

## Front Line El Salvador

# Smash Junta Terror!

**Defeat U.S.  
Imperialism!  
Defend Cuba, USSR!**

We print below the edited first half of a speech by Jan Norden, editor of the Workers Vanguard and member of the Spartacist League Central Committee, recently delivered in Boston and New York under the title, "For Workers Revolution in Central America." An expanded version of the second half, focusing on Nicaragua, will be published in our next issue.

It's high noon in Central America. The whole isthmus is red-hot, bubbling like the volcanic chain that forms its backbone. A string of banana republics, puppet dictatorships and oligarchic tyrannies have shot their wad, and there is an historic day of reckoning approaching. There is a general crisis of bourgeois rule in the region, such as it has been practiced over the last half century. And in this explosive situation a new administration has moved into the White House which is determined to send a bloody message to the Kremlin. The message consists of Huey helicopters, 105 millimeter bazookas, PT patrol boats and U.S. "military advisers." The blood is supposed to be that of the

"There is unfortunately no effective Soviet aid going to the insurgents in El Salvador. Because if there were, we wouldn't have had 12,000 people who died at the hands of right-wing death squads and the junta's army in the last year. That is the proof."

Central American masses. Reagan has challenged Castro and Brezhnev to a shoot-out over El Salvador, and Central America is now the focal point of the Cold War—the point at which all the energy of imperialism's anti-Soviet war

drive is concentrated on the tinder of popular outrage and the flames begin to leap up.

To meet this challenge the left, both in Latin America and in the imperialist centers, has to face head-on the basic

question, to take a stand in the confrontation between rapacious imperialism and the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. It won't do to appeal to liberal "concern" over genocide. In the first place, this is not just another case of the U.S. backing up some bloodthirsty butchers in its backyard. When Teddy Roosevelt was riding roughshod over these little statelets, American imperialism was mainly concerned with consolidating its regional hegemony. The Spanish-American War and dollar diplomacy were centrally aimed at turning the Monroe Doctrine into reality. Building the Panama Canal enabled the U.S. for the first time to possess a two-ocean navy. It was part of the carving up of the colonial world by imperialism in preparation for World War I. The issue half a century ago, the last time that Central America was big news, was essentially regional. This time the stakes are far higher.

So in the last couple weeks we have been treated to this outcry over Soviet arms in El Salvador. I have here the State Department's "White Paper." I guess they have to call them white papers because their real purpose is to throw mud in the eyes of the public, so they don't see what's going on. So the first thing you have to do is to debunk the imperialist lies. To recall President Reagan's words of a few weeks ago: who is it that goes around the world lying,

*continued on page 6*



Philippot/Syigma



Lahman/Visions

Deportation often means death. Salvadoran refugees await deportation in Mexican jail.

## Asylum for Refugees from El Salvador!

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While Reagan showers his El Salvador butchers with Huey helicopters and American military "advisers," back home the U.S. Immigration Service is doing its bit to contribute to the bloodbath. In January the Spartacist League reported how *la migra* has been deporting several hundred Salvadorans a week to the clutches of the murderous junta and its right-wing execution squads. This airlift to death came to light when 42 Salvadorans awaiting deportation in an INS con-

centration camp at El Centro, California went on a hunger strike after learning about a Christmas Day massacre of a group of deportees at the San Salvador airport.

The 2 March *New York Times* carried a lengthy story investigating this grisly business. In the last fiscal year, the *Times* reported, nearly 12,000 Salvadorans were sent back to face the sadistic junta torturers and assassins. It noted that some of those deported were trade unionists and teachers whose names have appeared on "what purport to be 'death lists'." The article reports a spokesman for the U.S. embassy affirming "that he had heard

*continued on page 11*

# The Terror Times

For those who wish on liberal stars to make the Reagan/Haig war frenzy go away it's time to wake up. A sign from the *Times*: the respectable good gray lady of American journalism has plunged into Hearst/Murdoch-style "the Russians are coming" propaganda. The 1 March Sunday *New York Times Magazine* cover story, "Terrorism: Tracing the International Network," by Claire Sterling, was the kind of sleazy yellow journalism that set off reactionary wars earlier in the century. The *Times* obviously had this smear job Kremlin gold-and-guns pastiche waiting in the wings, with all the guns, the ski masks, the blood, the old photos. Today "responsible" liberalism only means holding off a few weeks after General Haig fired off his opening shot to take up the Big Lie campaign that the USSR is running an international terrorist conspiracy—no "decent interval" here.

In her "terrorist" potboiler (soon to be a *Reader's Digest* book, of course) Sterling poses as a "sadder but wiser" liberal. Until recently (Reagan's election?), she writes, she would have been among those Americans who "shook their heads despairingly at what sounded to them like nothing more than an old cold warrior's refrain." But now she hails Haig for "going public" with the real "news" about the Kremlin: "There is massive proof that the Soviet Union and its surrogates, over the past decade, have provided the weapons, training and sanctuary for a world-wide terror network aimed at the destabilization of Western Democratic society." BS.

How did Claire Sterling stop shaking her head and learn to love the Haig terror scenario? "Research," she writes,

research. But she doesn't have any proof, "massive" or puny; she can't even marshal effective innuendo to prove that there's some Soviet "terror network" stretching from the IRA to the PLO to the Red Brigades to the Baader-Meinhof group to Cuba to El Salvador. An RAfer sunning himself on a Bulgarian beach—that's "the Russian connection" in this sordid genre. More "research" like that and she'll be discovering that the Soviets are equipping subway muggers to "destabilize" NYC's underground. But she's already way behind the New York governor: "Gold-chain grabbers? Carey blames Soviet heroin-war strategy," headlined the *Post* last October.

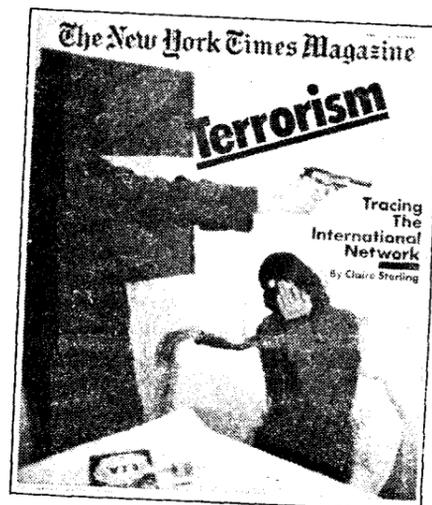
There was some genuinely clinical paranoia about the Soviets after World War II, but this current propaganda blitz is simply a cynical attempt to manipulate public opinion. So liberal Sterling borrows witchhunter Joseph McCarthy's methods, jumbling up everything in the hope that some of the mud will stick. The USSR is much too stodgy for the likes of the German RAF (Baader-Meinhof group) or the Italian Red Brigades; in fact the Italian Communist Party has fulsomely and actively backed state repression and trade-union witchhunting against the Red Brigades. The "discoveries" of a "Russian menace" lurking behind the IRA, the PLO and so forth are simply an attempt to find a global Cold War rationale for backing the naked state terror unleashed against the Palestinians by the Israeli bourgeoisie (and don't forget Thatcher's "H-Block" hellhole for IRA nationalists)—real terrorism which makes the IRA and PLO look pacifistic by comparison.

What's really going on here is a

renewed imperialist propaganda drive to denounce *all* national-liberation movements as "terrorists" and "criminals." Remember the Western press treatment of the Algerian FLN fighting French colonialism, the Angolan MPLA fighting the Portuguese, etc. But should these groups win and come to power, send their people to the UN, have accredited diplomats in Western capitals and play by the imperialist rules of the game, then yesterday's "terrorist" becomes today's "statesman." Remember the sanctimonious mourning for ex-Mau Mau leader turned pro-Western "moderate" Jomo Kenyatta. In other words, *the imperialists call "terrorist" those people they intend to kill and believe they can.* That the U.S. leaders now apply this term to the ever-so-conservative bureaucrats of the Russian Politburo is a very dangerous sign indeed. And they're not just talking: Presidential Directive 58 directly targets the Soviet leadership for nuclear death.

"International terrorism" is the Reagan code word for a war drive against the Soviet Union, just as "Human Rights" was Carter's. The government's lying "White Paper" on El Salvador is only the latest "proof" they have manufactured. But the tragic fact is that the USSR is not at all interested in "exporting revolution." The real evidence is bitter enough: the blood of 12,000-plus Salvadorans massacred by the junta's death squads in 1980. Too bad the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow hasn't supplied the rebels with adequate arms, just as in Vietnam it starved the NLF and DRV forces, supplying them only minimal, outmoded military aid and thus prolonging the agony of the war.

The exporters of "international ter-



All the CIA "disinformation" that's fit to print.

ror" are well known, as are their true ideologues, listed recently by Alexander Cockburn in an informative *Village Voice* (4 March) piece on the Robert Moss/Arnaud de Borchgrave/Walter Lacqueur "small band of extremists." Among the bloody acts of imperialist terror Cockburn points to is the murder of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier and his American assistant right in Washington, D.C. by Pinochet's security forces and their *gusano* cohorts. (Reagan's response, rather than "punish terrorism," was to "de-link" Chile and welcome it back into the fold with open arms.) Or Cuba, which has been the target of an ongoing terrorist campaign, from the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion and at least eight assassination attempts against Castro to the bombing of a Cubana Airlines plane, which left over 80 dead.

But talking about this official policy of imperialist state terror doesn't fit the Cold War purpose of "responsible" liberals like the *New York Times*. That's the "international terrorist conspiracy" story they don't see fit to print. ■

## Workers Power Rotten Bloc

# With the Reagan Current

It's not unusual in U.S. radical circles for a gaggle of academic dilettantes, political losers and renegades from left organizations to come together, put out a journal and proclaim themselves the fresh new breeze in town. In general one whiff of the political aroma surrounding such groups is more than enough to send serious Marxists running in the opposite direction, fast. *Against the Current*, a "socialist quarterly magazine sponsored by Workers Power," is no exception to

the general rule. But the story of how this gang of political burn-outs came together serves us well as a cautionary tale for the Reagan years. Demoralized centrists: this can happen to you!

The story of *Against the Current*, two issues of which have appeared to date, is told in its catalog of 36 editors and "editorial associates." The magazine is run by co-editors Steve Zeluck and Bob Brenner of Workers Power, formerly one of the permanent clique/factions in the workerist International Socialists (IS). Inheritors of the miserable "Third Camp" anti-Soviet tradition of Max Shachtman, Workers Power shares their piece of political turf with half a dozen other disintegration products of the IS. What unites Workers Power, the IS, ISO, RSL, LRP, etc. is their refusal to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution against imperialist attack. But what is notable about *Against the Current* is that some of the homeless "boat people" of ostensible Trotskyism have sought refuge in this safe harbor of "State Department socialism" during the coming storms of the Cold War.

The editorial associates of *Against the Current* include several former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who left that organization at various times over the past three decades. There's Milt Zaslow, who split from the SWP in 1953 as a supporter of the Michel Pablo-led revisionist faction of the shattered Fourth International. There's Myra Tanner Weiss, long-time

Pabloist, forced out of the SWP in 1965. There's Hedda Garza, expelled from the SWP in 1974 as a leader of the Internationalist Tendency (IT), the orphaned children of former Pablo lieutenant Ernest Mandel. There's Juliet Ucelli of the Mandelite fellow-traveling New York Committee for Marxist Education. These remnants of U.S. Pabloism would claim, of course, to defend the Soviet Union. It's just not a "split issue" for them. That's the kind of outfit *Against the Current* is: to accommodate both the Shachtmanites and the Pabloists the magazine declares itself "anti-Stalinist" but does not characterize the Soviet Union or raise the question of defensism. The second issue of the journal features a lengthy leading article on Poland—without saying what kind of class society Poland is.

The Workers Power magazine dedicates itself to the task of "regrouping" the "non-sectarian" left. But *Against the Current's* complaint about the "left sects" is more than just a rejection of Leninist organizational discipline and Leninist politics—although it surely is that. For the Pabloists it is an excuse to abandon even the pretense of Soviet defensism in order to join the Russia-haters and liberals on Reagan's Cold War bandwagon. What really scotch tapes this gang to Worker Power is the fact that the Reagan years look like tough times for the left. And even tougher times for authentic Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union while calling for political revolution against

the Stalinist bureaucracy.

