental consent for minors, recourse to the "conscientious objector" provision and the one-week "conscientious objector" clause, many women must still

Rome, March 7: Thousands of women protest reactionary referendum against legalized abortions.



resort to back-street abortions.

Most of the left attempted to present Law 194 as the sole bulwark against the clerical-reactionary offensive. Thus they hailed the defeat of the referenda as a tremendous victory over the Vatican, pointing to Pope Wojtyla's inflammatory anti-abortion campaign. Yet the fake-lefts went even further, dishonestly amalgamating all the referenda (including the Radicals'). The Unione Donne Italiane (UDI), the Communist Party (PCI) front group for women, openly raised reactionary objections to removing existing restrictions on abortion:

"The Radical proposal demanding the total liberalization of the interruption of pregnancy beyond state health institutions would transform the law to tutelage of women seeking abortions into some kind of civil right, a definition which we reject for both moral and social reasons."

—*La Repubblica*, 29 April

Reformism and Feminism vs. Women's Democratic Rights

The PCI not only declared, "We are against abortion and we want to make a contribution toward changing a society burdened by so many death-causing aspects," but went on to add: "We have not and are not now putting into question the right of the Church and of the pope to reaffirm and defend the religious and moral principles of Catholicism" (*Com Nuovi Tempi*, 10 May 1980). Berlinguer & Co. feared above all a political confrontation with the bourgeoisie similar to the one provoked by the referendum on divorce in 1974—nothing must endanger the PCI's dreams of a "Historic Compromise" with Christian Democracy!

Last September, PCI women together with those from the Socialist Party, the Liberals, Republicans and Social Democrats formed the Committee for the Defense of Law 194 (CDL). This popular-front formation issued a communiqué stating, "The painful reality of abortion cannot be overcome by destroying this law" (*Dossier Donne* No. 3). The CDL statement goes on to urge Catholic women in particular to support the existing law because it tends to prevent abortions!

Trotskyism vs. Opportunism and Moralism

The Lega Trotskista d'Italia called for a "yes" vote to the Radical referendum while criticizing its limitations. The LTd'I insisted on the need for free abortion on demand, by competent medical personnel; for unrestricted availability of contraception and for free 24-hour childcare. Recognizing that the attack on abortion rights was part of a broader reactionary campaign by the

Catholic hierarchy, the Trotskyists highlighted the demand for separation of church and state, in particular for the revocation of the Lateran Treaties, the deal enacted under Mussolini recognizing the Vatican as a sovereign state.

In a public meeting in Milano on May 15 the LTd'I linked the struggle for democratic rights for women's liberation to the program of proletarian revolution. As the rightist anti-abortion campaign makes clear, reforms under capitalism are always reversible. Comrade Anna Marino explained: "Real emancipation will never be achieved in a society based on the oppressive institution of the family. The absolute precondition for the liberation of women is the replacement of the family as an economic unit.... But this is impossible as long as the bourgeoisie holds state power." It was the October Revolution which opened the road for the social liberation of women.

In recent years, Italy has witnessed a myriad of movements of the specially oppressed, each group pitted against the others for a few crumbs from the table of decaying Italian capitalism. A genuine Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat must act as a tribune of the people, rallying socially oppressed layers of the population around its struggle for socialist revolution. But in Italy this perspective is rejected not only by the Stalinist/Eurocommunist PCI but by virtually the entire "far left" as well. This has created a vacuum which the Radical Party has sought to fill in a utopian attempt to create a "capitalism with a human face."

The liberal-bourgeois program of the Radicals is not simply minimal (they didn't even call for defeat of the clerical-

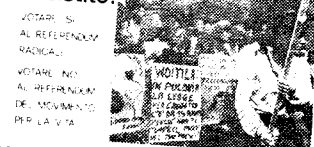
reactionary referenda until a week before the vote!), it is counterposed to the Marxist struggle to defend and extend democratic rights for the masses through revolutionary struggle. But as minimal as the Radical initiative was, it was positively libertine compared to the "extreme left." In 1978, the pseudo-Trotskyist Lega Comunista Rivoluzionaria (LCR—section of the Pabloist United Secretariat) characterized Law 194 as "an attack against the women's movement" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 1 May 1978). Today the LCR is only interested in "realistic" proposals to modify the law, and called for a "double no." Like the anti-abortionists of the PCI, it rejected both the clerical and Radical referenda. Livio Maitan & Co. even entered the CDL popular front, talking of a "revolutionary dynamic" in this vehicle of class collaboration.

