

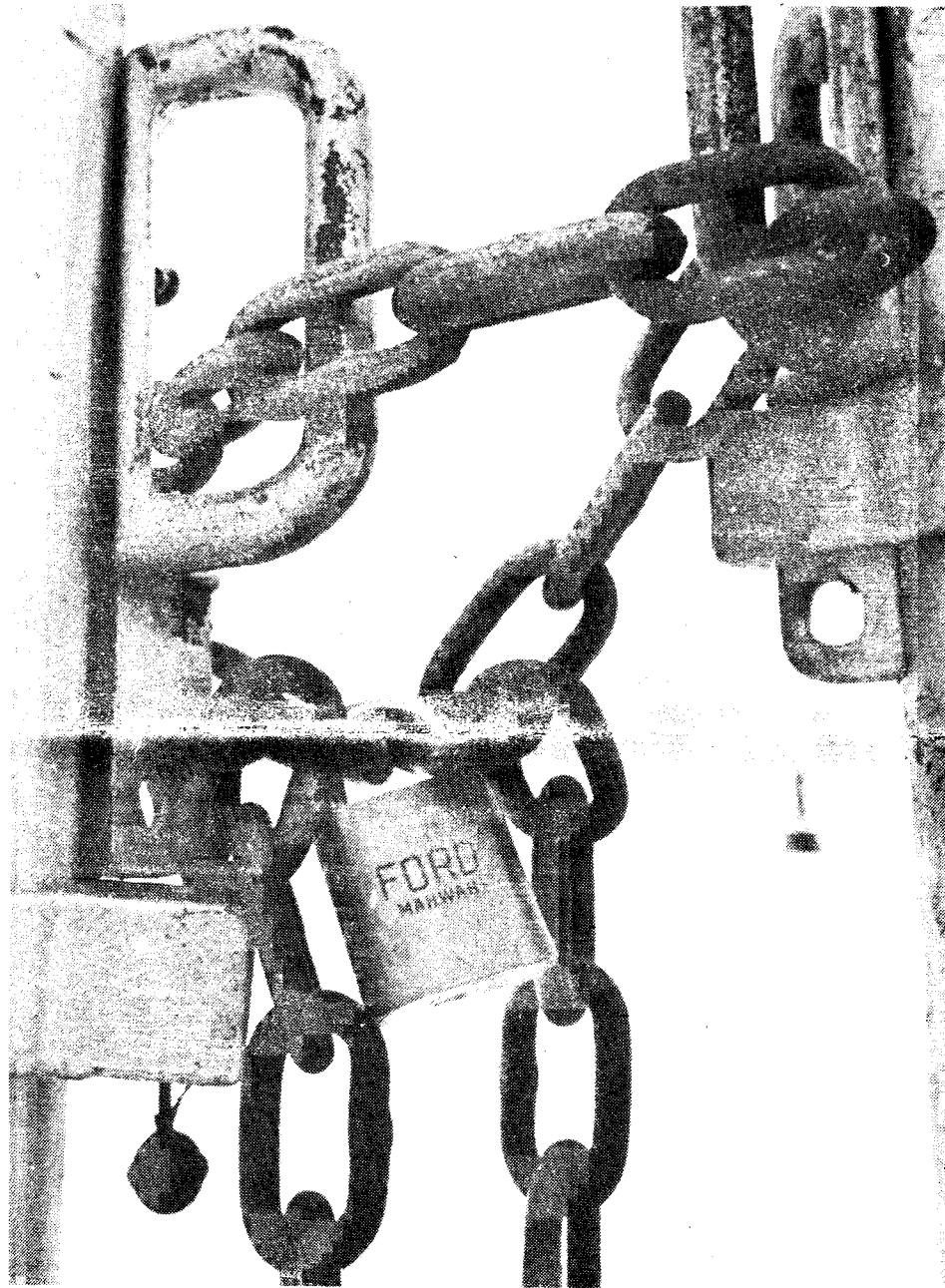
Oust the Fraser Gang! Fight the Auto Bosses!

Stop Givebacks!

DETROIT—Half a million auto workers are on the front lines facing a concerted capitalist offensive in this “year of the giveback.” And already the misleaders of the powerful industrial unions have started dealing away the hard-won gains of the American labor movement. Nine months early, the United Auto Workers (UAW) contracts have been reopened. On January 13 UAW president Doug Fraser announced an agreement with GM to bail out the auto bosses with Chrysler-style concessions. The UAW membership must answer Fraser’s givebacks with a resounding “no” vote, and prepare to fight with the weapon that built the Auto Workers into what was the strongest union in the U.S.: the sit-down strike.

The companies aren’t asking for peanuts. GM called for a whopping \$5/hour slash in “fringe” benefits (like health care); Fraser countered by offering \$2.50/hour (in cuts). Ford is demanding a total wage freeze and elimination of even the present inadequate cost-of-living escalator. The UAW tops are giving up entire programs won through past struggles, taking billions of dollars from their members’ pockets to put into company profits. Last fall Fraser announced the uniform industry-wide contract had “gone by the boards”; already Chrysler workers are taking home \$50 a week less. Now he supports the bosses’ lie that inflation is caused by high wages, linking givebacks to lower sticker prices. What better way to get the public to blame auto workers for the sky-high price of buying a car!

While the bankers and the Big Three (or Big Two) bosses figure out how to squeeze out more profits, *Detroit is dying*. The politicians don’t even bother to promise that prosperity is just around the corner. Chrysler president Lee Iacocca explained that “the trick is to make sure you don’t die before prosperity gets here” (*New York Times*, 9 January). Easy for the recipient of almost \$2 billion in government hand-



Auto bosses throw hundreds of thousands into the streets.

WV Photo

outs to say. But what about the hundreds of thousands of laid-off auto workers and poor, who no longer have SUB benefits, unemployment “insurance,” welfare or even food stamps? Meanwhile the fascists grow bolder with their program of meeting the capitalist

crisis with race terror and union busting. But Detroit does mind dying. As Spartacist candidates for city council said last year:

“Here in Detroit we see the crisis of the entire capitalist system most starkly revealed, most advanced in decay, most

anarchic in irrationality, most painful in social consequences. Detroit’s skilled proletariat would be the most valuable resource of a rational society—the class that can build a socialist America.”
—WV No. 287, 14 August 1981

Auto was once the symbol of the “American way of life.” The industry employed, directly or indirectly, roughly one-sixth of the country’s workforce. Now as one plant after another shuts its gates for good, 214,000 UAW members find themselves on indefinite layoff, alongside more than 50,000 who have given up looking for work (and are not included in official government figures). A Department of Commerce official recently announced that auto and related industries will emerge from the present recession with 550,000 fewer workers—permanently. What’s happening to auto is not just management and the stockholders bleeding the companies dry, as at Chrysler, but a crisis of American capitalism. And as Leon Trotsky wrote in the “Transitional Program” (1938):

“Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. *The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation.”

What’s at stake in auto is the preservation of a key sector of the American proletariat.

Fraser Leads the Way (Backwards)

Unions representing some 4.5 million workers go to the bargaining table this year. The UAW is the traditional pacesetter that oil workers, electrical workers, rubber workers and others look to as an example for their own contract struggles. But if the UAW is “leading the way” today, the direction is backwards—and fast. The wholesale retreat began at Chrysler in 1979, where workers gave up over \$1 billion in wages

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Reagan's Racist Rollback

Reagan’s policy is roll back *all* the gains of working people and the oppressed—from the overthrow of capitalism in Eastern Europe to the achievements of the labor movement in this country, and black and minority rights. Black unemployment is a whopping 17.4 percent, a postwar high, with black youth unemployment now running more than 50 percent. An economist in the *New York Times* (11 January) had to admit blacks “don’t have to have a recession, they’re depressed all the time.” And Reagan racism isn’t just the capitalist market working its “magic.” Last week the administration ordered tax subsidies for segregationist private schools.

The capitalists claim the “bankruptcy of communism” can be seen in people standing in line for rationed food in Poland. Now in capitalist America there are not only soup kitchens, but a new phenomenon—the cheese line. Thirty million pounds

of surplus cheese have been rotting for some 18 months in government silos in a deliberate scheme to drive up prices. Now that the cheese is molding, they have finally doled it out. Around the country people by the thousands turned out to wait in line in the bitter cold several hours before distribution centers opened. Then they were required to prove “full documentation of need”—as if standing outside for hours for a 5-pound package of leftover processed cheese wasn’t proof enough! Try that one in Poland!

Reagan supplied his “answer” to the growing poverty and hunger in America at a recent speech to the super-rich at New York City’s Waldorf Astoria: garbage. In praise of “volunteerism” to replace government welfare, Reagan cited the groups that scavenge what’s left in farm fields and on boat docks. Such efforts, he said with uplifting contempt, “could

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SL Deukmejian Suit: Fight Against Witchhunting

August 13, 1981

To the editor:

In *WV* [No. 286], 31 July 1981, the Socialist Workers Party's conduct in its suit against the FBI is criticized. *WV* states:

"But if the SWP wins, we still lose. The SWP is trying to show the government that the eight million documents the FBI admits to having collected on the SWP are a misdirection of effort. The SWP does not even pretend to call for the abolition of the spy agencies; they couldn't care less what the FBI/CIA do to other organizations...."

The same issue of *WV* contains a statement by Al Nelson of the SL Central Committee, which "couldn't care less what" the government does to left organizations other than the SL and SYL. In support of the SL's suit to delete the SL and SYL from the California Attorney General's Report "Organized Crime in California," Nelson states: "We demand that our names be removed from this report." Not a word about Progressive Labor, International Committee Against Racism, Communist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party, all of which were also included in the report of the Attorney General.

Nelson believes that the "working class and its party have the right to organize" (*WV*'s emphasis) and that socialists who share the SL's positions on Afghanistan and El Salvador:

"...have the right to say so in the labor movement without being labeled as terrorists. The intent of this report is to restrict us from carrying out our activities...."

Leaving aside Nelson's view that a working class can have only one party, is the problem with the Attorney General's report solely that the activities of the Spartacist League are threatened?

Nelson's statement is accompanied by a reprint of a *Los Angeles Times* article, quoting Rachel Wolkenstein, attorney for the SL and SYL, as stating:

"We're saying we don't belong in that report because we're not criminals and terrorists."

Nelson demands "that our names be removed from this report."

Whose names should not be removed from the report? Who are the criminals and terrorists who "belong" in the report? Do socialists who do not support the Soviet Union in Afghanistan "have the right to say so" in the labor movement?

In its lawsuit against the Attorney General, the SL and SYL might not be able to challenge the inclusion of other left organizations in the report. But, in its propaganda around the suit, the SL need not limit itself to Nelson's attitude—one which shows no concern about the Attorney General's attacks on other left organizations.

Alan Grant
New York City

WV replies: We should have answered this letter earlier, particularly because it is an insidious attempt to frame up the Spartacist League. Alan Grant claims a statement by Spartacist League spokesman "'couldn't care less what' the government does to left organizations other than the SL and SYL." This is a patent lie: Nelson's statement says no such thing. In fact, he denounced the California attorney general's "terrorist" list as a "classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left and labor movement."

Grant quotes Nelson saying the "working class and its party have the right to organize," but claims we restrict this to "socialists who share the SL's positions on Afghanistan and El Salvador." Then in disingenuous, tendentious, i.e., lying, fashion he refers to "Nelson's view that a working class can have only one party...." Throughout this letter there is a malicious suggestion that the SL is totalitarian, supporting one-party dictatorship, and doesn't deserve to exist off or on Deukmejian's "terrorist" list. Nowhere does the writer indicate the slightest support to the Spartacist suit against inclusion in the California attorney general's "Organized Crime Report."

Grant has all the stupid slyness of a Reagan prosecution team. He claims our legal strategy is

sectarian because we sue against being included in this official hit list. After naming a number of left groups other than the SL included in the Deukmejian report, he asks whose name should *not* be removed. But Grant doesn't mention that the Nazis, KKK, Hell's Angels and the Manson Family, among others, are listed as "political terrorists" by the California attorney general. Well, we remember seeing on TV a young black man shot dead at an Altamont, California rock concert in 1969 where the Hell's Angels "kept order." But it is not our job to assist in the legal prosecution, or defense, of the Hell's Angels, for instance.

