

## El Salvador:

# Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!



Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, March 27!

## It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

From El Salvador to Detroit, the choice is militant class struggle or bitter defeat.

As the murderous Salvadoran junta totters and left-wing rebels advance, this is sending shock waves through the United States. Reagan and Haig dig in their heels, still trying to convince themselves that they can get a victory on the cheap in their global war on Communism. The liberals respond with empty talk of a compromise "political solution" in El Salvador and "butter plus guns" economic programs at home. The reformists merely tail after the Democrats, but the revolutionaries of the Spartacist League have a fundamentally different aim: we fight for military victory to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents, for defense of Cuba and the USSR, for U.S. labor to take the offensive against Reagan reaction's assault on workers and blacks. We

want to sweep away the bankrupt capitalist system that spells poverty and oppression for millions while threatening to plunge the planet into a nuclear third world war.

Reagan/Haig's "Big Lie" campaign of recent weeks has made it clear to all that the U.S. government seeks nothing but a savage military solution in Central America, if necessary creating opponents out of those who had wanted only to conciliate them. When the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) toppled the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, it was possible to envision a (utopian) middle way. But in El Salvador today there is no middle ground. The *New York Times* reports that the leading candidate in the March "elections" is a psychotic mass murderer, who assassinated the archbishop primate, attempted to kill the U.S. ambassador

and now calls for indiscriminate napalming of the peasantry. Soon Christian Democrat Duarte, who has served as a wormy fig leaf for the most hideous massacres, may be on the run. At the same time, as guerrillas of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) are able to withstand an all-out offensive by the junta's elite U.S.-trained kill-crazy battalion within 20 miles of the capital, the call for leftist military victory is urgently posed. And the reformists who call for a negotiated settlement look increasingly like fools...or saboteurs. This creates a tremendous opening for revolutionary propaganda.

Today the call for the rebels to take the capital city, San Salvador, is on the agenda. Yet the dissident bourgeois politicians of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) are necessarily

opposed to a working-class uprising sweeping away the bloodthirsty junta. This would destroy their dreams of a reformed capitalist government by posing a profound social revolution. The Salvadoran guerrilla leaders also join the FDR in calling for a "political solution" which would leave the junta army and the structure of landlord capitalist rule intact. This was made explicit in their letter to Ronald Reagan pleading for a deal with U.S. imperialism. Leftist leader Cayetano Carpio reaffirmed that the goal of the FMLN/FDR was *not* a socialist government but "pluralism" and a "mixed economy"—that is, capitalist reform.

But even if such statements were merely a smokescreen, as the guerrillas' leftist American cheerleaders eagerly maintain, what the Salvadoran

*continued on page 8*

# Scabs for Solidarność

## RWL Wants Sitdowns in Gdansk, Not in Detroit

DETROIT—While the UAW labor traitors were engineering their billion-dollar betrayal of the auto workers to Ford, an assortment of burnt-out ex-radical academics and Shachtmanite dregs held their own version of Reagan/Haig's "Let Poland Be Poland" medicine show February 20 at Wayne State University. While the "State Department socialist" sponsors have no compunctions about joining Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) finds itself in the awkward position of sinking with both feet into the "Third Camp" swamp while occasionally trying to salute Trotskyist orthodoxy under pressure from the Spartacist League. But the RWL's squirming and for-the-record claim to support collectivized property could not hide its refusal to defend the Soviet bloc against the imperialist onslaught. After all the talk about "Communist totalitarian police states," one SL speaker noted from the floor, "You guys ought to apply to Radio Free Europe for jobs."

First up in this hate-Russia teach-in was WSU professor David Herreshoff. Unlike more shamefaced leftists, he made no effort to hide the clerical-nationalist ideology of Lech Walesa & Co. In East Europe, Herreshoff declared, the Vatican is "on the right side" (like its support for Pilsudskiite anti-Semitism and Horthyite fascism?)—i.e., against the Soviets. A speaker for the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) joined the ode to Solidarność, alleging that this bastion of Catholic paternalism (which had not one woman in its

national leadership) was a "women's liberation organization." During the discussion a Pilsudskiite emigré dismissed "all the talk about class struggle in Poland" and stated frankly, "What's going on there is Polish nationalism." A representative of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) rose to support the latter, railing against the Soviet Union as "an imperialist nation."

