

U.S. Troops Head for Salvadoran Border



AP

Yankees Get Out— And Stay Out!

Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftist Rebels! Crush CIA's Contra Invaders of Nicaragua!

On March 8, NBC News announced the U.S. is sending a strike force of 2,000 combat troops of the 193rd Infantry Brigade to the El Salvador-Honduras border for "emergency readiness exercises." This is no exercise! It is a direct military intervention to try to save the Salvador butchers who are getting the hell kicked out of them by leftist guerrilla rebels. Using the phony "elections" scheduled for March 25 as a pretext, Reagan is trying to prop up the foundering death squad government by escalating the U.S. military threat. The aircraft carrier *America* with a battle fleet of destroyers and escort ships is

now steaming toward Honduras which the U.S. has turned into a staging area for Yankee invasion into Central America.

Over the weekend fighting intensified in various parts of Central America. In El Salvador, government forces rushed in to try to end eight hours of heavy streetfighting by several hundred leftist rebels in the town of Santiago de María. In Nicaragua, a Sandinista army commander in the Matagalpa area reported his forces had killed some 35 *contras* out of a counterrevolutionary invasion force of 1,400 that had penetrated deep into the heart of the country. Mean-

while, Sandinista tanks were moved to the northern frontier for the first time to defend against heavy shelling reported from around the Honduran border town of El Triunfo. After two successive U.S. "exercises" in Honduras, the fighting in Central America is rapidly becoming a regional war.

On March 13, the Sandinistas reported that U.S.-backed *contra* terrorists had blown out two major power stations. The *contras*, however, are going nowhere in their desperate attempt to topple the government. The *contras'* failures, like the failures of the Salvadoran butchers, have increased the danger of direct U.S. military intervention. With the Sandinista tanks on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border, Managua knows it is looking directly into the guns of U.S. imperialism. On March 13, Sandinista junta coordinator Daniel

Ortega appealed to "the governments of the world to give the Nicaraguan people the technical military means to defend itself against the terrorism unleashed by the U.S. government." Indeed the Nicaraguans need direct international aid. As we have said: "Stop Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua Needs MIGs!" ... and the most advanced surface-to-air missiles and anything else they need to defeat the bloody U.S.-backed *contras*. But as the U.S. becomes more directly involved in the war, it will take revolutionary struggle throughout the isthmus, backed up by international proletarian mobilizations, particularly in the U.S., to defeat the imperialist invaders.

Not long ago Reagan and the State Department were talking about the 55-adviser limit on U.S. military personnel in El Salvador. But now in Honduras

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Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels

Ferreting Out the Truth

When a Soviet fighter pilot shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on 1 September 1983, Ronald Reagan made KAL 007 the propaganda centerpiece of the U.S. anti-Soviet crusade. The world's most dangerous and barbaric leaders sharply escalated their drive toward World War III in the name of 200-plus innocent civilians

killed on the KAL airliner. As the U.S. moved its nuclear first-strike missiles into Europe, Congress condemned the Soviet Union as perpetrators of "cold-blooded barbarous murder." From the Moonie crazies and émigré "freedom fighters" on the streets to "responsible" media like the *New York Times*, here at last was the act which they said

proved Ronald Reagan's view of the USSR as an "evil empire" which must be destroyed. After all, they asked, what kind of government kills innocent civilians? What kind indeed.

KAL Flight 007 was clearly an American Cold War provocation in which civilians were held hostage by the real perpetrators of "cold-blooded barbarous murder." The U.S. story was fishy from the start, and we would like to believe that we have done our bit to expose the lies of the imperialist plotters. But now the Reagan story is

really unraveling. And that would be an important blow to their campaign to mobilize opinion for war against the Soviet Union. For the Reaganites the truth of Mission 007 is particularly dangerous. And now additional pieces of the puzzle are falling into place.

The first major breach in the U.S. government's story came in early September when it was accidentally revealed that a U.S. electronic spy plane, the RC-135, had been in the vicinity of KAL 007. Two former Air

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Mitterrand's Austerity Breeds Rightist Mobilization

Behind French Truckers Strike

ADAPTED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK
NO. 45, MARCH 1984

PARIS, March 1—"We'll make the Parisians eat rats, then when they've got no more gas and nothing to eat they'll see who's in charge" (*Libération*, 22 February). So said an over-the-road truck owner-operator who, along with hundreds of others, was blockading the Garonor freight hub on the *autoroute du Nord* [main superhighway leading into Paris from the north]. He was repeating the battle cry of Versailles against the heroic Communards of 1871. But today there is no revolutionary workers government in Paris, only Mitterrand's class-collaborationist government that has succeeded in sending all sectors of the population into a furor.

The goal of the trucking bosses is to expand their fleet. Their business success depends on their ability to eliminate the competition and on their willingness to work harder and harder in worse and worse conditions. This contradiction was explicitly spelled out in interviews with salaried drivers, often forced by their bosses to participate in the blockades yet conscious that the "strike" demands such as easing limits on the length of the working day were not at all in their interests. Marxists were *against* this "strike"—not because it put Mitterrand up against the wall, but because this mobilization was objectively opposed to the working class.

At the time, everyone was talking about the "Chile syndrome," recalling the Chilean independent truckers strike that was one of the reactionary hammer blows leading to the bonapartist military coup d'état which brought down Allende's popular front in 1973. While it

is true that things haven't yet gone that far, nevertheless, in the context of capitalist crisis and given the volatility of the petty-bourgeois proprietors, this "strike," manipulated by reactionaries, could only become a fertile terrain for far right-wing and fascist organizations.

What we have just seen with the long-distance truckers is a continuation of the classic cycle produced by popular front governments. Smashing workers strikes, such as Talbot (see *WV* No. 346, 20 January), demoralizing the most militant workers, conciliating reaction with racist and anti-Soviet campaigns, the Mitterrand government is provoking an ongoing spiral of sinister mobilizations by the enraged petty bourgeoisie. Students and shopkeepers last May. Farmers sacking a county courthouse. Wine growers sacking a town. And repeatedly, for months, one mobiliza-

tion after another of fanatical Catholic school supporters: "If they take our school away, then they'll take our money and our land." There was also the threatening assault on the Elysée palace [the French White House] by the cops in June. All this stirred up by the most reactionary elements of the bourgeois opposition, including the fascists. Le Pen [head of the fascist New Forces Party] the torturer is promoted to the rank of "respectable" politician. But who lends "respectability" to his program of anti-Communist race hatred? The day following Le Pen's TV broadcast (which provoked a rash of new members for his organization of thugs), the Mitterrand government one-upped this racist scum by organizing an SS-style raid on Îlot Chalons [an immigrant ghetto in Paris]: 600 Africans and Algerians rounded up.

To break this infernal spiral and stop the threat of bonapartist reaction, we need powerful proletarian mobilizations against the government-implemented capitalist austerity. Breaking with Mitterrand is today a simple matter of self-preservation! The immigrant workers' struggle at Talbot could have been the spark to set aflame the entire auto industry, bringing out solidarity strikes in related industries such as steel and transport. Talbot was defeated, but in struggle—thus laying the basis for future actions, for example now in Citroën or Renault which are threatened with thousands of layoffs.

And today it's the miners' turn. How obscene to talk of "industrial restructuring" when what [finance minister] Delors & Co. mean is to dump experienced and skilled workers proud of their

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Bachelet/Paris Match

Right-wing truck owners strike ties up France.

Beatifying Souls for the Cold War Crusade

TRANSLATED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK
NO. 45, MARCH 1984

Wojtyla is the pope of Reagan and Mitterrand's anti-Soviet crusade. He says so and he proves it. He has supported, organized and financed Solidarność, the counterrevolutionary "trade union" that wanted to bring Poland back home to capitalist paradise. He supports the Nicaraguan bishops who oppose the draft, in order to sabotage defense of the revolution against attack by the *contras* in the pay of the CIA. He's against abortion, contraception, sexual pleasure. And in his antiprogressive rage, he now attacks the French Revolution by beatifying the "martyrs" executed at Angers in 1794 after the revolutionary troops had smashed the "Catholic and royal army," in other words the monarchist peasant revolt in the Vendée.

We're not surprised to see this rabid anti-Communist defend the monarchists of 1794 after having shed tears for those of 1984, the Afghan "freedom fighters" who likewise fight to defend their feudal interests and their priests (even if they are mullahs, heretical Muslims; when fighting atheistic communism, sibling rivalries are unseemly) against the Red Army, the local incarnation of the devil (social progress).

In fact this is all quite logical. The commanding general of the holy Roman Catholic church detests the French Revolution as did all his miserable predecessors. But now, with the Cold War, numerous anti-Communist liberals (like this other Solidarność notable, Wajda, in his film *Danton* [see *Le Bolchévik* No. 39, May 1983]) have set out to denigrate the great revolution, the democratic, antifeudal, anticlerical bourgeois revolution. So much for the erstwhile "leftists" who explain, Jesuitism rampant, that it is necessary to slay Wojtyla's clericalism in France but support it in Poland; who are fiercely against "free schools" in Nantes while fiercely for "free trade unions" in Gdansk!

In its struggle to the death against the workers state born of the October Revolution, against proletarian gains, rotting imperialism must mobilize the most repulsive reactionaries, the most backward superstitions, all the stinking garbage of the old world, and vilify all the victories of the progressive classes over the worm-eaten old regimes. But we revolutionists know that ours is the cause of progress for humanity.

Long live the French Revolution! Long live the Commune! Long live the October Revolution!

We'll seize the factories and wreck Sacré Coeur! "Ah! Ça ira!"



Bolshevism and Revolution in the Colonial World

Trotsky polemicized against the centrist Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany, which broke from social democracy but continued to share many of its prejudices, for its passive and pacifistic attitude toward social revolution in the colonial world.

TROTSKY

What characterizes Bolshevism on the national question is that in its attitude toward oppressed nations, even the most backward, it considers them not only the object but also the subject of politics. Bolshevism does not confine itself to recognizing their "right" to self-determination and to parliamentary protests against the trampling upon of this right. Bolshevism penetrates into the midst of the oppressed nations; it raises them up against their oppressors; it ties up their struggle with the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries; it instructs the oppressed Chinese, Hindus, or Arabs in the art of insurrection and it assumes full responsibility for this work in the face of civilized executioners. Here only does Bolshevism begin, that is, revolutionary Marxism in action. Everything that does not step over this boundary remains centrism.

—Leon Trotsky, *What Next?* (1932)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 350

16 March 1984

Letter

The ETs Didn't Ring Twice

29 February 1984

To the Editor:

As a matter of elementary prophylaxis I wanted to prevent further distortion in future by the ETs in reference to a very minor point in the article concerning them in *WV* No. 349 ["The 'External Tendency': From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning," 2 March].

The article correctly reports that, after my expulsion from the international Spartacist tendency, I received an initial phone call from the ETs, all eager to commiserate, who were quite taken aback when I told them that my

expulsion had been fully justified. The article however says that I "never heard from the ET again." Indeed, I did eventually receive documents from them, but only after a lapse of some months—it evidently took them some time to bring themselves to expend postage on anyone loyal to the iSt. The promised visits never materialized, despite their repeated trips to New York; and I had the dubious pleasure of conversing with the ETs only when I sought them out at the SL national conference.

Again an iSt member and proud of it

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Minister Target of Boston Cop Vendetta

Hands Off Reverend Ellis-Hagler!

BOSTON—For the “crime” of defending the picket lines of striking Greyhound workers, black community activist Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler is being targeted in an outrageous racist frame-up. Ellis-Hagler was one of nearly 90 picketers arrested last November while trying to stop scab buses at the downtown Boston Greyhound station. Charges were subsequently dropped against all the protesters except the black minister, whom the cops have singled out to face prison on patently phony charges of assault and battery of a policeman. Ellis-Hagler told *WV* that the cop “called me ‘nigger’ and said, ‘I’ll take your head off!’”

The cops are out to get Ellis-Hagler! They hate him for his opposition to the corrupt Police Commissioner Joseph Jordan and for his active involvement in opposing racist cop brutality. And they want to send a message to minorities and the working class of Boston: in this segregated, heavily non-union city, integrated labor struggle will not be tolerated; scabs will do their dirty work without fear while unionists and their supporters will be jailed. Ellis-Hagler told us that he’s being singled out because “For one thing, I got involved in union work. And union work in this town means crossing over neighborhood borders that black people are not supposed to cross.” Hands off Graylan Ellis-Hagler! Drop the charges!