For communists, the struggle for the emancipation of women is inseparable from the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and oppression. The working class must break from the social backwardness fostered by its pro-capitalist misleaders (even where they go by the name of "socialist" and even "communist" and "revolutionary"). Key to this preparation for workers revolution is the intervention of an authentically Trotskyist vanguard which fights to raise the proletariat to consciousness of its historic interests. This is the task which the fake-lefts renounce with their pitiful tailing after the PCI. In contrast, the Lega Trotskista stands on the principled program of the international Spartacist tendency and its efforts to resurrect the Leninist program. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Lega Trotskista d'Italia Bulletin

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

and Green Berets, Washington tries to win over wavering Latin governments with promises of a new "Marshall Plan" for the region. Meeting last week with Mexican president José López Portillo, Reagan offered them U.S. private investment as a bribe to get them to turn their backs on the Salvadoran insurgency and give a cold shoulder to Fidel and the Sandinistas.

The Reagan line in the Caribbean area has been challenged within the imperialist camp by the West German-dominated Socialist International (SI), which is leading the drive for a negotiated solution to the Salvadoran struggle. Meeting in Panama last March, SI leaders proffered West German Social Democrat Willy Brandt as a mediator to bring the warring sides together. When neither Reagan nor his junta leaped to meet with Brandt, German Social Democratic leader Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski met with governments throughout the region to push for mediation. No dice. The latest SI maneuver sent Canadian New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent on yet another regional junket, which predictably brought no better results.

Among the advocates of a "political solution" in El Salvador are the populist regime of Mexico's López Portillo, Venezuelan Christian Democratic president Herrera Campíns, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Castro's Cuba. All voice a common fear of the Salvadoran civil war expanding into a region-wide conflict. But another of the supporters of a "negotiated settlement" is the Salvadoran opposition popular front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Thus we have the self-defeating, ultimately suicidal spectacle of the FDR/FMLN leaders trying to strike a bargain with sectors of the butchering junta. By preventing a leftist victory, this would prepare a bloody massacre of the insurgent masses—and on a scale far larger than that already experienced following the installation of a "reform" junta in October 1979.

But the guerrillas entrenched on the volcanic slopes and in the FMLN border strongholds of El Salvador face an enemy in no mood to bargain. "Power is not negotiable," says a former military leader. "If we sit down with [the rebels] what would there be to discuss?" asks a top junta commander (*Washington Post*, 21 April). The junta killers know that behind them stands a U.S. government which badly wants a leftist defeat in order to "draw the line" against the Soviets and Cubans in Central America. Reagan thinks he has a winnable war in El Salvador; his National Security Council considers it a "to get" area where the U.S.-backed butchery have a "clear advantage."

J. Troops: "It's Finished"

Nevertheless, despite all the tons of military equipment shipped to the junta forces, the Salvadoran military has been unable to inflict serious damage on the leftist insurgents. The "liberated zones" controlled by the FMLN fighters have reportedly been expanded since the

January offensive. Rebel sources now report that 50 percent of the northern departments of Morazán, Chalatenango and Cabañas, as well as large portions of other areas, are in their hands. Many towns nominally under government control are completely cut off and surrounded by FMLN forces, who stop short of taking them only to avoid being bombed by government planes.

Thousands of guerrillas have massed to attack the "Fifth of November" dam on the Lempa River, which provides all the electricity for the capital city of San Salvador. Yet government forces are so busy facing guerrillas throughout the country that journalists who visited the area report that the dam and surrounding towns are barely defended. San Francisco Gotera, capital of Morazán, is under siege and FMLN/FDR forces reportedly plan to establish a provisional government there "in the near future." According to the well-informed British publication, *Latin American Weekly Report* (5 June):

"After resisting a powerful [junta] offensive for the past two months, guerrilla units of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) are reported to have forced the army to withdraw 3,000 troops from the area. The army has suffered heavy casualties, and the hospital at Gotera is so full that a constant helicopter shuttle service is ferrying the wounded to San Salvador."