The military crackdown on the counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarność has sent the American petty-bourgeois intelligentsia into a spasm of anti-Sovietism. Despite their disagreements over El Salvador, ultrarightists, liberals and socialist democrats of all stripes join Reagan in counterrevolutionary "Solidarity with Solidarity." This has put particular pressure on the closet Third Camp followers of the RWL. On February 20, RWLers gave perfunctory canned speeches about defending "collectivized property" while directing their main fire at the SL. And in their newspaper the Sollenbergerites claim that apart from some kulaks, "no section of Polish society wants capitalism back" (*Workers Struggle*, February 1982). The same issue assails the Spartacist League for making much of "the alleged role of the Church and of Polish nationalism"—and then devotes an article each to whitewashing the "alleged" role of the church and of Polish nationalism!

Ever since Solidarność arose, the RWL has been in an ongoing political bloc with various clots of latter-day followers of Max Shachtman, who broke with Trotskyism in 1939-40,

refusing to defend the USSR against imperialism. In September 1980 they held a joint forum with the RSL in support of Polish Solidarity. In Ann Arbor they have joined together in a front group with the classic popular-frontist name, "Coalition to Fight the Right." The latest issue of *Workers Struggle* includes the slogan "No U.S. Intervention" as an afterthought to their real position "Defend Solidarity!" But on December 18 the RWL was at Detroit's Kennedy Square with the RSL at an AFL-CIO demonstration that fanatically called for escalating U.S. "rollback" threats in East Europe. The signs of an RWL-supported union group peeked out from behind calls for "Strong U.S. Actions" (i.e., imperialist blackmail or worse) and in front of a large "captive nations" emigré banner proclaiming "Freedom for Poland, Blessed Mother and Pope Are With Us."

Poland has sharply drawn the class line over defense of the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states. It's no surprise that the RWL, which explicitly *defends scabbing* at home, should be crossing that line over Poland as well. But in Detroit it is particularly difficult to sell support for Reagan's "rollback." Here blacks and unionists are the direct victims of the anti-Soviet war/austerity drive. Here spokesmen for UAW Solidarity House such as Don Ephlin boast of being members of DSO, the kept "socialists" of the Democratic Party, even as they are massively giving back hard-won union gains to the bosses. At



WV Photo

The company they keep: RWL joins "captive nations" demo in Detroit, December 18.

the Wayne State teach-in an SL spokesman brought the Poland question home to the Detroit of idle factories and racist cutbacks:

"I would like to talk about what everyone's line here means for the working class in Detroit. The organizations here who are supporting Solidarność have also been trailing after the UAW bureaucracy in Detroit. These people who have been supporting sitdowns in Gdansk have been opposing them in Detroit. They are not willing to fight capitalism for auto workers' jobs. They only want to talk about the woes of the Polish working class because there they can fight against nationalized property; they can line up in an anti-Communist crusade hand-in-hand with the same sellout bureaucrats (half of whom call themselves socialists) who screw black auto workers in Detroit. "It is no accident that the black population of this country does not like Solidarity. Black workers hate Reagan where you people here hate Russia. The black auto worker in Detroit or Chicago or anywhere else in this country has a higher class consciousness than do you so-called socialists." ■

## Letter

### Herreshoff's Animal Farm

22 February 1982

Workers Vanguard:

At a panel discussion of Poland at Wayne State University two days ago, a panelist, in his summary, characterized members of your organization as "Stalinist pigs." I believe this jibe to be inaccurate. I had already had my final say as a panelist and had no chance then and there to disassociate myself from it.

I would like to do so now. Unless otherwise specified, a pig is a living animal. You, however, show no signs of being a living political organism in your response to Polish events. Moreover a pig, from a human point of view, has many useful attributes. But to whom are you useful? To nobody, so far as I can see. You martial law socialists, cheering on the Warsaw junta in its war against the Polish working class are, to speak politely, of no use to the Polish workers. As for the counter-revolutionary regime which suppressed Solidarność, they already have their chosen apologists and don't need you either. And the Western bankers who rejoiced in Jaruzelski's coup have quite enough runners of their own to bear the glad tidings to their class that the workers have been put down again. So, really, who needs you?

The fact that you exhibit no signs of shame as you perform your ritual self-abasement before the immediate enemies of the Polish workers is a sure

indication that you are politically dead. The pig never lived who squealed with joy when strikes are broken and unions busted. But you do. Piggishness is a condition above anything you can reasonably aspire to.

The epithet Stalinist is misapplied when it is applied to you. The legitimate heirs of Stalin tend to be shamefaced when they have to defend the Polish coup. But you are not only shameless, you appear to be downright gleeful in your defense of it. You don't have enough conscience to deserve to be called Stalinist. For these reasons I can not characterize you as Stalinist pigs. You don't merit the comparison. Politically dead and useless, you deserve a decent burial. And lest your paranoid conceit gives you the idea that I want to organize that burial, rest assured I have no such wish. I am content to let the dead bury their dead.