With Reagan in the White House and an anti-Soviet drive well under way, the crucial test of revolutionaries is the willingness to stand up in defense of the gains of the October Revolution and of the degenerated and deformed workers states from imperialism. *Against the Current* borrows its name from the collection of Lenin and Zinoviev's writings against imperialist war and against the reformist and centrist betrayers in the socialist movement who sold out to "their" bourgeoisies in World War I. Despite the name, the new *Against the Current*, floating downstream on the current of anti-Sovietism, has more in common with the social-patriots Lenin bitterly denounced. ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Correction

The headline of the article on the Ontario Federation of Labour convention in *WV* No. 270 (12 December 1980) incorrectly states that supporters of the Communist Party voted against the convention motion for a labor anti-Klan demonstration. As the article noted, supporters of the CP did *speak* against the motion from the convention floor, counterposing reliance on the capitalist government to labor-centered action against the Klan. Characteristically, however, they did not *vote* against it.

# For a B.C. General Strike, Now!

VANCOUVER, March 6—More than 6,000 unionists paralyzed the southern part of Vancouver Island today, shutting it down in a one-day general strike as a dramatic show of support for the embattled Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU). Almost nothing moved in traditionally militant Nanaimo in response to the British Columbia Federation of Labor's call to protest the phone bosses' latest union-busting move. In an attempt to gut the union of militants, B.C. Telephone, having supposedly reached agreement with the TWU on all other issues, arrogantly refuses to rehire over two dozen TWUers fired for picket line "misbehavior." B.C. Fed president Jim Kinnaird has warned B.C. Tel to sign a back-to-work agreement or "We'll start walking off the job from one end of this province to the other" (*Vancouver Sun*, 4 March).

While the capitalists' media wail, the British Columbia workers are ready to fight—in their tradition as the most militant and class-conscious section of labor in North America. It's certainly a far cry from the union scene in the United States today. TWU and municipal workers' flying picket squads closed down hundreds of companies, sometimes with just one picket, as unionists enthusiastically carry out B.C. Fed policy: "A picket line means don't cross." A militant among the 10,000-plus striking members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) told *Spartacist Canada* that workers strangled by court orders limiting pickets to four at the crucial Vancouver-area garbage dump want to "defy the injunctions" and bring back "mass picketing." The TWU members, who tasted real power during their five-day occupation of key phone locations last month, are raring to go. A TWU leader admitted, "We've had to sit on a lot of our workers" (*Province*, 5 March).

With an angry membership breathing down their necks, the B.C. Fed leaders have adopted a town-by-town rotating mini-general strike plan. But Kinnaird



Spartacist Canada

Striking Vancouver municipal workers picket garage entrance.

& Co. have refused to go after the decisive center, Vancouver. And it will take more than warning gestures to win reinstatement of the fired militants, cancel the crippling fines and wipe out possible jail terms hanging over the TWU. No firings, no citations, no victimizations! The flying pickets work, so extend them! But why chase management scabs across the province? Shut down B.C. Tel with mass pickets! Enough of this union-busting by smug General Tel executives sitting in Stamford, Connecticut: Expropriate B.C. Tel with not a penny for the bosses! And what about CUPE's fight? Throw the nearly 100 anti-picketing injunctions into the garbage! Mass picket the dumps!

The Trotskyist League of Canada says: *It's time for a Vancouver-centered, province-wide general strike!* And not just a sympathy action. All B.C. unions should demand: Rehire all victimized unionists, no reprisals against the strikers! Drop all charges, contempt citations and injunctions! Smash the anti-labor laws and win the unfettered right to strike! Wipe out the results of Trudeau's wage controls: Fight for a big wage boost for all B.C. workers—an

immediate 20 percent catch-up, across the board—as well as full COLA! Settle the existing disputes on the strikers' terms! Militant British Columbia workers can show the way for labor across North America.

Unfortunately, B.C.'s trade-union leadership doesn't want to launch such an all-out fight. Despite their militant rhetoric (and occasional action) the labor brass accepts the framework of the capitalists and their laws. While sometimes the bureaucrats are forced into action by pressure from below in order to keep their authority (for example, TWU president Clark and the occupations), their real program is not class struggle, but the election of a New Democratic Party (NDP) government. That's why Kinnaird stonewalled for months before marshaling even a small portion of the Fed's troops behind the TWU, and then only for one day, while apparently ready to let CUPE and the thousands of other strikers go it alone.

Already the B.C. NDP, seeing power within its grasp, is doing its utmost to preserve its "respectability" in the eyes of the bosses. Not only has the NDP refused to support the TWU/CUPE

strikes, but former labor minister Bill King has condemned the B.C. Fed's action on Vancouver Island: "I don't support what they are doing. I think where a contract exists that contract should be honored" (*Vancouver Sun*, 6 March). Vancouver's NDP mayor Mike Harcourt is daily scabbing on the CUPE strike and playing his role as *management* to the hilt. He says CUPE is demanding too much! And lest anyone think that the NDP's massive 1975 strikebreaking Bill 149 was a "mistake," leader Dave Barrett was explicit February 16 at the University of British Columbia when he responded to a challenge from a Trotskyist League supporter: "I make no bones about it, we would pass the same legislation!"

Militants who might look to the Communist Party of Canada (CP) as an alternative will fare no better. Perhaps the CP will disavow its active electioneering for Mayor Harcourt, but what about its long-time favored alderman, Harry Rankin, who has been crossing CUPE lines with the bureaucrats' connivance? When Rankin was addressing a CUPE rally at City Hall March 3, cries of "Scab!" greeted someone trying to cross the picket. When Rankin turned around, a *Spartacist Canada* reporter heard one CUPE picketer yell, "Not you, Harry, the other one!"

Pointing to the organized support of the trade-union leadership and building on the real need for a vehicle to combat the parties of the bosses—the Socreds, Tories and Liberals—the NDP occasionally tries to pass itself off as the party of the working people. But the NDP's job when in power is to administer the capitalists' state, including its laws, cops and courts. The labor movement doesn't need that kind of party. We need a *class-struggle* workers party that fights for a workers government. We need a party that would be in the forefront of the battle against union-busting, a beacon for labor militants throughout North America. ■

## Sellout Herman Redbaiting ILWU Militants

OAKLAND, February 28—Local 6, the Bay Area warehouse division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), held its 36th convention today in the face of mounting attacks on the union: imminent closure of the Colgate plant in Berkeley, representing a loss of over 300 jobs, a full 10 percent of the Local 6 jobs in the East Bay; a drive by the Industrial Employers and Distributors Association (IEDA) to destroy the union hiring hall; and KKK terror, including a

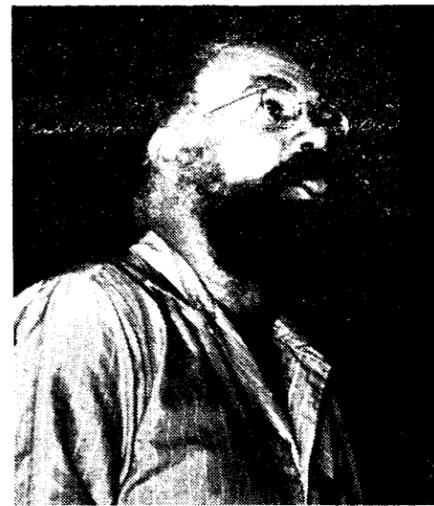
shotgun assault on the home of ILWU brother Roosevelt Presley in Contra Costa County.

Addressing the 392 delegates, Local 6 president Keith Eickman attempted to sweep these attacks under the rug, managing to not even mention them in his opening Officers' Report! Posing a bleak prospect with Reagan in office, Eickman could offer nothing but harder times ahead for the workers, dead-end "community coalition" (read Democratic Party) politics and platitudes about "unity." The only opposition to this defeatism came from the Militant Caucus, which was also the target of a vicious witchhunting outburst from International president Jimmy Herman. The Caucus, with a six-year history in the Local, put forward a class-struggle program on the major issues facing the union and the working class. In contrast, a lash-up of opportunist "leftists" rushed to give a cover to the International's do-nothing bureaucratism.

Responding to Eickman's report, delegate Pete Woolston of the MC took the floor to point out that Carter and the Democrats as much as Reagan are responsible for anti-labor policies, and the ILWU should break with both bosses' parties. He also explained that the fascists can be stopped, citing last April 19, when the Caucus helped organize a mass labor-centered demonstration of 1,200 that forced the Nazis to cancel their planned



ILWU president Jimmy Herman.



WV Photos

Militant Caucus member Pete Woolston.

Hitler rally in San Francisco. Woolston called for union defense guards against Klan terror in Contra Costa County, and the Caucus submitted a resolution to that effect.

Delegate Jackie Clark, MC member recently elected to the Local 6 General Executive Board (GEB), blasted Eickman for letting the hard-won union hiring hall be put up for arbitration after the Electro-Coating strike against company hiring off the street. She told the delegates that the employers' association is out to get the hiring hall and the union is going to have to defend it on the picket line. In contrast

to the International's position that any union action from boycott to sitdown will jeopardize negotiations for a meager severance pay for Colgate workers, Clark called on the union to oppose the closure with a sit-down strike as the only way to stop the runaways which are sapping the union.

Midway through the convention, International president Jimmy Herman stepped to the mike to deliver a 20-minute tirade against militants in the union. There was no doubt who his smear attack was aimed at. He denounced supposed "anti-ILWU leaflets

*continued on page 11*

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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# Moral Majority Goes Ape

# Sacramento Monkey Trial

In a Sacramento, California courtroom last week, 13-year-old Kasey Segraves took the witness stand to testify that he did not believe that he was descended "from apes...or fish, or reptiles." "I believe," he told the judge, "that God created man as man and put him on the earth." The trial the press dubbed "Scopes II" was on. On one side stood the State of California, defending elementary-school science guidelines that hold evolution responsible for having "produced all the groups and kinds of plants and animals." On the other side was the fundamentalist Christian "Creation Science Research Center" headed by young Segraves' grandmother Nell. "We want the authority and endorsement of the state removed from evolutionary theory," she said. "If man is taught he is descended from animals, he will behave like an animal."

The danger represented by the anti-Darwin crusaders is not scientific but social. Along with the "Moral Majority" and other "new right" religious outfits, the "creationists" are on the fundamentalist flank of Reaganite reaction, campaigning to roll back secular education and the separation of church and state. The same bible-thumpers hammering away at evolution are on the offensive for prayer in the schools, against "immoral" library books, against abortion and the ERA.

Judge Irving Perluss decided for the state on March 6. But the verdict was hardly a ringing victory for science over the fundamentalist yahoos. In ruling against the Segraves suit, Judge Perluss simply held that it was unnecessary as California *already* has textbook and teaching guidelines undercutting the "dogma" of Darwinism. During his tenure as California governor, Ronald Reagan backed a suit which would have required teaching the biblical creation myth in science class. While the suit failed, the Reagan administration forbade the use of texts reflecting evolution theory "dogmatism" and allowed religious fundamentalist "creationism" to be taught in social science classes.

Thus Judge Perluss' decision simply reaffirmed that California is one of a frighteningly long list of states and cities where fundamentalist religion has infiltrated the public schools. A number of states and school districts, including South Dakota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Dallas, Atlanta, Tampa and Chicago go as far as mandating that the Bible story be presented alongside the Darwinian theory in biology and science classes! Not so long ago people who advocated throwing Darwin out of the school-

room were widely regarded as harmless kooks of the sort who saw a communist plot behind fluoridated water. But today the fundamentalist reactionaries, with "their" president in the White House and the country's political tide flowing to the right, are an important

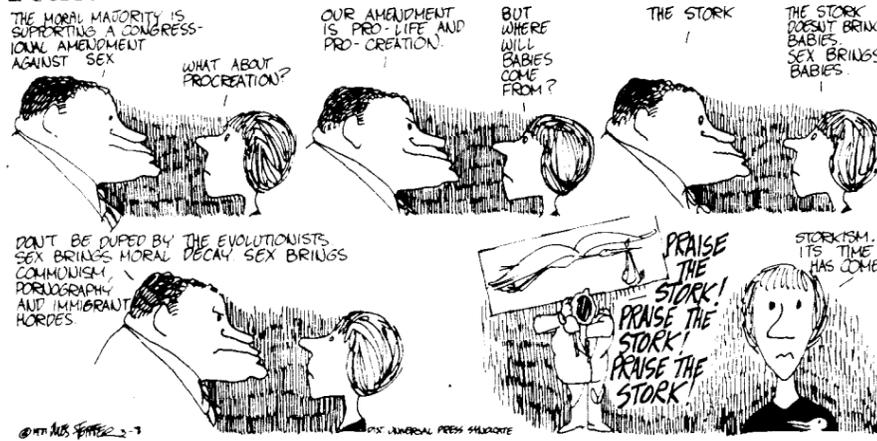
but that fact is a historical footnote to the real impact of the case. Darrow humiliated the fundamentalist Bryan in a brilliant cross-examination recreated in the play and movie "Inherit the Wind." The narrow-minded Tennessee bigots were fighting a rearguard action

arguing over how such evolutionary processes occurred. But the fact of the evolution of species by a process of natural selection is not a matter of debate among genuine scientists. Darwinian evolution is a "theory" in the same rigorously scientific sense that Einstein's relativity is a "theory": i.e., not an unproven hypothesis but a tested and accepted fundamental pillar of scientific thought. Nevertheless, the "creationist" backlash has already had its effects in the classroom.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx were two of the giant thinkers of the 19th century, men whose ideas bear a family relation to each other. Both men (despite Darwin's profession of religious belief) were thoroughgoing materialists who took their observations of nature and society as the basis for synthetic theories about the mechanisms of natural or social change. Both were "developmental" thinkers who made fundamental changes in the way the world would henceforth be understood. In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels defended Darwinism against the assaults of German idealists who "express anger at the colossal impetus which Science owes to the driving force of Darwinian theory."