We found ourselves on a list that was not just a "subversives" list but a set-up for immediate violence to be taken against us by the agents of the capitalist state. It said to the police who received the list: you have in your midst not merely the usual "subversives" who think and write things "un-American," but terrorists. This means get them now. The list did not include the larger groups on the American left. Instead we were listed with some leftist groups who are so full of bravado that they might even consider it a merit badge to be listed as a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal."

We decided to attack the list in general through our own particulars—the only ones for which we can legally and in substance take responsibility. While we are not in a position to underwrite even the leftism of some of the groups cited, our victory discredits the entire "Organized Crime Report," and the publicity about the case has shown the Deukmejian witchhunt for what it is. Any left group that cares to challenge its inclusion on the list now has our case to stand on. And this is not the first time resistance to McCarthyite witchhunting has been fought by protesting inclusion in government black lists and hit lists.

In 1949 the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) protested its inclusion on the notorious U.S. attorney general's list. The Shachtmanite Workers Party began their legal effort to have their name struck off in 1948, and continued it for ten years as the International Socialist League (ISL). Of course, the Shachtmanites argued that their fierce anti-Sovietism should exclude them from being ideological victims of the government. Nevertheless, their case helped to wreck the legal basis of the list, making it

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Editorial Note

Pilsudski: Spiritual Father of Solidarność

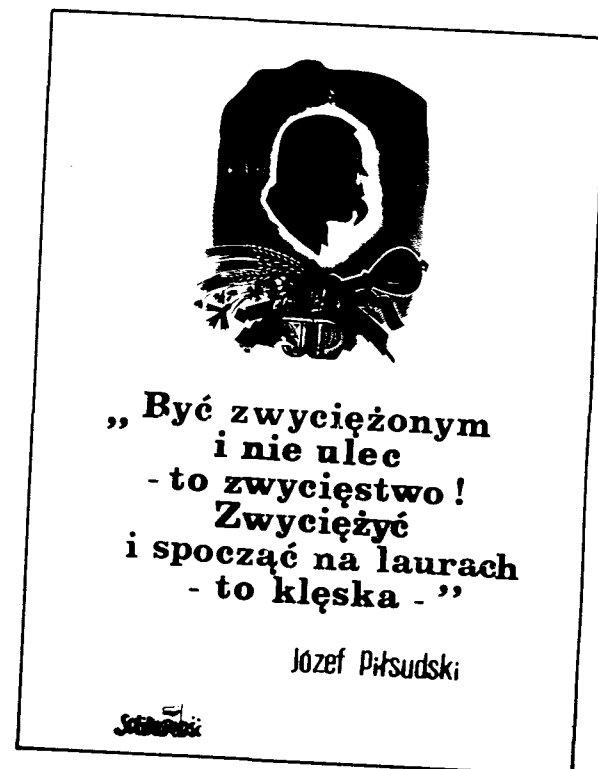
A striking point in the article "Fake-Lefts Support Solidarność Counterrevolution" (*WV* No. 292, 6 November 1981) is how various opportunist "socialists" use as their alibi for backing Polish Solidarność, a pro-imperialist clerical-nationalist movement, the fact that it has mobilized the bulk of the Polish working class behind its red-and-white banners. This is the fundamental argument, explicit or implicit, of the British groups Workers Power and Workers Socialist League (WSL) and of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) grouplet in the U.S. The workerist corollary is that the proletariat is instinctively and necessarily socialist, and can never be mobilized against its historic interests. (Like supporting imperialist wars?!) This kind of pollyannaism is perhaps understandable in Britain, where even backward workers are often pro-union and even vaguely pro-socialist. But in the U.S., where backward workers are too frequently anti-communist strikebreaking racists, such economist opportunism is completely cynical.

The RWL cult of Peter Sollenberger simply dismisses the counterrevolutionary danger of Solidar-

ność as the fabrication of an international "disinformation" campaign conducted by the "Western capitalist press, the Soviet bureaucratic press and some of the more crazed elements of the American left" (*Workers Struggle*, November 1981). Actually, about the only ones who *don't* see the capitalist-restorationist logic of Walesa's "free elections/free trade unions" program are a bunch of social-democratic pseudo-leftists who have to deny reality in order to distance themselves from Reagan's Cold Warriors. The *Wall Street Journal* (29 September 1981), certainly no friend of labor, hails the AFL-CIO for "aiding the Solidarity movement, openly and unashamedly." The same editorial attacked the Spartacist League protest against the opening of a Solidarność office on the premises of Albert Shanker's UFT with the sinister threat that "anyone seeking to delegitimize" the AFL-CIO crusade for "political freedom" should "be aware of just how serious a threat he is raising." Sollenberger doesn't have to worry: he's no threat at all. In fact, on December 18, the RWL demonstrated in Detroit together with the Meanyite labor fakers and "captive nations" reactionaries protesting the anti-Solidarność crackdown in Poland.

A year ago, before Solidarność had sealed its counterrevolutionary course, the Sollenbergerites objected that the Spartacists did not believe in "the ability of the Polish workers to tell the difference between workers' political revolution and capitalist counterrevolution" (*Fighting Worker*, October 1980). As the article "Pilsudski and Counterrevolution in Poland" (*WV* No. 293, 20 November 1981) points out, this isn't the first time there has been such confusion in the Polish workers movement. Not only is Pilsudski the spiritual father of Solidarność, but in May 1926 Polish workers could not tell the difference between a leftist insurrection and a rightist coup. The Socialist Party supported Marshal Pilsudski's grab for power through a general strike, while the Communists, disoriented by Stalin's embracing of the Menshevik "two-stage revolution" dogma and by Pilsudski's popularity in the working class, temporarily backed a fascist coup, believing it represented a shift to the left.

There are important differences, of course. Solidarność today embraces the reactionary nationalist traditions of Pilsudski while discarding the old marshal's veneer of petty-bourgeois radical nationalism and "socialism." Moreover, the clericalism dominant in Solidarność was never central to Pilsudskiism. It is the mass plebeian base, however, which enables Walesa, like Pilsudski, to act as a sinister instrument for counterrevolution. Opportunists like the RWL, WSL and Workers Power are falsely concerned that Walesa will "sell out" to the Stalinists. The real worry for communists is that the Stalinists could sell out to Walesa, the German banks and Reagan. Conciliation of counterrevolution is the modus operandi of the Stalinists' "socialism in one country." ■



Solidarność placard idolizes fascist dictator of pre-war Poland.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 297

22 January 1982

Blacks Don't Cry for Solidarność

Since December 13 there's been a loud wail over "the death of freedom in Poland" coming from rightists, liberals and much of the left. However, one large section of American society has conspicuously refused to join the mourners. Blacks instinctively understand and deeply resent the hypocrisy and racism of the American ruling class in posturing as defenders of "freedom and human dignity" in Poland. They know that these "poor starving" Poles ate a lot better than the people of Harlem and Chicago's South Side. They know that many times more blacks, especially infants and old people, will freeze and starve to death this winter in Reagan's America than the number of Poles killed under General Jaruzelski's "state of war." They know that many more ghetto youth have been shot by racist cops in this country than Solidarność supporters have been shot by Polish cops.

Responding to this sentiment among American blacks is an editorial, "Why cry for Poland?" in Harlem's *Amsterdam News* (2 January). The editorial points out that outpouring over Poland is hardly spontaneous: at every opportunity the American government has supported Solidarność and its demands; for months the public has been bombarded with talk of a Soviet invasion and Reagan's threats to Soviet leaders. And it contrasts the U.S. government's brutal treatment of desperate Haitian refugees with the glorification of Polish "freedom fighters":

"Who can say that they have seen in Poland any conditions that approach what is commonplace in Haiti? Who can honestly assert that living conditions or political liberty is anywhere near as bad in Poland as they are in Haiti? All of the Poles who appear on

the television news have the look of well-dressed and well-fed people.... "The Poles who will be welcomed to these shores will be hailed as freedom-fighters. They will be living proof of the superiority of the capitalist system. The Haitians have no propaganda value in the east-west conflict. The Haitians—and the Black South Africans are another example of America's hypocrit-

rights to racist South Africa!

It says a great deal about what black people think of Poland that such an editorial should appear in the *Amsterdam News* of all places. For decades this paper has represented the most conservative and venal section of the black bourgeois establishment, an unashamed



Bob East

Reagan throws desperate Haitian refugees into concentration camps, while hailing Polish "freedom fighters."

ical concern with political liberty—are not abused by a Communist tyrant. They are Black, unskilled and illiterate."

These Polish "freedom fighters," moreover, are not only heading for Reagan's America. In Vienna, 150 Polish emigrés a day are applying for immigration

voice of the Uncle Toms of Uncle Sam. Publisher John Procope is intimately associated with the regular Democratic Party machine, and maintained ties to notoriously racist Mayor Ed Koch long after other NYC black pols wouldn't be caught dead in the same room with hizzoner. But a few months ago Pro-

cope's little empire underwent some kind of shakeup and began sporting an unaccustomed black militant image. Today a black paper which supports Koch (or Reagan) would more likely be burned than bought on the streets of Harlem. So in last fall's elections, the *Amsterdam News* supported Koch's liberal Democratic opponents such as David Dinkins and Frank Barbaro.

Despite its "militant" tone, the *Amsterdam News* editorial on Poland is still trying to sell the old "free world" elixir. As with its support to "real Democrats" Dinkins and Barbaro, it has to adopt a new sales pitch to remain credible in the face of mass black outrage over Reagan racism. The editorial peddles the notion (shared by reformists and rad-libs alike) that Washington, under a different administration, could pursue a foreign policy which would make the U.S. "the friend and ally of the downtrodden":

"President Reagan doesn't give a damn about liberty and freedom. Anti-Communism is his passion. No government with a conscience could treat Haitian refugees so shabbily while beating its breast about tyranny and hunger in Poland. No government that respects human rights could denounce Warsaw while embracing Pretoria."

Anti-Communism is not just the passion of right-wing Republicans. As a matter of fact, Jimmy Carter (of "human rights" and "ethnic purity" fame) along with the Kennedys and Trumans and FDR as well embraced vicious right-wing dictatorships like Haiti and South Africa in order to defend capitalism against social revolution the world over.

While the *Amsterdam News* editorial denounces Reagan for claiming to stand for freedom in Poland, it nonetheless *continued on page 10*

"Angels" and Cops: Bad News

The lumpen vigilantes known as the "Guardian Angels" are developing into a national menace. The subway-riding gangs of red berets have been endorsed by capitalist spokesmen, including the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, even the *London Economist*. Now *Time* magazine hopes that the "young crime fighters" will be able to fulfill their "potential effectiveness." And no wonder. "We are the eyes and ears of the police," bragged Guardian Angels founder Curtis Sliwa to a *Miami Herald* reporter last March. Sliwa, a former McDonalds manager, has big plans. Angels squads now exist in Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and elsewhere. As the economic crisis deepens, such protomilitary bands can be of great use to the rulers of U.S. capitalism in terrorizing restive ghettos.

The Guardian Angels were in the news recently as Sliwa staged a "March on Washington" to demand an investigation of a cop shooting an "Angel" in Newark on December 30. Just exactly what happened that night isn't clear. Sliwa claims his slain follower, a black security guard in a cemetery, was trying to help police stop a robbery, and charges the cops with murder. Newark police claim they thought Frank Melvin was attacking them, and shot him dead. Hostility between Sliwa's roving crews of young punks who go looking for trouble—"to stop it," they say—and the cops on America's mean streets isn't new. Nor is it surprising in this racist society that the trigger-happy cops' first



Stars and Stripes

Guardian Angels—dangerous racist vigilantes for the cops.

reaction to a young black male who "looked threatening" was to shoot first and ask questions later.