On June 10 FMLN guerrillas annihilated an army garrison at Arcatao in Chalatenango. The *Washington Post* (12 June) reported the battle by monitoring army radio messages: "As the day progressed the operator's pleas became more frantic. He described a column of 600 uniformed guerrillas equipped with machine guns progressively encircling the garrison. Heavy shooting could be heard in the background. Late in the afternoon the operator said the column was made up of 1,000 guerrillas. Ammunition was parachuted in, but the operator said the guerrillas got to the drop first. The transmission ended in the late afternoon with the words 'It's finished'."

Despite the Saigon press conference-style body counts issued by the junta, it is clear that the guerrillas are far from defeated. Nonetheless, their long-term military success is far from assured. For the FMLN/FDR leadership has aimed not at winning on the battlefield but achieving a compromise through diplomacy. No attempts to raise the urban working masses in insurrectionary (or any other) struggle have been reported since the collapse of the general strike in January. And the policy of the opposition coalition in recent months has followed the lines laid out by FDR leader Ana Guadalupe Martínez: "Our main task is presently to build a bloc of states to oppose an intervention in El Salvador" (*Tageszeitung* [Frankfurt], 31 January).

"Political Solution"?

Despite the continued rejection of their peace overtures, the FDR's Mexico-based Political-Diplomatic Commission continually repeats its desire to "maintain conversations and explore all roads that could lead to a political solution" (*Noticias de El Salvador* [San José], 29 April-5 May).

What exactly would such a so-called "political solution" or "negotiated settlement" mean? Alan Riding in the *New York Times* (7 May) cited a scenario "most frequently mentioned by optimists in the region":

"According to proponents of the idea, a regional mediating group would help the warring sides to negotiate the conditions for free elections. 'The armed forces would then be restricted to their barracks and the guerrillas to their camps, while the country would be policed by an international force. After the elections, a new army would be formed, eliminating undesirable elements from either side.'"

This scenario, known as the "Zimbabwe solution," is a scheme to defeat the "undesirable" leftist guerrillas at the bargaining table. It is a plan for the restabilization of Salvadoran capitalism, with the use of foreign troops if necessary. It is a formula for counterrevolution.

The professors and bourgeois politicians who dominate the FDR Political-Diplomatic Commission have studiously avoided saying just what sort of negotiated "solution" they have in mind. But the scheme reported by Riding is the plan being put forward by the imperialist liberals and social democrats to whom they appeal. It was the plan suggested in the "Dissent Paper" circulated last fall by liberal CIA and State Department officials.

FDR/FMLN spokesmen plead ever more shamelessly for negotiations of any kind, on any terms. Last year Guillermo Ungo, a member of the junta who switched sides and now heads the FDR, declared that he would talk only with the U.S. directly, with the "circus owner, not the acrobats." By February, Political-Diplomatic Commission member Salvador Samayoa (minister of education when Ungo was in the junta) was saying that "we're willing to give the Christian Democrats the benefit of the doubt" and that they would seek talks with the civilians in the junta (*New York Times*, 24 February). On April 24 an FMLN statement announced that the guerrillas were "willing to end the fighting if productive conversations are initiated with the civilian-military government."

When Christian Democratic junta head Napoleón Duarte rejected FMLN conditions for talks—reopening the universities, freeing political prisoners, lifting the state of siege and curfew—Political-Diplomatic Commission member Fabio Castillo simply announced that the FDR would pose no preconditions for talks. In a major two-part interview with the Sandinista organ *Barricada*, Castillo, an ex-rector of the University of San Salvador, declared:

"The Political-Diplomatic Commission has not posed prior conditions. Those prior conditions for dialogue, which could eventually lead to negotiation, would be part of the negotiations. The only condition that [the Commission] has posed is the establishment of an international mediating group.... Naturally, this is the proposal of the Commission and would also be open to negotiation."

—*Barricada* [Managua], 11 May

Splits in the Front?