The unresolvable crisis of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay, and especially the current rightward-moving political trend, provide a fertile breeding ground for all sorts of irrational obscurantist ideologies. Even as they employ the most advanced scientific technique to build world-killing death weapons aimed at the Soviet Union, the U.S. bourgeoisie finds valuable political allies among the Bible-quoting anti-scientific reactionaries. It is tragic that 122 years after Darwin published his *Origin of Species* it is necessary to defend the concept of evolution against powerful religious rightists. But to make the classroom safe for Charles Darwin it will be necessary to further the social evolution of the human species through Karl Marx's workers revolution. ■

## Reiffer



and dangerous part of the "new right" campaign to morally rearm America for domestic austerity and Cold War.

The Reagan administration includes several important spokesmen of the "right to life" legions. Health and Human Services secretary Richard Schweiker backs the campaign for an anti-abortion constitutional amendment. His assistant secretary and a candidate for surgeon general is Dr. Everett Koop, a board member of the National Right to Life Committee. The new head of the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs is one Marjory Mecklenburg, president of American Citizens Concerned for Life, an anti-abortion lobby. Even without the campaign dollars and political clout of groups like the "Moral Majority," it would be no surprise to see faces like these on the "Reagan team." The fundamentalist version of the morality of the bourgeois family, with its opposition to women's rights, welfare and "godless communism," is made to order for the Reagan years.

## Scopes II?

The Segraves suit was universally compared to the famous Scopes "monkey trial" of 1925, in which a young Tennessee teacher challenged that state's ban on teaching evolution. But despite apparent similarities, the historical and political context is very different from what it was when Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan squared off 56 years ago. Scopes lost the original trial (H.L. Mencken paid his \$100 fine),

against the advancing forces of scientific acceptance, and the "monkey trial" drove them back into the darker corners of rural backwardness.

Today the new religious right is on the offensive, winning victories even in states like California and New York. They are on the cutting edge of the right-wing revival. They have shed their backwoods image for leisure-suited suburban respectability. Instead of handing out grimy crank tracts, they peddle slick "creationist" textbooks and something called the "Handy Dandy Evolution Refuter." Attempting to masquerade as "scientific" debunkers of an unproved "theory," the anti-evolutionists point to scientists' debates over evolutionary processes as proof that the Bible myth has as much validity as Darwin's *The Origin of Species*.

There are still many unanswered questions about "macroevolution" leading to major species differentiation, and paleontologists and geneticists are still

## Firebombing in Detroit

# KKK/Nazis Attack SWP Candidate's Home

DETROIT—The home of a River Rouge UAW Local 600 member, Liz Ziers, was firebombed by Nazi/Klan terrorists last week. Ziers, a member of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit and a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), received several death threats, including a letter which read in part, "We will kill you, commie.... The only good red is a dead red." This murderous attack was in response to Ziers' announcement that she would run as an SWP write-in candidate against Nazi/Klan candidate Republican Gerald Carlson in southwest Michigan's Fourth District. This attempt to terrorize Ziers is an attack on all unionists, blacks and leftists!

Defeated in another Congressional bid in the Detroit-area 15th District last fall, Carlson nevertheless garnered over 53,000 votes (32 percent!) running on his program for the "final solution." "Negroes do not work like white people," he said. "Corrupt communist-led unions protect Negroes" (*Detroit News*, 7 August 1980). Yet the strategy of the SWP

faced with this anticommunism, union-busting and genocide against blacks is... to "fight" it only at the ballot box. Moreover, in other electoral contests (such as against Southern California KKK "grand dragon" Tom Metzger last year) these reformists boast not of *battling* the race-terrorists, but *debating* them!

The UAW Local 600 General Council passed a resolution on the "right of any local member to run without intimidation" and for "support in her [Ziers'] battle against Nazis and Klan." Such paper support is not enough, yet both the SWP and the UAW bureaucracy *oppose* the necessary formation of union/black defense guards. As we have pointed out before, the fascists' weapons of "debate" are the firebomb, the bullet and the lynch rope. Only the mobilized power of labor and blacks can stop the fascist terrorists. Ballots won't stop bullets. Stop the attacks against Liz Ziers! For labor/black mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror!

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# French Communist Party Feeds Anti-Immigrant Racism

EXCERPTS TRANSLATED FROM  
LE BOLCHÉVIK, 2 FEBRUARY 1981

The bourgeois electoral pot has begun to bubble in the past few weeks. Even though the main candidates all agree on one fundamental point—the workers must pay for the crisis of French capitalism—the campaign that is shaping up could be more chaotic and “divided” than expected.

Vitry was the latest spectacular contribution to the “presidential campaign” by the Stalinist bureaucrats and their candidate Marchais. The scandalous racist attack against black workers from Mali shook up the political world for a month. Today the [Communist Party newspaper] *Humanité* has stopped publishing daily articles on Vitry, and the bourgeois candidates have other fish to fry for the moment. But the workers who traditionally look to the PCF [French Communist Party] and the CGT [PCF-dominated General Confederation of Labor] to lead their struggles against the bosses and who regularly vote PCF at election time must closely examine this “incident” and firmly denounce it, especially before considering casting their ballots for Marchais. While in the past the Communist Party has made pretensions of supporting the immigrants’ struggles, even participating (symbolically) in some struggles and opposing Bonnet/Stoléru’s anti-immigrant actions, with the events at Vitry and its “anti-ghetto” campaign the PCF has now explicitly taken up a struggle against the immigrants.

The Vitry affair is an important question because behind it is the PCF’s national-chauvinist, protectionist policy—“Buy and Produce French”—a policy that binds the workers in the straitjacket of their capitalist masters’ interests. At Vitry the Communist Party gave the bourgeoisie a shameful “guarantee,” once again proving its readiness to take on the most despicable tasks to defend the interests of its “own” bourgeoisie. What’s more, this particular demonstration of its reformist aspirations was practically gratuitous, for the PCF has little chance of finding a bourgeois electoral partner in the midst of the imperialists’ current Cold War revival.

On 24 December 1980 Vitry’s Communist Party mayor Paul Mercieca led some 50 people in a commando raid on a housing project where a few days before 300 Malian workers had been transferred from another project in [the neighboring Giscardian-run suburb of] Saint-Maur. After demanding that they return to their Saint-Maur slum, orders were issued [by the PCF mayor of Vitry] to sack the place. Telephones, water, electricity, heat were all cut off, while a bulldozer ripped out the front staircase and blocked the doors.

But Communist Party members won’t find out what really happened in Vitry last December 24 by reading *L’Humanité*. The PCF’s daily paper first ignored the facts, speaking only of “racist violence... in Saint-Maur” and the anti-Communist campaign. Then, after publishing the CGT’s 2 January communiqué “deplor[ing] the Vitry incidents,” *L’Humanité*’s editorial the next day recognized that “regrettable incidents” and “deplorable acts” had occurred. The beginning of self-criticism? No, just an evasion.

The PCF leadership will go on loudly applauding Mercieca, even making



Atlan/Sygma



L’Humanité

(Top) French CP mayor of Vitry bulldozed black African immigrants’ homes. (Below) CP demonstration in Vitry tries to alibi Stalinist chauvinism.

Vitry the symbol of its policy on immigration. Witness the January 10 demonstration: while with great difficulty it drew 4,000 participants (including few immigrants and many tricolor sashes [of elected officials]), it nonetheless presented an impressive display of national Communist Party leaders, even candidate Marchais in person. As *L’Humanité* (12 January) emphasized, such a presence “meant the entire party will not budge one inch in its policy on immigration.” The naive are warned: Vitry was no “slip.”

## Fight Racism, Not Immigrants

Vitry has served as the pretext for a violent anti-Communist campaign. The bourgeoisie and their social-democratic lieutenants immediately seized the occasion to feed their Cold War campaign: “Just look at the Communists—in France they use bulldozers, in Afghanistan they use tanks.” Social democrats, Gaullists, Giscardians, not to mention the far right (the racist rag *Minute* screaming about “red fascism”), all responsible for anti-immigrant actions far worse than Vitry, used the situation to touch up their “liberal” image on the cheap. Even Stoléru, author of the immigrant expulsion decrees! The fascist swine Le Pen, however, showed the greatest moderation, criticizing the Communists for only wanting to drive the immigrants out of town. All these criticisms of the PCF’s methods poorly camouflage an agreement on the essentials: stopping

immigration. Thus [right-wing social-democratic union chief] Bergeron didn’t miss his chance to remind us that the PCF defends today what it accused him of yesterday; as for the PS [Socialist Party], it says that the Communist Party is basically correct to raise the problem of immigration.

Today the PCF administers the capitalist crisis on the municipal level, aspiring to administer the capitalist system on a national scale tomorrow. It complains of “clashes between different nationalities and ethnic groups,” of backwardness in the school system, rising municipal taxes, unemployment, the housing crisis, etc. For the Communist Party, who is responsible? Capitalism? No, it’s the presence of immigrants rising to the level of a “flood alert.” (Not to be confused, says Marchais, with “the unscientific, racist notion of a so-called ‘threshold of tolerance.’” Is there a difference?) How convenient, this “flood alert”—in the guise of limiting the number of foreigners for fear of racist reactions among the population, it means encouraging racist prejudices under the pretext of fighting them!

For the bourgeoisie, the immigrant workers constitute above all an indispensable industrial reserve army which can be drawn upon almost limitlessly in periods of economic expansion, then easily disposed of in periods of crisis. The bourgeoisie can subject them to well-nigh forced labor to reap its superprofits, but its immigration policy also serves to divide the working class,

setting one section of the proletariat against another to demobilize and demoralize it. Fighting racism means fighting the bourgeoisie’s chauvinist policy of expelling immigrants and closing borders; it means fighting for the rights of immigrants, especially full citizenship rights. Thus they could join fully in the struggles of the rest of the proletariat against capitalist austerity and unite with the mass organizations of the working class. Only through common struggle against the same bosses and the same state power can racism within the French working class be fought.

But there is no solution to the immigration question under capitalism. Its resolution lies in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, a society that will liberate the productive forces from the shackles of private property.

## Racism, Chauvinism and the Popular Front

Aulnay-sous-Bois, Nanterre, Levallois-Perret, Vénissieux, Bagnolet, Saint-Denis, Ivry, Rennes, etc. There is a long list of cities and towns where the Communist Party has been campaigning “against ghettos” (read: “Immigrants Out of PCF Municipalities”) since the summer of 1980. The 5 November 1980 declaration of the PCF Political Bureau, which set the tone and the theme of the present campaign, explains its rationale:

“The authorities, by this concentration [of foreign workers], are trying to make the municipalities and their Communist mayors responsible for the difficulties thus created. They want to weaken their influence. But it is in the interest of French and immigrant workers that solid Communist-run municipalities should exist.”

—*L’Humanité*, 6 November 1980

So the PCF decided upon this “anti-ghetto” campaign to maintain its “influence.” This is the treacherous policy of a chauvinist party, devoted to defense of the bourgeois order, seeking to strengthen its social base by exploiting and encouraging the racism already existing among the most backward social layers.

In fairness to Marchais, it must be recognized that the PCF position on immigration is neither new nor surprising. With its 1934 turn to the politics of the popular front and its corollary, national defense, the PCF passed over definitively to the side of the bourgeois order, supporting the colonialist and imperialist policy of its “own” bourgeoisie. In 1937 it backed the popular-front government’s ban on the Étoile Nord-Africaine, the main organization of the Algerian workers. In 1947 Communist Party ministers (in the name of the “French Union”) voted credits for the Indochina War. And again, after World War II, the same ministers covered up the massacres perpetrated by French imperialism in Sétif and Madagascar.