But Sliwa's outfit is becoming far more than just a bunch of street youth who want to bash heads and act out Bruce Lee macho fantasies in the name of "fighting crime." Sliwa has caught the imagination of some big city politicians and has gotten local government and police cooperation in developing his "Angels" as auxiliaries of the cops. Last July Sliwa testified before the U.S. Senate "Juvenile Crime Subcommittee," criticizing the cops for being "ineffective" and winning praise from Moral Majority senator from Alabama

Jeremiah Denton (also the No. 1 would-be witchhunter on Capitol Hill). At the hearing Sliwa claimed the Guardian Angels had made 144 citizens' arrests, with 38 resulting in prison terms of more than one year.

As we pointed out when the "Angels" received official sanction from New York City mayor Ed Koch last year, even becoming liberal-chic celebrities, "Their real potential is to become a paramilitary auxiliary to the cops in terrorizing the ghettos" ("They're No Angels!" *WV* No. 275, 27 February 1981). The fact that the majority of their original NYC members were black and Latin does not change their character as

dangerous racist vigilantes whose main victims are minority youth. Moreover, as the "Angels" have gone national, their racial composition has been changing. In the Midwest and on the West Coast, middle-class whites are joining up; many Angels are also security guards, National Guardsmen and martial arts instructors by day. "In Los Angeles I was astounded to see blond-haired, blue-eyed boys drive up in cars with surfboards, park and go out on patrol," said Sliwa (*Time*, 18 January).

Riding the subways the Guardian Angels harass passengers and drunks, and often transit workers, trying to provoke footloose young punks itching for trouble. On the streets they try to establish their "turf" at the expense of neighborhood gangs. A glorified street gang of largely minority youth isn't going to become a fascist movement—which in the U.S. will be based on white racism. But they could become all too useful as private thugs for hire or adjuncts of the police. And their ties with the ruling class are growing. The co-leader of the Chicago "Angels," for instance, is the son of a former Illinois deputy governor (*Sun Times*, 8 November 1981). In New York, where Sliwa claims 700 members, an agreement with the city provides for official NYPD identification cards and requires transit cops to render "all necessary courtesy and assistance to identified members of the Guardian Angels while they are in uniform on duty."

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Detroit's "Fifth Estate" Smear

See You at Kronstadt

A particularly vicious attempt to smear us was made recently by the dwindling band of anarchists around the Detroit *Fifth Estate* newspaper. Their 19 November 1981 issue repeatedly linked the words "Spartacist League" and "nerve gas" and carried a lengthy attack on us titled "Trotskyism as Psychopathology: Hail Red Army Nerve Gas!" What is disturbing is not so much the primitive hostility towards Leninism of these overwhelmingly vicarious enthusiasts for Makhno, the Symbionese Liberation Army and the virtues of underdevelopment. More ominous is that the *Fifth Estate* "fuck authority" sloganeers find the authority of General Haig, U.S. "intelligence sources" and the fascistic anti-Communist mercenary magazine *Soldier of Fortune* sufficient for retailing "Red Army nerve gas in Afghanistan" rumors as "common knowledge."

Light-minded irresponsibility is one thing; but when the slanders come direct from the State Department and Pentagon, when the U.S. ruling class is seeking a domestic witchhunt against

however, happens to have the entire weight of the American imperialist military-spy apparatus on the other end.

So what about Haig's "yellow rain" rumors? U.S.-backed Cambodian and Afghan rebels claim to have seen mysterious red, yellow, purple and orange powders dropped in remote, inaccessible areas. Haig bombastically announced in West Berlin on September 12 that the U.S. at last had "physical evidence" of chemical poison being used by the Soviets in Southeast Asia. This was based on one sample, a single leaf and stem supposedly exposed to "yellow rain." According to a State Department briefing the day after Haig's bombshell, this sample showed high levels of lethal mycotoxins which do not occur naturally in Southeast Asia. However, *Science* magazine (2 October 1981) consulted experts who "expressed surprise" at the U.S. claims, saying the mycotoxins are naturally produced by the fungus fusarium which "is found almost everywhere." And where did the tell-tale twig come from? It turns out (according to the *New York Times*, 17 November



AP

American Imperialism at work: Vietnamese victims of U.S. napalm.

reds, when the SL and Spartacus Youth League in Detroit have been waging an aggressive campaign against FBI-lovers at Wayne State, and have been the target of various anonymous smears and threats—we find *Fifth Estate's* nasty diatribe more than a little suspect. Obviously *Fifth Estate* will pick up any stick to beat communists with; this one,

1981) that this single piece of dubious "evidence" for Haig's bombastic charges was supplied by... the Pol Pot forces in Cambodia, authors of gruesome mass murders who are supplied by the Chinese (and now the U.S.) in their war against the Soviet-backed Vietnamese!

Now the U.S. claims to have additional examples of alleged Soviet

New Left anarchist *Fifth Estate* will pick up any stick to beat communists with—this vicious smear comes direct from General Haig.

chemical warfare in Afghanistan and Indochina. Where from? Well, *Soldier of Fortune* (January 1982) brags, and the State Department confirms, that an *SOF* "reporter" obtained a sample of "yellow rain" powder from a Hmong refugee who escaped Laos by using a Defense Department map left over from the "old days." But even according to these professional anti-Communist mercenaries, "There was nothing lethal in the sample. The sample was the carrier agent for what is known as T₂ trichothecene, a truly medieval poison made from grain mold and fungus which dissipates without a trace soon after exposure to sunlight, humidity or even a change in altitude." How Machiavellian of the Soviets, to use a poison that disappears so that you can't prove they're using it!

The whole thing makes such a perfect atrocity story that we doubt it: an evil superpower dropping deadly poisons on primitive tribal peoples in faraway jungles in violation of international conventions. And in Laos there isn't even a war going on! At least, we doubt the USSR is doing it—sounds a lot like what America was up to in Vietnam until 1975. Remember the close to 100,000 tons of chemicals, such as the defoliant *Agent Orange* with its long-term deforming effects, which the Pentagon dumped on Southeast Asia? And talk of chemical warfare—what about all the *napalm* used by the U.S. on villages in Indochina? 1975, by the way, was when the U.S. finally signed those international conventions against chemical war (signed by the USSR in 1928) they now so piously praise.

And all of these atrocity stories about

Soviet "yellow rain" are just so convenient. Citing "growing evidence" of Soviet chemical warfare "capacity," the Pentagon is asking for \$810 million in the next fiscal year for chemical and biological weapons (especially deadly nerve gas), more than seven times as much as was spent on such arms in 1978 (*New York Times*, 15 January).

As for *Fifth Estate*, it's quite clear they're far more hostile to communists of any sort than even to capitalism. In this they follow a hoary anarchist tradition; even Prince Kropotkin preferred Kerensky to the Bolsheviks. To their credit, some anarchists did come over to the Bolsheviks, but others, in their hatred of the victorious October Revolution, allied with the White armies of reaction. For years their battle cry against communism has been "Trotsky's suppression of Kronstadt," the 1921 sailors' mutiny against Soviet power which was hailed by counterrevolutionaries the world over. Now these New Leftovers believe they have their modern-day Kronstadt in Solidarność, Poland's company union for the CIA, bankers and pro-imperialist anarchists.

Fifth Estate is living up to this worst tradition of anarchism in supporting the most vicious agents of capitalist reaction. They, like the social democrats, feel that in the present Cold War climate they can say anything against the communists and get away with it. Lucky for the *Fifth Estate* they're mainly armchair anarchists. We recommend they retreat to basket-weaving and exploration of the glories of preindustrial poverty before their tailing of Haig and the Pentagon gets them into real trouble. ■



Fifth Estate

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Reagan to Aged: Drop Dead!

German imperialist chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who introduced the first compulsory social insurance into Germany in 1883, is beginning to look like a flaming red compared to Ronald Reagan. Last October the Senate passed a bill at Reagan's behest with unusual bipartisan unity (95 to 0) which eliminated the pitiful minimum Social Security benefit of \$122 per month for virtually all future recipients. The cut was symbolic of the ongoing ruling class assault on the working class and particularly the most defenseless sectors of society: the minorities, the poor, the aged and the disabled.

Social Security payments were way below subsistence level to begin with—scenes of old people spending their payments on dog food for their own survival have become common in capitalist America. Minorities and women suffer even lower benefits since the payments are tied to the number of years of employment and to wage levels received in one's lifetime. In 1977 the average monthly payments for black women were 30 percent below the pitiful average payment of \$243! And according to *Scientific American* (January 1982) the main beneficiaries of the just-abolished \$122 minimum "are mainly

government expenditures, including war.

However, Vietnam War inflation in a period of increasing general discontent forced Congress to add a cost-of-living adjustment to Social Security benefits. The inflation of the 1970s along with a growing aged population resulted in a skyrocketing Social Security bill. Now seeking to restore military supremacy over the Soviet Union, the American ruling class feels it has to slash the living standards of the aged to pay for a \$1 trillion arms buildup. As liberal economist Lester Thurow explained:

"The proposed military increase is so large that it cannot be fully paid with cuts in civilian expenditure unless the president is willing to abolish major social programs like Social Security."

—"How to Wreck the Economy,"
New York Review of Books,
14 May 1981

That is certainly true. At a deeper level the crisis of Social Security is but one aspect of the stagnation and decline of American capitalism. To think that trimming the military budget is the answer to all economic problems is a rad-lib panacea. Former Secretary of Commerce Peter Petersen pointed to the long-term problem for American capitalism in an article in the *New York*



Don Wright

women who worked for very low wages."

The excuse for the latest cut was based not only on Reaganite austerity but a conjunctural crunch in the Social Security system, which actually never was an insurance system but a *tax*. Up to about 1970 the total Social Security tax actually *exceeded* pension benefits. The surplus was then lent to the Treasury, which used it to finance all manner of

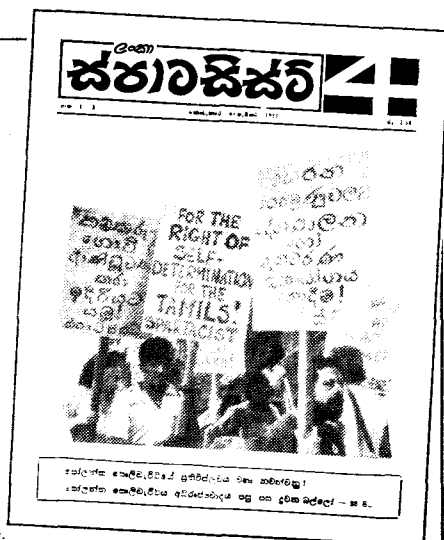
Times Magazine (17 January) entitled, "No More Free Lunch for the Middle Class." He complained that "we have chosen to consume, rather than invest," and asks: "Whose consumption is to be cut?" Petersen proposes squeezing the working class, poor and aged. But this Wall Streeter understands a key fact of life that many liberals don't: the American economy is *not growing*. And a stagnant economy cannot support

Greetings to Lanka Spartacist!

No. 1-2 November-December 1981 (in Sinhala)

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McCullough

Congress thinks old people are getting too much money.

productivity-increasing investment and a massive arms buildup while maintaining the present level of social programs. Something has to give. For the ruling class what has to give is the complex of economic reforms won through the mass struggles of the 1930s, the so-called New Deal.

In opposition to the Stalinists, who sought to be the best supporters of FDR, the Trotskyists pointed out not only the inadequacy but the reversibility of the New Deal measures. In 1935 the Trotskyists fought for a "Workers Security Bill" which would have limited the workweek to 30 hours, provided \$10 billion for public works, and established unemployment and social insurance administered and controlled by workers and farmers. In contrast to the Stalinists, who were lining up behind FDR, the Trotskyists pointed out that there could be no substantial legislative solution: the working class could move forward only by class struggle and, ultimately, socialist revolution. As A.J. Muste, then a leader of the Workers Party, wrote after passage of the Social Security Act in August 1935:

"Fight against the Roosevelt wage-cutting program, against the entire WPA [public works] set-up, for substantial protection against the risks of sickness, accident, old age and unemployment, at the cost of employers and government. Above all, organization to achieve power and thus to end, before it

inflicts still further misery upon the masses, a system whose most liberal and humanitarian exponents can do no better than the Roosevelt 'social security' program."