By themselves the Ungos, Castillos, Samayoas and other middle-class reformers and dissident Christian Democrats in the FDR have no real power. In a civil war in which virtually the entire landlord-capitalist elite is on one side and the workers and poor peasants are on the other, they represent only the attempt of the popular front to paper over the deep class divisions by proclaiming a "democratic" rather than a socialist revolution. The presence of Ungo et al. in the FDR leadership is a pledge to the domestic Latin bourgeoisies and to the U.S. imperialists that the guerrilla struggle will not transcend the bounds of capitalism.

The blatantly counterrevolutionary implications of the popular front's ever more abject talk of ceasefires and negotiations without conditions, however, are causing tensions within the

loosely allied guerrilla front. According to the 5 June *Latin American Weekly Report*, the leader of the Fuerzas Populares de Liberación (FPL), Salvador Cayetano Carpio, has withdrawn from the FMLN's joint command. Moreover, the FPL organ *El Rebelde*, as well as the publications of other left groups, have reappeared after their suspension as part of the unity pact. An editorial in the April edition of the clandestine *El Rebelde* declared: "The diplomatic line cannot substitute for the military line, nor is it by itself a proposition separate from prolonged people's war" (*El Día* [Mexico], 12 May). *El Rebelde* and FPL spokesman Comandante Ana María have insisted that no dialogue with the junta could be undertaken without stringent "minimum conditions" including "an end to repression throughout the country." In practice that is to rule out negotiations for the foreseeable future.

The FPL, a left-wing breakaway from the official pro-Moscow Communist Party, is the largest of the guerrilla groups and leads several tens of thousands of workers and peasants through unions affiliated to its Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR). It is the FPL that has driven the junta forces out of Chalatenango and withstood repeated heavy assaults on the Guazapa volcano, in sight of San Salvador. When U.S. journalist Alex Drehsler visited FPL camps this spring, an FPL guerrilla commander told him that they considered the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua to be "basically a revolt of the middle classes" and that "we want to form a society, a government, that will be more radical than Cuba." "So you see," he was told, "there is no room for compromise here" (*Chicago Tribune*, 8-10 March).

But FPL leaders, like those of the ERP, FARN and other guerrilla groups, have done plenty of compromising with their bourgeois liberal allies. The FPL/BPR reaction to the October 1979 "reform" junta, which overthrew the Romero dictatorship with State Department backing, was to call on it to carry out promises of reform. And the FPL dropped its call for a "worker-peasant government with proletarian hegemony" to help form the FDR popular front more than a year ago. If Cayetano and the other FPL leaders are wary of the dangers of the pursuit of negotiations at all costs, they are only facing the consequences of their own Stalinist-nationalist, popular-frontist line.

Military Victory and Workers Revolution

Talk of a "political/negotiated solution" in El Salvador comes from diverse sources: from Latin American bourgeois governments, fearful of the spread of a revolutionary contagion in the region; from American liberals, fearful of "another Vietnam," a losing imperialist adventure; from social democrats of the SI, reflecting the interests of European capital in a continuation of "détente" as opposed to Reagan's Cold War II; from Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Havana, who fear a victory of the Salvadoran working masses as a challenge to their own parasitic rule. Brezhnev and Castro are so intent on pursuing "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism (even hoping to seduce Reagan!) that they will willingly sabotage revolution in El Salvador. Asked about Reagan accusations of Soviet arms to Salvadoran rebels, Brezhnev spokesman Zamyatin replied haughtily, "The Soviet Union does not provide El Salvador with arms. It never has. It never will." Traitors! The Soviet regime of Lenin and Trotsky would have considered this an inescapable internationalist duty.

Nicaragua's petty-bourgeois Sandinista leadership, only recently arrived in power and facing ominous domestic and international counterrevolutionary threats, might be expected to look more favorably on the struggles of

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Israel...

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raid as its direct military objective. Jerusalem views the Reagan/Haig plan for a "strategic consensus" as a vehicle to transfer large quantities of sophisticated weapons to the Arab states. Presumably Begin reasons that if he continues his military provocations, even the most anti-Soviet of Arab regimes, notably the Saudi monarchy,

Israelis also used a French reactor, but obtained their uranium clandestinely—no doubt with a little help from CIA friends. Israel has never signed the U.S.-backed Non-Proliferation Treaty—they've got the bomb; they're not going to give it up and certainly are not about to allow international observers to go snooping in the Negev. If turnabout is fair play, and this is always the logic of conflicting nationalisms, then the Saudis, Iraqis, Libyans, etc. could arguably remove the Zionist nuclear threat by

vainglorious posturing after the Baghdad raid. One Jerusalem official boasted that "if Begin had been President of the United States instead of Truman in 1949, there wouldn't be an arms race" (*New York Times*, 11 June). This statement both graphically shows the siege mentality of the Zionists and lays bare the essence of imperialist "non-proliferation": nuke them before they get the bomb.