These days, the PCF likes to recall that the social democrats intensified the repression of the Algerians’ struggle for their national independence. True. But it “forgets” that this colonialist repression was made possible thanks to the special powers that PCF deputies voted to give the government of social democrat Guy Mollet in 1956. The PCF refused to call for immediate independence for Algeria (calling only for “negotiations”) and refused to mobilize the French working class in support of the Algerian struggle. That is the real story of the “anti-colonialist past”

continued on page 10

# Front Line El Salvador

(continued from page 1)

cheating and stealing? Well, we have a candidate for that. It's the United States. And this is really attempt Number 2. Number 1 was back in January when they had "definitive proof" that Nicaragua was the "real source" arming the Salvadoran rebels. And the proof was a couple of rowboats on the Bay of Fonseca. The wood, they said, was a kind that's not found normally in El Salvador, and this was the proof of Nicaraguan aggression. It's obviously ridiculous, but this was the basis on which they cut off \$15 million in aid to Nicaragua, and \$5 million in "lethal" military aid was resumed to El Salvador. Well, that flopped pretty bad—the correspondents rushed down there and couldn't find any evidence of arms or anything. So now we have supposed reports by the head of the El Salvador Communist Party.

Now the unofficial voices of American imperialism have even more fantastical things to say. There was a terrific one in the February 2nd edition of *Business Week*. They said:

"The recent arrival of North Koreans [to aid the Salvadoran guerrillas, they said] was discovered when four of them were killed in a traffic accident in Nicaragua in early January. Buenos Aires has also identified larger numbers of Montoneros, Argentina's left-wing guerrillas. It has been reported that American-made 105 howitzers, captured by the North Vietnamese in 1975, have been landed by a Lebanese ship chartered by the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring them up from Saigon."

Whew! So my first reaction is to ask, "Where is Carlos in all this?!" And what about the Baader-Meinhof gang?! But as proletarian revolutionaries we have more to say than just exposing inventions. The reality is that there is unfortunately no effective Soviet aid

going to the insurgents in El Salvador. Because if there were, we wouldn't have had 12,000 people who died at the hands of right-wing death squads and the junta's army in the last year. That is the proof. Hopefully there are some arms from Cuba and the Soviet Union there. But the fact of the matter is that there is not adequate protection for the masses facing bloodthirsty dictators. And then the Soviet ambassador to the U.S. gets up and says, "We're innocent." Unfortunately he was telling the truth. If he did lie, cheat and steal in order to further the cause of world revolution, we'd feel a lot better. But it's not so.

Now what we are seeing here is the attempt by the leading capitalist world power to reassert a claim to global hegemony after being badly mauled in Indochina. The unraveling of the various dictatorships in the region is intimately connected to the relative weakness of U.S. imperialism following Vietnam. Then came Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, which in Latin America was essentially a passing phase of bourgeois hypocrisy. But as we pointed out from Day One, its real direction was against the Soviet Union. In other words it was imperialist moral rearmament, in preparation for war. And it wasn't just going to be Cold War, it would be hot war. And Reagan has decreed that this is where the hot war starts. So Central America is a substitute for the Persian Gulf or Berlin or somewhere else. Poland, for example. That's the place that's uppermost in Washington's mind. And by "drawing the line against Communism" in El Salvador, what they are really preparing for is to "roll back," in Foster Dulles phraseology, the historic gains of the Russian proletarian revolution.

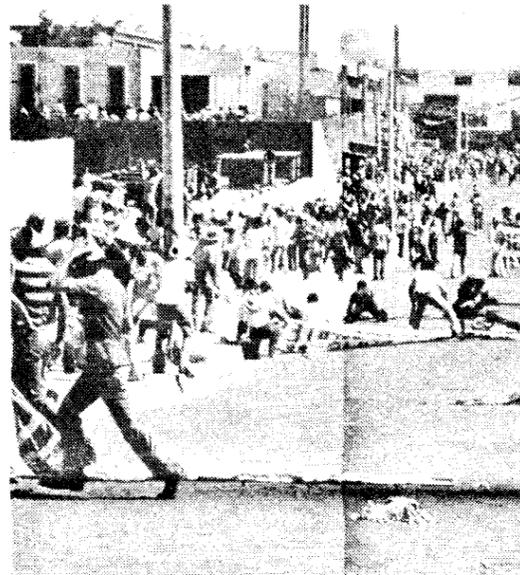
Secondly, as we wrote in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the U.S. rulers

are not seeking to achieve "stability" in the region or anything of the sort. The only solution that they have in mind for the Central American left is a "final solution." Reagan's spoiling for a fight; he wants the blood to flow in rivers. And since the most powerful imperial power of this epoch wills it, *the blood will flow*. That is a fact. So why all this talk about a political solution? The Latin American populist regimes, like Mexico, and European social democrats are talking about it. It's so much pipe-dreaming. And they'd better take that Détente Gold out of their hookahs, because this is serious business. But the same sort of dangerous utopianism is coming from the intended victims, from the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua and spokesmen for the Salvadoran left. They should draw some conclusions from the U.S.' brush-off. *Reagan stands by his butchers*.

The Salvadoran junta is not going to get a "human rights" slap on the hand this time. And the reason is that what's posed here is a class battle on an international scale. And therefore the only answers which make any sense are class answers—the program and perspective of proletarian revolution. That's why we say what at first struck a lot of people on the left as "off the wall," that "Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union Begins in El Salvador!" And, comrades, the events of the last week have emphatically confirmed that warning. For example, one liberal Congressman complained it was a return to "gunboat diplomacy"—he's so right. Spanish radio reported last Tuesday that there are presently more than 40 American ships in the Caribbean trying to stop arms shipments to Nicaragua and El Salvador's leftists. Reagan answers the liberal concern about getting embroiled in a "new Vietnam" saying he intends to deal with the problem at its "source," which he claims is Cuba and the USSR. Now in fact that's baloney, but it is U.S. policy. So now Washington is telling Moscow that SALT depends on the junta winning in El Salvador. Havana's being told that unless they stop arms shipments to the Salvadoran leftists they will face a naval blockade.

And then what? Recall what the Soviet diplomat said who negotiated the Russian backdown over the October 1962 missile crisis. He said, "We will never permit this again." And the Kremlin meant it. So where will the liberals and social democrats stand in a new Cuban missile crisis? I recall very well how things stood the last time. The Socialist Workers Party, the SWP, which used to be a Trotskyist organization until it started tailing after Castroism in the early '60s, had been building up a pro-Cuban front group, called the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. With an eye toward the liberals, they talked only about "self-determination" and "hands off" Cuba. But when the missile crisis came around, when push came to shove, big surprise: all of the liberals just faded away. There was no more "fair play" for Cuba—it was "which side are you on, brother?" for it was a class question. And the SWP capitulated to the liberal pacifists by refusing to criticize Khrushchev, even though Castro himself, their big hero, was opposed to the deal and the Cuban masses were incensed at the deal which left them without essential protection against American imperialism.

So that's what's wrong with these class-collaborationist coalitions and politics on the part of supposed left-



(Above) January 22, 1980: 200,000 take to the uprising. (Below) The bloody aftermath: jur

wing and revolutionary forces. When it gets down to the nitty-gritty, they paralyze effective action by the workers organizations, because they seek to avoid the fundamental contradictions. Whereas the main thing Marxists have always pointed out about politics is that when all is said and done, it comes down to a class division: you're on one side or the other on a picket line. In a civil war you stand on one side or another, or because there's no qualitative difference from the point of view of the proletariat you're opposed in a revolutionary way to both sides. But these reformists try to *hide* that distinction. So the question I would pose here is what happens when there's a new Cuban crisis—all those liberals talking now about "Let the Salvadoran People Decide," where will they and coalitions built on those politics stand then? You can't escape the class question.

So Reagan has chosen El Salvador and Central America as the axis around which he's revving up his Cold War. And what's going to be at the center of the political battle is the question of the Soviet Union and the degenerated and deformed workers states. As Trotskyists we have a side there. We criticize the détente illusions of a Brezhnev or Castro—Castro, by the way, supported Carter against Reagan last November, but who laid the basis for what's happening in El Salvador if not Carter? We call for the ouster of a Stalinist caste which weakens the foundations of proletarian rule by its attempts to conciliate imperialism. And that is part of our overall political program for the unconditional defense and extension of the gains of the October Revolution. So



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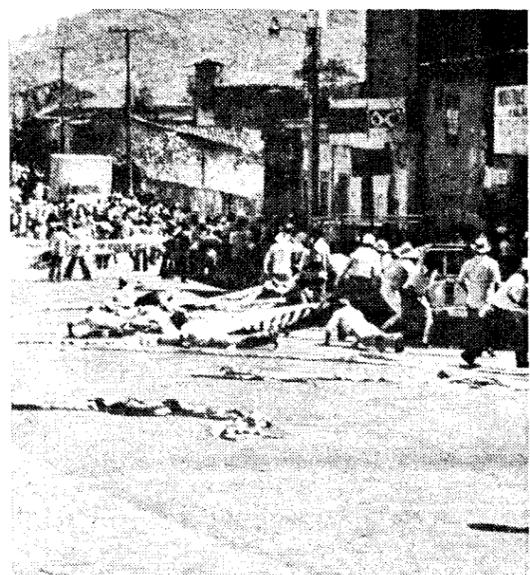
In 1932 El Salvador's white terror sent 30,000 to their graves; newspapers announced the executions of the leaders of the insurgency. Below: Nicaragua's Sandino (left) with Farabundo Marti.



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ists of San Salvador to commemorate the 1932 arpsshooters murder 21, wound 120.

to prepare the proletariat for its tasks, key slogans are: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR." Enough of this talk about a "political solution" with the bloody junta: "Military Victory for the Left Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Break with the Bourgeoisie!" In Nicaragua there's no middle way, the only road is "Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!" and "Set Central America Aflame with Workers Revolution!"

### El Salvador 1932

So let's look a little bit at El Salvador and go through some of the last 160 years since independence was won from Spain. Now, first of all, El Salvador is not a banana republic, it's a coffee republic. Since the late 1800s its main export has been that little green bean that turns to gold for the coffee barons. But more than anything else, it's the quintessential country run by an oligarchy. The ruling class consists of a very small number of families—the biggest one is called the Hills, the Alvarez are another. These are dynastic families who control everything. They're the landlords, the generals, the bishops, the presidents and so on. In El Salvador they call this oligarchy the 14 Families. Someone did a study on it recently and they discovered there were 60. So if you want to make a distinction...

If you really want a picture of El Salvador sometime, I suggest that you see a movie that was around some time ago called *Viva Maria!* It stars Brigitte Bardot, Jeanne Moreau and George Hamilton. It's a spoof on Latin American revolutions: Brigitte Bardot is the daughter of some IRA terrorist who

emigrates to Central America because nothing's happening in Ireland, and you've got to throw bombs somewhere. So they lead a revolution, all those beautiful girls wearing bandoliers, George Hamilton martyred against a cross and Jeanne Moreau cuddling up to him in jail. It's really a schlock movie, of course, but it's got all the stereotypes about a typical oligarchy-run Latin American society. They have torture wheels with peasants on them slowly turning in the wind; they've got peasants marching single file, all barefoot, down dusty roads with brutal foremen riding up and down the line with whips and rifles. Well the point is, if you go up and down the roads in El Salvador you can see just that.

It's a murderous society with many semi-feudal characteristics. But only semi-feudal, because it's been producing for the world market ever since at least a century ago. So in this situation you get deeply felt democratic demands. To get rid of these butchers, right? Why should 14, or 60, families lord it over everyone? The demand for land to the peasants who till it. And for national emancipation from the imperialist overlordship that's exercised by the U.S., directly and through its local intermediaries. In Latin America today bourgeois-democratic demands are burning revolutionary issues. But as Trotskyists we don't therefore call for a "democratic revolution" as the social democrats and Stalinists do. The fundamental contribution of Leon Trotsky and the Russian Revolution to Marxism is that we understand that in this imperialist epoch you can't have real democracy (particularly for the oppressed masses) unless the workers win it by achieving their own class rule.

The reason is that if some of these "democratic" capitalist forces finally get power, they're going to have to carry out a repression that's not that different from what the previous tyrants and patriarchs did. Why? Because the reason that these dictators are the norm in Latin America in the first place is because there is a very tiny bourgeoisie sitting on top of a very big oppressed peasant and proletarian or plebeian population whose miserable conditions are continually leading to revolutionary ferment. And the only way that they can keep them down is through one kind or another of bonapartist regime—you know, the "man on horseback," military dictatorships which ultimately come down to mass terror. In line with this, I was doing some translating the other day and it occurred to me that there are an awful lot of words in Spanish for coup. So I looked it up and there were 297 nouns for coup. If you add the verbs, it's over 580! So there's actually more words than there are for snow in Eskimo. Of course, the reason is there's a lot of snow in the Arctic, and in Latin

America you have a lot of coups. And then in El Salvador they just got their first civilian president in 50 years. His name? José Napoleon Duarte—Joe Napoleon!