—*The New Militant*,
24 August 1935

Leon Trotsky observed in 1939 that "the policy of the New Deal, which tries to save imperialist democracy by way of sops to the labor and farmer aristocracy, is in its broad compass accessible only to the very wealthy nations, and so in that sense it is American policy *par excellence*." He concluded that "the New Deal policy with its fictitious achievements and its very real increase in the national debt, leads unavoidably to ferocious capitalist reaction and a devastating explosion of imperialism" (*Marxism in Our Time*). Reagan's assault on social insurance as part of the Democratic/Republican anti-Soviet war drive is a concrete fulfillment of this prophecy in the twilight of American imperialism.

But the working class must not let this attack go unanswered. We defend even the present subminimal Social Security payments against the Reaganite assault. And a class-struggle labor leadership would fight for an all-encompassing social insurance system for the aged, the disabled and the unemployed, paid out of the general federal government budget, equalized at the highest level. ■

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The showing of *Man of Marble* and its sequel *Man of Iron*, two recent films by the great Polish director Andrzej Wajda, is a political event. At theaters around the U.S., moviegoers are approached by leafletters wearing AFL-CIO buttons with the smug anti-Communist message that Polish workers "must look to us, who have already won the rights for which they are fighting." In Poland these films, along with their maker, have been locked up in the military crackdown which frustrated the counterrevolution-

A Review
by Pat Kincaid

ary bid for power by Solidarność. They have become important symbols of, and propaganda vehicles for, the only "workers movement" in the world supported by the White House and the Vatican.

Almost any film about contemporary Poland would necessarily be seen today in the context of the present political crisis. This is particularly true of these films, whose subject is disillusionment with Stalinist bureaucratic rule and the struggle against it. The two films are very different. *Man of Marble* is a powerfully probing film of postwar Poland; *Iron* is just hack propaganda for Lech Walesa's Solidarność. The message of *Man of Iron* is the supposed continuity of workers struggles in Poland. In reality it is the sharp political break which has allowed the agents of Reagan and Wojtyla to dominate a movement of millions of Polish workers. Wajda's dangerous myth serves those who seek to wipe out the socialized property forms which have made possible Poland's economic resurrection from the rubble of World War II.

Man of Iron, Man of Lies

It is because of the events in Poland that *Man of Iron* has won awards at Cannes and is likely to receive acclaim at the U.S. Academy Awards. It is surely not winning awards on the basis of artistic merit. This primitive morality play for Solidarność has embarrassed even some politically sympathetic reviewers. The *New York Times'* Vincent Canby admitted that this "gung ho propaganda is boring even if you agree with it." And Jacek Kuron, the leader of the disbanded KOR dissident group and Solidarność' key intellectual adviser, has commented that Wajda's portrayal of Solidarność is "like a touched-up wedding portrait" (*New York Times*, 11 October 1981).

The basic theme of *Man of Iron*, common also among Western commentators, is that Solidarność is a more

intense, better organized version of the battles of 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976—only this time the workers, the intelligentsia, the peasants, the church, the whole Polish people are on the same side.

Wajda's puff-piece for Solidarność is seen through the eyes of a Stalinist hack—an alcoholic, cowardly and cynical broadcast journalist sent to do a smear job on Maciek, a leader of Solidarity in the Gdansk shipyards. Maciek is the son of Birkut, the worker-hero of *Man of Marble*. (In *Iron* we learn that Birkut died a "martyr's death" in the workers uprising in 1970, felled in a hail of bullets. Wajda had tried to put this in the ending of *Man of Marble*, but it was cut out by the Stalinist censors.)

The journalist hack in *Man of Iron* interviews many of the figures connected with Solidarność to do his smear, and stories are told in flashbacks. Maciek

marries the intellectual truth-seeker/filmmaker Agnieszka from *Man of Marble*. However, in the later film she is no longer the intensely nervous seeker of truth. Now she has found Truth in Solidarność, and in her gushing sermon in praise of Solidarity she seems like nothing so much as a glassy-eyed Polish Moonie.

Man of Iron has as one of its central themes the coming together of Poland's workers and intellectuals in struggle against the regime. The film deals with the student/intellectual protests of 1968 and the workers uprisings from 1970 and 1976 through the strikes in the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk and the August 1980 accords establishing Solidarność. The son is shown as a leader in the 1968 student/intellectual protests, which did not attract support from the workers. Then in 1970, when Birkut

went on the streets against the price hikes, Maciek and other students, burned by their experiences in 1968, remain aloof.

The marriage of the workers and intellectuals is presided over and arranged by the church. At the ceremony Lech Walesa playing Lech Walesa presents the "new" man and "new" woman of new Poland with flowers and "democracy." The church plays a large role in *Iron*, as it does now in Polish political life. *Man of Iron* is shot full of religious images and symbolism, most of it cheap clichés: shots of crosses, stumbling bare feet imitating the stations of the cross, the martyr's disappeared body and grave. The son's desire to commemorate his father's death and martyrdom in 1970 becomes a religious-political act. The film takes particular aim at the failure of the Stalinist regime to deal with the spiritual needs of life, and thus Wajda "explains" the church's entry as a major player on the field of Polish politics.

To be primitive with cardboard characters is one thing; to lie is something else. And *Man of Iron* lies at its heart. In this film that is all political message, there is a point to the theme of fathers and sons and wives in holy union. Wajda uses the figures of Birkut and Maciek to portray the movement which led to Solidarity as the political continuation of prior struggles against the Stalinist regime. It is the continuity of anti-Stalinist struggle which is the central political theme of the film and its central political falsehood.

It is precisely the radical political discontinuity between Solidarność and past worker revolts that defines the present crisis. The 1956 "Polish October" raised the call for workers democracy, while the events of 1970 and 1976 were spontaneous explosions of economic discontent. Neither in 1970 or 1976, much less 1956, did the workers look to the West and the U.S. as a model. There was no kissing the cross in

MAN OF IRON:



THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO SOLIDARNOŚĆ

Contradiction of Stalinism: "Model worker," Birkut (left) in *Man of Marble* is a victim of bureaucratic abuse...



New Yorker Films



Ullstein Bilderdienst

... while rebuilding Poland from the rubble of World War II (right).

Poznan, 1956. No Polish eagle flew over Gdansk in 1970. Then the workers burned down Communist Party headquarters singing the "Internationale," not "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland." But Wajda doesn't show this scene of 1970 because it isn't the side of his hero he wants to celebrate. The film presents a history of Polish workers struggle so distorted by Solidarność mythologizing that it deserves to be condemned by its own declared values.

There is, to be sure, a personal continuity between the participants in earlier struggles and the leaders of the Solidarność movement. But are they the same political beings now as then? Take Jacek Kuron, for instance. In his 1964 "Open Letter to Communist Party Members," Kuron attacked the Stalinist regime from the left, from a vague syndicalist perspective. Today he calls for "Western-style" democracy under the aegis of the Catholic church. Kuron's (and Wajda's) shift to the counterrevolutionary right is part of a wider shift of the Polish intelligentsia to clerical nationalism. After 1976 the church, the *only* institution allowed to remain independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, threw its powerful support to the dissident movement. The Western bourgeois press as well as *Man of Iron* celebrates this joining of the dissidents, the church with its peasant base and the workers.

Given the miserable failure of liberal Stalinism and the lack of a credible left-wing alternative this alliance, concentrated in Solidarność, brought Poland to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. The central lie of *Man of Iron* is to deny or disguise the threat of counterrevolution by presenting an undifferentiated popular anti-Stalinism. In this film, as in *Man of Marble*, the term "counterrevolutionary" exists only as a Stalinist slander. But the danger of counterrevolution led by Solidarność, which called on the Western imperialist bankers of the International Monetary Fund to take over the Polish economy, is very real.

Man of Marble: Past and Present

Andrzej Wajda has always mirrored the prevalent attitudes of the Polish intelligentsia. His earliest works were typical examples of "socialist realism." His great films of the 1956 "Spring in October" period, *Kanal* and *Ashes and Diamonds* (1958), stand broadly on the terrain of liberal-national Stalinism combined with existential angst. Politically, they show a fierce hostility to fascism and general sympathy for the Communist cause. The 1977 *Man of Marble* marks a transition between the liberal Stalinist illusions of the Gomulka "thaw" and clerical-nationalist anti-Communism of Solidarność.

In sharp contrast to the *Man of Iron* hack job, *Man of Marble* is a serious work of art. It views the development of Gierek's Poland from the vantage point of disillusioned idealism. We are shown a society of conspicuous material prosperity and pervasive moral corruption. The vast technical resources of the cultural establishment are devoted to suppressing and distorting the past. Unlike its sequel, *Man of Marble* is not an anti-Communist tract. Yet it presents such a negative view of postwar Polish society and its evolution that its maker's enthusiasm for the counterrevolutionary eruption around Solidarność comes as no surprise.

Man of Marble has two protagonists, each in his own way idealist. In the present, the frenetic young film student, Agnieszka, is making her "diploma film" for Polish TV about the early 1950s. In the past, a "model worker" of that period, Mateusz Birkut, who has since been "lost." The plot, or mystery, of the film centers on Agnieszka's attempt to find out and document what really happened to Birkut. Early in the film Agnieszka finds a replica of the object of her search in a Warsaw

museum. She makes her way to the basement and there, in a literal dustbin of history, she finds a huge marble statue of Mateusz Birkut. She illicitly takes her camera astride the massive marble relic in a symbolic coupling of the present with the "socialist realist" past.

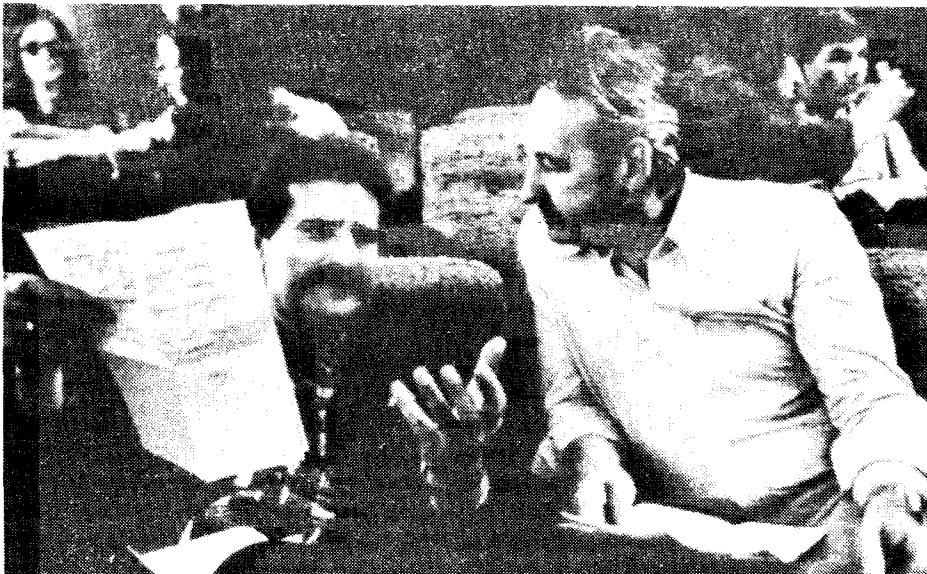
The hero of the past turns up in documentary clips which show him as the bricklayer who did many times the average quota in a single shift at the new "model workers city" Nowa Huta, outside a new steel plant near Krakow. Birkut is glorified as a living representative of Socialist Progress. Like Nowa Huta itself, Birkut the farm boy become "model worker" is "created" out of bleak backwardness. This documentary from the Stalin era, entitled *Architects of Our Happiness*, has a parodic edge as

bureaucracy jail the innocent, but it even prevents competent police work! The secret police would have made it a lot safer for the Birkuts of Poland had they simply found the actual saboteur and dealt with him. Instead they fabricated a giant "imperialist plot."