Like Begin, a significant section of the U.S. imperialist ruling class regrets that they didn't destroy the Soviet Union when they had the A-bomb and the Russians didn't. Reagan's pushing for first-strike strategic weapons indicates this desire to return to the "good old days" when the U.S. had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. But today the U.S. ruling class has a problem: the Soviet Union has nuclear weapons, and not just one or two. As opposed to the reformists and pacifists who advocate that the USSR disarm unilaterally, we demand that the Soviet degenerated workers state maintain all weapons, including nuclear, needed for its defense against imperialism.

In denouncing Reagan's right to condemn the Baghdad raid, the Israeli leaders and their lawyers, like right-wing columnist William Safire, have a certain point. Begin's provocation is indeed dangerous, but it pales before the unprecedented accumulation of the weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the American ruling class. And they are just as willing to use them as the Zionists. Remember the 1962 missile crisis when John F. Kennedy, the great liberal, came within a hair's breadth of blowing up the world to "defend U.S. security." Unless the world proletariat takes matters into its hands, the imperialists will produce the most horrible holocaust of all time. ■



will be unwilling to strike a deal with Washington because of the latter's backing to Israel. And if there's no deal, there will be fewer American weapons in Arab hands. So Begin figures (especially right before the elections) that it's worth straining relations with Washington to disrupt Reagan's overtures to the Saudis and kindred Arab regimes.

But Begin's gambit may lose in the endgame. Israel's U.S. benefactor has long-term interests which are global and it is not ultimately committed to the defense and extension of the Zionist state. And beneath all their Napoleonic posturing, the Begins, Dayans and Peres know this too. They fear that if the deal with the Arabs is right, one day the U.S. will abandon Israel. This gives to the Zionist rulers their paranoid trigger-happy quality, their compulsion toward nuclear brinkmanship. This is why for them provocation is more than a policy: mass terror is a condition for survival for the Zionist capitalist state—and to hell with the consequences, whether the death of thousands of Arabs or a world war.

Zionism Is Bad for the Jews

While the Israelis justified their raid by the threat of *potential* Iraqi nuclear weapons, Israel itself has had the bomb since at least 1974 (a fact buried by the U.S. bourgeois press). Ironically, the

bombing Israel's reactor. At a cost of quite a few irradiated Jewish civilians.

Zionist Israel is no "promised land" but a historic deathtrap for the Jewish people, and some day the Arabs will have the bomb. In a practical way, at least many Jews sense this. Numerous Israelis, facing the economic effects of life in a garrison state—triple-digit inflation, the ever present danger of war—are voting with their feet. The Zionist state has experienced a net outflow of its Jewish citizens. Also, thousands of Jews leaving the USSR regard Israel as a hellhole and bypass it for the benefits and "safety" of New York.

In the minds of the Zionist fanatics who rule Israel, every Jew who emigrates is a traitor. Increasingly the Zionist leaders seek to imbue their society with the "Masada complex," named after the mountain fortress where in 73 A.D. Hebrew zealots committed mass suicide rather than surrender to the Romans. The Begins and Peres are equally prepared to sacrifice every Jewish man, woman and child in Israel if it comes to this in a war with the Arabs. And the Zionist rulers are not only willing to destroy their own people in a nuclear Masada, but to spark a global holocaust as well.

The Israeli leaders' fixation with nuclear war came out clearly in their

leftist guerrillas next door. Not so, and the counterrevolutionary consequences of nationalism are dramatically revealed. After the FMLN's January offensive Nicaraguan interior minister Tomás Borge told the press: "In El Salvador, the guerrillas could not defeat the army and the army could not defeat the guerrillas.... No defeat and no victory seems possible, so we feel that a political solution should be sought" (*New York Times*, 16 February). By mid-March, the State Department let it be known that Nicaragua had cut off arms to Salvadoran rebels, and now in their eagerness to placate Reagan they have begun to *arrest* people ferrying guns to the FMLN (DPA dispatch, 15 May). But where would Borge & Co. be now if a "negotiated solution" with sections of the dictatorship ("Somozism without Somoza") had been pushed through two years ago?