In El Salvador, the quintessential land of the coffee oligarchy, this tendency to bonapartist rule is shown dramatically. For the country has been continually subjected to military rule ever since 1932. It's the longest continuous period of army rule anywhere on the continent. And it's not an accident. Why? Well, El Salvador is the most productive area of Central America, producing commercial crops from one end of the country to the other—it's like one giant plantation. And when they went into coffee, they just threw hundreds of thousands of peasants off their land, so that the percentage of landless peasants who have become agricultural workers in El Salvador is far higher than anywhere else in Latin America. The conditions are very similar to what they were in Zapata's Morelos around the time of the Mexican Revolution, and of course the Mexican Revolution had a big impact at this end of the Central American isthmus.

So when there was an international financial crash, the capitalist economic collapse of 1929, the traditional terror was lifted and the landless laborers began to lift their heads. The oligarchy saw the storm clouds gathering and decided to dump the reformer, replacing him with a bonafide hangman-general named Maximiliano Hernández Martínez. The Communist Party called for an uprising to which the rural masses responded massively. And the result was an indescribably bloody repression. Thirty thousand people died, in a country of a little over 2 million people. It's like shooting down 3 million people in the United States by comparison. And ever since then that has been the dominant theme of Salvadoran politics. Everybody knows that if things get out of hand, it's going to be 1932 all over again. So that is what revolutionary organizations that claim to lead the proletariat have to prepare for—for another 1932, but this time one in which the workers and peasants can win!

This was the first Communist-led uprising in America, and it was met with the longest-lived military dictatorship in the Western hemisphere. There's a close relationship here, and the point is that El Salvador expresses in concentrated form the conditions of bourgeois rule throughout Latin America. This is what is at the heart of the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution, namely that in the backward capitalist countries the very weak bourgeoisie cannot rule independently of and against imperialism and the semi-feudal elements. In fact, they're intimately allied, and they cannot install a

bourgeois-democratic revolution; the history of the French and English Revolutions cannot be repeated here. Because the ruling class is not much more than a branch-office bourgeoisie. All of the "experiments" in bourgeois democracy have failed miserably in Latin America. A few decades ago, Uruguay was supposed to be the Switzerland of Latin America. Or Chile, a little piece of Europe transported to South America. And they had the Alliance for Progress to boot. Well, look at Uruguay and Chile now.

So why does this happen everywhere? That's what the Trotskyists understand while the Stalinists and social democrats are always bitterly surprised. You see, these reformists always maintain that you can have some kind of a bourgeois-democratic stage, or an anti-imperialist stage, or an anti-oligarchic, anti-feudalist, anti-fascist stage, etc., etc. When you hear all that rhetoric you should stop and ask yourself, what's missing here? It's anti-everything and full of Marxist-sounding terminology, but there's no reference to proletarian revolution. Right? So all of this fancy language is essentially to cover up the fact that they refuse to struggle for proletarian revolution. In fact, they are simply trying to put over some kind of more liberal or "progressive" capitalist regime which will ultimately turn around and repress the workers just like its predecessors did. And only the Trotskyists tell the truth, that to win the classic demands of the bourgeois revolution today it's necessary for the working class to take power and establish its own class rule. This is the *only* alternative to bloody counterrevolution.

The classic case in Latin America is Chile. Now Chile actually does have a more European class structure, and ever since the 1930s it's had large reformist and even centrist workers parties. Consequently they also had their People's Front experience. They had a series of popular fronts from 1936 to the late 1940s, and the last one was headed by General González Videla, whose main support was the Communist Party. He came into power in 1945, and by 1947 he had thrown the entire CP into concentration camps. There's also the other alternative, the Pinochet variant, where the Allende Unidad Popular acted as a barrier to going beyond the limits of capitalism. The UP was brought to power by a working-class upsurge—initially very enthusiastic—but as it gradually played its forces out, imperialist reaction and the domestic bourgeoisie struck back. In either variant the popular front is a roadblock to revolution.

### Break with the Bourgeoisie!

To come back to the case of El Salvador, there are other limitations to bourgeois economic development and the achievement of any kind of real prosperity or social progress in the region. And that is that the whole area is Balkanized into tiny countries. Basically, all of Latin America is in many senses one big nation, with the exception of Brazil. But in the case of Central America, this is even more extreme. It emerged from colonial rule as a single federal state, but the bourgeoisie was so dispersed that it soon split up. But the result is that you now have Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama, none of them economically viable. Oh, they all have their own oil refinery. Every single one of them has a Coca-Cola bottling plant—though now that the Republicans are in, they'll probably change hands and become Pepsi-Cola. (The *Times* noted the other day that things always go better for Pepsi under the Republicans.) And they all have their Sears Roebuck stores for the tiny middle class that lives in suburban divisions named Colonia Kennedy, Colonia Country Club or

continued on page 8



El Salvador's left-wing guerrillas.

E. Montes

## El Salvador...

(continued from page 7)

Colonia Sears. Which are all laid out like Levittown. But meanwhile you go two streets over and you have a mass of almost unbelievable poverty. Even today it's real progress when you can get a tin roof! In other words, the conditions of life for the masses are if anything worse than they were 30 years ago.

Now part of the reason why you have such overwhelming poverty, such a tiny middle class, is that the narrow national framework doesn't allow for genuine economic development. And any attempt at development within the capitalist framework is doomed to failure, because you set up a canning plant here, a Revlon factory there and pretty soon they're all competing and the local bourgeoisies are getting at each other's throats because there's no market for their produce. Let me give you an example, this so-called "football war" between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969. This was one of the most ridiculous wars in Latin American history, but it had nothing to do with football. What happened is that the Central American Common Market was set up as part of the Alliance for Progress; you were supposed to produce widgets in one country and gizmos in the other, and then you would get to the "take-off stage" and Walt Rostow would come down and give you a prize.

That's the theory, but El Salvador being a little more advanced began

industrializing like crazy, and soon Honduras complained that their market was being invaded. Meanwhile there were also a lot of peasants spilling over the border, because land pressure in El Salvador is very great. So Honduras accused its Maryland-sized neighbor of imperialism and threw out thousands of squatters. Both countries were whipping up popular hysteria and after a contested football game in Mexico City it blew up into a war. But the fundamental thing was competition between these economically unviable statelets. This "football war" put an end to the Central American Common Market and since then there's been hardly any industrialization at all. If the working class took power, of course, it would not be some tiny "socialist republic of El Salvador," but in the framework of a socialist federation linking all of Central America with Mexico, which is the real potential industrial powerhouse of the region. And that is the precondition to any real economic development.

Now another important aspect of the situation in El Salvador is the extremely sharp left-right polarization, reflecting the deep abyss between the classes. Another dramatic example: in Latin America there's a certain code on how to run a dictatorship. It used to be, for instance, that when leftists got jailed they would be relatively well treated, because everyone knew (including the jailers) that after they sold out, one of these fellows might be the next president or a cabinet minister. Now that's all changed after the Alliance for Progress, which led to the systematic dissemina-

tion of Nazi-style torture methods by "enlightened" American imperialism. Okay, so another rule of the game is that there is a certain cycle to these things. As long as you're going to keep the masses in abysmal poverty, it's inevitable that periodically they will have waves of mass protest sweeping through the population. And the rule is that when it reaches a high point you let it pass over, let 'em march past and wait for another day. Not in El Salvador.

Last year, on January 22, there were 200,000 people marching into downtown San Salvador. They have the traditional central plaza, with the national palace and then the cathedral (you know, god blesses El Benefactor); and then there's the national bank (Mammon blesses El Benefactor), and finally the defense ministry (the guns bless El Benefactor). Anyway, so the crowd pulls into the central plaza, they turn right around the cathedral and start going past the national bank and presidential palace. Two hundred thousand people and what does the government do? It puts sharpshooters on the roofs, and they gun down the crowd. They killed 200 people and wounded another 300. Now that is playing with fire—it's not in the Dale Carnegie rules for tinpot Latin American dictators. But there's a reason for it. The Salvadoran bourgeoisie knows that its situation has been precarious for a long time, and that's why there has not been any real attempt by dissident bourgeois elements to challenge military rule for five decades. And so this kind of shameful massacre is also taken for granted—it's

necessary from their class point of view.

There are all sorts of other examples. The assassination of Archbishop Romero, for example. You're not supposed to shoot archbishops either, especially when he has friends here. He was a good friend of Father Drinan, the Congressman from Massachusetts; but then the pope kicked out Father Drinan, so I guess they figure it's alright to kill the archbishop. Now Archbishop Romero got very upset with President Romero (no relation) when the army started shooting off his priests several years ago. And when the "human rights" junta put in by Washington about a year and a half ago did the same thing, pretty soon he began sounding like a Maoist. All from the scriptures of course—you know, Epistle of Paul, Chapter 1, Verse 13, "God says don't kill, so if they kill it's right to rebel." Well, the day after he said that he was shot down in the middle of saying mass. Incidentally, the hit men are supposed to have been Cuban gusanos trained by the CIA—so if you want to talk about exporting terrorism, that's a pretty good example.

And then there were the heads of the opposition popular-front coalition, the FDR, the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Their top leader, his name was Alvarez Córdova, was a scion of one of the 14 Families. And you don't normally shoot down members of the oligarchy. Or the Catholic missionary women: you shouldn't shoot nuns, it's not accepted, remember Stanleyville and all that. And Carter's ambassador Robert White—after the November election, all of Reagan's advisers were calling him a "social reformer" and he accused them of trying to get him killed. That's what happens to all the other "social reformers," even when they're connected to the CIA, like the land reform guys they bumped off in the San Salvador Hilton coffee shop.

So what is the response to that? As Marxists, communists, we say that it's necessary to organize the oppressed and the exploited around that social force which has the class interest to do away with the system that leads to such sadistic killers. But unfortunately the Salvadoran left has been influenced by decades of nationalist and Stalinist-reformist ideology so that its efforts have mainly been directed at papering over the very deep abyss between the classes there. That's what their whole popular-frontism policy is about. In the name of "democratic unity" they get the workers and peasants committed to respecting the private property of the capitalists, the "integrity" of the armed forces, the "serene guidance" of the church, and so forth. So you tack on a handful of dissident Christian Democrats and a couple of limp-wristed Social Democrats—actually bourgeois liberals masquerading as social democrats—all in order to keep the masses in check. Then supposedly you won't frighten off the "progressive bourgeoisie" and maybe you can strike a deal with Washington.

So they get a popular-front coalition with a few liberals and priests and reformists. And the masses, who are overjoyed at the ouster of the previous gang of murderers, initially give them their support. Now they've already had a version of this in El Salvador with the so-called reform junta that was put in by Carter in October 1979. They had liberal army officers, liberal civilians; the Communist Party supplied a labor minister, and there were two hard-line colonels. So what happens? The liberals all get shunted aside, one after another, in what's called a "creeping coup," and the military hawks unleash the worst bloodbath in decades. Oh yes, and you have a "land reform" that is brought to you by the same people who brought you "pacification" in Vietnam. This land reform consists of handing out parcels to the members of a fascist organization called ORDEN, which has links to the military and is used to spy on the peasants. And the rest of the people who used to be there, the agricultural

## El Salvador: New Vietnam?

*At the Spartacist League forum in New York on February 28, a member of the audience noted, "There's been a lot of talk in the bourgeois press about Reagan saying there is not going to be another Vietnam, and among a lot of so-called leftists of not wanting to bring back Vietnam. Would you comment on how you think the situation in Central America differs from Vietnam and...the idea that we're going to rerun Vietnam and the antiwar movement." Comrade Norden replied:*

On the Vietnam question, there are important differences that have to be stressed. As I mentioned, the coalition in El Salvador is a bourgeois popular front. Now, like in Spain, we call for the military victory of the popular-front forces against the right-wing reactionaries, because if the junta wins against the left-wing rebels it will lead to the obliteration of the working class and all active elements in it. As an example, in Spain 100,000 proletarians were killed after Franco won. So from the point of view of the working class, even though both forces are bourgeois, that's a qualitative difference, and so we call for the military victory of one side.

In the case of Vietnam it's a little bit different. The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese behind them had a popular-front program and even had something that looked like a popular front. But in fact all they had in this popular front were a couple of Buddhist monks and an architect. The reality was that on the one hand you had the North Vietnamese deformed workers state going up against American imperialism, and you had this NLF in the South that was connected essentially to the North Vietnamese. So in terms of the class forces concerned here, the nature of the civil war was different.

What you find with many left groups is that they try to cut the corners so they don't have to take the

hard positions. And what this leads to in the protest movements in the United States over El Salvador and Vietnam is a similar sort of thing. So a comrade over here spoke about CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. They call for "Let the People of El Salvador Decide," and "Self-Determination for the Salvadoran People," and "No Intervention." Now you listen to those things and you say, "How can anybody be against that." I mean, shouldn't the Salvadoran people be allowed to decide?