In a flashback to the making of *Architects* during the construction of Nowa Huta, the heroic feat of Birkut is exposed as a stunt by the film director and party administrator. The attempt to lay 30,000 bricks in eight hours can be accomplished only with the help of a squad of workers off camera. Birkut seems merely the object of the camera and bureaucratic ambitions. Yet for all that, *Birkut really is a model worker*. He really is a simple farm boy given the opportunity to become a skilled worker in a new city that will house thousands



Fabian/Sygma



Dejean/Sygma

Lech Walesa gets instructions from the pope (above). Film director Andrzej Wajda does hack propaganda for clerical-nationalist Solidarność (below).

Wajda mimics the style of the bigger-than-life presentation of the "workers' paradise." Birkut's gargantuan portrait hangs with that of Poland's little Stalin, Bierut, above the town square of Nowa Huta. But in the outtakes for *Architects*, the filmmaker sees the huge portrait pulled down.

Agnieszka learns that at one of his performances as "model worker," Birkut was handed a red-hot brick and seriously injured his hands. His friend Witek had earlier warned him that ordinary workers were not glad to see their quotas raised by latter-day Stakhanovites. Now it is Witek who is accused of the crime. Suspect because he had fought in Spain, Witek is charged with being part of an "imperialist plot." When Birkut tries to stand up against the frameup of his friend, he too runs afoul of the bureaucracy. In defiance and desperation Birkut throws his souvenir brick through the window of the secret police. This is followed by a mini show trial and the jailing of both Birkut and Witek. By the time Birkut is released from prison in 1956, his health is broken, and he clearly has no taste for the life of the bureaucratically rehabilitated. After trying unsuccessfully to win back his wife, the former "model worker" seems to disappear.

It is worth noting that in this glimpse of Stalinist terror, not only does the

of such workers in a rebuilt Poland. He is full of honest enthusiasm and socialist idealism for the building of the city and good collective purpose. Thus, in Birkut, Wajda has found the appropriate symbol for the contradiction he finds in socialism: a system capable of great material progress for collective good, calling upon what is best in the workers, but tragically corrupted by the bureaucrats.

Disillusionment and the Failure of Liberal Stalinism

Wajda sees the roots of the moral corruption of modern Polish society in the beginnings of Stalinist rule in Poland. It is interesting and unusual that on balance *Man of Marble* is kinder to the Stalin era with its "model workers" than to the post-1956 liberalized era of Gomulka and Gierek. This differs sharply with conventional Soviet and East European liberal Stalinist works in which "de-Stalinization" is presented as the great divide between bad times and good times (or, at least, better times). Wajda sees the continuity of Stalinism, but only its moral effects.

Actual news clips in *Man of Marble* show the triumphant mass demonstrations which greeted Gomulka during the Polish October of 1956. It is this promise betrayed that the film docu-

ments in moral terms. Except for the hero Birkut, all of the characters from the Stalin era who have adjusted to the "thawed" system are corrupted. The director of the "socialist realist" *Architects* is now an international jet-setter, fat and complacent with his car, maid and fancy house. The sleazy secret policeman comes to manage a state-run strip joint and comments that young girls are healthier now. Birkut's friend Witek, "rehabilitated" as manager of a giant steel complex, tours visitors in a helicopter and is no longer interested in the truth of the past.

The last narrator in the film is Birkut's former wife, once a poor but fresh and happy gymnast, the model helpmate for a "model worker." After leaving Birkut she lives with her former employer, a sort of speculator/entrepreneur, in a well-to-do house surrounded by shiny possessions. But she is miserable, drunken and sick at heart. She recounts in a flashback that Birkut tried to win her back after being released from prison. Her protector, the entrepreneur, explains the new system to him: everybody is out for himself. Birkut is disillusioned with contemporary Poland and so is Wajda.

Man of Marble shows the extreme Westernization of Gierek's Poland, its imitation of the capitalist West not least in values. The theme of bourgeoisification of Poland contrasts sharply with the earlier Stalin era and implies there is little, if any, difference between Poland and the capitalist West. Wajda's utter disillusionment with liberal Stalinism, expressed in *Man of Marble*, leads him to the clerical nationalism of Lech Walesa in *Man of Iron*. Liberal Stalinism in Poland has failed and failed miserably, as must Stalinism in all its variants. Both its early phase of direct terror and its later bureaucratic incarnations are corrupt and morally corrupting. But the moral failure has a material basis.

Why Do They Lie? Stalinism and Stakhanovism

Near the end of *Man of Marble* the old party administrator from the Stalin era stands over Nowa Huta and tells Agnieszka:

"Your film, let it be critical. But do not attack the principle of 'socialist emulation.' You see all these houses. Do you think they built themselves?"

And he might have added in defense, not only of Stalinism but of the social basis of his society, what every Pole must know: that Poland was economically devastated after the war. Somebody had to rebuild it some way. And the film shows the enormous progress achieved by Poland's collectivized economy. Warsaw was rebuilt from total destruction into a pleasant modern European capital. Compare this, for example, to the scenes of the South Bronx in *Fort Apache*. But for the moralist Wajda what is important is only that Nowa Huta was built in part on lies and corruption.

It is of particular interest to Trotskyist revolutionaries that Wajda's metaphor for the contradictory character of Polish Stalinism is the pre-1956 Stakhanovite movement. Here he finds the sources of both acquisitive individualism in present-day Poland and the collective spirit of socialist idealism in Birkut. That the system of Stakhanovism eventually undermines and destroys its own accomplishments is a major theme of *Man of Marble*. Stalinist regimes *cannot* mobilize the kind of general enthusiasm of the working class shown in the "socialist realist" news clips in *Man of Marble*. Only when the workers actually control their destiny through soviet democracy can such socialist idealism take root.

Marxists have held for more than a century that competition among workers for individual economic reward is an abuse endemic to capitalist society, in which men compete for wages and

continued on page 10

Stop Givebacks...

(continued from page 1)

and benefits. The "job security" they got in return consisted of closing nine of Chrysler's 42 plants and shrinking its workforce from 130,000 to 65,000. Oh yes, and a "profit-sharing" plan as well, which will go into effect whenever company profits exceed 10 percent of Chrysler's net worth. Don't hold your breath!

In contrast to the union bureaucrats, social democrats and Stalinists who tied the workers' fate to a bankrupt company and relied on the capitalist government to bail it out, the Spartacist League advocated militant class struggle to defend the workers' interests. While the reformists called on Jimmy Carter to nationalize Chrysler, the Trotskyist SL said, "Workers: seize the plants! If Chrysler's broke, then sell it off and keep the proceeds" (see "Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers!" *WV* No. 238, 17 August 1979).

Another example of the UAW leaders' "innovative" bargaining has been employee "buyouts" of bankrupt firms. At General Motors' Hyatt Bearing plant in Clark, New Jersey the union agreed under threat of plant closure to accept a cut of the workforce from 1,700 to under 1,000, a 50 percent pay cut for new hires and renegotiation of the entire contract. The workers also took a 30 percent across-the-board wage cut as a means to finance their eventual purchase of the plant! GM chairman Roger Smith was reportedly "delighted," because "the episode fits neatly into his campaign to persuade the UAW to accept wage reductions" (*New York Times*, 26 October 1981).

Making the World Safe for General Motors

The UAW has a \$339 million strike fund which could be a powerful weapon in the hands of a leadership capable of

Chicago transit workers protest layoffs, cuts in services, 19 December 1981.



WV Photo

leading plant occupations and other working-class struggles against layoffs and takeaways. The Fraser bureaucracy recently put the strike fund to work—for capitalist America. Nationally televised ads were bought proclaiming, "The UAW wants to make America work again," and depicting two UAW members finishing a huge sculpture of the word "AMERICA." The message to the bosses is that the "responsible," patriotic UAW leaders fully support Reagan's program of rearming American imperialism.

America's rulers have driven basic industry in this country into the ground. Every year vast amounts of wealth are squandered by the rich or given over to the Dr. Strangeloves of the Pentagon. Although Japan has only half the population and national income of the U.S., it spends *more* on new plant and

equipment. The average age of America's industrial plant is *twice* that of Japan's. Small wonder GM and U.S. Steel cannot compete in the marketplace with Toyota and Nippon Steel. So the auto and steel bosses are throwing half their labor force into the streets, while demanding that the other half reduce their wages to the level of, say, Britain.

But if America's capitalists cannot compete economically, neither are they about to let key industries like auto and steel be taken over by foreign businessmen. Tariffs, quotas, "voluntary" export restrictions—the whole arsenal of trade-war weaponry will be directed at Japan and also West Europe. However, countries like Japan and West Germany live and die by exports. Protectionism for American industry is a death sentence for theirs. It is a well-known historic fact that trade wars lead to shooting wars. Auto workers who buy Fraser's chauvinist protectionist campaign may well find their sons fighting Japanese fellow workers tomorrow.

Meanwhile, as the Reaganites demand "guns not butter," to pay for their anti-Soviet Cold War buildup, Fraser & Co. seek "guns and butter." The social-democratic labor fakers are 100 percent behind Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Militant oppositionists in UAW Local 600 (River Rouge) protested:

"Reagan is on the warpath, and that means billions for the Pentagon while the workers and poor are bled dry, and unions like PATCO are smashed. But the man who is hated by the labor movement around the world has finally found one union he loves—Poland's Solidarność. Reagan loves Solidarność because it is a *company* union for the CIA and the bankers.

"Solidarność wanted to turn the Polish economy over to the International Monetary Fund, the same outfit which put the Pinochet dictatorship in power in Chile. Solidarność honcho Lech Walesa met in secret in Paris with 20 of the biggest American capitalists, including Ford chairman Philip Caldwell. This sure is Reagan's and Fraser's kind of 'union leader'—Walesa told Walter Cronkite that American capitalism 'has passed the test.' Maybe this Reagan-lover should try to get a job in Detroit! "The Stalinist bureaucrats who run Poland must be held responsible for their criminal policies which have driven Polish workers into the arms of Reagan and the Pentagon. But Poland is a lot better off than when the Nazis and capitalists ran it. We must fight the Reagan/Solidarność/Fraser attempt to make Poland 'safe for Ford, GM and the bankers.'"

—Rouge Militant Caucus, "For Sit-Down Strikes to Save Our Jobs!" (18 January 1982)

The labor fakers say "Buy American" to save jobs. It won't. Such poisonous protectionism is the road to imperialist war, in which workers will be used as

cannon fodder to make the world safe for General Motors. We say no!

There must be an end to this criminal policy of surrender carried out by the union misleaders. The tactics of militant class struggle—plant occupations, sit-down strikes—that built the UAW and CIO industrial unions during the Great Depression must be used today. There's no other way to stop the massive social devastation and slashing of jobs and wages. And this takes a leadership which fights against the whole boom-bust system of capitalism that subjects auto workers to a killing cycle of speed-up and layoffs, and then throws them on the scrap heap. The program of militant class struggle has been raised by UAW oppositionists who proclaim:

"The auto bosses want to impose a death sentence on labor/black Detroit: no hope of any jobs, rising Klan/Nazi racist terror and nothing in our future but wars to defend dying industries that even the capitalists don't pretend to want to save. But we have the right to live and work in dignity. We have the power to put an end to Reagan's war on labor, blacks and the poor. Labor action can bring Reagan down! We must not be duped by the labor misleaders' promises of another Jimmy Carter. The future of labor/black Detroit lies with the fight for a workers government, a planned economy where we take the wealth we have created and run society for the benefit of all working people.

"Rouge workers, we are faced with a job—either fight for our jobs against Reagan and the companies, or face depression conditions for years. It's sitdowns or soup lines, and despite what the traitors who run the UAW want, we won't starve for Ford's profits!" ■

Mass Layoffs At Fremont GM

OAKLAND—Auto workers at the Fremont, California General Motors plant, home on a "temporary" two-week layoff, recently learned from the evening TV news that their entire second shift of 1,600 workers will be laid off indefinitely February 1. The layoff cuts deeper than ever before, throwing workers with up to 14 years' seniority onto the unemployment lines.

Three years ago the Fremont assembly plant employed 6,800 workers in two shifts each of truck and passenger car production. This latest in a cascading series of layoffs will leave a mere 1,550 auto workers on a single shift of automobile production. The repeated layoffs since 1979 are widely seen as posing the possibility of a complete shut-down of the plant in the not-so-distant future. And this is no case of an antiquated, dilapidated production facility: the Fremont GMAD plant was opened in 1963.