Rev. Ellis-Hagler is well known in Boston for his community and labor-support work. Having been asked by Greyhound strikers to participate in mass picketing on November 17, he joined the line. In an interview with *WV*, Ellis-Hagler described what happened that morning:

“We had made a decision that when the buses started to roll we would be sitting in front of them to stop them from rolling. There were quite a few people out there, I’d guess about 400, picketing both sides of the terminal. Word was passed that there was to be no violence, if the police wanted to arrest us, then that’s all they simply had to do, arrest us. When the first bus began to roll around 9:30, people began to sit down in the street in front of it.... [But] instead of arresting anyone, the police decided to kick, to punch, to club people, and to pick them up and throw them on the sidewalk down the street. So it was a leapfrog sit-in all the way down the street and around the corner, because as soon as people got thrown out of the way, they scrambled back and sat down again.... I was grabbed by a sergeant by the throat. He called me a few names and threatened me. When I asked him for his badge number, he turned and ran down the street.”

When a second scab bus pulled out of the terminal over an hour later, picketers again sat down in the street in front of the bus. The cops moved in and this time arrested 51 picketers, including Ellis-Hagler. After he was detained for three hours, the original charge leveled

against Ellis-Hagler, disorderly conduct, was upped to assault and battery of a police officer. At the arraignment, the cop who had threatened Ellis-Hagler read what the minister describes as “a laundry list of injuries that I supposedly inflicted on an officer, from a broken kneecap to a broken leg and a whole list of other things.” Meanwhile, there has been a virtual press blackout of the case, with neither of Boston’s two daily newspapers printing a word about it.

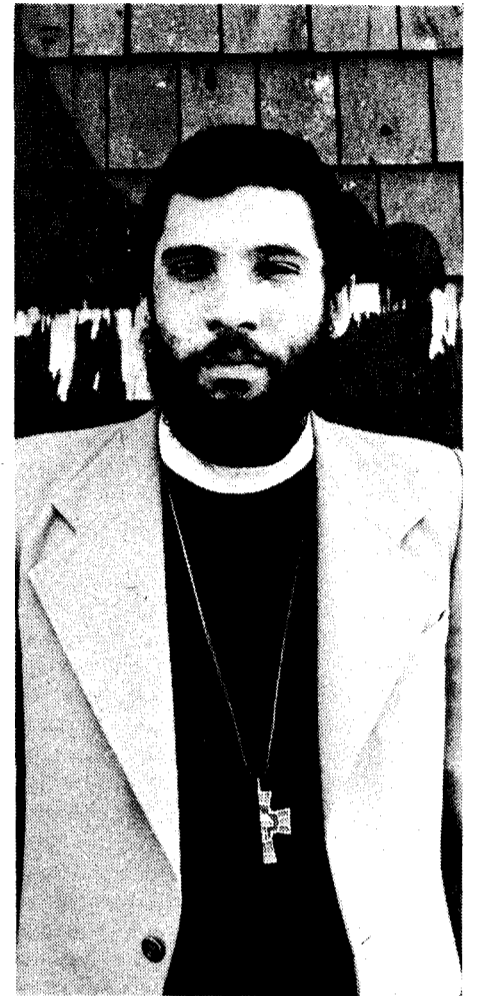
The bitter battles over Boston busing in 1974 spelled the defeat of efforts at school integration throughout the North. When white racist mobs rampaged through the streets, stoning school buses and terrorizing minorities, it was a hunting license for every kind of racist pig, and an incitement to outright murder for the racist thugs in blue. Now a book has been published documenting the police department’s cover-up of a 1975 killing of a young black Roxbury man by the police. The book, *Deadly Force*, implicates then-Superintendent Jordan in orchestrating the cover-up and has sparked widespread criticism of Jordan and his Boston P.D.

Lately, the police department has been beset with problems: one cop accused of rape while on duty; another charged with 29 cases of arson; Commissioner Jordan was involved in a hit-and-run in New Hampshire, then ran off to a ritzy Newport, Rhode Island alcoholics rehab clinic to dry out just as *Deadly Force* hit the bookstores. Calls for Jordan’s ouster have snowballed and both the *Boston Globe* and the *Herald* have run editorials urging him to resign. But while the “ranks” of the cops may not be fond of Jordan, still less do they like “outsiders” criticizing “one of their own.” And Graylan Ellis-Hagler has been in the forefront of the move to oust Jordan.

After years of unrelieved racist terror for black people in Boston, one solid anti-racist stand was made which even the brutal cops couldn’t stop. On 16 October 1982 an angry, jeering crowd of 1,500 successfully stopped the Ku Klux Klan from rallying in City Hall Plaza, running the hooded race-terrorists out of town. Not even a full-scale riot by scores of motorcycle cops and mounted police could disperse the protesters. The cops put 12 demonstrators in the hospital and injured dozens of others, but the crowd was determined to—and did—stop the fascist provocation. A \$10 million police brutality lawsuit, in which Rev. Ellis-Hagler is one of the plaintiffs, was subsequently filed and is now in the pre-trial discovery process.

The anti-racist militants who withstood the rampaging cops to stop the KKK deserve every penny they can get! But “cleaning up” the Boston cops by dumping Jordan, who’s become an embarrassment to those he serves, or by a civilian review board to monitor complaints against the police (a proposal backed by Ellis-Hagler) is no answer. The cops’ job is to enforce capitalist “law and order” by violence and intimidation against minorities and working people. To combat racist cop brutality will take mass labor/black mobilizations—a fighting labor movement committed to forging unity of the working people through active struggle for the rights of the most oppressed—on the road to workers revolution.

The racist railroading of Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler must be stopped!



WV Photo
Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler, targeted for supporting Greyhound strikers and protesting police brutality.

At stake in this important case are defense of picket lines, the battle lines on which strikes are won or lost, and defense against racist attack. These same issues are posed in the case of militant California phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, whose defense Ellis-Hagler has endorsed. Lauren and Ray, an interracial couple and members of a class-struggle opposition group in their union, face four years in prison on phony “assault” charges, for defending themselves and their picket line against gross racist insult and violent attack by a racist scab/manager during last summer’s national phone strike.

Stop the racist anti-labor frame-ups! Drop the charges against Rev. Ellis-Hagler! Please send urgently needed contributions to: Ellis-Hagler Defense Fund, c/o Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 26, 58 Berkeley Street, Boston, Mass. 02116. ■

SPARTACIST EDUCATIONALS

Wars and Revolutions

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KAL 007 Plot...

(continued from page 1)

Force intelligence officers, T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard, further undermined the government's story, revealing the extensive detection capabilities of the RC-135 and noting that the plane would not simply leave the scene, as Reagan asserted, because it is always relieved by another RC-135. They concluded:

"Because of these RC-135 capabilities we believe that the entire sweep of events... was meticulously monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S. intelligence.

"...the official U.S. version of events is incomplete and misleading."

—Denver Post,

13 September 1983

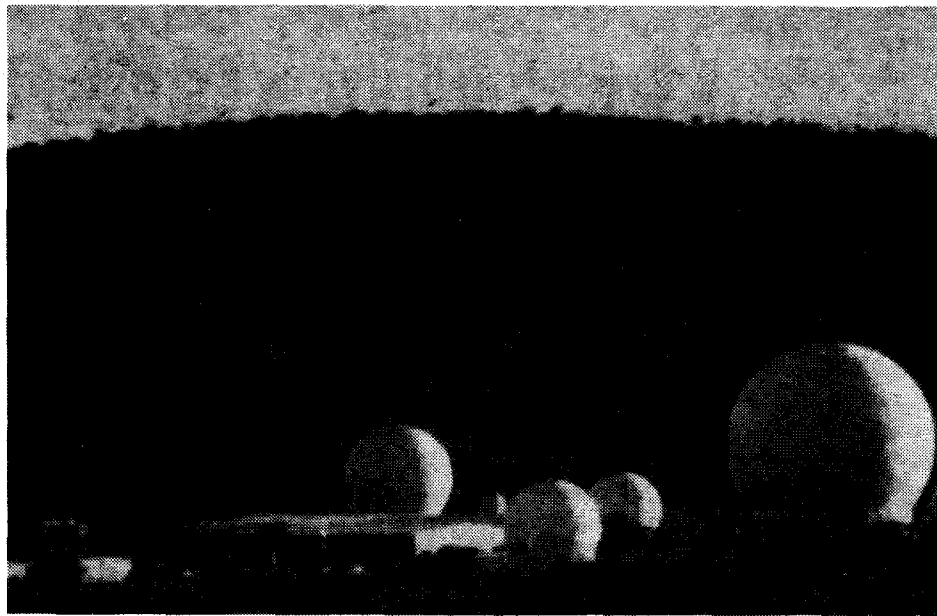
Now anti-CIA muckraker David Wise has reported on Cable News Network (25 February) that the two former RC-135 fliers were recently paid a visit by an FBI agent sent by the ultrasecret National Security Agency (NSA). The men were warned that they had "technically violated U.S. espionage laws," thereby emphasizing the accuracy of their account. Wise concluded correctly, "Censorship only arouses the suspicion that there's more to the story." Indeed there is.

Since last September a number of reporters have pieced together the available evidence to conclude that KAL 007 was on an intricately engineered U.S. spy mission in which the 269 passengers would become innocent victims. One lengthy piece by R.W. Johnson in the prestigious *British Guardian* (17 December 1983) sketches a scenario in which KAL 007 was assigned the task of penetrating Soviet airspace as part of a surveillance mission over the militarily sensitive Okhotsk Sea region. "It is the U.S. which owes the USSR an apology," Johnson concluded. And many other reporters have pointed up the innumerable contradictions in the American story, which depends on an incredible string of "coincidences" and "accidents." Even *Playboy* (March 1984) has joined the controversy, in an article by Asa Baber which raises some pointed questions:

"Why were we first told the plane was OK and sitting safely on Sakhalin Island when for many hours our Government had known that it had been fired on, had fallen in a 12-minute descent to about 2000 feet and then had lost all control and crashed into the sea?..."

"Was the many-hour delay in getting any news to the public connected with our Government's need to know whether or not the Russians had already obtained the black boxes from the wreckage of K.A.L. 007?..."

"How could a 747 encounter all the



Der Spiegel

The ultrasecret CIA/NSA spy station at Pine Gap, Australia. When Labor government leader Gough Whitlam started asking questions about the base in November 1975, CIA sent threatening cable to its Australian counterparts, ASIO, and Whitlam was suddenly dismissed in an unprecedented coup by the Queen's representative. Now Soviets report that "It was from Pine Gap that the CIA watched the provocative intrusion of a South Korean plane into Soviet airspace" (New Times, February 1984).

problems that this one did? Wrong coordinates on the computer? All radios dead? Radar transponder dead? Weather radar dead? Visual and celestial navigation unused? Cockpit blind to warning shots and the presence of wagging fighter aircraft fore and aft? Coordination with RC-135s a coincidence, as well as significant changes in flight direction during those two and a half hours that sent K.A.L. 007 over some of the most classified territory in the Soviet Union? Radio silence from our own observers another coincidence? Changes in K.A.L. 007's altitude as fighters closed in another coincidence?"

Piece by piece, the complex mosaic of the American spy plot is being revealed, but a few important pieces are still missing.

NSA Spy in the Sky

During the height of the anti-Soviet media hysteria last September, the Soviets tried to crack through the Reaganite propaganda offensive with the unusual step of revealing some of their own military intelligence. In a technically detailed TASS press release (19 September 1983), the Soviet air marshal Pyotr Kirsanov revealed that the mysterious off-course flight of KAL 007 was "strictly synchronized" with the passes of an American spy satellite identified as "Ferret-D." This satellite has a period of revolution around the earth of 96 minutes, Kirsanov explained, and three passes made by the satellite on 1 September provided three stages of an intricate spy plan. On the

first pass, starting at 6:45 p.m. Moscow time, "immediately before the intrusion of Soviet airspace by the South Korean plane," the satellite "for about 12 minutes flew east of Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands." Thus the "ferret" could pick up the signals of Soviet radar in the Kamchatka area in their normal working mode. Then at 8:30 p.m. Moscow time, "i.e., precisely at the moment of the intrusion of the trespasser plane into Soviet airspace" at Kamchatka, the spy satellite conveniently passed over the area of Kamchatka on its second pass. And the third pass of the "ferret" satellite "coincided with absolute accuracy" with KAL 007's penetration of Soviet airspace over Sakhalin.

Kirsanov noted that the unscheduled 40-minute delay of KAL 007 in its stopover at Anchorage, Alaska had been calculated to synchronize the planes' flight path with that of the "ferret" satellite. Interestingly, this last point fit in with the discordant note made by anti-Soviet commentator Martin Abend, who to everyone's surprise announced on TV in September that "he had information that the relevant South Korean jumbo had been the subject of last-minute technical alteration in Alaska" and that the U.S. and Reagan "bore direct responsibility for the deaths of 269 people" (Alexander Cockburn, "Press Clips," *Village Voice*, 20 September 1983).