Well, raising these things which seem like what "all men of good will" could support, really is bourgeois liberalism. Because, for example, CISPES and the people who support it like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, are supporting a bill, HR 1509, which calls for no military aid to the junta. "No military aid to the junta" means that they accept economic aid to the junta, which is what's keeping that junta running. That place is bankrupt—their economy's been shot to hell for months. But they put forward this program which essentially approves of economic aid, because liberals don't oppose that. They just don't want to give guns to bad butchers, or something of the sort. And thus they have policies that are literally enabling the junta to stay alive.

And their overall program is for "self-determination." That came up at the beginning of the Vietnam War, too. They said, "No foreign troops in Vietnam." Right? "Self-determination for the South Vietnamese." Well, what did that mean? That meant no North Vietnamese troops in Vietnam. But we were for North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. And in the last days of the war we said, "Viet Cong On to Saigon!" Now, at the same time we said, look, these are the representatives of a deformed workers state; if they get in they are going to suppress workers democracy. But they will carry out a

fundamental social transformation, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and the duty of all Trotskyists and class-conscious proletarians is to support that militarily.

So we said you've got to take a side, and the slogan for which we were most notorious in the Vietnam antiwar movement was, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" We took a class side there. Today we are for the military victory of the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. But we also say of the situation in Nicaragua that it is necessary to go beyond their program and expropriate the bourgeoisie, that there is no middle road. The whole of the Central American isthmus must erupt in a volcano of workers revolution, in order to set the whole continent afire. And it's doubly important in this case. I'll tell you why.

In Vietnam what the SWP connected up with was bourgeois defeatism. And one thing about bourgeois defeatism, you never get it unless the bourgeoisie is getting defeated. Now in Vietnam they had Soviet aid. It came through North Vietnam. But in the present circumstances it is quite true that Fidel Castro has been counseling "moderation," and a "political settlement" and all of these things. Obviously they're getting their arms somewhere, although the main supplier, unfortunately, is the U.S. Defense Department. Because most of those guns they seem to have captured from the Salvadoran government forces. But even though they may give some arms, fundamentally they're starving them of arms, just like Stalin starved the Spanish workers and peasants in the 1930s of arms. And it's because of their overall political program.

So at the global level, in terms of the confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba; at the level of the internal politics of El Salvador and Nicaragua; and at the level of the struggle in the United States, this kind of popular-frontist program, class collaboration, is a program for defeat.

laborers, etc., all get thrown out, sent up into the hills where they are labeled guerrillas and then shot down by the army. It's called "Reform by Death" in El Salvador.

So today they have another version of this class-collaborationist coalition, the Revolutionary Democratic Front. At first it was headed by the landowner Alvarez and now by the "social democrat" Ungo, both of whom were members of the original "human rights junta" of October 1979. Lately the FDR has also been angling for an agreement with Colonel Majano, who was also a member of that junta but has now been arrested. It's a more left-wing coalition, more like Allende's UP perhaps. But what does it stand for? What about the land question, for example. The junta has a "land reform"—what does the left say to that? Now Bolsheviks call for agrarian revolution, not land reform. The peasants are not going to fight for pieces of paper that say "title to land" on them, so that they keep on paying 50 percent of the harvest, only now it's not sharecropping but paying off the land bank. History shows that the only time the peasants really believe that anything has changed is when they rise up in a revolutionary insurrection and burn down the hacienda or manor house, and burn the land records. That's what happened in France in 1789 or Russia in 1917, or also in the defeated peasant revolution in Mexico in Morelos.

The reason is quite obvious. In addition to the "title" in the peasant's hand there is another piece of paper, right? It's in the national archives in the capital. And when the wave of reform passes, the landowners are going to return from Miami. Then it's going to be their piece of paper against the peasant's piece of paper. And guess what—their piece of paper has more guns behind it. So the peasants are rightly skeptical about these various reforms. Whereas if they are mobilized around a program of land to the tiller and led by the social force that has the power to impose that against the bourgeoisie, namely by the working class, they can be a tremendous auxiliary force and even the bulk of the numbers supporting proletarian revolution. But not if you have a popular front. Señor Alvarez is in the coalition; he holds thousands of hectares of land and represents a social class.

Furthermore, it's not that there are some bad landowners over there and some good industrialists over here, and those people are for social reaction while these people are for social progress. They're all the same people. In the typical Latin American oligarchic family the oldest son inherits the estate, a younger brother becomes a colonel in the army, a third son goes into bourgeois politics and number four goes into the church. If they have five sons, the last one is a revolutionary. Oh, and the one who gets the Coca-Cola franchise, I forgot about him. So there's a division of labor, they all come from the same family. In El Salvador they're named Romero or Alvarez, and in Nicaragua they're all Chamorros, but they're not going to carry out an agrarian revolution.

Internationally it's the same thing. So recently the Second International has been mucking around in the U.S.' backyard, recognizing all sorts of liberal and populist parties as members of their social-democratic international. Now Alan Riding, a very perceptive reporter for the *New York Times*, was writing about this recently. There's a very small group in El Salvador called the National Revolutionary Movement, the MNR, a bunch of liberals headed by Guillermo Ungo, who is a vice president of the Socialist International. Thus they're connected with the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which sends them D-marks and acts in some respects for the interests of West German capital. So Riding remarked that the actual number of social democrats in El Salvador could probably fit into one Volkswagen. What

## CIA's "Truth Squad" for Death Squads

As United States intervention in El Salvador picks up steam, the Reagan administration is mounting a campaign to hoodwink the public into buying its fairy tale of Communist "indirect aggression" as the source of the masses' discontent. Among the apologists for the murder junta are the Social Democrats USA, notorious for their earlier support of the Bay of Pigs invasion and U.S. imperialism's war on Vietnam. On February 24, the SDUSA youth group, Young Social Democrats (YSD), held a forum at Columbia University in New York City on the topic "El Salvador: Terror or Reform?" Apparently these ostensible State Department "socialists" are for both. Their featured speaker was one Mary Temple, now touring the country as a consultant for the pacification program known in El Salvador as "Reform by Death." But the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spoiled this charade by exposing Temple for what she is, a collaborator in CIA-sponsored mass murder.

The social-democratic CIA symps are promoting the U.S.' big lie that the El Salvador junta is nothing more than "liberal-minded military men" (so said a YSD spokesman). Temple lashed out at the "extreme left" which she claimed was trying to "discredit" the present Salvadoran regime as a gang of right-

wing murderers rather than a "centrist" coalition committed to reform. As an example of this far-left conspiracy she held up a copy of *Workers Vanguard*. In the ensuing discussion, however, these paragons of "democracy" (whenever directed against the USSR) refused to call upon SYL supporters. Our comrades were undeterred at this attempt at suppression and rose to point out that Temple is the current version of the government-sponsored "truth squads" that toured the college campuses early in the Vietnam War spouting about "North Vietnamese aggression" (in their own country!).

Who is Mary Temple? The CIA watchers of *CovertAction* recently (December 1980) published a memo secured from the Hudson Institute suggesting that the State Department dispatch Temple and Roy Prosterman as land reform experts to convince European social democrats to support the junta. The Hudson Institute is the creation of Herman Kahn, author of *Thinking the Unthinkable* and one of the original nuclear first-strikers. As executive secretary of The Land Council ("a private group devoted to support for agrarian reform in developing countries"), Temple co-authored with Prosterman an article on El Salvador in the June 1980 *AFL-*

*CIO Free Trade Union News*. Prosterman, in turn, is a consultant for the AFL-CIO sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a U.S. government-funded outfit that has served as a cover for CIA disruption throughout the hemisphere.

But most of all Roy Prosterman is infamous for his role as a CIA "agrarian reformer" in Vietnam. According to Philip Wheaton ("Agrarian Reform in El Salvador," November 1980), Prosterman "helped draw up the legal document of the Phoenix pacification program in Vietnam..." Under the CIA-run Phoenix program peasants were forcibly resettled in "strategic hamlets" while more than 30,000 of them were singled out for assassination as "Viet Cong suspects." Now this mastermind of mass murder is at it again in Central America. It is noteworthy that the day after the Salvadoran program was decreed, the military clamped the country under a "state of siege" (see "El Salvador: 'Reform by Death,'" *WV* No. 272, 16 January). Yet this barely disguised "counterinsurgency" program is hailed in the Prosterman/Temple article as "the most sweeping agrarian reform in the history of Latin America." Reform by sweeping away the peasants, that is.

Of course, not so long ago the same Prosterman referred to Vietnam pacification as "probably the most ambitious and progressive non-Communist land reform of the twentieth century." And everyone knows what happened there.

they're angling for is for Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt to pull their chestnuts out of the fire, and in return they promise to be good boys, pay all the imperialist debts and so on. But what do you suppose Schmidt and Brandt are going to do when Reagan's gunboats start coming down the coast? Not a hell of a lot.

So the question of popular-frontism runs through all aspects of the situation in El Salvador, including the recent failed offensive. This was billed as the "final offensive," and *Time* magazine quoted one guerrilla leader saying it was the "final, final offensive. Finally!" Now it sounds like a joke, and partly it's for military tactical reasons, but behind all the stop-and-go offensives and retreats

in El Salvador there is a political program. Now it appears to be the case—and it's hard to tell because of the blackout in the imperialist press—that there was little response to the call for insurrection. And certainly that was the case with the general strike. A leader of the left-wing insurgents, whose coalition is called the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, or FMLN, Ana Guadalupe Martínez said that "The masses felt that they lacked the support to massively carry out the strike, and for the political-military organizations, it was too weak to have been able to grow over into an insurrection... The strike call at this point in time was a political error."

But this is not the first time such an

error has occurred. The general strike last August was also a failure, and for similar reasons. In that case they were trying to negotiate with various bourgeois forces to broaden their popular front. And on the eve of the strike the bus owners pulled out. Shortly after the strike one of the more "moderate" groups, the FARN, left the military body of this multi-faceted left-wing coalition, the DRU, in the hopes of making a deal with Colonel Majano. Now the deal did not come off, because significant sectors of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie are not willing to be part of a left coalition. But the point is that it's the constant effort to try to get such a deal which has held them back from mobilizing the masses in a truly revolutionary insurrectionary direction. For example, in the recent final/general offensive they never intended to carry out a countryside uprising. Action in the cities was always supposed to be auxiliary, and not because they are some kind of Maoist "prolonged people's war" guerrillas.

What they were after was to get a piece of territory where they could set up their alternative FDR government, and then the Helmut Schmidts and López Portillos could recognize it and if they were lucky maybe it would come up before the UN or the OAS. In other words, the military action was conceived fundamentally as a pressure tactic on the international bourgeoisie. However, such a strategy is hopeless under the circumstances of Reagan rule. And in any case even if it did come to power, what it would mean is eventually that the workers and peasants would be cheated out of a victory for which they had shed a lot of blood. And everything would all end up back in the hands of the ruling class. So while the bulk of the left tries to mask the class division, the Trotskyists say that it is necessary to mobilize the working class, with the support of the peasants, to overthrow this very tiny bourgeoisie, which however has the backing of imperialism. And in the new Cold War context, the tasks posed by tiny El Salvador are on a global scale.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



WV Photo

ANN ARBOR—Two hundred fifty rallied on the University of Michigan's "diag" March 6 for a noontime rally demanding, "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador! Stop U.S. Aid to the Murderous Junta! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!" The united-front protest was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and endorsed by over 40 campus organizations and individuals, including members of many groups that refused to endorse. The demonstration was successful despite

active opposition from the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League and its liberal cronies on the student government, who ironically argued that the SYL was trying to "split the movement" by demanding the military victory of the leftist insurgents! Despite the sectarian efforts of a few, popular outrage at U.S. imperialism's deadly role in Central America was expressed by the hundreds who came to the spirited rally and chanted, "Stop Reagan's Cold War! U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

# Leon Davis Sabotages 1199 Strike

"How would you like it, if in the middle of serious negotiations, the president of your union walked in with his hands in the air and said, 'I surrender'.... Well, your president, Leon Davis, surrendered...."

So began a leaflet handed out on February 12 by some of the 175 striking hospital workers who had traveled 100 miles from Sullivan County to demonstrate outside the New York City headquarters of their union, District 1199 of the National Hospital and Health Care Union. The strike at Community General Hospital in the Catskills began October 1 when service, maintenance and technical workers walked out over the issue of wages and benefits. Abandoned by District 1199's ever so "progressive" misleadership, these workers have withstood five months of vicious union-busting orchestrated by the politically well-connected hotel and department store owners of this wealthy, backwater resort county.