Meanwhile, the United Auto Workers (UAW) International leaders have been working overtime to help the auto companies raise their sagging rate of profit. In fact, a full month before the current giveback talks opened in Detroit, Fremont workers noticed cars going out without sticker prices, obviously in anticipation of substantial wage and benefit cuts that would be "passed

along" as minimal price cuts.

The small town bureaucrats at Fremont Local 1364 have also done their part for the auto bosses. Many of today's local leaders once postured as mavericks or militants in the UAW (remember the "people's power" rhetoric of the Brotherhood Caucus?). That was before they were faced with the massive layoffs, against which they've all refused to lift a finger. In fact, when GM eliminated truck production and tossed 1,500 out the gate last September, all factions of the Local 1364 bureaucracy bitterly *opposed* the efforts of the UAW Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the local, to mobilize a sit-down strike (see "Fremont GM Militants Say: 'We Need a Sitdown!'" *WV* No. 290, 9 October 1981). Local officers argued that a sit-down strike against layoffs would only jeopardize the remaining jobs at Fremont!

Playing 'possum won't appease the auto bosses. The devastating loss of jobs at Fremont and throughout the auto industry proves the need for plant seizures and sitdowns against layoffs. It shows that a new leadership must be constructed to oust the Solidarity House traitors. And it demonstrates the need to put an end, once and for all, to the disastrous boom-bust cycle of production for profit under capitalism. ■



New York Times

Will laid-off workers be reduced to this?

James P. Cannon on AFL Labor Fakers

—from James P. Cannon, "Platform of the Communist Opposition" (February 1929), in *The Left Opposition in the U.S. 1928-31*

Due to the strong position of American capitalism, which has enabled it to bribe large sections of the workers and to provide a higher general standard of living than that of the other capitalist countries, the American workers, from a class standpoint, are in a primitive stage of development. The American workers are not class conscious, they have not yet developed even the concepts of social reformism or independent political action, and, on the whole, are permeated through and through with the ideology of capitalism. These incontestable facts are the starting point of the communist approach and indicate our fundamental task: to struggle for the creation of a class movement of the American workers, for the development of class consciousness, and to lead them toward revolutionary concepts in struggle.

The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type

are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such. The labor bureaucracy is a part of the capitalist rationalization and war machine—its "labor" wing. De Leon's classic definition of the reactionary labor leaders as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" holds doubly good today. The distinctive features of these labor leaders in comparison to the social-reformist leaders of Europe consists in the fact that they are outspoken defenders of the whole capitalist regime and all of its institutions, without "socialistic" pretense or class-struggle phraseology. Their program is a program of stark reaction. They repudiate the class struggle in words as well as deeds. They oppose any kind of independent political action. They support the whole military program of American imperialism and will indubitably be a powerful ally of the capitalists in lining up the workers for the coming war and demoralizing the struggle against it....

This bureaucracy is the chief influence against the class movement within the workers' ranks—the strongest, the best organized, and the representative of the most reactionary program. The specific nature of the American labor bureaucracy—its present source of strength—also



James P. Cannon

Pathfinder Press

makes it the more vulnerable in the period of growing radicalization. The very first steps of the workers towards a class movement can be taken only in direct struggle against them. The relentless and irreconcilable fight against the AFL leadership, based on a correct analysis of its specific role as the outspoken bearer of capitalist ideology, is a prerequisite for effective work in developing the struggle of the workers, increasing their class understanding, and leading them to the fight for broader political aims....

\$\$\$ Needed for Picket Line Case

Workers Vanguard urges its readers to come to the aid of a critical fight for workers' rights. In May 1979 Inland Steel fired a worker for refusing to cross a picket line at its enormous East Chicago, Indiana plant. Two and a half years later, Keith Anwar, a member of Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1010, is still battling to get his job back. The Anwar case has received wide backing in the USWA, including a resolution at a District 31 conference pledging to use "all available resources" to defend Anwar and anyone else victimized for honoring picket lines.

Refusing to cross a picket line is an elementary trade-union principle. It grew out of the convulsive and often bloody struggles that built the unions, which taught workers the need for labor solidarity against the bosses. But the steel capitalists consider adherence to such basic traditions a crime. They know the labor movement is stronger when workers stick together, when strikes are enforced by picket lines that no one crosses. Inland fired Anwar to help root out such working-class traditions.

The support of thousands of USWA members helped push Anwar's case all the way through the union's grievance procedure to arbitration. However, last fall an "impartial" arbitrator upheld the firing, and Anwar was forced to take his case to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).

At a November 16 NLRB hearing before an administrative law judge, Anwar told how he stopped on his way to work when he saw a picket line on one of the roads feeding the Inland plant. "It was a gut-level reaction," Anwar told *WV*. "Workers shouldn't cross picket lines, period." The strikers were members of USWA Local 8180 who bale scrap steel inside the Inland complex. A former president of Local 8180 testified in Anwar's defense at the hearing. In addition, testimony was given by the

leader of a 1978 bricklayers' strike at Inland, whose picket lines Anwar also honored.

On the basis of the hearing, the judge is to make a recommendation to the NLRB in Washington, D.C., which will then decide whether or not Anwar should be reinstated. However, even a favorable NLRB ruling will not guarantee that Anwar will get his job back. Inland has made it clear that it will spare no effort in its quest to establish a legal precedent against labor solidarity. This poses the likelihood of lengthy and expensive court appeals before the case reaches a definitive conclusion.

For many of the same reasons that the bosses would like to deprive working people of their ability to fight, many steel workers see the Anwar case as their fight. Keith Anwar Defense Committee members took the case to steel workers in the mill shanties and washhouses, on pay lines and in the bars. In response, hundreds sent statements of support to the District headquarters, and over a thousand signed petitions telling the union officials to win this one. Union members contributed nearly \$3,000 to aid in the defense effort. And in October 1979 Local 1010 held a rally at its union hall to defend the right to honor picket

lines, at which Anwar spoke alongside several union officials. The picket line case received coverage from much of the local media, including the *Gary Post-Tribune*, *Hammond Times*, *Daily Calumet* of South Chicago and the black-oriented *Chicago Daily Defender*.

Reagan's attacks on minorities and working people make it increasingly urgent that labor act to defend its weapons of class struggle. Congress is currently holding hearings on an amendment to the Hobbs Act (a federal extortion law) to make even the alleged threat of violence on a picket line a federal crime punishable by 20 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine! The best way to secure the right to honor picket lines is by exercising that right, as the coal miners did in 1978, when they told president Carter to take his Taft-Hartley no-strike injunction and shove it. By actively supporting the Anwar picket line case, union militants across the continent can help prepare the workers movement for such militant action.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee is asking for contributions to help pay the continuing and anticipated legal expenses. The costs arising just from this most recent NLRB hearing have already put the KADC several hundred dollars in debt. Help make sure that a cash shortage never stalls this campaign! Contributions are urgently needed and may be sent to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680.

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SL Suit...

(continued from page 2)

moribund. Two months after the U.S. dropped the ISL from the attorney general's list, it abandoned the attempt to list the National Lawyers Guild. According to the *New York Times*, "the impression left here was that the Department of Justice had lost most of its enthusiasm for the list—or at least for the task of defending it in court" (quoted in *Labor Action*, 12 September 1958).

The ostensible point of Grant's letter is that we are just like the SWP, at least in court. But our policies are diametrically counterposed. The SWP wanted a stamp of approval; it wanted to practice togetherness with the government, seeking political acceptance in revolting ways. They denounced the principles of Leninism before Judge Griesa, besmirching the Trotskyist leaders prosecuted under the Smith Act. Cringing and vicious, they expelled their vicariously leftist minority, the Internationalist Tendency (IT), labeled "terrorist" by the government—naming names and turning over internal documents to the feds. They smeared ex-IT leader Hedda Garza as an "FBI fink" when she tried to testify in their defense after they had persecuted and abandoned her.

In contrast, the fight of the Spartacist League was negative. When attacked by the capitalist state we filed suit to keep the government at bay, as much as possible. We forthrightly fought for our right to defend our program, including those stands most unpopular with the American imperialist "establishment"—like hailing the Red Army in Afghanistan and opposing Solidarność counter-revolution in Poland. The SL especially stressed the threat of a new McCarthyism and the sweeping assault upon democratic rights which the Deukmejian list represents. With bitter criticism of the SWP's Watersuit, we nevertheless said that "nobody should begrudge the SWP whatever 'compensation' it can wrest from the embarrassed government," because this could "hamper the dirty work of the FBI" ("Bell Shields FBI Finks," *WV* No. 213, 11 August 1978). Likewise, our suit to have our name removed from the California "Organized Crime Report" should have been supported—although the SWP and Alan Grant did not do so.

With their massive illusions in bourgeois law, the courtroom cretins of the SWP abased themselves, giving the government everything including the pseudonyms of their foreign comrades! And they haven't won (yet). What really galls Alan Grant is that we gave the government nothing, insisted on our democratic rights to propagate Marxist principles, and won—not merely for ourselves, but for all those who defend democratic rights. Thank you. ■

PDC Telegram

18 January 1982

Governor Fob James
State Capitol, Montgomery,
Alabama

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the outrageous imprisonment of civil rights activists Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman for the "crime" of assisting elderly black citizens of Pickens County to exercise their constitutional right to vote. With this racist prosecution, the state of Alabama spearheads the racist campaign to repeal the Voting Rights Act. Jailing two elderly black women for five years is an act of judicial terror intended to send a message to blacks throughout Alabama and the entire South: organizing for the fundamental right to vote will be met with legal persecution! We demand the immediate release of Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman. Drop all charges. Partisan Defense Committee

Man of Iron...

(continued from page 7)

profits. In socialist society with its rich material abundance, competition (or emulation) among workers would be economically disinterested. But socialist society can be built only through *international* economic planning, based centrally on the wealth and technology expropriated by proletarian revolutions in the *advanced capitalist countries*.

In claiming "to build socialism in one [backward] country" (Russia in the 1930s, Poland in the late 1940s/early 1950s), the Stalinists resorted to the most extreme forms of economic competition between workers. Piece rates became the dominant form of payment while Stakhanovism produced a new labor aristocracy. The system also served to atomize and politically weaken the workforce. And, of course, the Stalinists claimed this degrading, dog-eat-dog system as the highest form of socialism. In 1929 Stalin pronounced: "Emulation is the communist method of constructing socialism on the basis of the utmost activity of millions of toilers." The following year he elaborated:

"The most remarkable feature of emulation is that it brings about a basic change in people's view of labour, that it transforms labour from drudgery and a heavy burden...into a matter of honour, a matter of glory, a matter of bravery and heroism."

—quoted in Isaac Deutscher, "Socialist Competition," in *Heretics and Renegades and Other Essays* [1955]

Wajda the moralist does not see that

the lies of Stalinism have a political basis. The more irrational and brutal the "socialist competition," the greater the need to paint it red. As Trotsky explained in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936):

"When the rhythm of labor is determined by the chase after the ruble, then people do not expend themselves 'according to ability'—that is, according to the condition of their nerves and muscles—but in violation of themselves. This method can be justified only conditionally and by reference to stern necessity. To declare it 'the fundamental principle of socialism' means cynically to trample the idea of a new and higher culture in the familiar filth of capitalism."

Stalinism has corrupted the truth of Polish history and in this they have had the help not only of the church but of the dissidents who have propagated the



Gdansk 1970: Workers burned PUPP headquarters. They sang the "Internationale."

Rollback...

(continued from page 1)

lick the hunger problem in this country and maybe the world" (*New York Times*, 14 January).

Bread lines, soup kitchens, empty factories, house-to-house searches by Welfare. Already 300,000 poor children no longer get school lunches, a million people are about to lose their food stamps, and proposed cuts in Medicare literally mean death for the elderly—this is the reality for the poor today. And in racist America the poorest are the blackest. Meanwhile, "rolling back" even the modest gains of the civil rights movement is now the rule at all levels of government. While the White House lobbies to water down the Voting Rights Act, in Alabama this is followed up with judicial racial terror to drive blacks back from voter registration.