The spy plan was a repeat of a well-practiced American spy technique—Soviet radar would be provoked into

switching on by a deliberate penetration of Soviet airspace, and the reactions and capabilities of the Soviet defense systems would be recorded by American spy planes and satellites. James Bamford, who revealed the workings of the ultrasecret NSA (they actually tried to retrieve and suppress unclassified documents used by Bamford in his book), described how this works:

"For many years the NSA had been 'ferreting' the Soviet borders with aircraft jam-packed with the latest in electronic and communications eavesdropping gear. Flying parallel to the Russian border, the aircraft would pick up the faint emissions of air defense radar, ground communications, and microwave signals. Once captured, the signals would be sent on to NSA for analysis.

"It was an effective and efficient method of collecting the needed intelligence.... But there was one major handicap: only that radar which is activated can be captured, and some of the most important radar became activated only by a border penetration. For this reason pilots occasionally engaged in the dangerous game of 'fox and hounds'; they would fly directly toward the border, setting off the radar, and then pull away at the last minute. Once in a while pilots would actually penetrate Soviet airspace, intentionally or unintentionally."

—James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace* (1982)

Satellite technology enhanced the possibilities of this spy technique, Bamford reports, since it would enable the U.S. to "eavesdrop on various defenses deep within the nation's interior." Thus was born a new spy apparatus:

"Known as ferret satellites, the SIGINT [Signals Intelligence] craft were originally developed during the late 1950s primarily to supplement the lumbering four-engine ferrets that prowled the Soviet and Chinese borders—and occasionally didn't return....

"The satellite is apparently designed so that, as it passes over its preprogrammed targets, it can capture the various signals on tape and then, when over friendly territory, like Australia, transmit intelligence back down to an earth station in highly compressed bursts."

The advantage of using a civilian airliner to provoke Soviet radar would presumably be that it would *not* get shot down, and if it did, the U.S. could scream bloody murder. It would not be unprecedented—an editor of *Defense Science* admitted that KAL airliners "regularly overfly Russian airspace to gather military intelligence" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 September 1983).

The Missing "Ferret"

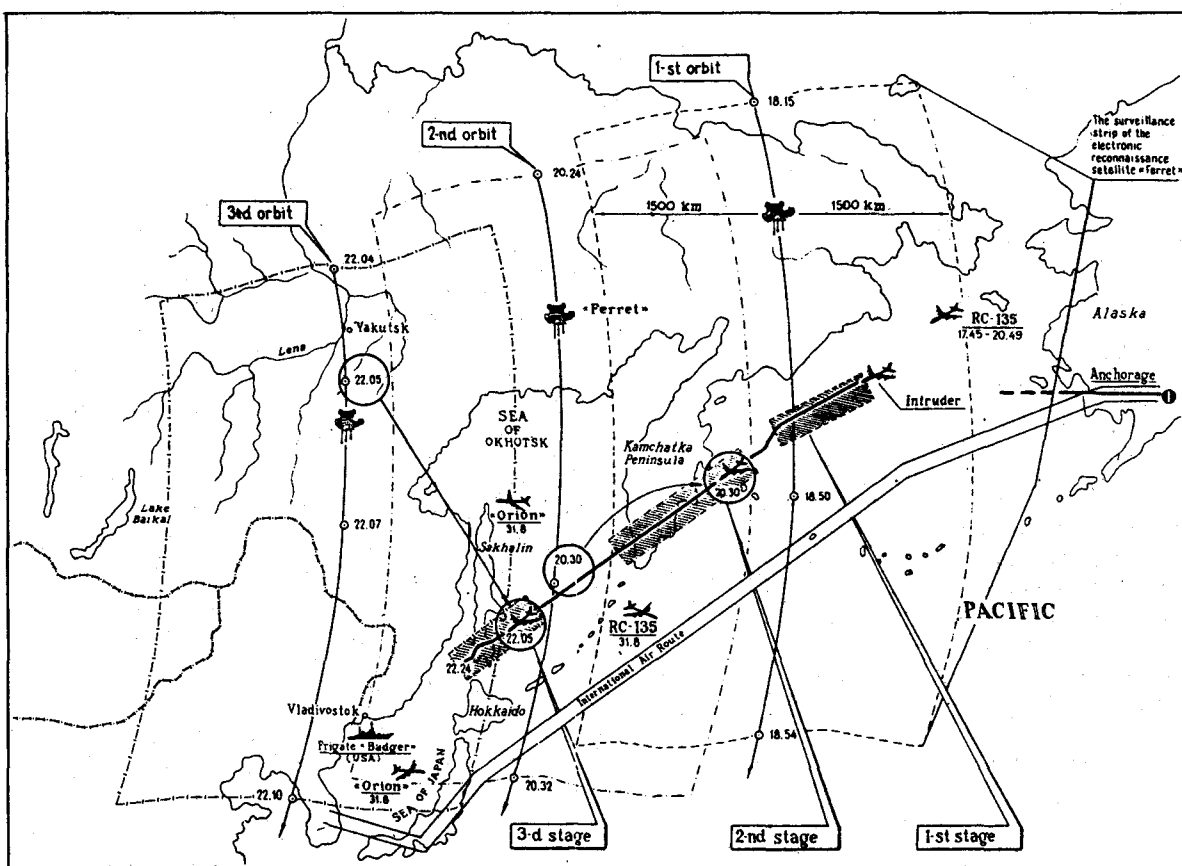
So was there an American "ferret" satellite in orbit at the time of KAL 007's ill-fated flight? Here was a concrete assertion made by the Soviets which could be investigated to get to the bottom of the story. But predictably the American capitalist media showed their true class colors by dropping the story like a hot potato. The *New York Times* editors, who already know or could probably verify it by making a phone call to one of their friends in the Pentagon, chose instead to bury it in the inside pages without comment or follow-up. *Workers Vanguard* does not have the resources of the *New York Times*, and we certainly don't have any friends at the Department of Defense, but we do have access to the New York Public Library. And what we found there supports the Soviet story 100 percent.

After years of practice, the U.S. has developed "ferrets" into a fine and predictable art, whereby the "ferrets" are launched as "piggyback" packages on a larger spy satellite known as Big Bird. According to an authoritative book with an introduction by former CIA deputy director Ray Cline:

"From 1972... subsatellites for electronic snooping have ridden exclusively on the Big Bird family, two separate ferrets sometimes being released in orbit."

—Colonel William V. Kennedy, *Intelligence Warfare* (1983)

The Big Bird would provide photo-reconnaissance of the area in question,



The flight of KAL 007 was "strictly synchronized" with the passes of U.S. "ferret" spy satellite (TASS, 19 September 1983).

Let In Soviet Olympic Official!

The State Department on March 2 refused to allow Soviet Olympic official Oleg N. Yermishkin into the country, only hours before he was due to arrive in Los Angeles to prepare for the summer Olympic games. Yermishkin, who had visited Los Angeles in November, applied for a six-month visa February 10. This last-minute refusal by the State Department upset the Olympic Organizing Committee of Los Angeles, which stated, "We are deeply troubled by the timing of this denial, which appears to be inefficient and unfair" (*New York Times*, 3 March).

The State Department's action wasn't "inefficient"—it was a conscious provocation against the Soviet Union, the latest in a series of escalating vicious and petty bureaucratic outrages. "Internal security" was the only official explanation given, but one State Department official said it was all part of an "intricate game" between the KGB and the FBI/CIA: "we sent a message to the K.G.B. that we were in no mood to let one of their guys in on the Olympics ticket, once we knew who he was" (*New York Times*, 3 March). We haven't the faintest idea whether Yermishkin has

any connection to the KGB or not—there's certainly no reason to believe State Department propaganda. But considering that the FBI and CIA, not to mention thousands of cops and the LAPD's racist paramilitary troops, will be crawling all over the Olympics, and that California right-wingers are already whipping up provocative anti-Soviet hysteria, it would seem perfectly reasonable for the USSR to try to provide its athletes some protection and security.

The Reagan administration, as part of its war drive against the USSR, has in effect declared "open season" on representatives of the Soviet Union in this country. Earlier, the State Department prevented San Francisco-based TASS correspondent Yuri Ustimenko from attending an L.A. Olympics press conference on December 7, while whole sections of L.A. County (including Disneyland!) remain off-limits for Soviet diplomats, journalists and athletes. More serious than this petty bureaucratic harassment, however, is the U.S. government's provocative attempts to undermine the principle that the Soviet Union, like any other state,

has any right to diplomatic immunity for its personnel abroad. This is in effect the posture of war; as we noted in "Teheran Embassy Revisited" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984): "... the barbarous treatment of Soviet diplomatic personnel of late is an index of the Reagan administration's drive to smash Soviet state power: e.g., (1) the invasion of the Soviet diplomatic retreat on Long Island during the KAL 007 hysteria by a mob led by the Moonie cult with the connivance of local authorities; (2) the outrageously illegal denial of landing rights for Soviet foreign minister Gromyko, who was scheduled to address a UN session; (3) the humiliating prisoner-of-war treatment of Soviet embassy personnel on Grenada... wherein the Soviet staff was held for hours and searched with their hands behind their heads."

This latest visa refusal, though in itself just one more small jab at the Soviet Union, is yet another ominous signal that this ruling class will not give up its deadly, provocative search for some incident to unleash its hysterical war appetite. We demand: Down with the anti-Soviet Olympic bans, provocations and travel restrictions! ■



AP
East German Olympic figure skating champion Katarina Witt. Reagan sees red as Soviet-bloc athletes get the gold.

while the "ferret" would be separated from Big Bird in orbit to go about its business of picking up electronic intelligence. But "ferrets" are short-lived spy satellites sent up for a specific mission—they reportedly have an endurance of only 100 days (James F. Dunnigan, *How to Make War*, 1983). The question then becomes, was a Big Bird launched within 100 days of the KAL 007 incident?

The answer is yes. In an article in *Aviation Week & Space Technology* just before 007's fateful flight, this unofficial mouthpiece of the U.S. Air Force revealed that a Big Bird was launched on 20 June 1983 as part of an intensified search for Soviet radar:

"The radar is under construction near the village of Abalakova, in south-central Siberia.... The facility was not discovered until mid-July because the U.S., for reasons of economy, has not been making frequent, large area searches using the USAF/Lockheed Big Bird and KH-11 reconnaissance satellites.

"On June 20, a Big Bird satellite was launched from Vandenberg AFB, Calif., by a Titan 3D.... Approximately three weeks later, analysts at the Central Intelligence Agency's National Photographic Interpretation Center spotted the new radar....

"The Abalakova radar appears to be oriented outward but to the northeast rather than south across the nearby border with Mongolia. This would

enable it to detect Trident missiles launched from submarines in the Bering Sea or Gulf of Alaska."

—*AW&ST*, 22 August 1983

What better way to test the capabilities of the Abalakova radar than to send a plane from the northeast—i.e., from Alaska? Furthermore, the flight path of such a plane would provide the added bonanza of photographing the sensitive Soviet military installations at Kamchatka and Sakhalin island. Enter KAL 007.

As if to emphasize the high priority the U.S. attached to this, *Aviation Week* revealed that the U.S. had also sent two "film-drop" KH-9 satellites over the Soviet Union in this period—one on April 15 and another on July 31. As the magazine itself noted, "KH-9 spacecraft have more limited lifetimes [than Big Bird] and are launched to photograph only the highest-priority U.S. intelligence targets in the Soviet Union and other foreign areas" (*AW&ST*, 25 April 1983). Furthermore, the film-drop satellites are no longer produced because of budgetary restraints. And in fact, by January 1984 the U.S. had "only two film-return reconnaissance spacecraft remaining in its inventory" (*AW&ST*, 16 January 1984). They really depleted their stock for this mission. Similarly, the U.S. is running out of Big Birds and KH-11s, so that "until at least the middle of the decade [of the '80s] an average annual launch of just one reconnaissance satellite will be possible" (Kennedy, *op. cit.*). The inescapable conclusion: something extremely important was being planned by U.S. intelligence circles in this period.

Was there a "ferret" riding piggyback on the Big Bird launched on 20 June 1983? The Pentagon won't say, of course, but certainly the heightened interest in Soviet radar in that period would call for a "ferret" reconnaissance. We checked the *Telecommunication Journal*, a publication of the United Nations International Telecommunications Union (ITU), which publishes a delayed listing of satellite launchings. No doubt the CIA/NSA launders the list given to the ITU, but what was published is revealing. On the June 20 launching, Big Bird is listed as "1983-60-A." But also apparently there were two other satellites in the same launching. One is listed mysteriously as "No name" and designated "1983-60-C." This implies that there was a "1983-60-B," which is mysteriously not listed at all.