Twenty-four hours a day all winter long, even in sub-zero weather, the strikers picketed Community General. Two solitary women pickets had an arm and a finger broken in an unprovoked cop attack at 1 a.m. one freezing November night. Then 70 days into the

strike, management imported 230 "permanent" scabs. Sitting safe and warm in his NYC office, 1199's president Leon Davis caved in, telling the strikers they had lost and to settle on the spot. Instead, the strikers responded by sitting down in the hospital corridors to keep the scabs from working! Their sit-in was broken when brutal sheriff's deputies came barreling in, making some 65 arrests. On two other occasions, the strikers have repeated their militant sit-ins. Another striker was critically injured when he was hit by a scab car at a rally January 17.

Facing cops, scabs and sellout by their own union leaders, the strike has taken on the character of a crusade. In early January the members voted down the hospital's offer (endorsed by 1199) to rehire 105 out of 384 strikers (the rest to be placed on a preferential hiring list). A second "compromise" was voted down February 4 on the hospital's new offer of 190 jobs back. The ranks weren't buying when Leon Davis came to the January 17 county AFL-CIO support rally. Disregarding an elected 25-man negotiating committee, Davis led a rump delegation into "bargaining"—there to make his infamous "I surrender" statement. And they still weren't

buying when executive vice president Jessie Olson threatened and carried out the threat to cut off the \$50/week strike benefits. All that is left now is to take away local organizer Reginald Fant's salary (he's already been fired once), pull out the phone and put a lock on the door of the rented hall. But the Community General workers are determined to stay out until they get guarantees that all the strikers will be rehired.

These embattled strikers need full support from the 45,000-strong District 1199 and the entire labor movement. If anyone has earned it, they have. But a statewide AFL-CIO convention scheduled for March 5-6 at the posh Concord Hotel (a Catskill resort whose owner is president of the hospital board of trustees) was only called off at the last minute after the strikers promised to throw up a picket line around the Concord and lined up the prior pledges of numerous local unions that they wouldn't cross. To date the strike has gotten almost no publicity in NYC.

At press time, picketing was continuing outside Community General Hospital. But the sheriffs were hardlining it, enforcing court injunctions limiting

pickets at the gates. The scabbing at the hospital must be stopped. SEIU-organized nurses who have been working must join the strikers. And while Teamster drivers have been respecting the picket lines, all truck deliveries must be stopped. Militants in 1199 must demand their leadership stop the backstabbing and come to the defense of their union brothers. Above all this means mobilizing the labor movement for mass picket lines to keep the scabs out and shut the facility down tight. Nobody works—no doctors, no nurses, no orderlies, no service workers, no management—nobody.

Of course the media will scream about how the strikers are "endangering the patients"—but that is the responsibility of management which provoked the strike and can end it any time it wishes, by simply acceding to the strikers' just demands. *Workers Vanguard* urges readers who wish to support the strike to contact Ms. Joyce Cappazoli at (914) 794-6742 or (914) 794-6596. Contributions may be made payable to STRIKING WORKERS EMERGENCY FUND and sent to Mrs. Marie Topolski, 6 Vicki Lane, Monticello, NY 12701. Victory to the Sullivan County hospital strikers! ■

## French CP...

(continued from page 5)

vaunted by the PCF today to prove its so-called "anti-racism."

By its deep-going chauvinism, the Communist Party has always sought to provide guarantees to its "own" bourgeoisie in order to carry out its popular-front politics. This same function is fulfilled by its campaign to stop immigration, even today when it is isolated by the bourgeoisie's intransigence toward the Moscow-loyal parties and when the road to a new Union of the Left seems blocked by the virulent polemics between the PCF and the PS. In a similar situation in the early 1950s (with the PCF thrown into the "ghetto" and vomiting social democracy), on the basis of "anti-Kraut" chauvinism the Stalinists held popular-frontist meetings with the Gaullists against German rearmament.

The Communist Party inaugurated its electoral campaign with the "discovery" that the popular fronts of '36, '44 and '72 had led to a victory for the bourgeoisie and defeat for the proletariat. But with its outbursts of repulsive chauvinism, from "Produce French" to "Housing for the French" and "French Defense," the PCF leadership says loud and clear that it is always ready to defend the interests of French capitalists and, whenever the occasion arises, to constitute a popular-front coalition with bourgeois representatives.

### "Far Left" Populism

Lutte Ouvrière (LO) denounces the anti-Communist campaign unleashed over Vitry and declares it will not participate at any price. This (very laudable) intention leaves room for skepticism if one recalls that this organization never hesitated a moment at participating in the violently anti-Communist Cold War campaign unleashed by imperialism over Afghanistan and Poland. But this is more understandable when it becomes clear that this sub-reformist group (which calls itself Trotskyist only through an unfortunate accident of history) basically approves of the PCF's municipal policy on immigration!

"The French Communist Party complains of the fact that these towns house a far greater proportion of immigrant workers than the towns run by the right wing or, we might add,

those administered by the Socialist Party.

"The French Communist Party calls for a maximum quota of immigrant workers for all towns...."

"Obviously, the PCF is not a revolutionary party, it is a reformist party, and nationalist moreover, and its vocabulary, like its positions... could provide the opportunity for many criticisms.

"However, at bottom, we cannot criticize it because what it is saying is valid and well-founded."

—Lutte de Classe No. 81, 22 December 1980

A logical position on the part of a narrowly national group whose essential characteristic is capitulation to the most backward layers of the proletariat, and even to their racism.

All that LO can find to say about Vitry is that "the way the PCF presents the Malian and immigrant workers is certainly ambiguous," that it is "shocked" by these *methods* and that they are "questionable actions" (*Lutte Ouvrière* No. 657, 3 January). Questionable?! What's to discuss with the mayor of Vitry, how to expel the Malians—by bulldozer or mortar shell?

For the social democrats of the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste], there is no room for doubts: Vitry is nothing but the consequence of the Communist Party's policy of "refusing PC-PS unity to oust Giscard." But the article in [the OCI weekly] *Informations Ouvrières* reporting on Vitry carefully avoids any reminder of the OCI's position on immigration: "PCF-PS unity, a workers united front to defend the rights of immigrant workers, an integral part of the French working class, would immediately ban racist provocations, raids, etc." (*Informations Ouvrières* No. 978, 6-13 December 1980). Much as the OCI is a sect living outside the reality of the class struggle, it is more prudent, right after Vitry, not to trumpet that "PC-PS unity will defend the interests of immigrants," since such unity was achieved precisely to stop immigration!

"Let's make 1981 the year of hope" says *Rouge* [newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] No. 950, 3-9 January. This proclamation—headline of an editorial by Krivine (who explains how PCF-PS unity is the key to a better tomorrow)—was printed directly opposite an article on Vitry. What a beautiful example of cynicism and electoral cretinism! The opportunist illusions fostered by the LCR promise above all (and perpetually) "hope for the future" [the title of Marchais' campaign

potboiler is *Hope for the Present*! Its right-centrist program cannot offer the least alternative to the Communist Party's treacherous policies. Who can take seriously the LCR's litanies on PCF-PS unity and "désistement" [ceding to the "best-placed left candidate" in the second round of French elections] as an answer to the immigrant workers' situation? *Rouge* itself is forced to recognize that "the PC and PS are in agreement on demanding an end to all immigration, on sending the 300 Malians back to Saint-Maur, on refusing complete equality of political rights, especially the right to vote, for immigrants." So, comrades of the LCR, the unity of the reformist bureaucrats is directed *against* the workers, in this case the immigrant workers?

### Vitry and the Presidential Elections

Unlike previous years with the Union of the Left, the PCF (for reasons of its own) decided to run independently of bourgeois partners in the 1981 presidential elections, while the PS is seeking to constitute a new popular front, particularly with the Gaullists. Under these conditions, we declared that we were prepared—if the PCF continued on this course—to vote for Marchais, a vote for Marchais being, albeit in a deformed fashion, a vote for the representative of the workers camp as against the bourgeoisie (see *Le Bolchévique* No. 20, November-December 1980). Without any illusions about the tactical and conjunctural character of the PCF's posture of independence and without illusions in its reformist program, just as class-collaborationist as that of the PS. The savagely critical aspect of our electoral support was aimed particularly at the PCF's social-chauvinist policies (see "PCF et immigrés: flagrant délit de chauvinisme," *Le Bolchévique* No. 21, January).

Vitry and the PCF's campaign around this raise the question of withdrawing critical electoral support to Marchais. Just as yesterday we said to the militants of the Communist Party: "We Trotskyists are for a class-against-class vote. If your party maintains its position of independence, we will call for a vote to it in April 1981," today we say to them: "If your party chooses to center its electoral campaign against immigrants, we will refuse to vote for it." To us a vote for Marchais can mean nothing other than a working-class vote.

If, due to the wishes of the PCF leadership, it becomes above all a referendum on its chauvinist policies, we will call for no vote to Marchais. In the CGT, which is covering up the PCF's action in Vitry, trade-union fractions of a Trotskyist organization implanted in industry would in such a situation lead a fight for the union locals to take a position against the racist action in Vitry, against the stamp of approval given by the CGT federation leadership and for opening debate throughout the union on immigration, a decisive question for the proletarian struggle in France. Communist Party and CGT militants, demand an accounting from your leadership about Vitry!

What the workers need is not to reform Marchais, for the PCF and CGT bureaucrats are reformists totally wedded to the maintenance of the bourgeois order, whether they are independent or in a popular front. Only the Trotskyist program, the program of proletarian internationalism, can—by breaking the grip of social-democratic and Stalinist reformism on the proletariat—unite all workers in a consistent revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Workers of the world, unite!

- No deportations of foreign workers!
- No to immigration controls!
- Full citizenship rights for immigrants in France!
- Equal pay with French workers! Equal rights to social services!
- Jobs for all! For a sliding scale of wages and hours—divide the available work among all workers without reduction in pay!
- Shorter working hours with no loss in pay!
- For big pay boosts! For a sliding scale of wages!
- Against police and fascist repression, for worker/immigrant self-defense guards!
- French troops out of Africa! Independence for French colonial possessions!
- For real international workers solidarity, the unions must fight for:
  - the right to organize trade unions in the backward capitalist countries
  - the formation of international unions in certain industries!
- No to protectionism and French chauvinism! No to the PCF's chauvinist policies! PCF members, demand an accounting from your leadership about Vitry! ■

# Miners...

(continued from page 12)

the "no contract, no work" tradition of the union.

Even the official union demands are inadequate and have already been eroded. UMWA negotiators are demanding a catch-up raise, a cost-of-living escalator (bargained away by Miller and Church in '77), improvements in pension and health coverage and reduced work time. Missing is the key issue of the right to strike, which Church does not even pay lip service to, although he does claim to be for elimination of the unpopular Arbitration Review Board. (This "neutral" body ruled in 1977 that participants in so-called "unauthorized" strikes can be fired for picketing or even leafletting in support of such a walkout.) In the Western states, the UMWA leaders have already signed an agreement with Pittsburg & Midway which doesn't include a COLA. This deal then became the pattern for a contract with Peabody, ending a one-month walkout of 900 workers who were forced to strike against the top coal producer while the rest of the union miners, East and West, remained on the job.

## For a Fighting Program!

Various phony leftists have repeatedly acted as waterboys for the Millers and Churches. Most notable is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), now building an "anti-nuke" March on Harrisburg for March 28 in conjunction with the Mine Workers and other unions. This is intended to bring together ecology faddists with "America firsters" (U.S. coal, not Arab oil) and provide a platform for Church to sound militant the day after the strike deadline. In the middle of the 1977-78 strike, as coal miners turned down two rotten contracts negotiated by the Bargaining Council and voted heavily against the third, the SWP acted as cynical cheerleaders for Arnold Miller. When the UMWA chief couldn't show his face in the coalfields, the SWP erased anti-Miller slogans from pictures of miners' picket signs. Even after the strike was over, their misnamed *Militant* newspaper had the gall to label the settlement a "victory." How many UMWA miners today think the speed-up and wage losses caused by the '78 contract are a victory?

The fake-socialist SWP also makes a practice of crossing picket lines, claiming they are only "informational," and even ran a scab, Andrew Pulley, for U.S. president in 1980. But *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League, defends the basic union principle that "picket lines mean don't cross." Where the SWP and other opportunists supported Labor Department intervention in the 1972 UMWA elections, the Spartacist League demanded: bosses government out of the labor movement! In the crucial 1977-78 coal strike *WV* not only provided hard-hitting, on-the-scene coverage but also a class-struggle program for victory. Thus we warned of the need to fight Taft-Hartley and the



## UMWA president Church holds ex-Klansman Sen. Byrd's hand.

Democrats while the reformists were tailing after the traitor Miller and the sellout Church. The vital lessons of this struggle are brought together in the *WV* pamphlet, *The Great Coal Strike of 1978*, which is must reading for every UMWA militant today.

- Shut down all coal operations, union and non-union! No extensions—No contract, no work—All out on March 27!

- For the unlimited right to strike! Sweep away the pro-company Arbitration Review Board!