In Pickens County, Alabama, state troopers backed up by the sheriff's office last week dragged two elderly black ladies off to jail for maximum five-year terms for the "crime" of voter registration. Mrs. Julia Wilder, 69, president of Pickens County Voters League, and Mrs. Maggie Bozeman, 51, former president of the local NAACP, had been urging elderly illiterate blacks to vote by absentee ballot. In a campaign of terror and intimidation, the state rounded up dozens of frightened older people in their homes, dragged them into court to testify to the authenticity of their absentee ballots. When one terrified old woman finally "confessed," the courts seized her statement to charge "voter fraud" and throw the book at the two elderly civil rights workers. Thus the Alabama courts do the job of the night-riding KKK terrorists.

The wave of attacks against blacks comes in the utter absence of black leadership to make any kind of fight. And the same retreat from struggle is reflected by the reformists, most notably the Communist Party. Trying to avoid struggle against the fascists, who are growing daily and training terrorists in

campus from Mississippi to Michigan, the CP's policy is to call on the government to "ban the Klan." Especially in the context of the Reagan administration this is patently absurd. In contrast, the Spartacist League fought for labor/black mobilizations to defend busing in the streets of Boston. Class-struggle labor militants protected black unionists' homes from racist attack in Chicago. The SL initiated demonstrations to prevent the KKK from riding in the Motor City in November 1979 and to stop the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco in April 1980.

The reformists seek to limit black struggle to the "cutbacks," while all their talk of "new people's unity" is just looking for another "people's front" with the Democrats. After Reagan's election the CP's response was to send a thousand ghetto kids from Harlem and Detroit to Washington—to lobby Strom Thurmond and the other hold-outs of the slavocracy in the halls of Congress! But the Democrats went right along with Reagan's killer cuts anyway, as part of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. The struggle against Reagan's racist rollback must be a struggle *against* the twin parties of American capitalism: in the streets, in the plants and the neighborhoods. The fight ahead must be a class struggle; it requires the mobilization of the power of labor and blacks to win. Not siding up to the union misleaders, who didn't lift a finger when PATCO was destroyed by Reagan, but a fight for a class-struggle leadership of labor, which acts as a tribune of the people in leading the fight against black oppression. ■

Amsterdam News...

(continued from page 3)

supports the stated goals of Solidarność for "Western-style democracy": "We are not without concern for Poles who are without political liberties taken for granted in white America." The suppression of workers' democratic rights

biggest lie of all: that communism is Stalinism. And now this lie is getting assistance from Wajda.

But if the Stalinists must lie to the workers, the truth can be explosive in a society in which capitalism has been overturned. In a collectivized economy (no matter how bureaucratically botched) the workers can easily see that only a brittle bureaucracy stands between them and political power. It is this fragility which makes the Stalinists rely on rigid censorship and suppression of the truth. The real history of Polish communism, for instance, would be a weapon in the hands of the working class. The truth about Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, the early Polish Communist Party, which was destroyed by Stalin for the "crime" of Trotskyism, would be a powerful antidote to the

clerical-nationalist ideological poison pushed by Solidarność. What is needed in Poland is a class-conscious communist opposition—a Trotskyist vanguard which will not only tell the truth but lead a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, to defend and extend socialist conquests, not to destroy them.

Wajda does not provide the liberating truth his films extol. On the contrary, *Man of Iron* expresses the anti-Communist lies of Solidarność. Not surprisingly this has also severely hurt his art. At least one politically sympathetic critic, Vincent Canby, has offered the idiotic thesis that, since Wajda was most free from Stalinist censorship when he made *Man of Iron*, such freedom itself may be the problem: "Remove restrictions that have the force of artistic discipline and the explosive energy inside some artists becomes defused" (*New York Times*, 15 November 1981)!

There is a much simpler explanation for the hack quality of *Man of Iron*. Just as Wajda's hero Birkut goes from Stalinist saint in *Man of Marble* to Catholic saint in *Man of Iron*, Wajda's dead-end disillusionment has taken him from existential sympathy for the goals of socialism to clerical-nationalist counterrevolution. Wajda rejected what Stalinism has done to truth and art, but *Man of Iron* embraces the lies of anti-Communism and of the church. Of Polish youth, he has said, "People who are 20 today need to know, and to understand, why their parents are lying." That is so. They also need to know why one of their leading artists cannot tell the truth. ■

and gross economic mismanagement by the Stalinist bureaucracy has indeed fostered among the Polish masses enormous illusions about the "free world." Thus Solidarność leader Lech Walesa could tell Walter Cronkite on American television last November, "Your system has passed the test." Behind Walesa's calls for "free elections" is the program of capitalist counterrevolution. And the ghetto poor of racist capitalist America well know that Reagan's "magic of the marketplace" certainly hasn't "passed the test" for them!

The American ruling class is committed to restoring capitalist exploitation in those countries where it has been overthrown, especially East Europe and the Soviet Union. Today the U.S., with bipartisan support, is undertaking the largest arms build-up since World War II. And Reagan intends to use these weapons against the USSR, risking global nuclear holocaust. Here is a government taking milk from ghetto school children and throwing black mothers off welfare to pay for MX missiles and Trident submarines. But anti-Communism victimizes oppressed blacks not just through cutbacks in food stamps or the elimination of programs like CETA and Head Start. Remember how many black youth were killed or permanently crippled in Vietnam, America's last war to defend the "free world" against Communism (and which was begun by liberal Democrat JFK). Now even more in Reagan's "volunteer" army, jobless black youth will be used as the cannon fodder in America's wars of counterrevolution.

Washington's anti-Communist crusade, including its support to the pro-imperialist Polish Solidarność, is necessarily also a war against the workers, black people and the poor in this country. It is now easy and even necessary for the black bourgeois establishment to denounce Reagan's hypocrisy over Haiti, South Africa, etc.—witness the *Amsterdam News* editorial. But in their own way the John Procopes, Andrew Youngs and Ron Dellums are staunch defenders of a capitalist system which is inherently

racist and globally counterrevolutionary. The drive toward nuclear war and the increasing oppression—of black people cannot be stopped short of sweeping away the capitalist system. Only international socialist economic planning can break the chains of poverty and inequality that enslave the black masses. Only a soviet America will be a friend and ally of the downtrodden and oppressed the world over. ■

"Angels"...

(continued from page 3)

"Crime in the streets" is an explosive issue, deeply entangled with racism. It's the standard populist appeal of "law-and-order" right-wing politicians whose aim is to strengthen the repressive forces of the state to control labor, the poor and increasingly desperate big city populations. And it's the bread and butter issue of the Guardian Angels. Yet neither the cops nor these paramilitary vigilantes will or can stop crime. That's not their role. The police are the official armed bands hired by capitalism to protect its private property and profits, to maintain a monopoly on the means of violence for the ruling class. They're not about to share that monopoly with a bunch of ghetto kids. But as conditions worsen in ghettos ravaged by depression-level unemployment, the Guardian Angels are offering themselves to do dirty work which the police—overwhelmingly white and more visible—may find difficult to carry out.

Ultimately the source of fear and violence in this decaying capitalist society is the enforced poverty, exploitation and racial oppression of capitalism. We believe people have the right to protect themselves against the endemic violence bred by this society—including from swaggering toughs like the Guardian Angels. The organized working class will clean up the streets by taking power and putting people to work. And in the process they will sweep away the brutal thugs, official and unofficial, who enforce the "law and order" of this criminal system. ■

Blockade...

(continued from page 12)

San Salvador. Several U.S. Special Forces "advisers" looked on approvingly as a 17-year-old youth and a 13-year-old girl were tortured to death. The Salvadoran troops have been far better at torture and massacre of defenseless civilians than at combatting the leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). 16,000 people were killed last year by the junta's armed forces and right-wing death squads. But despite the war of extermination against the FMLN base areas the guerrillas seem as strong as ever and their campaign of sabotage against bridges, roads, telephone lines and other economic targets has virtually bankrupted the country.

Despite its shaky hold on the country the junta is going ahead with plans to hold "elections" in March—which will include only assorted factions of the oligarchical right and the rump of the Christian Democrats, whose leader Napoleón Duarte is the figurehead president of the army-ruled state. No doubt Reagan will proclaim the results a sign of the health of the democratic process in this terrorized land. It should be recalled that the last (and only) time anything faintly resembling a genuine "free election" was held in El Salvador was 1931. The slight liberalization which resulted soon produced the first Communist-led revolt in the Americas, as the army massacred 30,000 workers and peasants. The oligarchy learned its lesson and there followed half a century of military dictatorship. The El Salvador demonstrations around the U.S. called for January 22-23 commemorate the 50th anniversary of *la Matanza* (the Massacre).

Despite the plain impossibility of compromise with these genocidal butchers and their civilian puppets like Duarte, the bourgeois politicians and leftist guerrillas of the opposition popular front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), politically tied to the FMLN, continue to press for a "political solution" with the oligarchy and imperialism. Two FDR spokesmen who were recently granted a meeting with a State Department flunky were careful to distinguish between their

At L.A. Campus

SYL Drives Off INS Recruiters

LOS ANGELES—Chanting "Defend the Mexican Workers, INS Off Campus" and "One, Two, Three, Four—INS Out the Door" the L.A. Spartacus Youth League (SYL) led a group of angry, mainly Latino students on January 14 in a protest against the presence of U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service recruiters at Los Angeles Community College (LACC)—an overwhelmingly minority campus.

The SYL, which learned of the INS recruiters only the previous night, immediately planned a demonstration against the justly despised "La Migra." The do-nothing liberals in CISPES routinely showed a film on El Salvador at the same time, even though they were within a two-minute walk from the INS recruiters. This is the same INS that is directly responsible for deporting hundreds of Salvadorans a month from L.A. to their death at the hands of the junta killers. SYL activists went to the CISPES film calling for an immediate demonstration and left with the bulk of the audience as the CISPES organizer was haplessly justifying why she could do nothing. As the SYL and several enthusiastic students who grabbed our placards escorted the INS off campus, some surrounding students applauded and clenched their fists against the



despised "La Migra."

This is the first demonstration called in Los Angeles as the Reagan administration steps up its racist offensive against the L.A. Latino population. In December the "Silva letters," which grant temporary U.S. residency status to tens of thousands, were revoked by the government, laying the basis for deportation of up to 100,000 previously protected Mexican-born workers. To carry out planned massive deportations, the INS tripled the number of agents directly responsible for the roundup and

announced plans to immediately triple its daily deportation quota to 75 to 100, according to the *Los Angeles Times* (24 December 1981). Even the National Immigration Council, a group of labor bureaucrats, lawyers, Stalinists and nationalists, described it as "a state of siege" in the Spanish-speaking neighborhoods. What's necessary now is for the L.A. labor movement to organize Latinos and blacks in massive demonstrations demanding: Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Stop the racist, anti-working-class deportations!

attitude toward Duarte and toward the generals, an obvious overture for a U.S.-approved compromise coalition between the FDR and the Christian Democrats. This pipe dream is also peddled by reformists in the U.S.—from CISPES to the CP and SWP—who look to the Teddy Kennedy liberals as "friends" of the Salvadoran masses. But these are the same imperialist liberals who launched the Bay of Pigs invasion and the war on Vietnam! Without smashing the Salvadoran ruling class, its military officer caste and its bootlick-

ers like Duarte, the killing will go on and on. In 1982, as in 1932, the alternatives are revolution or death.

All opponents of U.S. imperialist aggression in Central America must denounce the Reagan regime's open preparations for armed action against Nicaragua and Washington's continued support to the Salvadoran junta. But the CP/SWP/CISPES reformists want to isolate the showdown in Central America from its Cold War context. Reagan's actions in the Caribbean, like his threats over Poland, are the first steps toward a

showdown with imperialism's ultimate target: the Soviet degenerated workers state. Deformed by Stalinist bureaucratic rule, the USSR is nonetheless the strongest state to have overthrown capitalist rule, and the U.S. imperialists will never rest while the gains of October 1917 survive in Russia.