Lo and behold, the mysterious "No name" satellite is described in the "Observations" column as an "electronic monitoring satellite"—i.e., a ferret! Its inclination to the equator was 96.7 degrees, meaning it had a polar orbit typical of a ferret reconnaissance over the Soviet Union. This ferret is said to have had a period of revolution of 111.3 minutes—somewhat longer than the 96 minutes mentioned by the Soviets, implying a higher orbit. But since this is only the "initial orbital data," it is possible that the orbit could have decayed over two months into the lower orbit described by the Soviets. Or perhaps the unlisted "B" satellite mentioned above was the culprit. In any case, it's clear the Defense Department has a lot of explaining to do, but so far the bourgeois papers have not raised the obvious questions.

"Coincidences"

This string of amazing "coincidences" goes back years. Remember the previous KAL airliner which was forced down over the Soviet Union on 20 April 1978, after mysteriously going off course and flying over the Murmansk area and the Kola Peninsula? (Murmansk is the location of a large Soviet submarine base and headquarters of the Soviet Northern Fleet.) One month before that, a Big Bird was launched on 16 March 1978 by a Titan 3D rocket, and aboard that Big Bird was most probably a "ferret" spy satellite:

"A piggyback vehicle also was launched by this Titan.... In the past, such piggyback payloads have involved ferret spacecraft."

—*AW&ST*, 3 April 1978

After the Korean plane was forced down by Soviet fighters south of Murmansk, the *New York Times* (22 April 1978) raised some eerily familiar questions:

"Why was the plane in the Soviet Union's airspace? The South Korean Embassy in Helsinki was reported to have blamed navigational errors, but a Korean Air Lines navigator in Seoul said that was unthinkable because the plane was too far off course....

"Why did the pilot evidently defy the orders of Soviet interceptors to land and instead take what a State Department spokesman described as 'evasive' action?"

Another amazing "coincidence"? Well, after a hundred or so such "coincidences" it begins to look like proof of a plot. Indeed it has already been publicly admitted that the ferrets are used not

only for mapping Soviet radar but for tracking Soviet submarines:

"The role of the ferrets has never been more important than it became in the 1970s with the obvious expansion of [Soviet admiral] Gorshkov's ocean Navy. Because the Soviets employ separate codes for each type of SLBM-equipped submarine, the United States' ferrets are the ideal and frequently the only means of identifying the specific Soviet boats, and type of warhead that they carry, and the nature of the operations... upon which they are engaged, especially in coastal areas where NATO surface ships are denied access."

—Kennedy, *op. cit.* [emphasis added]

Such as the Soviet submarine base at Murmansk, we presume?

What's clear is that Reagan's charges against the Soviet Union were a Big Lie designed to cover up an American spy plot, and that the U.S. under Reagan is prepared to sacrifice any number of innocent lives in order to "get" the Soviet Union. What's more, the spy plots and first-strike plans have been developed by both Republican and Democratic administrations. The willful blindness of the American news media in this incident cannot be explained as simply incompetent journalism, but rather is the result of their commitment to the ruling class's anti-Soviet war drive. As we wrote in the introduction to our pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation* (7 October 1983):

"The Spartacist League press told the truth about KAL 007 because we are not blinded by the class ideology of this country's rulers—and because we are not muzzled by fear of confronting the Russian question. Thus our published views in the heat of the KAL 007 crisis contrast sharply with those of America's other self-styled 'left' papers....

"The American government, whether under Republican or Democratic coloration, is driving straight toward nuclear war against the USSR. The motor force for World War III is the imperialist drive to reverse the anti-capitalist social revolutions that have ripped sections of the world from the orbit of direct imperialist plunder....

"When the terror-bombers of Vietnam talk about 'freedom,' the workers of the world know that war is coming. It's time that American working people know this as well. For the U.S. working class, acting in its own class interests and on behalf of all the oppressed, has the power to wrest from the most dangerous imperialist ruling class in history the means of mass nuclear death. To do so, what's needed is a revolutionary leadership that tells the truth about what's going on and what needs to be done." ■

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Behind Bloody Tragedy of Ana María and Cayetano Carpio

On April 6 of last year, the second in command of the People's Liberation Forces "Farabundo Martí" (FPL) of El Salvador, Mérida Anaya Montes, better known as Comandante Ana María, was brutally murdered in her residence in a heavily guarded compound in Managua, Nicaragua. Three days later tens of thousands paid homage to their comrade at a mass demonstration in the Nicaraguan capital; FPL founder and leader Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Comandante Marcial) returned from Libya to deliver the funeral oration. On April 12, Carpio in turn was found dead in his study in Managua after reportedly committing suicide. He was buried the following day in a private ceremony attended by his wife and leaders of the Nicaraguan Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN), although the news was not published for another week. The loss of two top leaders was a severe blow to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas grouped together in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Who was responsible for the double tragedy? Over the last year, several different and contradictory accounts have been circulated by the Salvadoran insurgents and the FSLN. An initial FPL communiqué (and Sandinista commander Tomás Borge at a press conference on April 7) pointed an accusing finger at the American Central Intelligence Agency for the murder of Anaya Montes. The CIA is certainly up to its neck in the assassination business, from the slaying of Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba to its countless attempts to kill Cuba's Fidel Castro. And the hideous details of the death of Ana María—she was stabbed 82 times with an ice pick, her throat then slit with a fishing knife—had the marks of a rightist death squad job.

But on April 20, the People's Liberation Forces and the Nicaraguan interior ministry named a member of the FPL's Central Command, Rogelio Bazzaglia ("Marcelo"), as the murderer. According to this second FPL communiqué, Carpio took his own life because of an "emotional crisis" caused by the assassination and the fact that the crime was carried out by his protégé, Bazzaglia.

This now became the official version: that it was all the work of a lone "madman" (as one FPL spokesman told the *New York Times*). Anyone who



The funeral of murdered Salvadoran guerrilla leader Ana María in Managua last April.

suggested that the deaths were related to a political struggle going on inside the FMLN was accused of fueling an imperialist "disinformation" campaign. Yet in early December the FPL issued a third statement, this one with the startling accusation that Carpio himself was the mastermind and organizer of the assassination of Ana María. Until 8 December 1983, Comandante Marcial was a "legendary" revolutionary leader, the "Ho Chi Minh of Central America" no less; the next day he is proclaimed a cowardly assassin, ten months after the crime.

Why the sudden "revelation"? The occasion was a split from the FPL of a militant faction, the Revolutionary Workers Movement "Salvador Cayetano Carpio" (MOR), accused by their former comrades of holding the "sectarian and anti-unity positions" of their namesake and "seeking to elevate the figure of Carpio." All three versions have been sworn to by the FPL, FMLN and FSLN leaders and duly repeated by their followers around the world. The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) took the prize for cynicism: *Intercontinental Press* headlined its article on the deaths in Managua

"FMLN rebels press forward in unity"; their denunciation of Carpio and report on the split in the FPL is titled "Big strides toward revolutionary unity."

We have refrained until now from commenting on the deaths of Mérida Anaya Montes and Salvador Cayetano Carpio because of the extreme murkiness of the affair. Much is still obscure: did Carpio order the death of Ana María; did he commit suicide or was he killed? We don't know. Certainly the bloody Salvadoran dictatorship, responsible for the annihilation of more than 50,000 of its own citizens, and its Yankee godfathers who slaughtered over one million Indochinese (and now preach "human rights" in preparation for a nuclear World War III against the Soviets) are trying to take full advantage of the consternation. But it is now apparent that behind the deaths was a political fight inside the FPL which resulted in murder. Nor is this the first time Salvadoran militants have been killed by another guerrilla faction. And the FPL/FMLN/FSLN have carried out, by their own evidence, at least a cover-up if not a frame-up as well. In particular, they are blaming the murder of Ana María on "anti-unity sectarians," using her mutilated body to discredit any opposition to their treacherous policies of a negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran revolution.

Over the last four years, some 50,000 people have been murdered in cold blood by the kill-crazed rightists in El Salvador. And the pathological murderers who rule this "free world democracy" talk openly of a "peace of 100,000 dead." The Salvadoran rulers already did it once, bloodily mowing down the heroic Communist-led revolt of agricultural workers and peasants in 1932. The Gatling gun ruled the country, and in the insurgent areas of western El Salvador every single Indian peon was thrown into the mass graves. As a result of that decimation and terror, those areas have remained "pacified" up to the present day. It is crucial to win the struggle; it is a matter of life and death not to lose.

At stake in the Salvadoran civil war is

far more than the fate of this tiny country or even all Central America. Reagan has made El Salvador the front line of his war drive against the Soviet Union, turning the death squads into "freedom fighters." The oppressed of the world have a vital stake in the victory of the workers, peasants and youth fighting to liberate their land from a bloodthirsty oligarchy and Yankee imperialism. The international Spartacist tendency has uniquely raised the slogans, "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Our aim is not to place in power the national Stalinists of the FPL, much less second-string bourgeois politicians like Ungo and Zamora, but to open the road to proletarian rule. By fighting for workers revolution throughout Central America and extending the struggle north to Mexico, the industrial powerhouse of the region—and by fighting for militant labor solidarity action in the U.S. itself—we can smash the Pentagon pirates and their invasion plans.

Murder and Lies

From the beginning, the FPL, the FMLN and the Sandinistas have lied about the Ana María/Cayetano Carpio affair. And their lies keep changing. In April, the FPL said the assassination of Ana María was the work of Bazzaglia/"Marcelo" alone, to "settle a grudge and alleged political differences." In December it is a result of the "ideological and political decomposition" of Cayetano Carpio, a process extending over "recent years."

"His murder of Ana María is totally and absolutely proven," concludes the FPL document. Marcial's "ideological and political decomposition" allegedly produced "grave distortions and deviations that eventually resulted in Compañera Ana María's assassination." In other words, since Carpio was politically at odds with Anaya Montes and other FPL leaders, therefore he must have ordered her killed. That reasoning speaks volumes about the internal functioning of this "Marxist-Leninist" organization.

As for the violent outcome of this fighting, settling political accounts by killing off your opponents is standard practice among petty-bourgeois nationalists of both right and left. Recall the 1979 murder of Afghan nationalist Taraki, the respected leader of the Afghan left, by a rival member of his faction. Or the spectacular shoot-out at the Ethiopian Derg in 1977, when Colonel Mengistu gunned down eight fellow members of the military council which had deposed Emperor Haile Selassie. The most recent example, on everyone's mind, was the assassination last fall of Maurice Bishop, prime minister of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, by rivals in his New Jewel Movement. This crime provided a pretext for U.S. invasion a week later. Both the imperialists and reformist-nationalists have tried to pin that despicable deed on "hard-line Marxists" or "ultraleft sectarians," though the facts are very different. But there is a political fight brewing among the Salvadoran leftist rebels, and right-wing elements in the FDR/FMLN are trying to dismiss any militant as a would-be murderer in order to push their schemes



Mérida Anaya Montes (Comandante Ana María)



Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Comandante Marcial)

of "unity" with a mythical "patriotic" bourgeoisie.

We certainly don't claim to know the whole truth about the disputes among the Salvadoran guerrilla leaders. This is a dirty and murky business among Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists who don't even pay lip service to workers democracy (like not murdering your factional opponents). All their debates—with the ritual charges and countercharges of "sectarian" and "opportunist"—ultimately center on how and how grossly to sell out, what layers of the so-called "patriotic" bourgeoisie to include in the popular front and what deals to negotiate with Yankee imperialism. The murderous factional disputes among the Salvadoran guerrilla chiefs have nothing in common with the Leninist program and perspective of proletarian revolution.

A sclerotic old Stalinist, moreover with delusions of grandeur, Carpio apparently did not want to go quite as far as his main rivals in drawing all "non-oligarchical" sectors of Salvadoran society into the popular front. So his enemies within the FPL and FMLN now want to paint him as a firebreathing "ultraleftist" in order to justify their own particular sellout policies. His sycophants, including various pseudo-Trotskyists, portray him as a latter-day Che Guevara, a "shining example of a revolutionary" (French LCR) and "the best Salvadoran example of the revolutionary man of action" (Mexican PRT). But Carpio was no Guevara, much less an "unconscious Marxist" or "instinctive Trotskyist" such as these inveterate traitors are forever discovering. Carpio never claimed to stand for working-class independence from the capitalists. He just wanted a more "left" version of the popular front.