What of the FDR/FMLN leaders? Why are they so eager to bargain with the military butchers when the masses already know that "revolution or death"

is more than a slogan but the real choice facing working people in El Salvador? Wouldn't Salvadoran leftists have the greatest interest in extending the war, raising up workers and peasants throughout Central America in a revolutionary conflagration? Certainly this is true of those who fight for socialist revolution, which can only be an international struggle—especially in this region of artificial mini-states. But the FDR is a coalition linking several radical left groups to marginal liberal bourgeois politicians. In such class-collaborationist popular fronts the presence of capitalist elements serves to guarantee that the masses do not go beyond the limits of capitalism.

These bourgeois phantoms naturally lack confidence in their capacity to confront imperialism and its puppets; and they fear the consequences of an all-out mobilization of the exploited, which could open the road to social revolution. The same could be said of the reformist programs of the FMLN guerrilla leaders, an eclectic mixture of Stalinism and

petty-bourgeois nationalism, which led them to tie their organizations to the class enemy in forming the FDR. Thus the struggle for a rebel victory in the raging civil war is the cutting edge of the fight for proletarian opposition to popular-front class collaboration in El Salvador today.

There is a close connection between military victory and workers revolution. A workers revolution in El Salvador is impossible without military victory of the leftist insurgents. Any "solution" which leaves even sections of the present kill-crazed capitalist state apparatus in place threatens the masses with a repeat of the 1932 *matanza*, when 30,000 were executed in the wake of a failed uprising. And the only guarantee of military victory is the mobilization of the exploited masses for their own class interests. Their revolutionary fervor will be the most powerful weapon against the better armed conscript army and mercenary security forces. But having defeated the military forces of their capitalist oppressors, the workers and

fact, it would require such an expansion of the repressive apparatus of the Dublin regime as to prove overall *more* oppressive to most Catholics as well.

But if forcible reunification is not a democratic solution—much less a prelude to a socialist solution of the Irish question—what then? "Democratization" while preserving the union with the British imperialist state? As we wrote in our basic statement on the question, "Theses on Ireland": "...the existing tie between Northern Ireland and the British state can only be oppressive of the Irish Catholic population, an obstacle to a proletarian class mobilization and solution" (*Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977). *Class unity in Northern Ireland can be achieved only in struggle against the British imperialist forces.* That is why the call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army is the beginning of the socialist program for Ireland.

Since we are not foolish pollyannas who believe that this will produce an automatic end to communal violence, we also call for programmatically based anti-sectarian workers militias. At a time when the bulk of the left was cheering "Up the IRA," we declared: "Not Green Against Orange, But Class Against Class" (*WV* No. 7, April 1972). But at the same time we did not and do not try to wish away the national question. In our "Theses on Ireland," we wrote:

"Ireland, like other situations of interpenetrated peoples as in the Middle East and Cyprus, is a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution. The inevitable conclusion is that while revolutionists must oppose all aspects of national oppression, they must also recognize that the conflicting claims of interpenetrated peoples can only be equitably resolved in the framework of a workers state. We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles."

As social-democratic Unionists, Bew et al. now scoff at James Connolly's struggle for an Ireland freed from sectarianism and imperialism under the leadership of a united working class. No matter how confused and eclectic, Connolly had a vision of a proletarian revolutionary solution to the Irish question which in spite of partition remains valid today. No doubt the basis for common struggle has been deeply poisoned by sectarian hatred and terror. But the great Belfast engineering strike of 1919 and the massive unemployment demonstrations of the 1930s show that workers solidarity can in vital moments transcend sectarianism. What is needed is a Trotskyist party that can draw upon the tenacity and courage demonstrated by freedom fighters like Bobby Sands and prepare the class-conscious vanguard, rooted among both Catholic and Protestant workers and closely linked to the British proletariat, to smash rotting British imperialism forever. ■

Ireland Divided...