Down with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! Military victory to the leftists in El Salvador! Defend Cuba—Hands off Nicaragua—No Cold War blockade! For workers revolution in Central America! ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 12)

Militant" issued a special 6 January leaflet, "No Vote for Keylor," explaining how Keylor had progressively abandoned the program of class struggle:

"At the April International Convention Keylor was a delegate elected on the basis of the Militant Caucus and its program. Keylor writes, 'The editor submitted a minority report on Poland...'. His minority report and the speech he gave to the Convention were Militant Caucus positions. He now states 'Brother Keylor argued for a policy of support to those elements of Solidarity that were groping toward a working class political revolution.' Not true. We said the union should take *no* position on Poland since the situation was unclear, and to do so would be falling in line with Reagan/Haig's anti-Soviet war drive. But since last April, Solidarity has definitively become an openly counterrevolutionary political movement pushing a pro-NATO, pro-Vatican program which has nothing to do with establishing democratic workers rule. For Keylor to state *now* that he still supports some 'elements' in Solidarity denies this development and opens the door to the anti-communist line-up running from the American labor bureaucracy to Reagan and the Pope."

Likewise on the air controllers' strike:

"Keylor's publication ducks the PATCO strike. Why? Because he disagrees with the Militant Caucus position of labor action to shut down the airports. His position is for consumer boycotts, the same position of the do-nothing AFL-CIO, UAW and ILWU top leaderships who have stabbed PATCO in the back. It might be

embarrassing for a 'militant' to have the same position as the [ILWU's] *Dispatch*, so he just hides it from you."

The "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" leaflet described how Keylor's growing defeatism led him to capitulate on even the most basic trade-union issues over the last several months. On the "steady-man" issue, it noted that "only after the Militant Caucus again called him to order did he vote correctly at the Executive Board" against a motion to modify the system which allows PMA bosses to circumvent the union hiring hall. "It was no surprise therefore to find that he has dropped abolishing the steadyman system from his 'new' program..." Keylor's opportunistic impulses led him to repeatedly shunt aside the program of militant labor struggle:

"As a result the Caucus decided not to run him in the current election because he couldn't be trusted to defend the program he claimed to agree with. We said he couldn't run because program was decisive. He didn't agree, so he quit (which itself revealed a certain appetite for petty office seeking and careerism)..."

"We say this man is not to be trusted politically and does not deserve a vote."

In denouncing Keylor's deliberate and outrageous fraud, the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" pointed out: "The fact is Keylor has no intention of building a new leadership." And indeed the counterfeit "Militant" put Keylor's pessimism in black and white, saying that a couple of people on the executive board "can't make any *decisive* difference in the course of the union." Thus on the most basic questions he rejected the

Canadian Union Flunkies Blockade Polish Seamen

VANCOUVER—The ILWU prevented ships from leaving the harbor. The Machinists union (IAM) prevented a plane from taking off. Militant class struggle by the British Columbia proletariat? Hardly. The ships and plane were Polish. The job actions were called by the British Columbia Federation of Labor bureaucrats to support Polish sailor/members of Solidarność. These sailors threatened hunger strikes, mutiny and defection against the Polish Stalinist crackdown on the counter-revolutionary bid for power by Solidarność. The bourgeois press hailed the Polish sailors although their strikes were short-lived or called off. Almost all of the defectors were rapidly disillusioned with life in capitalist Canada and returned to the ship.

The BC Fed bureaucrats can be just as cowardly in selling out to their own bourgeoisie as their brothers on the AFL-CIO executive board. But they suddenly rediscovered the picket

line in the service of the Reagan/Trudeau/NATO anti-Soviet war drive and the CIA company union in Poland. They have an advantage over their counterparts south of the border—the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP). This brand of "socialism" is represented in the U.S. by IAM president Winpisinger who *didn't lift a finger* for American air traffic controllers when Reagan crushed their union, even though the IAM had the power to shut down the airports.

Given the junior partner relationship between Canadian and U.S. imperialism, the NDP serves as a "labor" cover for U.S. as well as Canadian imperialist foreign policy. To defend the USSR against imperialism and forge a class-struggle leadership in the Canadian labor movement requires the political destruction of the wretchedly right-wing and hypocritically self-righteous Canadian social democracy.

class-struggle program supported by *Workers Vanguard*.

Running on a hard class-struggle program in a rightward-moving political climate, Gow edged past reformist politicians and self-seekers Leo Robinson and Howard Keylor who also won seats on the executive board. In this

longshore local that only barely ratified the contract (by a 51-49 margin), it is important to translate the votes for Gow into active opposition and increased growth for the Militant Caucus. Forging a class-struggle leadership is the decisive step in leading the working class and its allies to victory. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with Reagan/Haig's Caribbean Cold War!

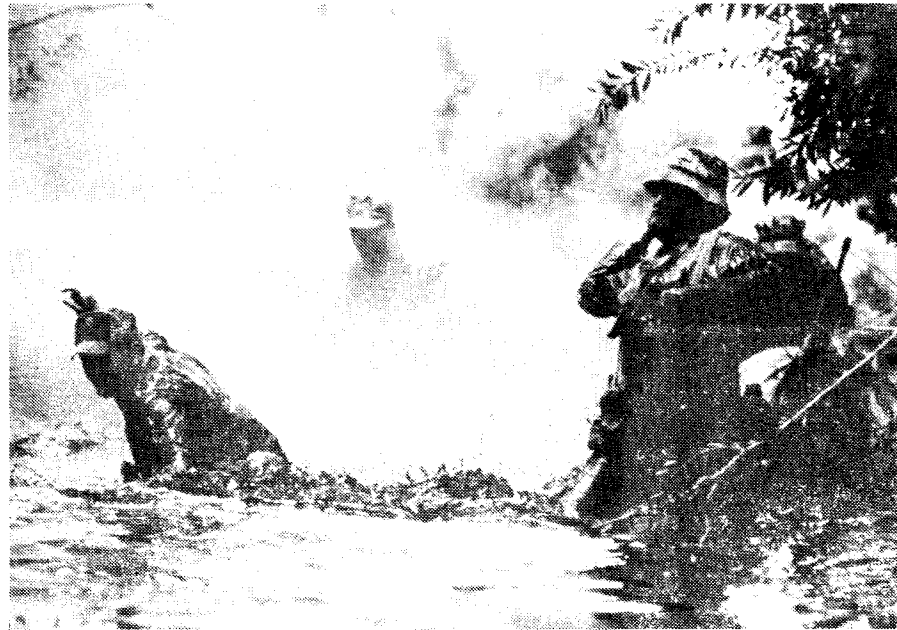
U.S. Trains Junta Killers

In training camps in the Florida swamps and the deserts of southern California hundreds of Latin Americans in combat gear are training for guerrilla warfare in Central America. These terrorists and would-be guerrillas are right-wing Nicaraguan and Cuban exiles training for counterrevolution against the radical-nationalist Sandinista government that came to power with the fall of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979. Reagan/Haig have targeted Central America in their anti-Soviet war drive, and training international terrorists in the U.S. is part of Cold War II.

There are, of course, laws that make this kind of thing illegal. But the Neutrality Act is applied only against those, like the leaders of a recent attempted uprising in Haiti, who oppose "friendly" dictators. Gusanos and Somozaist exiles face different standards. A Cuban counterrevolutionary leader explained American laws: "Under the Carter and Nixon administrations, what we were doing was a crime. With the Reagan Administration, no one has bothered us for 10 months." "You can call it paramilitary training or what have you," Justice Department spokesman John Russell recently told the *San Diego Union* (11

January). "Boy Scouts do that." Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders agreed: "It is not illegal to have military exercises, guys running around the fields with guns, or to say 'Uncle Sam, we're ready when you're ready—wink, wink—and here we go'" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1981).

Uncle Sam is almost ready, too. In mid-December, according to Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé, the Joint Chiefs of Staff put on Reagan's desk a set of "contingency plans" for military intervention, ranging from naval blockade of Nicaragua or Cuba to full-scale invasion. Preliminary skirmishes have been going on by proxy for months as ex-Somoza troops in neighboring Honduras stage constant raids across the border. In December the *somocistas* kidnapped 15 Nicaraguan troops into Honduras, killed a number of civilians and Sandinista soldiers and set off a bomb in an Aeronica jetliner. Honduran government denials of involvement were spectacularly exposed recently when the Honduran army commander of the border region, together with an ex-Somoza officer and the head of an anti-Sandinista Miskito Indian group crashed together in a Honduran DC-3



Cuban gusanos train in Florida. Uncle Sam stands behind Batista's, Somoza's hated killers.

a few miles from the frontier.

U.S. commitment to the butcher junta in El Salvador deepened last month when it was announced that 1,200 Salvadoran troops will undergo training at Green Beret headquarters at Fort Bragg. Another 400 officers will be at Fort Benning. What kind of

training will they receive? An 11 January *New York Times* report may give a clue. A Salvadoran army deserter told *Times* writer Raymond Bonner that he, along with other recruits, had been given a "torture class" at the Ilopango Air Base near *continued on page 11*

ILWU Militant Stan Gow Wins Re-election

SAN FRANCISCO, January 8—For the eighth consecutive year, Militant Caucus leader Stan Gow won re-election to the SF Local 10 (longshore) executive board in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Campaigning on the slogan, "For labor action to bring down Reagan," Gow polled 329 votes, an impressive 23.5 percent of the vote, an increase from 20 percent last year. This first round of elections for officers and executive board will be followed by run-offs in February and elections for Coast Caucus and International Convention delegates.

Gow campaigned on the class-struggle program of the Militant Caucus, which has always fought against the losing class-collaborationist strategy of the union bureaucracy. Against the "modernization and mechanization" schemes and "steady-man" system (instituted under former ILWU International president Bridges), which undermines the union hiring hall, the Caucus has fought to abolish the "steady-man" clause and return all jobs to the hiring hall. Especially in light of Reagan's union-busting assault on the air controllers, Gow's program emphasized, "For labor solidarity against

government/employer strikebreaking." The Caucus fought for solidarity strikes to defend the PATCO strikers—intervening in labor demonstrations with the demand to shut down the airports—as well as other workers struggles here and abroad (South Africa, El Salvador, etc.).

Gow and the Militant Caucus have stood against the wave of anti-Sovietism generated by the Reagan government in its drive toward imperialist World War III. While the ILWU leadership of Jimmy Herman joined the NATO/CIA chorus of sympathy for counterrevolutionary Solidarność, the "Longshore Militant" of 18 December 1981 commented:

"The International bureaucrats used to pose as 'progressives' on international issues.... But the 'progressive' facade has been slipping lately. The International capitulated to the anti-Iranian hysteria with the boycott of Iranian-bound cargo. And at the International convention, it lined up with the State Department and Reagan on Polish Solidarność, whose plans for the Polish working class have nothing to do with overthrowing the parasitic ruling bureaucracy in Poland in order to institute workers democratic rule. The U.S. government and American trade union bureaucracy have been bankrolling the pro-NATO, pro-IMF, pro-Vatican

Militant Caucus spokesman Stan Gow.



WV Photo

leadership of Solidarność because they want to overturn nationalized property and go back to capitalist exploitation....

"Herman and the rest of the International share Reagan's program for 'rolling back communism' and that is why they are capitulating to his domestic economic program.

The Militant Caucus fights for a workers party and a workers government as against the lesser evilism of pro-Democratic Party ILWU/AFL-CIO bureaucrats, whose only program these days is to give back more.

The ILWU is suffering massive erosion because of the leadership's decades of class collaboration. As the "Longshore Militant" notes: "Local 10 is being squeezed down to a narrow-based computer dispatched hall for a

few casuals. Most of the work will be done by each employers' 'own' steady-men." Meanwhile the warehouse division is being devastated. In the recent period, two major houses representing over 500 jobs simply shut down with no real resistance from the union, and dues payments have been dropping drastically as jobs disappear. Only a new class-struggle leadership in the union could turn the tide.

This latest election campaign was marked by the desertion from the Militant Caucus by Howard Keylor. Keylor issued his own look-alike publication, called the "Militant Longshoreman," in a pathetic and cynical attempt to hide his political break from the Caucus. The "Longshore-Warehouse *continued on page 11*