David Herreshoff  
Professor of English  
Wayne State University

*WV replies:* Professor Herreshoff has come a long way down since, as a graduate student in the early '50s, he joined the Cochranite faction that sought to liquidate the Trotskyist movement in the United States (and soon liquidated itself). As for his letter, it speaks for itself. ■

### Toni Randell Memorial

March 9, 1982

Dear Comrades,

I just received my March 5th issue of *Workers Vanguard* and while I am an ex-member myself, I must say that I agree with the sentiments of Comrades Robertson, Foster and Randell concerning ex-members. A belief in Marxism is a belief in the need to transform society by supporting a program and a political organization based on that program. If the quitters are bothered by the deserved contempt of those who are doing their fair share of the work of building a revolutionary party, then they should resolve their personal problems and rejoin.

Since I live in the midwest and have been laid off for six months, I decided not to spend the money to attend either of the Toni Randell memorial meetings. However, my sympathies are with Jack and Jessica and the rest of the comrades. I knew Toni from when I lived in New York and I too will miss her. My response to reading the memorial speeches was that I should rejoin as soon as possible.

Without trying to justify my own resignation, I would like to add that my own "personal problems" are almost grown up. The youngest is due to graduate from high school in June of next year. If I do not rejoin at that time, I will fully deserve to be despised by the comrades who are

living according to their political convictions.

revolutionary greetings,  
J.J.

*In his speech to the New York memorial meeting for comrade Toni Randell, Jim Robertson noted: "...something that should properly make the ex-members in the room uneasy: she so despised you." One ex-member, comrade Price C. (in his time a heroic civil rights freedom rider), reading this in WV, clipped the paragraph and sent it to us with the word "uneasy" underlined and the following comment:*

[New York]

Dear Jim:

I am *not* uneasy!!

Price

Not at all. Well, maybe a little.

Paris  
9 March

Comrades,

As an ex-member of IST, I just want to salute Toni Randell as a woman who lived as a Communist. She died as a Communist. I'd never known her but she lives in me like an example to learn being a Communist. I know I could honour her memory only turning into a Spartacist.

Sincerely,  
F.M.

It is the increasing possibility of military victory of the leftist insurgents in El Salvador's civil war which the U.S. imperialists most fear and which they are desperate to avoid. Military victory means sweeping away the murderous army and police, which prop up a viciously oppressive landlord-capitalist order. It would wipe out the "death squad" torturers and assassins, the shock troops of the junta's war on the workers and peasants of El Salvador. It would be a defeat for Reagan and Haig's plans to strike at Cuba and the USSR by "drawing the line" against Communism in El Salvador. Most important, by mobilizing the masses and smashing the existing capitalist state apparatus, a victory for the rebel forces in the civil war would open the way to socialist revolution throughout Central America.

That is why the Spartacist League is calling for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents" and is organizing an Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march in Washington and Oakland on March 27. And it is to avoid that outcome that the imperialists of all stripes have stepped up their campaign to defeat the rebels. While Reagan/Haig ship in guns and money to keep the sinking junta afloat, the liberals and their reformist boosters on the left call instead for a "political solution"—i.e., a deal with the junta. The methods of the imperialist "hawks" and "doves" are different, but they are

# Salvadoran Leftists Must Win the War!



Lateinamerika-Nachrichten

doves, the Spartacist League (SL) takes the side of the workers and peasants against the U.S.-backed junta. It ought to be a simple choice for any self-respecting radical leftist. But the "official" organizers of the El Salvador marches have done everything they can to censor the communists. On May 3 at the Pentagon they linked arms to prevent marchers from attending the

So these "democrats" unite with the cops against the anti-imperialists. They try to cover this anti-communist exclusion with slanders about "disruption." But the fact that CISPES & Co. really object to our revolutionary program was made explicit by a *Guardian* spokesman in a letter to a former supporter who objected to the police being called into the November 21 New

reformists who oppose Reagan over El Salvador unite with him in supporting the pro-Western counterrevolutionary mobilization around Solidarność.

Bowing to anti-Communism, CISPES and its kindred spirits claim that the Salvadoran civil war has nothing to do with the Cold War. While it is true that the Kremlin is criminally *not* supplying arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas, reactionaries *always* see Red Russia behind every progressive movement, every struggle for social emancipation. It is their testimony, so to speak, that the Marxist program, embodied in the Bolshevik Revolution, is the program for human emancipation and social justice. Reagan's ultimate target in his war drive in El Salvador is the gains of the October Revolution that remain intact despite the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR.