The Mandelites' *Quatrième Internationale* (1 December 1983) has published the text of a lengthy speech by Carpio delivered just five days before the murder of Ana María. In this "political testament," the FPL leader said that "the working class can play the leadership role in a class alliance including also sectors of the bourgeoisie." By this typical Stalinist sleight-of-hand, he tries to obscure the fact that he is talking of *class-collaborationist* alliances. (And if, by calling for a bloc with "democratic" capitalists and "constitutional" officers, this popular front leads to bloody disaster, as in Chile or Indonesia, well then the working class didn't have "leadership" after all!) The "class alliance" Carpio is referring to, of course, is the Salvadoran FDR, which includes marginal bourgeois liberals (Guillermo Ungo's "social-democratic" MNR), dissident Christian Democrats (Rubén Zamora's MPSC), small business groups and even members of El Salvador's landowning elite (Enrique Álvarez Córdova, first president of the FDR, was a scion of one of the "14 Families"). But if the language in this veiled polemic is too oblique, Carpio spelled it all out in the *New York Times* (9 February 1982):

"Our program is for a democratic, revolutionary government, not for a Socialist government. The program for the democratic government is very broad...there is room for everybody's contribution, from large businessmen to small farmers and merchants—for anyone who supports the independent development of the country, opposes fascism, and wants democracy. We don't believe that this broad program has anything to do with Socialism or a Socialist government."

We don't either.

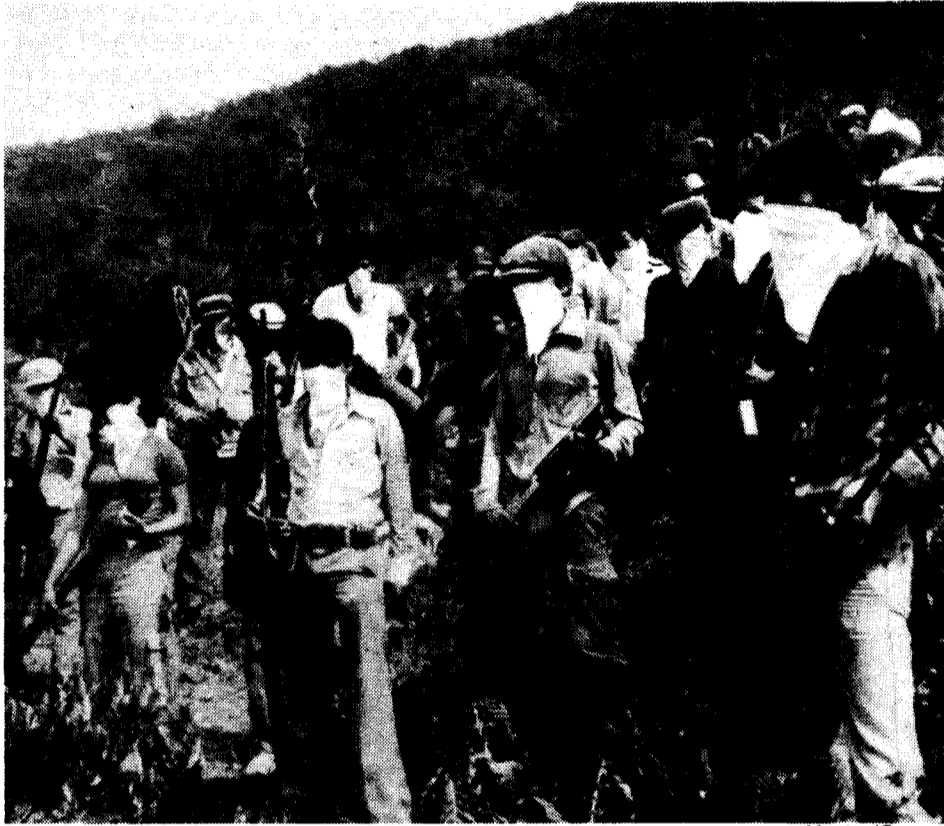
The People's Liberation Forces have often appeared the most left-wing, sometimes talking of socialism and uncomfortable with the line of "negotiated settlement." Nevertheless, all the key rebel proposals for a "political solution" to end the war bear the signature of Salvador Cayetano Carpio as well as the other leaders of the FMLN.

Ultimately the political differences between Carpio and the other coman-

dantes were subordinated to their power plays and maneuvers. And those maneuvers are centered on getting a deal with a section of the local bourgeoisie. The various FDR/FMLN leaders are all prepared to send their peasant guerrillas against the urban workers should the latter make problems for their "government of broad representation." Thus the organizational independence of workers militias is vital. Instead of murder and lies in the name of "unity," what's needed is one hell of a factional struggle on clear programmatic lines, for *proletarian* revolution.

Sellouts and CIA-Baiting

For the leaders of the rebel fronts, for the reformist-nationalists in general, the lesson of the deaths in Managua is: war on "ultraleft, anti-unity sectarians." The FPL statement makes a pointed reference to the murder of Maurice Bishop in Grenada: "No one is unaware that



Montes/Gamma

Salvadoran guerrillas have Reagan's butchers on the run. Military victory of leftist insurgents would open the road to workers revolution.

recently in Grenada a group of revolutionaries was used either directly or indirectly by imperialism to provoke division and confrontation within the New Jewel Movement." Here is the meaning of all the "unity"-mongering: Bishop's murder is not mentioned—their crime is that they "provoked division"! Thus anyone who objects to FDR proposals for an army including much of the present genocidal officer corps, for the preservation of capitalist property in the framework of a (bourgeois) "democratic government of broad representation"...is supposedly a witting or unwitting tool of the CIA. This "argument" is spelled out even more explicitly in a 16 December statement by the FMLN General Command against the MOR: "It will not take long for the CIA to dress in sheep's clothing and use its money to give a shot of oxygen to this group..."

All sectors of the Salvadoran left are for a popular front. But in this context some of the running dogs of the bourgeoisie are more rabid than others. Their appetites for class-collaboration are almost limitless, aiming to include wider and wider layers and components of their supposed rulers. And anyone who balks at sitting down with such direct representatives of the CIA is labeled...a CIA agent. It is a familiar phenomenon. In his time Lenin was labeled a wholesaler of the Kaiser's gold by Kerensky and the Mensheviks; Stalin claimed Trotsky was an agent of the Mikado (and of Hitler, and the British king, etc.); the Spartacists are supposed to be CIA agents, KGB agents, or both simultaneously. The closer the sellouts are to being on speaking terms with the imperialist monster, the more they revile

their more-or-less left opponents as being imperialist agents. One of the great rooster-outers of "fascisto-Trotskyites," Molotov, remarked while sipping champagne with von Ribbentrop: "Fascism is a matter of taste." If so, then how come Molotov and his master Stalin butchered tens of thousands of Trotskyists (Bolsheviks) as "Nazi agents"? Answer: it was convenient. They had to say something, something other than the truth.

Neither the FPL nor the FMLN condemn assassination of opponents on the left (not to mention the use of gangster methods in general). This is not accidental. We recall in particular the execution of Roque Dalton in May 1975 by his "comrades" of Villalobos' Revolutionary People's Army (ERP). Dalton accused the ERP leaders of following a "militarist" strategy. His opponents answered by "trying" him on charges of being a "Cuban-CIA agent," and on 10 May 1975 they "executed" El Salvador's

greatest poet. (FMLN apologists Robert Armstrong and Janet Shenk refer to the murder of Roque Dalton in their book, *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution*, as "The Death of Revolutionary Innocence"! We say this was an abominable *crime* whose authors must be brought to justice by the soviet democracy of a victorious workers revolution.)

Caudillismo and the Latin American Left

"The phenomenon of *caudillismo* has been overcome in the FPL. Today any leader can fall in combat, from the highest official on down, and our organization would immediately be able to replace them."

—Salvador Cayetano Carpio, *Combate* [Spain], 28 April 1983

Comandante Marcial was quickly replaced, but the vice of *caudillismo*, the unrestricted domination by the Great Leader, was hardly absent from the People's Liberation Forces or the Salvadoran left in general. In the one part of their December 9 statement which has the ring of truth rather than cover-up, the new FPL leaders complain of Carpio:

"He began to consider himself the most consistent, pure, and flawless revolutionary of our country and of the entire region, as the sole genuine spokesman for the Salvadoran proletariat and people.

"He developed a strong inclination toward receiving praise and adulation, toward placing himself and his opinions above those of the collective leadership and of party bodies, to protect and pay attention solely to those who applauded him blindly."

Well, what did they expect? He was, after all, their *líder máximo*. And the practice of settling political disputes by

killing your opponents is, to put it baldly, as Latin American as empanadas and machismo. From the dawn of independence from Spain, one "man on horseback" after another has shot his way into the presidential palace. Even in recent years most Latin Americans have been living under the jackboot of military rulers. Though he's a wacko, a character straight out of the movie *The In-Laws*, Guatemala's (now deposed) Leader-by-the-Grace-of-God-and-His-Machine-Guns, Rios Montt was no freak. Only now the traditional *caudillo* has been replaced by the army as the bourgeoisie's Party of Order, whose slogan, as Marx said of the second French Bonaparte, is "Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery!"

The prevalence of *caudillismo* in Latin America has been seized upon by imperialist war criminals like America's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, an admirer of "moderate authoritarians" like the butcher Somoza in Nicaragua and El Salvador's mad tyrant General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez who slaughtered more than 30,000 peasants and workers in putting down the Communist-led insurrection of 1932. Reagan's first "human rights" adviser Ernest Lefever excused the bloodbath unleashed by the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile as merely a "residual practice of the Iberian tradition." (In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of genocide against the American Indians?) Such "democratic" apologists of mass murder neglect to mention that the most refined techniques of torture and assassination have been brought to the Latin American dictatorships by their U.S. advisers, importing methods from the Nazis (such as Chile's concentration camps) or developed as "counterinsurgency" techniques by the Americans in their dirty war in Vietnam. Political violence has been endemic in Latin America for generations, but it has never come close to the levels employed by the current crop of "free world" dictators armed, financed, trained and often installed by Washington.

Modern Latin American dictatorships are a reflection of a process of "combined and uneven development," as Trotsky described the evolution of tsarist Russia. The growth of production for the world market led to the appearance of a modern proletariat, while the peasantry was robbed of its lands to make way for coffee and banana plantations. Facing this huge propertyless, impoverished mass was a tiny local bourgeoisie, which lived mostly on crumbs left over by the imperialist giants, from United Fruit to ITT, which sucked most of the surplus value out of the continent. Too weak to confront its imperial overlords, living in dread fear of a revolutionary upheaval of the exploited masses, this stunted capitalist class was and is incapable of achieving the democratic gains of the bourgeois revolutions. Rather than the mythical "national bourgeoisie" the Stalinists invented to justify their program of "two-stage revolution," they are a "branch office bourgeoisie." Even moderate agrarian reform is enough to give them apoplexy, and democracy is a "luxury" they can't afford. They prefer death squads.

continued on page 8

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Free Salvadoran Unionists!

On January 19 of this year a congress of the Revolutionary Labor Federation (FSR) being held in San Salvador was raided by the National Police on the pretext of searching for armed guerrillas. No arms were found, but 65 trade unionists present were held by the police. Fourteen of those "captured" in the raid were held indefinitely without charge. According to *El Diario/La Prensa* (22 January) the arrested labor leaders were identified as belonging to the Revolutionary Workers Movement (MOR), a leftist grouping which split from the People's Liberation Forces (FLP) guerrilla group and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) last December.

There has been virtually no publicity from the El Salvador "solidarity movement" abroad about the 14 unionists, whose very lives were endangered by the arrests. We have learned from Amnesty International that those held include the FSR leaders José Jeremías Pereira, Dinora Ramírez de Pereira, Herber Orlando Guevara Alfaro, Oscar Orlando Rosales Arriola, Salvador Arana Flores, Salvador Chavez and César Alvaro Escalante. Also held were three members of the metal workers union ACOTRAMES: Juan Salvador Ramos Hernández, Oscar Armando Benavides and Magdalena del Carmen Rivas

Valencia. Two others detained were Antonio Escamilla Acosta, a bus driver, and Esteban González, head of a housing project workers union.

(As we go to press we have been informed by an FSR spokesman in Los Angeles of reports that the 14 have just been released. However, this rumor has not been confirmed.)

The present leftist insurgency in El Salvador grew out of a brutal crackdown by the government and the rightist death squads against a wave of workers' struggles in 1979-80. The National Federation of Salvadoran Workers Unions (FENASTRAS) reports that 8,239 trade unionists were killed, abducted, "disappeared" or wounded between 1979 and 1981. Not a single union hall in San Salvador has escaped being bombed, burnt or vandalized. Today only the Christian Democratic trade unions linked to the CIA's "labor" front, the AIFLD, continue to operate openly—and even these yellow unions have had leaders murdered by D'Aubuisson's killers.

Meanwhile, a series of government decrees has frozen wages, forbidden strikes, dissolved unions, militarized public services and legalized arbitrary detention and torture. For the last two weeks thousands of Salvadoran public sector workers have been on strike

demanding large wage increases. On March 6 some 30,000 workers at more than 20 factories and work sites reportedly stopped work for two hours in support of the striking water workers union, affiliated to the FSR. An army unit reportedly surrounded the water workers on the first day of their strike, and the head of the National Police has accused the strikers of trying to "provoke chaos and repudiate the elections." The umbrella union grouping MUSYGES denounced the electoral farce, saying it "was not a solution to national problems." The U.S. press has blacked out this important development.