- Not continuous operations and a seven-day workweek, but a *shorter* workweek at no loss in pay! Jobs for the unemployed! No to the BCOA's killer "productivity" schemes! A full COLA and a big wage boost!

- No to Reagan's anti-labor "austerity" cuts against the workers and the poor! No Black Lung benefits means no coal! We can't live on jelly beans and the bosses can't live without coal!

- Restore the UMWA health card and cradle-to-grave medical coverage, controlled by the union! A big boost for an industry-wide pension, equalized at the highest level!

- Organize the unorganized! A big settlement here is key to winning Western miners!

- End racial and sexual discrimination! For union control of hiring and upgrading! Defend the union seniority system!

- Smash the parasite energy conglomerates! Expropriate oil and coal barons without compensation!

- Break with the Democratic and Republican parties! Build a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government! ■

## ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

that continually find fault" and "a lack of discipline among those people who call themselves activists" and also "arguments about why the union didn't go far enough or why the union isn't doing enough or the things that the union should do in their point of view." He company-baited his unnamed opponents and thundered, "A condition of preserving this union is...everybody in the union [must] march to the same orders!" And further, "The time has come for people who have already demonstrated by their conduct a determination to harm the union...[to] take a hike!"

## The Rank and File Coalition in Power

While Herman, Eickman & Co. do not have great popular support, they were able to find protection against left-wing attack with the help of the "Rank and File Coalition." The Coalition consists of ex-Maoist "Trend" supporters, long-time backers of the Communist Party (CP) West Coast weekly, *People's World*, and various would-be "progressives" who formed a reformist electoral bloc at the time of last year's

election. Constituting one-third of the new GEB, the Coalition and its supporters fell to their knees at this convention to ingratiate themselves with the Eickman regime. With union posts in hand and no programmatic scruples, they now grab at the chance to become (or remain) part of the bureaucracy.

For some of them such as well-known Stalinist hacks like Joe Figuereido and Joe Lindsay, being junior partners in the bureaucracy is an old game, but others in the Coalition like Roberto Flotte are still learning the bureaucratic tricks of selling out. Their bankruptcy is glaring at Colgate, where virtually the entire house committee are Coalition members. Assistant chief steward and Coalition member Rich DeGolia was so ready to abandon even his pathetic call for an impotent consumer boycott when the bureaucrats called it "premature" that it caused uneasy stirrings among some Coalition members. DeGolia is dead-set against the Militant Caucus call for a sit-down, and resigned to the plant closure. At the convention he could only advocate casting a vote against the shut-down in a Berkeley city referendum!

Sensing their fundamental reformist "unity," the Coalition and the Herman/Eickman leadership blocked on their resolutions and repeatedly counterposed them to those of the Militant Caucus. And whenever Eickman looked about for a motion to close debate on a Caucus resolution, some Coalition spokesman was always ready to leap to the microphone to oblige him.

When MC member and delegate Tim Chapman motivated a resolution to lift the ban on candidates' own literature—an undemocratic prohibition, peculiar to Local 6, which benefits the incumbents—*People's World* supporter Vicky Mercado, a business agent elected on the Coalition ticket, opposed it because then "only people that have money and lots of advertisements can get elected"! This statement was really a slanderous accusation that the membership can't think on its own. Her real political purposes (and dead-end opposition to workers democracy) were revealed last year when she moved to close debate on anti-Klan/Nazi activity to prevent discussion on union participation in the April 19 demonstration that stopped the Nazis!

The bureaucrats/Coalition resolution on El Salvador called for a telegram to the State Department to stop U.S. aid to the junta "so that people of that nation may decide their own destiny." MC and GEB member delegate Mike Kasian argued, "We should be calling for victory to the left-wing insurgents against the right-wing military dictatorship!" When Kasian went on to call for a workers and peasants government, apoplectic Coalition leader Jim Ryder called it "absurd if not obscene that we should tell the people of El Salvador what kind of government they should form!" Ryder then pulled out his "friendly amendment," a petition sponsored by Walter Johnson's Bay Area Trade Union Committee for an "open

letter to Reagan to explain...our position on El Salvador."

Needless to say, Reagan is not interested in a debate, and he's going to arm his "El Salvadoran people" to the teeth to make sure they win. The counterposed MC resolution called for hot cargoing of military goods to El Salvador by American and other unions, military victory to the insurgents, a workers and peasants government and U.S./OAS hands off El Salvador! Predictably, the bureaucrats/Coalition resolution for an "independent labor party" was in fact neither for an independent nor a labor party, but rather for a coalition with "progressive forces" (Democrat Ron Dellums was cited as an example). Again the Coalition blocked the Militant Caucus resolution, which called for a break from the Democrats and Republicans and the forging of a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government.

While the Militant Caucus failed to win the resolution votes, it was clear that the bureaucrats' attempt to isolate the Caucus failed. With six delegates, the MC was the effective left-wing pole at the convention and they received a hearing each time they spoke. And that evening some 34 ILWU members attended a victory party hosted by the Militant Caucus to celebrate a string of recent Caucus victories, including the recent election of Clark and Kasian to the GEB, the reinstatement of Chapman to his job with full back pay and gains in the Longshore division as well. More and more, despite McCarthy-style baiting by Herman & Co., ILWUers are coming to understand that on every vital issue—from runaway houses to defending the union hiring hall to Klan terror to El Salvador—the Militant Caucus is the only force in the union with a program for the workers to win. ■

## El Salvador Refugees...

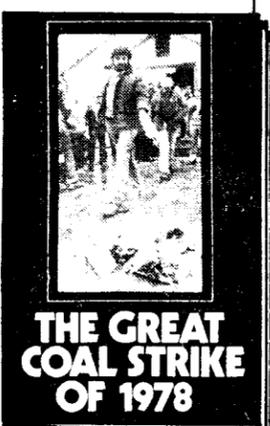
(continued from page 1)

many reports of mistreatment or killing of Salvadorans returned from the United States...." When asked for addresses of those refugees returned on Christmas Day, the INS refused, "saying it was concerned that any inquiries in El Salvador about their well-being might jeopardize their lives."

The deportations to El Salvador are deliberate *murder*. In contrast to the fate of refugees from the terror of the Reagan-backed, U.S.-armed junta, the United States has always welcomed the scum of the earth: Nazi war criminals, Croatian fascists, Cuban gusanos, Vietnamese torturers and, under Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter, Nicaraguan mercenaries. The Spartacus Youth League calls for militant protests against this bloody trafficking in butchery. Asylum for the refugees from junta terror! Stop deportations to El Salvador! ■

## Workers Vanguard Pamphlet

Here is the true story of the Great Coal Strike of 1978—from the miners' side of the barricades. Not just reporting but hard analysis...and a program for victory!  
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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Stop Reagan's Black Lung Cutbacks, Coal Company Takeaways

# Miners: Don't Beg, Strike!

WASHINGTON, March 9—Thousands of miners marched shouting and singing through the streets of the capital today to protest President Reagan's vicious cutbacks in Black Lung (pneumoconiosis) benefits for disabled miners. "Coal Dust KILLS Coal Miners" said many of the union signs. Others bitterly challenged Reagan's "welfare bum" mythology, asking "If 88 Percent Don't Have Black Lung, Why Can't They Breathe?" Ten thousand members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) participated in the Washington demonstration as part of a two-day "memorial" work stoppage in the coalfields. It was the first labor protest against the Republican administration's massive anti-working-class, anti-minority budget cuts. And it comes as bargaining reaches the critical point in company-union negotiations on the national bituminous coal contract that expires March 27.

But in the face of the joint government/employer offensive a powerful protest was urgently needed to serve notice on the bosses, from the coal operators to the capitalist politicians, that the miners are ready and willing to launch a *solid national strike*. The UMWA contract allows for up to ten days of "memorial" shutdowns to *mourn* those murdered by the companies through the most dangerous working conditions in American industry. But instead of using this opportunity to *organize* a powerful strike, by drawing down the companies' huge coal stockpiles, union president Sam Church took only two days—a gesture. And with his "I love America" speech, Church fell to his knees before the bosses. To no avail. Everything that has been won so far in the Black Lung struggle was won through struggle, not begging. It's no different now.

In an all-out coal strike, there's no doubt what side Reagan will take—the same side as that phony "friend of labor" Democrat Jimmy Carter. But the UMWA leadership tried to dress up the Washington demonstration in Reaganite super-patriotism: union headquarters decked out with a three-story-high stars and stripes, and hundreds of American flags passed out to marchers. So eager were Church & Co. to avoid even a hint of confrontation with the administration that the march almost sprinted past the White House. And this from the union that twice dared to strike during World War I! braving all the capitalist "war effort propaganda and slanders about a "pro-Nazi fifth column"! Where is the combative spirit that built the UMWA, that said "you can't dig coal with bayonets"? That's what kept the 1978-79 coal strike going through 110 days of bitter struggle, and that's the spirit needed today.

Instead, Church brought onto the union balcony endless Democratic Party politicians, ranging from "scab Republican" Jay Rockefeller to former Klansman Robert Byrd. But the crowd was not moved by the two hours of long-winded flag-waving about "American energy security." They sang "Solidarity Forever" with gusto, and the emotional



"Black lung kills!" 10,000 miners protest Reagan's cutbacks in Washington, March 9.

WV Photo

high point came when a young miner mounted the podium to speak of his father who died this morning of Black Lung. The killer respiratory disease is a fighting matter in the coalfields. It was the Black Lung movement, beginning with mass demonstrations of tens of thousands at the West Virginia capital back in 1969, which set off a wave of political strikes and wildcats, sparking the reform movement which toppled corrupt, murderous union chief Tony Boyle. Sam Church is sitting on a volcano.

Militant UMWA members must demand a no-holds-barred strike, beginning March 27! District-wide meetings (which began to take place midway through the last strike) must be held *now* to hammer out demands, strategy and tactics. A national strike committee must be elected so the membership can control negotiations and block a sellout. Stop the flow of coal through union solidarity actions—"hot cargoing"! All U.S. labor must rally to the UMWA's defense! If the energy conglomerates and a violently anti-labor government can crush the miners in this battle, it will be the opening salvo of a bigger offensive against the unions across the country. But if a militant coal strike, backed up by inter-union solidarity, brings the coal bosses to their knees it would tremendously aid labor struggles coast-to-coast!

### Company/Government Offensive

In Reagan's Cold War drive the domestic targets are labor, minorities and the poor. In this atmosphere the

coal bosses are in no mood for deals with the unions. With wildcat strikes down by 85 percent from the tumultuous years of the 1974-77 contract, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) sees 1981 as the year to tame the combative miners for good. Seeking to make UMWA mines more "competitive" with non-union pits—especially surface mines in the Western states—industry bargainers are pressing for continuous, seven-day operations and the institution of rotating shifts. Other BCOA takeaway demands are to weaken the seniority system, for mandatory overtime, extension of probation for new hires and elimination of the industry-wide pension in favor of company-by-company plans. And the bosses are perfectly candid about their desire to bloody and break the power of the union. Without "productivity," said BCOA chief Bobby Brown, "there will be no future for UMW-represented coal" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 December 1980).

Capitalist spokesmen like *Business Week* are optimistic about reaching a national settlement without a strike for the first time since 1964. Since the bitterly fought strike three years ago, the UMWA's share of U.S. coal production mined under BCOA contract has shrunk to 44 percent of the total (down from 70 percent in 1974). What's more, the operators have stockpiled close to 200 million tons of coal—one-third more than in 1977—in order to blackmail, and if necessary starve, the miners into submission. On top of this, while productivity rose by 7.7 percent last

year, for a record production of 825 million tons (at a cost of 124 miners' lives), there are currently 25,000 UMWA miners on layoff. In addition the bosses are united in a way they weren't last time. Brown is from Consolidation Coal, one of the most vicious anti-union outfits in the industry and the biggest coal mine employer in the U.S. Consol quit the BCOA in 1979 complaining that smaller companies had a disproportionately large voice in the bargaining and were too soft on the union. They returned only when the large energy trusts were given exclusive control of negotiations.

### UMWA Leaders Retreat

But the miners have not forgotten the militant tactics which kept the 1977-78 strike solid for almost four months. In February roving pickets in southern West Virginia donned ski masks and pulled 5,000 miners out of the pits, in defiance of arbitrators' no-strike rulings, to resolve unsettled local grievances. The danger comes from the International leadership under Sam Church, which is actually a continuation of the hated sellout Arnold Miller regime. Church was vice-president in 1977-78 and actually ran the show while Miller was holed up in hospital beds and Charleston hotel rooms to escape angry miners. Since becoming president he has continued wooing the Democratic Party enemies of labor (West Virginia was one of the few states which voted for Jimmy "Taft-Hartley" Carter in 1980) and has repeatedly dropped hints of violating

*continued on page 11*