The U.S. imperialists see that the military and economic strength of the Soviet Union is the main obstacle to their total world domination. Just what does CISPES think prevented America's rulers from invading Cuba in the early 1960s or H-bombing North Vietnam? Respect for international law? Concern about being denounced in the UN General Assembly? Worry over liberal protest in the U.S.? It is fear of war with the Soviet Union that has prevented U.S. imperialism from unleashing its full military might against revolutionary movements in the former colonial world.

Would CISPES like to argue that a U.S. blockade of Cuba would not lead directly to a military confrontation with the Soviet Union? Tell that to anyone who lived through the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, when liberal hero John F. Kennedy brought the world to what ex-CIA head William Colby called the closest thing yet to nuclear Armageddon. The Reagan administration has chosen to make El Salvador a key

*continued on page 9*

## Letter to March 27 Coalition

16 March 1982

National Coordinating Committee  
March 27 Coalition  
Washington, D.C.

To the Coordinating Committee:

At this critical stage in the El Salvador civil war, the Spartacist League-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent and the March 27 Coalition will be demonstrating in Washington on March 27. The AIC and the March 27 Coalition share a common opposition to Reagan's increasingly ominous threats of U.S. military intervention in the region. At the same time, we differ sharply in our understanding of the solution—you call for a negotiated peace, we for victory to the leftist insurgents.

In recent months, organizers of CISPES/PAM-initiated demonstrations in Chicago, New York, Boston

and Los Angeles have sought to exclude Spartacist-led contingents. Sometimes the police have been invoked. In any case, sharp physical clashes among marchers can well provoke police intervention, placing all the demonstrators in danger of violence or arrest, and such confrontations put non-citizens at particular risk.

Despite the profound political gulf between our groups, we believe it behooves both parties to avoid unnecessary physical clashes in the face of a police presence and the possibility of extra-legal Reaganite provocation, e.g. the mobilization of ultra-rightist emigres against left-wing demonstrators as also happened at particular points during the Vietnam War period. We therefore propose that our respective steering committees should make contact to acquaint each other with the relevant practical information on our

plans, in the hope that such coordination in advance and on March 27 will enable us to avoid unintended clashes. We make this proposal in the interest of protecting the rights and safety of all protesters. We propose such discussion at our earliest mutual convenience.

Fraternally,

Liz Gordon  
National Secretary  
Spartacist League/U.S.

encl.: Clipping from *Granma* (weekly English-language organ of the Cuban Communist Party), 28 February 1982, "Protest Marches in Several U.S. Cities Oppose U.S. Aid to Salvadoran Government"

copies to: local March 27 Coalition  
and Anti-Imperialist Contingent groups

both committed to preserving capitalist rule. We say negotiations or cease-fire are a ticket for defeat. There can be nothing to negotiate with the butchers who every day pile corpses on the roadsides and lava fields. What is posed in El Salvador is revolution or death! Forward to victory! Take San Salvador—Our "political solution" is workers revolution!

### Why They Exclude Reds

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent fights not to reform imperialism but to *defeat* it. Unlike the pro-imperialist

anti-imperialist rally; on June 6 they drew a blood line between reformism and revolution in the streets of New York. When this proved incapable of silencing the communists, they increasingly resorted to calling on the capitalists' cops to do the job.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the rest of the reformists (CP, SWP, YAWF) want a liberal protest to establish a liberal—that is, capitalist—government in El Salvador. Thus they herded marchers on last May 3 to hear Democrat Bella Abzug; in Boston last month their featured speaker was Democratic Senator Tsongas; in Madison last week it was Democratic Congressman Kastenmaier. And they intend to keep the protests "ready for Teddy" Kennedy. The march they want in Washington is a walking, talking "letter to your Democratic Congressman." They want to exclude the Anti-Imperialist Contingent because it won't kowtow to the Democrats, because we are not just another wing of the populist frontist El Salvador protest "movement." They seek to tie the masses to the "progressive" capitalists; the Trotskyists fight for working-class mobilization against the imperialists and their puppets.

York demonstration (see "*Guardian's* Anti-Communist 'Unity,'" *WV* No. 300, 5 March). The letter argued that the SL "tried to prevent the coalition... from putting forward its principles of unity" because we "carried a slogan calling for more military aid from the USSR to El Salvador." In contrast, the official Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma* (28 February) reported objectively on the February 20 NYC protest (where the reformists once again brought in the cops against the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent):

"Another 200 marchers who covered the same distance shouted slogans against Reagan's administration and in favor of a revolutionary victory for El Salvador."