Despite last summer's highly publicized amnesty, hundreds of unionists still languish as political prisoners in the Mariona and Nueva Esperanza jails. Among the important labor leaders still imprisoned are Héctor Bernabé Recinos, secretary general of FENASTRAS, and José Arnulfo Grande, secretary of the electrical workers union STECEL. It was STECEL that touched off the strike wave in 1979 with a dramatic plant occupation shutting off power throughout the country, and which played a key role in the three general strikes during 1980. While most of the left-led unions have been forced underground and many unionists have joined the guerrillas in the countryside, there is

still an active labor movement in the capital. This would be the core of any struggle for workers revolution in El Salvador.

An international campaign to save imprisoned Salvadoran unionists is urgently needed. Unfortunately, the El Salvador "solidarity" milieu, which politically supports the FMLN, is more interested in pressuring Democratic Senators to support negotiations than in freeing these class-war prisoners. During the 1920s the International Red Aid, a defense organization linked to the Communist International, mounted a worldwide campaign for the American labor radicals Sacco and Vanzetti. Much support flowed in from Latin America, including demonstrations in Havana and Buenos Aires. The person responsible for the Caribbean Bureau of the Red Aid working out of New York was a young Salvadoran, Agustín Farabundo Martí. Martí, who reportedly wore a red star with a picture of Trotsky on his lapel during the late '20s, went on to lead the Salvadoran Communist Party and was executed by the dictatorship in the 1932 revolt which the Stalinized Comintern denounced as "left-sectarian." *It is the duty of American workers to reciprocate the internationalist solidarity Martí valiantly fought for.*

Free all Salvadoran unionists and all other victims of the rightist repression! Hot cargo military goods to El Salvador and rightist regimes of Central America! ■

Bloody Tragedy...

(continued from page 7)

This has reflected itself within the left in many ways. Politically: if the army is the main political party of the bourgeoisie, the guerrilla bands or today the "politico-military organizations" of the Salvadoran insurgency are the "party-armies" of the nationalist left. But pick-up-the-gun militancy does not equal revolutionary Marxism. Socially: the phenomenon of *caudillismo* has always been bound up with the social values of machismo, of male dominance. *El Jefe*, wrote Mexican novelist Octavio Paz, is "El Gran Chingón" (The Big Fucker). The struggle for socialist revolution in Latin America is not only a programmatic fight against the nationalist and reformist programs which seek a compromise with sections of the domestic bourgeoisie. It is also a sharp fight against the practices of a petty-bourgeois left whose would-be supreme leaders share common values with the reactionary generals they seek to replace. As we wrote last year:

"The struggle to forge genuinely bolshevist parties in Latin America is an

arduous task, requiring a clear political break from nationalism and from the social values of a nationalist left that imitates its own rulers, embracing the values that have led to every mass-murdering bourgeois *caudillo*. . . . For the imitative macho pigs of the petty-bourgeois nationalist 'left,' what goes for a programmatic split is to say, 'Cabrón, I screw your wife. And you steal party funds.' And of course they blame everything on *yanqui* CIA agents, to amnesty their own rulers."

—"Bolivian Labor Shakes Popular Front," *WV* No. 330, 20 May 1983

The assassination of Mérida Anaya Montes cannot be explained by the perfidy of a "Marcelo" or even the "cult of personality" of Marcial. This is the product of a political milieu in which all political disputes degenerate into accusations of personal betrayal, cowardice and theft, a petty-bourgeois cockpit in which norms of proletarian morality are utterly absent.

Trotskyism vs. Murderous Stalinism and Nationalist Betrayal

Lenin's Bolsheviks were able to build an internationalist communist party in Russia which drew from a century of profound alienation of the intelligentsia from the corrupt morals of the tsarist autocrats and landed aristocrats. It is



Mill workers occupy the Tres Ríos cotton mill to demand higher wages in December 1979. UPI

remarkable, by way of contrast to Latin America, that although there were numerous assassinations of hated tsarist officials during the nineteenth century, there is only one case of murder within the left (by the anarchist Necháev). But Russia was itself an imperialist oppressor power, and rejection of Great Russian chauvinism was therefore a precondition to any real struggle against the autocracy. In Latin America, however, the oppressive weight of Yankee imperialism makes it hard to see the main enemy at home. The nationalist left has clung to the "national" culture, traditions and values of their oppressors. (In the Salvadoran insurgency, national narrowness has been so pronounced that when the Central American Workers Party joined the FMLN it was required to separate itself organizationally from its Honduran comrades as the admission price!)

The bloody tragedy of Ana María and Cayetano Carpio was the product of a petty-bourgeois left marked by the intersection of nationalism and Stalinism. The "moderate" elements of the opposition popular front are such sellouts that evidently some sellouts are looking to hardline Stalinism as an alternative. The right-wingers of the left accuse them of being "ultraleft sectarians." Not at all. From Mao's China to the Salvadoran guerrillas, we have noted that "Stalinism under the gun" may adopt a posture of militancy without being substantially to the left of

their rivals. Often these "hards" merely have a taste for bonapartism—people who would rather shoot you than argue politically. Contrary to the bourgeois propaganda about "bloodthirsty communists," such methods are the antithesis of everything the Russian Bolsheviks and the early Communist International stood for.

Stalin perpetrated widespread gangsterism within the left precisely in order to wipe out the remnants of Leninism: at the same time he was killing off the Trotskyist Left Opposition, the "Great Organizer of Defeats" was seeking a deal with the imperialists to let him build "socialism in one country." Leon Trotsky himself was of course assassinated in Mexican exile by an agent of Stalin's GPU (after a failed attempt organized through the Mexican CP). Stalin murdered the Red Army officer corps as "German collaborators" while he was preparing his pact with Hitler. And in Vietnam, as the defeated Japanese withdrew in 1945, the Stalinists—in league with the French—massacred the Trotskyist leaders to stifle mass opposition to the return of imperialist troops.

It will take a profound fight against Stalinism and nationalism to forge authentic Leninist-Trotskyist propaganda groups in Latin America, and sharp revolutionary struggles internationally to transform them into mass communist parties. It was the electrifying impact of the Bolshevik Revolution,

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

they have 1,700 U.S. troops armed with "heavier weapons" according to the *New York Times* (10 March). And as NBC described this latest move: "Several thousand Honduran troops will join the U.S. infantry units in what is described as a major effort to show support for the Salvadoran army and at the same time threaten the Salvadoran guerrillas." The U.S. and Honduran troops will be backed up by U.S. planes flying missions over guerrilla-held areas of El Salvador.

Having tried and failed to revive the Salvadoran dictatorship with changes of military command and Vietnam-style "pacification" tactics, the U.S. is now engaged in military provocation to set up a Gulf of Tonkin incident in Central America. Saying that U.S. military personnel for the "first time... have provided regular tactical support for Salvadoran government forces on the battlefield," a *Los Angeles Times* (13 March) editorial condemned this policy of provocation: "Sending U.S. pilots on observation missions in support of El Salvador's army is a dangerous escalation of U.S. involvement in that country's civil war." In what *Newsweek* (19 March) described as a "bold new military buildup," the Pentagon has "erected a network of airstrips, supply depots and training camps all over Honduras." With Honduras as a military base and U.S. troops lining the ill-defined Salvadoran border, Reagan is poised for invasion. We say: Yankee imperialism—Get out of Central America! For military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Nicaragua: Kill the invaders!

The latest U.S. move is as desperate as it is dangerous. After an uninterrupted string of defeats for the U.S.-backed government forces on the battlefield, Reagan is trying to Americanize the Salvadoran civil war. The latest guerrilla offensive in January revealed the power and coordination of the insurgent

forces and the vulnerability and demoralization of the government press-gang army. Added to the leftist offensive, a strike wave has hit San Salvador as thousands of water utility workers walked out, supported by work stoppages and solidarity strikes by workers in other sectors. As the army crumbles Reagan is attempting to divert attention with his standard tactic: call a phony election. But this time the "election" seems to be a booby trap for the imperialists.

Two years ago, Washington's "psy war" specialists managed to pull off a propaganda coup with photos of long lines of voters and padded vote totals. But this time things don't look so hot for the "free world" dictatorship. If Christian Democratic candidate Napoleón Duarte is "elected," the military is likely to stage a coup. Duarte—who was junta president from 1980 to 1982 and is routinely and accurately referred to as "butcher Duarte" around the world—is widely seen by the Salvadoran ruling class as a "sellout to Communism." If the victory goes to Roberto D'Aubuisson, who runs the notorious death squads and ordered the murder of Archbishop Romero, it exposes the Americans' phony "electoral process" as a cover for mass murder. Especially since the "tropical fascist" known to U.S. military advisers as "Blowtorch Bob" vows to unleash a bloodbath that would make Pinochet look like a Quaker.

For the U.S., these death squad "elections" are failing even as a propaganda diversion. Instead they have become the excuse for increased "emergency" military aid. Warning that the "Salvadoran armed services will run out of key materiel in the next few months," Secretary of State George Shultz announced late last month that the administration was sending some \$80 million to El Salvador without Congressional approval. Later he accused Congress of "walking away" from Central America—preparations for the debate on "who lost El Salvador?" And with his butchers on the run in El Salvador, Reagan seems to be losing the

battle for the "hearts and minds" at home. The growing defeatism in the U.S. is reflected even in Congress which balked at tripling military aid this year for these losers.

In any case, Reagan is going ahead with tens of millions in military equipment to turn Honduras into a giant weapons platform for U.S. aggression. In a country the size of Tennessee, the Army engineers and Navy Seabees have built or improved five airstrips, constructed three radar installations and a training base for Salvadoran and Honduran soldiers near Puerto Castilla. And more is on the way. Even the government's General Accounting Office noted that the U.S. was "engaged in a continuing, if not permanent, military presence in Honduras."

Under the guise of the joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers Big Pine I and II, the Pentagon has laid the infrastructure for a full-scale invasion. Now it has announced another "exercise" for the summer called "Operation Grenadier," no doubt to remind the guerrillas about the U.S. invasion of Grenada. With its puppets in trouble, the U.S. is waving the Big Stick, threatening the Grenada treatment if the guerrillas so much as say "boo" during the election. In the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada last fall, the *Baltimore Sun* (26 October 1983) headlined its analysis: "Lesson to left there for learning: Soviets, Cubans, Sandinistas might take heed." The lesson Reagan wanted to drive home was that if you go "too far" you'll get hit with the Yankee Big Stick. And the Sandinistas and Salvadoran insurgent leaders have evidently taken Reagan's lesson to heart: withdrawal of Cuban teachers from Nicaragua, removal of FDR/FMLN offices from Managua, guarantees to cut off all aid to leftist guerrillas, offers to join a government with anyone but D'Aubuisson... and anathemas and threats against any "anti-unity" "ultraleftists" who resist the suicidal perspective of abject appeasement. But El Salvador is not tiny Grenada. Here the guerrillas are fighting a bloody civil war and winning!

Yet treacherously, the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) has responded with a promise of an electoral truce. FDR head Guillermo Ungo even denounced the dissident left-wing MOR (Revolutionary Workers Movement) for refusing to go along with this betrayal ("We cannot assume responsibility for what they do.") Spelling out their "political solution" sellout, the FDR popular frontists have advanced a craven call for a "provisional government of broad participation" (FDR statement, 31 January). How broad? They would exclude only D'Aubuisson's far right ARENA party. That means they would form an alliance not only with butcher Duarte but also the PCN, the official government apparatus which ruled for decades with its own death squad terror and brutality.

The made-in-USA election provocation means more mass murder for the Salvadoran masses. Only a rebel victory on the battlefield can sweep away the pathological killers and their landlord-capitalist bosses, opening the road to workers revolution throughout the region. That is what the White House fears above all.