(continued from page 7)

propose a moralistic and reactionary-utopian variant of the "two-stage" revolution: in order to be broken from sectarianism. Protestant workers must be stripped of the meager privileges they possess relative to the Catholics. Since they will not willingly surrender them, they must be stripped of these privileges through the destruction of the Orange statelet and forcible reunification of the northern six counties into the Dublin clerical-capitalist regime, thereby "completing" the Irish national revolution. Bew/Gibbon/Patterson point out the obvious: transforming the Protestants into a subjugated minority in a reunited capitalist Ireland, even if it would be possible against their resistance, would only strengthen the sectarian divide. In

peasants would not be satisfied with a few reforms. The most basic demands of the Salvadoran working people—for land, for emancipation from the imperialist yoke, for jobs and economic development—cannot be met without expropriating the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialist planned economy in an international framework.

The mass of the left-wing fighters are not risking their lives in order to create ministerial portfolios for Ungo and Castillo in some U.S.-brokered coalition. Military victory of the left would open a period of dual power, posing the need for and direct possibility of a revolution that would sweep away the entire capitalist state. But to lead the struggle for internationalist workers revolution the essential element is a proletarian Trotskyist vanguard party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. The only "political solution" for the Salvadoran masses is a workers and peasants government, like the one Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks won in October 1917. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop Union-Busting Drive, Roll Back Fares!

Chicago Transit Crisis

CHICAGO—The capitalist politicians are poised to deliver another blow at hard-pressed working people here. The bankrupt city transit system is on the verge of shutting down. The bosses have made it clear to the workers and poor—already saddled with the highest basic transit fare of any city in the U.S.—that unless they accept a new round of fare hikes and service cuts there will be no funding for transit services. Two suburban bus lines have already folded, commuter trains are jacking fares by up to 75 percent and the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) has already defaulted on its pension payments.

The state legislature has thus far refused to vote any new money to bail out the Regional Transportation Authority (RTA), which comprises not only the CTA but the bus lines and commuter trains of the six surrounding suburban counties. Illinois governor James Thompson this week held up \$23 million of state money due the RTA for operating expenses, claiming he would release it only if the Authority agreed to disburse a "fair share" to the suburbs—i.e., less to Chicago.

Taking its cue from Reagan's wholesale dumping of social benefits, the Republican-dominated state legislature has taken the lead in trying to shaft Chicago's working people. As it is, state and federal subsidies to the CTA are relatively light, by the standards of most big cities. Only New York and one or two others actually pay a higher percentage of their expenses out of fares. So the cutbacks threatened to Chicago transit have a particularly savage and vindictive character. The legislature has seen its chance to really sock it to Chicago. For down-state legislators the windy city metropolis—with its more liberal social values, its trade unions and its heavy concentration of blacks and Latins—is anathema. The state is also one of a minority that never ratified the ERA.

Meanwhile the city's Democratic Party politicians have sought to make the most of the situation by posturing as the defenders of the CTA. Mayor Jane Byrne has declared again and again that she will take over the CTA if necessary to prevent a shutdown. But any successful resistance by the city's working people to fare increases, service cutbacks and wage slashing necessitates an immediate break with the anti-union and racist Democratic Party. Byrne's own transit plan announced this week demonstrates clearly enough that she, too, expects Chicago's working people to pay. To finance continued CTA operations outside the scope of the RTA the mayor called for a 4 percent tax on "professional services" as well as a 10-cent fare hike and unspecified service cuts.

The responsibility for letting Byrne and her Democratic cronies off the hook lies with the city's trade-union bureaucracy. It is crystal clear that the bottom line for the Democratic Party city administration is to resolve the crisis by ripping up the contracts of its unionized employees. Already drivers for suburban NORTRAN have agreed to defer 10 percent of their wages until funding is restored, while a smaller suburban line



Oak Park Illinois: Transit workers locked out by budget-slashing state legislature.

closed down when the drivers refused to accept a 45 percent (!) pay cut. But the main targets of the bosses are Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 which represent 11,000 bus drivers and rapid transit employees in Chicago. Thus far management has shied away from implementing their threat of a 20 percent pay cut for Chicago bus drivers and has confined itself to smaller provocations like refusing to pay its share into the pension plan. But it is obvious that when Byrne and Thompson finally get together and come up with a transit bailout, it will include pay cuts, service cutbacks and hundreds of layoffs as well as fare hikes.

The only response by Chicago ATU leaders John Weatherspoon and Wil-

ford Spears has been a weak-kneed court challenge to the pension rip-off. The ATU bureaucrats in fact have no taste for any real battle against Byrne and her strikebreaking administration. In December 1979 they ended a four-day CTA strike by capitulating to a no-strike injunction. As a result the union's full cost-of-living benefits were cut in half and Byrne was left free to pick off other city unions (like the fire fighters) one at a time.

It is imperative that militants in the transit unions demand that the ATU take the lead in organizing city-wide labor demonstrations and mobilizations against the threatened transit cutbacks. Any takebacks—whether it be fare increases, pay cuts or layoffs—should be

the signal for a city-wide general strike. This could quickly bring the bosses to their knees. A million people (one third of Chicago's wage earners) as well as 80 percent of those who work in the downtown Loop area are serviced by mass transit. So for all their demagogic threats of provoking a transit shutdown, even the legislators in Springfield understand that if Chicago is shut down tight then the state's tax coffers will soon run dry.

The other linchpin on which the Democratic city administration rests—in addition to strikebreaking—is its maintenance of a vicious and repressive police force. It is no accident that while nobody else is being hired by the city today Byrne still wants 900 more cops. From Chicago's cossacks in blue to the vigilante Guardian Angels, who recently showed up in town, police violence is essential to enforcing the Democratic Party's racist austerity policies. A general labor counteroffensive must address itself as well to the city's predominantly black and Latin poor: For city-wide busing extended to the suburbs to integrate the schools! For labor/black defense guards to smash the Klan and Nazi threat! No fare hike; for free city-wide mass transit!

That the second largest city in the U.S. cannot even run its trains and buses is a telling sign of the advanced decay of American capitalism. Once known as "the city that works," Chicago like other metropolitan centers today festers with unemployment, poverty and racism. Only building a class-struggle workers party, dedicated to rooting out the obsolescent system of private profit, can pave the way for a socialist planned economy by fighting for a workers government that can genuinely meet the needs of its working people. ■

Striking at Government Cutbacks

L.A. Longshoremen Walk

LOS ANGELES, June 15—The Long Beach and San Pedro ports were shut down today in protest over an impending federal bill which attacks port workers' compensation benefits. The unusual political strike was called by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 13 as part of the Los Angeles Harbor Labor Coalition. The Harbor Coalition includes eleven unions, including the ILWU, Teamsters, NMU, OCAW and others.

Up to 20,000 workers took part in the one-day action, and 5,000 jammed the Local 13 hall to hear speeches denouncing the "Washington politicians." The shutdown precedes by one day scheduled hearings on two companion pieces of anti-labor legislation, HR-25 and S-1182, which attack the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act.

Compensation is a red-hot issue on the docks, where it is virtually unheard of for a worker with ten years seniority not to have suffered some serious injury. One longshoreman told *WV*, "The attack on the Compensation Act is equivalent to taking away black lung benefits" for the coal miners. Key features of the proposed bills give the company the right to choose its own doctor in compensation cases (!), drastically slash rates of compensation benefits that have been in effect for eight years and eliminate from federal coverage most shoreside workers presently covered by the law.

The full power of labor—including massive port strikes on all coasts—must be brought to bear to defeat these bills, which are only the tip of the iceberg of the Democratic/Republican austerity/war drive. (S-1182 is sponsored by Democratic

Senator Nunn and Republican Senator Nichols.) But in a letter to the locals, the Herman-led International bureaucracy of the ILWU reportedly argued *against* any coast-wide action. In San Francisco Local 10 the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" group fought for solidarity strike action with L.A.

Herman & Co. want *no* action right before the expiration of the Longshore contract (June 30), and as usual are banking on the dead end of Democratic "friends of labor." Even the L.A. action was carefully limited—oil-related work went on, and the angry workers were dispersed by a march down to the post office to mail letters to Congressmen! But victory will not be handed down by Congressmen—it will be won by the workers through militant strike action.