A defeat of U.S. imperialism and its local butchers in Central America would be a powerful blow against Reagan's global war drive aimed at the Soviet Union. We hail the heroic Salvadoran guerrilla fighters and the workers and peasants of Nicaragua battling the CIA-organized *contra* terrorists. It is the urgent duty of all class-conscious American workers to mobilize to prevent Yankee imperialism from unleashing the full horror of its war machine against the toiling masses of Central America. Boycott military cargo bound for El Salvador, Honduras and other rightist regimes of the region! For labor strikes against U.S. intervention in Central America! Such a mobilization of the American working class against Washington's ravaging of Central America can be the beginning of the end for American imperialism—the monstrous enemy of all the peoples of the world—through revolution from within. ■



NACLA

Communist Agustín Farabundo Martí (right), leader of the 1932 Salvadoran uprising, with Nicaraguan nationalist guerrilla leader Augusto César Sandino.

in fact, which brought Marxist socialism to Latin American shores. And in the early years, the founders of the Communist parties of South and Central America fought for the same program as the Trotskyists today: not the Stalinist-Menshevik formulas of "democratic revolution" (anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, etc.), but mobilizing the oppressed masses behind the working class to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and extend the revolution internationally. This is the program of *permanent revolution*, the program of October 1917. Thus a call to the working class of the Americas by the Communist International (January 1921) proclaimed:

"Only with the participation of the Communist party will clarity and revolutionary honesty be introduced into the movement in South America....

"The revolution of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, in any country of South America, will immediately provoke armed intervention by the United States which, in turn, will make neces-

sary the revolutionary intervention of the proletariat of the United States.... "Revolution at home, combined with proletarian revolution in the United States," that is the slogan of the revolutionary proletariat and the poor peasantry of South America."

—reprinted in Michael Löwy, *El marxismo en América Latina* (1980)

Compare this internationalist call with the nationalist program of the FDR/FMLN today, who look to a non-existent "democratic" bourgeoisie at home and to the Democratic imperialist "doves" rather than the working class in the U.S.

Most striking of all is the sharp contrast between today's nationalist-reformist supporters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and Agustín Farabundo Martí himself. Miguel Mármol, the sole survivor of the Salvadoran Communist Party leadership from the 1932 uprising which was crushed in the infamous *Matanza* (massacre) reports: "Martí broke with

[Nicaraguan nationalist general] Sandino for ideological reasons. Although he considered Sandino a great anti-imperialist patriot, he broke with the narrow nationalist conceptions of this great popular *caudillo* who did not share the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vision of the class struggle and proletarian internationalism which Martí already had solidly implanted in his head and heart" (Roque Dalton, *Miguel Mármol: Los sucesos de 1932 en El Salvador* [1972]). And the Manifesto which called for the January 1932 Communist-led insurrection announced:

"The general insurrection of the working men and women to establish a government of workers, peasants and soldiers.

"Comrade workers: arm yourselves and defend the Proletarian Revolution! Comrade railway workers: take the railways and place them at the service of the revolution!"

"Comrade peasants: seize the lands of the great haciendas and farms and protect him who today has a piece of land and defend your revolutionary conquests with arms, without pity for the rich!

"Comrade soldiers: don't shoot a single shot against the revolutionary peasants and workers! Kill your commanders and officers! Place yourselves at the orders of the comrade soldiers who have been named Red Commanders by this Central Committee!

"Comrades: form councils of workers, peasants and soldiers!

"All power to the workers, peasants and soldiers councils!"

—quoted in Löwy, *El marxismo en América Latina*

This is the tradition to which the international Spartacist tendency looks: not the petty-bourgeois reformist nationalism and Stalinism of Villalobos and Carpio, but the proletarian internationalism of Lenin, Trotsky... and Farabundo Martí. ■

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Transit Workers the Real Target

Defend Foremen Against NYC Subway Bosses!

When ex-CIA spymaster Robert Kiley took over the post of New York City transit czar last fall, we warned: "New York City transit workers, beware—you are Kiley's next target" (*WV* No. 340, 21 October 1983). Kiley wasn't long in showing his hand. On February 14, Kiley delivered an anti-union tirade (aptly dubbed the "St. Valentine's Day Massacre speech" by the *Amsterdam News*). Kiley demanded the elimination of all civil service and union membership for supervisory and management personnel of the Transit Authority (TA). Kiley made no bones about his real target—the 36,000 transit workers organized by the Transport Workers Union (TWU). "What we've had at the Transit Authority is a strong union, looking out for the interests of its

members, always pushing, but with nobody pushing back on the other side on a day-by-day basis. We must and we shall restore balance to the labor-management equation" (*Chief-Leader*, 24 February). So Kiley wants to fire foremen who won't crack the whip at the TWU and hire anti-union, racist punks from the outside for his union-busting speedup drive.

Kiley's crackdown has already gone into gear with a series of "inspection" tours of transit workplaces. Foremen and supervisors caught for not enforcing "productivity" have been written up and disciplined. A particular target is the maintenance and repair shops, where union work rules and job conditions remain relatively intact. Kiley wants to turn them into sweatshops run

like the subway transportation unit, where safety and union rules have been shot to hell, and where in the past month alone two transit workers were killed. And the labor-hating bosses, who want to get rid of the union altogether, won't stop there either. These union-busters must be stopped in their tracks, now! And central to that is the mobilization of the TWU itself, which has the power to bring the bosses to their knees.

Militants grouped around the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU call for mobilizing the TWU to smash Kiley's union-busting speedup assault. As the Committee leaflet printed below stresses, what is vitally important are authoritative, *elected* shop stewards to mobilize the workers against the bosses' intended victimizations. This involves a

sharp break with the Lawe bureaucracy's policies of subordinating the union to the state.

When Kiley was appointed, John Lawe said of this consummate labor hater: "From everything I hear about him I think he's good material" (*Chief-Leader*, 14 October 1983). A Committee spokesman told *WV* that the TWU Local 100 executive board at its March 12 meeting *voted down* the Committee motion for "solidarity and support to the Subway Supervisors Association..." This deadly betrayal must be overturned by the TWU ranks!

For years now NYC's labor leaders have crawled on their knees before the banks and Democratic Party city bosses. They mortgaged the unions' pension funds to Big MAC, accepted layoffs and wage freezes, kowtowed to government legislation banning strikes, and meekly accepted massive penalties when they did strike. The end result has been simply and predictably to embolden the bosses, from racist mayor Koch's vicious strikebreaking against the TWU in 1980 to Kiley's union-busting today. The fight now being organized by the militants of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, the only grouping in the TWU with a hard opposition to the union bureaucracy's sellout subordination to the state and suicidal alliance with the Democratic Party, is critical to the future of the union.

The city bosses, the banks and their agents think they should get something for nothing. They won't invest the billions to turn the subways into a safe and efficient operation, pay us a decent wage or hire the thousands more workers needed. Instead they want to patch up the decaying system that they've let go to hell with our blood and guts. Koch and Kiley are on a union-busting rampage. Kiley's attack on the supervisors association is the first step in an all out drive to get the TWU. The T.A. is singling out and disciplining foremen who have stuck their necks out for us. Kiley wants to fire the foremen and dispatchers who whip us only now and then and replace them with outsiders and those who will whip us every day. The T.A. tops want the power to fire supervisors and foremen on the spot in order to break what union conditions we have, and implement a massive speedup drive that will murder even more of us.

The TWU must adopt and implement the following motion in all sections: **The TWU must express solidarity and**

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet: Stop Kiley's Union-Busting!

support to the Subway Supervisors Association in its struggle against the abuse and victimization of members by higher management!

The union leaders' program for "fighting" the union-busting attacks is to appeal to Cuomo and the liberal Democratic politicians. It was Cuomo himself who appointed "Killer" Kiley! The courts and politicians Lawe grovels to are the very ones that have set the Taylor Law on us and enforced the rotten contract through binding arbitration. The liberal Democrats ran the trial of the killers of Willie Turks and let the lynchers off with a slap on the wrist. Lawe's latest proposal for a seat on the T.A. board would make our union into an *enforcer* of Kiley's union-busting speedup drive. And instead of handing the few crumbs we have to the enemy through the COPE fund, we should be laying the groundwork for battle. We need to use our real power—we need

mass labor action to stop the union-busting!

By this we don't mean the token "solidarity" that Lawe gave to the Greyhound workers. Big flashy media stunts in front of TV cameras didn't stop Greyhound from rolling its buses over the bodies of picketers. Real solidarity means concrete industrial action. For example, in less than thirty days Long Island Railroad unions say they'll honor picket lines of the supervisor association which is protesting Kiley's refusal to bargain with them. If our LIRR union brothers and sisters walk out, any and all MTA bus and subway routes that can be used to break the LIRR strike must be SHUT DOWN! The way to get rid of

the Taylor Law is by making its existence irrelevant through effective acts of labor militancy that will bind city labor into a single powerful fist of working class force.

Preparing our union to fight means taking measures today that will effectively end our dependence on Kiley, the city bosses and the forces that are out to break us. The dues checkoff makes our union leaders lazy and dependent on Kiley. Making the bosses our bankers means entrusting the dues structure to our enemy and insuring we won't have it when we need it most. We must immediately institute a system of *elected* shop stewards responsible for dues collection!

—Kartsen, Brewer, Smith and the
Committee for a Fighting TWU

12 March 1984

France...

(continued from page 2)

labor onto the garbage heap. The miners must not allow themselves to get boxed into "protest" strikes. Elect strike committees, recallable at all times, where the union bureaucrats' treacherous strategies can be scotched. Such strike committees will also be organizing centers for mass pickets and flying squads to close the pits in all the mining regions and form the embryo of workers militias protecting the industrial locations from scabs and strikebreaking cops. These strike committees must also set themselves the task of extending their struggle, not only to all the mines but to all other sectors hit full-force by the industrial "restructuring." The miners are an integral part of the great traditions of struggle in steel, the naval shipyards, auto. Moreover, these sectors that today are under the repeated blows of capitalism and its reformist managers have close economic and in large part geographic ties. The miners can also play a specially important role because in their industry, with its large minority of North African workers, racial and national tensions are alleviated by traditions of struggle, by the very nature of the work. Defensive strikes in one or another of these various industri-

al sectors can well bring others into the struggle to divide the work available among all who seek it. Not one layoff!

The shameful betrayal of the heroic Talbot strike by the bourgeoisie's lackeys in the workers movement once again confirms that the key to victory for workers' struggles is the building of a vanguard party firmly resolved to fight to the bitter end against rotting capitalism. Mitterrand's blatant economic incompetence can't hide the reality: the imperatives of capitalist crisis, in this country as in the rest of the capitalist countries, throw millions of workers into the street, plunging them into misery and leading the petty bourgeoisie to ruin. And the fact that the phony "workers leaders" accept responsibility for this capitalist crisis can only propel the desperate petty-bourgeois elements into the arms of a "savior" on the order of a Pétain or de Gaulle, or worse yet Le Pen. The French economy certainly needs "restructuring," but on the basis of a socialist economy and in the framework of a socialist United States of Europe. And only if the working class fights resolutely on such a far-reaching program for the expropriation of the bankrupt bourgeoisie and the rational reorganization of society can it split off and win over whole sectors of the petty bourgeoisie to its struggle. ■

UCLA...

(continued from page 12)

who's next? 'Blowtorch Bob' D'Aubuisson? Will Huey helicopters swoop down and 'disappear' students to make Bruin Walk 'safe for democracy'? Rivas-Gallont was decorated by the notorious South African apartheid regime! What the hell are they trying to teach us here? How to blow away nuns? Drown babies in rivers? While pushing their war criminals here and at universities around the country, administration 'academic freedom' hypocrites want to label students who protest imperialism 'non-people' and deny them their democratic rights. At UCLA the administration brands them as 'Nazis.' Tell that to students from El Salvador's National University, closed down by the junta's jackboot. Reagan wants a victory in Central America to gear up his drive to roll back social revolutions from Cuba to the USSR. We want to

defeat the imperialist war drive for nuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union. Now's the time to stand with the Central American masses fighting to break their chains of oppression!"

Now the administration is sending out letters threatening individual students for their protest against Colonel Waghelstein in January, including CISPES members. The administration has made it clear that it stands by its butchers and any student who protests against imperialism is on their hit list! Against the outrageous jailings the SYL held a rally on Tuesday March 6 which drew an enthusiastic crowd, and bull-horning continued throughout the day. A speakout for Wednesday March 14 is being organized to demand "War Criminals Off Campus! Drop the Charges Against the SYL Four! Hands Off All Anti-Imperialist Protesters!" ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums

Reagan's Lebanon Mess

- Israel Out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories!
- For a Binational Palestinian Workers State as Part of a Socialist Federation of the Near East!
- Defend the Soviet Union! U.S. Out of the Near East!
- Yankee Imperialists—Hands Off the World!

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, SL Central Committee

Friday, March 23, 12:00 noon
Wayne State University
SCB, Hilberry A

Saturday, March 24, 7:00 p.m.
Northwest Activities Center
18100 Meyers, Room 290

DETROIT

Defend Kathy Ikegami-Win Strikes!

SAN FRANCISCO, 9 March—In a strong show of support for Militant Action Caucus (MAC) leader Kathy Ikegami, over 100 members of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 unanimously voted tonight against the purge of Ikegami from her union. The Local 9410 bureaucracy, knowing in advance that they had no support for the witchhunt from the assembled workers, resorted to the tactic of declaring the meeting "adjourned" before it began. Ikegami, a well-known militant socialist and supporter of the Spartacist League, had been framed up and convicted by ex-president Jim Imerzel's kangaroo court, suspended from the union for six months and fined \$300. In response to Ikegami's conviction,

over 500 CWA members signed petitions demanding tonight's special membership meeting. Despite the fact that the local bureaucrats scheduled the meeting for a Friday night in an attempt to cut attendance, over 125 angry members showed up. Faced with the large turnout for Kathy, the local officers fell back on a quorum rule that is invoked only when the pro-company bureaucrats are really pressed to frustrate the will of the membership. Ikegami told *WV* that the rule requiring nearly 200 members to be present for "official business" to be conducted is regularly ignored; this was in fact the largest local turnout since last summer's contract meeting. In the last ten years, quorums have been present only at the once-every-three-years strike vote

meetings. With many workers still lined up at the door, recently appointed local president Marie Malliet declared that there was no quorum and adjourned the meeting. One bureaucrat reportedly tried to start a brawl by attacking a MAC member and shutting off the lights and sound equipment, and the bureaucrats' clique staged a walkout with a handful of their supporters. But the assembled workers quickly restored order, elected a temporary chair and secretary, and heard Kathy's appeal. The workers voted a special invitation to the witchhunter Imerzel to return and present his case, which the coward declined to do. After an open discussion a vote was called and the workers unanimously roared their approval of

a motion reversing the trumped-up charges: "We sustain the appeal of Sister Kathy Ikegami and find her not guilty of all the charges brought by former President James L. Imerzel, Jr., and reverse all the decisions and penalties imposed on her by the Local 9410 Trial Court and Executive Board." While the most militant section of the union came out to support Ikegami, it was not enough to definitively defeat the bureaucrats who use their posts and rules to police union members on the employer's behalf. A MAC spokesman told *WV* that militants would continue the fight to mobilize the membership to reaffirm and enforce this vote. We reprint below the March 5 appeal of Kathy and MAC addressed to the Local 9410 members:

Militant Action Caucus Leaflet

Throw Out the Witch-Hunt Verdict! Vote No on Ikegami's Conviction!

Brothers and Sisters: Come to the special membership meeting Friday March 9th at 6 p.m. to throw out my frame-up conviction by ex-President Jim Imerzel's kangaroo court. Your presence at this meeting is crucial. So they're trying to get me for what I stand for. Sure, I'm an obscure and esoteric red—I've never hidden that or hidden my views. I believe in the power of labor, I don't trust the leadership of the Soviet Union, and I am irreconcilably opposed to the U.S. ruling class. I think the labor movement must defend black people and other minorities

against Ku Klux Klan and Nazi racist terror. If they get me then who and what is going to be next? They want to go back to the "good old days" of the McCarthy period in the 1950's where the only acceptable union members are "wholesome" white people, like Anita Bryant and Dan White, or Klan lovers like Joe McKenna. How about the rest of you union members, are you safe? Look at your skin color or your sexual practices. When you get drunk do you mutter about the government? If they get me, a lot of you will be in line for the same treatment. *Who will be next?* This

frame-up conviction of me must not be allowed to stand! Why did they decide to go after me? Two years ago the Militant Action Caucus blew the whistle on the CWA officials' cover-up of Ma Bell's job cuts. We called for a fight while we still had jobs! I was "charged" for *telling the truth* to union members in a MAC leaflet titled "Secret Company/Union Meeting: Massive Layoffs Slated 1/83." The leaflet warned of company plans to cut the work force by 6-10%. Since then PT&T has cut over 15% of the work force (18,000 jobs) and nationally, the Bell System has cut over 50,000 jobs. *Everything MAC said two years ago, and more, has come true.* I was also "charged" because as an Executive Board member I refused to rubberstamp Imerzel's hand-picked steward appointments. I happen to believe that our

members should have the right to elect the stewards to represent them. To wage a real fight against the vicious and powerful phone company, a class struggle leadership must be forged to replace these sellouts and two-bit McCarthys. It's time to get on with what should be the real business of this union—defending our members against the company, chucking out the scabs who crossed our picket lines last August and defending our strike militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, victims of those despicable scabs. We say it's better to fight on our feet than die on our knees! Every decent unionist has a stake in squashing this verdict. Be there March 9th and VOTE NO ON THE CONVICTION! Kathy Ikegami March 5, 1984

Lauren and Ray...

(continued from page 12) of the Bay Area labor movement to make the struggle to defend Mozee and Palmiero their own. Notable among the many unionists present were members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), who made up a fifth of the marchers. One CWA member told *WV* that her entire work crew requested time off work to attend the demonstration and hearing, and the company was forced to let most of the crew attend. Lauren and Ray were made targets of this racist anti-labor frame-up because of their membership in the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party and because she and Ray are an interracial couple. As a member of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and coworker of Lauren Mozee put it: "Before you had the KKK that just came in and beat your brains out and got away with it—not that they're not still doing it. But now they have the courts behind them." Determined to spike this frame-up the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) has been filling the courtroom during each of the many court appearances of the railroaded militants. The PSDC has initiated militant protests and conducted a widespread campaign of protest and exposure. Defense of Mozee and Palmiero is critical for labor! Strikes are won on the picket line and Ma Bell's frame-up takes dead aim on the main weapon of the unions against the bosses. The marchers cheered as it was announced that the Alameda Central

Labor Council, representing 50,000 AFL-CIO members, has demanded the dropping of charges against Lauren and Ray, as well as charges against three other phone strikers arrested during the course of the strike on misdemeanor charges. The defense effort has gathered wide support among labor and civil rights organizations and the demonstrating workers were very pleased to hear statements of international solidarity from the Australian Telecommunications Employees Association and the Aboriginal Legal Service, both of New South Wales, Australia. The militant activity on behalf of Lauren and Ray has the Alameda County D.A.'s office worried. In a conversation between two prosecutors accidentally overheard by one of our supporters in the courthouse cafeteria, one of the prosecutors lamented that some of his staff of unionized clerks, taking the demonstration for a picket line, refused to come to work! Meanwhile none of the resident judges wanted to handle the case. The previous judge on the case was seen heading toward the calmer waters of a session in small claims court and the judge who ultimately drew the short straw was from rural Siskiyou County on the California-Oregon border! Meanwhile the case has been shoved to yet a third Assistant D.A. named Charlotte Green. Ms. Green is one of the few, if not the only, black Assistant D.A.s in Alameda County, and her assignment to the case is doubtless a reflection of unease in the D.A.'s office in pushing this very unpopular and transparently racist anti-labor frame-up. Green, in what she termed a "change in strategy," announced her intention to call a second prosecution witness. The D.A.'s office has consistently refused to turn over background information on

West Coast Press Covers Lauren and Ray

Demonstration held to support phone workers

OAKLAND POST - Demonstration held to support phone workers. The rally was held at the Alameda County Courthouse. Over 200 workers and supporters participated. The demonstrators demanded the dropping of charges against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, and the reversal of the conviction of Kathy Ikegami.

CALIFORNIA VOICE - Rally Set For Phone Workers - Want Felony Charges Dropped. A large turnout is expected for a demonstration tomorrow for a demonstration called by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee to demand that felony charges against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be dropped.

THE TRIBUNE - Fired phone workers' hearing delayed but protest goes on. HAYWARD - More than 100 supporters of two fired phone company workers charged with felony assault during last summer's strike held a noisy demonstration outside Municipal Court here yesterday. Inside the courtroom, the District Attorney's Office said it had a new witness and a new strategy to present in the prosecution of Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee.

THE DAILY REVIEW - Pair's assault hearing delayed. Telephone strike violence. Supporters of phone strikers Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee, below, make their message clear.

this witness, claiming he would not be testifying in the preliminary hearing. The judge granted a defense motion for a postponement in order to permit the defense to obtain this material and prepare cross-examination. The next preliminary hearing is now scheduled for March 21 in Hayward at 9 a.m. Certainly this case is far from over. The PSDC urgently needs funds both to pay off past debts and cover further protest and defense activities. As Spartacist supporter Diana Coleman, for-

merly a phone worker and member of MAC, noted in her remarks to the March 1 Hayward rally: "This frame-up is part of a general government and company assault on the unions... ATU striker Ray Phillips was murdered by a scab driver; OCAW striker Greg Goobic was crushed to death by a scab truck. Yet in both these cases the murderers went free and Lauren and Ray stand to go to jail for four years for defending themselves on the picket line against racist assault. We say, 'Freedom for Lauren and Ray!' and vengeance for our martyred union brothers!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

Drop the Charges Against SYL Four!

UCLA Protesters Confront Salvadoran Ambassador of Death

LOS ANGELES—UCLA students got a taste of “democracy El Salvador-style” on Monday, March 5, when four members of the Spartacus Youth League were dragged out of Dickson Auditorium and jailed for protesting the bloody Salvadoran government’s ambassador, Ernesto Rivas-Gallont. These comrades now face 90 days in jail and \$200 fines for “offensive words” and “disturbing the peace.” Offensive words? Disturbing the peace? The only “offense” was the obscene presence of this ambassador of death; the only “peace” the SYL disturbed was the “peace of the graveyard” the murderous rulers want to impose on the workers and peasants of El Salvador. These charges are designed to silence activists who want to keep war criminals off campus and to give the administration a protest-free quarter to make UCLA a haven for mass murderers. No way! Drop these outrageous charges against the SYL Four!

Death squad front man Rivas-Gallont had to slither through the back door under cop protection because out front 75 students responding to the emergency demonstration called by the SYL were chanting “Military victory is what we want—A workers tribunal for Rivas-Gallont!” An hour later 250 students crowded into Dickson Hall, over half of them to confront this representative of the Salvadoran terror regime. The crowd erupted into pandemonium when the cops moved in on SYLer Jeanne McNiff for their first arrest. Chants of “Cops off campus!”



Silvers/Daily Bruin

Spartacus Youth League spokesman Jeanne McNiff denounces Salvadoran ambassador of death Rivas-Gallont just before cops drag her away.

and “Keep the butchers on the run!” mixed with cries of “Let her go!” Rivas-Gallont, butcher in diplomat’s clothes, temporarily fled the podium. Shouts of “Murderer!” continued as one after another SYLers Juvenal Martinez, Eileen Kelly and Jeffrey Kaye were dragged out of the hall by helmeted cops in full riot gear. At the police station, Martinez, who grew up in the L.A. barrio, was chained to a chair like a dog and interrogated.

As the SYL letter to the *Daily Bruin*

explained (a letter the “free speech” *Bruin* refused to publish): “The SYL is singled out because from ‘soldier-scholar’ Waghelstein [former head of U.S. forces in El Salvador] to Salvadoran butcher Gallont we have been consistently out in front leading the fight at UCLA to keep war criminals off campus and because we defend the gains of social revolutions from Cuba to the USSR against imperialism’s Armageddon.”

The SYL “Call to Action” distributed

to thousands of students for the March 5 action read:

“Straight from the land of the death squads, from a kill-crazy junta with the blood of 50,000 on its hands, El Salvador’s blood-drenched ambassador Ernesto Rivas-Gallont comes to UCLA today on behalf of the Latin America Center for Counterrevolution to sell the junta’s ‘election by death.’ DRIVE THE AMBASSADOR OF DEATH OFF CAMPUS!”

“If you hated McNamara and Waghelstein you’ll really hate this guy. And

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Courthouse Demo Demands:

Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!

HAYWARD, California—Nearly 100 angry and militant supporters of framed-up strike militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero demonstrated at 8 a.m., March 1 at the Hayward Municipal Court and then filled the courtroom to attend the scheduled preliminary hearing of the two unionists fired and arrested during last summer’s phone strike. Chanting “Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!” “Smash the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!” and “Picket Lines Mean Don’t Cross!” demonstrators from over a dozen Bay Area unions, socialists and students—black, white and Hispanic—sent a determined message to Pacific Telephone and its lackeys in the Reaganite-infested Alameda County D.A.’s office. The marchers expressed their resolute opposition to the bosses’ efforts to import South Africa-style

“justice” to Oakland and to make it a crime to defend union picket lines against racist scum scabs.

While on picket duty in Klan-infested San Leandro during the national phone strike last August 10 Lauren Mozee was called a “black nigger bitch” and struck in the face by a racist scab-manager, Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself, while her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. For this act of self-defense and defense of the picket line Mozee and Palmiero were fired from their jobs at PT&T, denied unemployment compensation and face four years in state prison on felony charges. The racist scab still has her job!

The size and militancy of this early morning workday demonstration show the determination of important sections

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WV Photo

Militant protesters picket Hayward Municipal Court chanting, “Smash Racist, Anti-Labor Frame-Up!”