### Defend Cuba, USSR

Even more than our call for military victory, what drives CISPES/CP/SWP/YAWF et al. into a frenzy is our slogan "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" The entire weight of Cold War anti-Communism is directed—now more than ever—at the USSR. The same rad/lib types who might sympathize with populist uprisings in Central America are scarcely less hostile to the Soviet Union than, say, mainstream Republican congressmen. Thus all of the liberals and most of the

### CORRECTION

We wish to rectify an inadvertent omission in our report on the memorial meetings held February 27 (see *WV* No. 300, 5 March) for comrade Toni Randell, who died February 12. In listing the speakers at the meetings we failed to include the meeting chairmen, who were selected with much thought by Toni's comrades. The chairmen were Diana Everett in New York and Deborah Maguire in San Francisco.

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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19 March 1982

## Revolutionary Victory Not Bourgeois Defeatism

# El Salvador Protests: Another Vietnam?

The spectre of Vietnam hangs over El Salvador. According to a *Newsweek* poll, 74 percent of those questioned thought Reagan was turning El Salvador into the Vietnam of the 1980s, 89 percent opposed sending American troops, 60 percent opposed military aid and over half wanted the U.S. to keep its hands off El Salvador altogether. Vietnam followed by Watergate rendered the American people extremely cynical about the motives of the government, especially when it came to sending U.S. soldiers to fight for some tinpot dictator in some far-off country. Young men are in no hurry to get their asses shot off, and their parents do not want to see their sons killed or mutilated for another barbaric and corrupt military dictatorship.

The spectre of Vietnam now hangs over the halls of Congress as well. But the motivation of the imperialist "doves" has nothing to do with the fears of ordinary working people. Their concerns are summed up in a letter initiated by Massachusetts Democratic Congressman Gerry Studds calling for legislation to ban military aid to El Salvador: "The United States appears about to embark, as it once did in Vietnam, on a course from which we cannot with honor or victory emerge." Last week the House overwhelmingly voted a resolution in favor of a "political solution" in El Salvador not because these Congressmen oppose the savage American-backed junta but because they believe that the regime *cannot win* militarily.

The Congressmen and the imperialist ruling class they represent know who *lost* in Vietnam; *they did*, along with the rapacious Vietnamese landlords and capitalists. The Vietnamese workers and peasants liberated their country from imperialist domination by inflicting a humiliating defeat on the mightiest military power in history. The Vietnamese revolution has since inspired every struggle of the oppressed for social justice from the coffee plantations of El Salvador to the mines of South Africa.

### From Protest to Power

The reformist organizers of the March 27 coalition are deliberately imitating the *worst* aspects of the Vietnam antiwar protest movement. They are seeking to mobilize radicalized student youth behind the liberal Demo-

cratic "doves" who want to save the "honor" of American imperialism and spare it another Vietnam-like defeat.

Contrary to current liberal/reformist mythology, the U.S. was driven out of Vietnam because it was defeated on the battlefield, not because of the "end the war" protests. It was the successful 1968 Tet offensive by the North Vietnamese army and Vietcong, not the Fifth Avenue and Pennsylvania Avenue peace parades, which convinced a section of the American ruling class that, in Robert Kennedy's words, "a total military victory is probably beyond our grasp." So the ruling capitalist party which started and escalated the war in Vietnam—the Democratic Party of Kennedy, Johnson and McNamara—began to send its representatives to antiwar rallies. Suddenly this party of naked counterrevolutionary militarism was dressed up through the donkey work of the SWP and CP as the party of peace-loving "doves."

The American ruling class also became acutely aware of the *internal* danger of pursuing an increasingly unpopular war. After the Tet offensive a Pentagon study warned of "growing unrest in the cities because of the belief that we are ignoring domestic problems" which could lead to "a domestic crisis of unprecedented proportions." Here the reformist-led antiwar movement served as a useful safety valve by channeling radicalized student-youth into impotent peace parades and electoral campaigns for Democratic (and also Republican) "doves" like Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern. Support to the liberal wings of the twin parties of strikebreaking, racism and imperialism was a fundamental *obstacle* to linking the struggle against the Vietnam War to the concurrent explosions in the black ghettos and to the mounting strike wave in the factories.

While reformists like the SWP and CP rallied to the bourgeois defeatists, the Spartacist League (SL) fought for *revolutionary defeatism*, for the military victory of North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese NLF. As we stated when we broke with the liberal-dominated New York Peace Parade Committee in 1965:

"...we are not simply for stopping the war, but rather *for* the victory of the social revolution that is taking place in Vietnam.... What is involved is not simply a matter of self-determination or moral indignation or national security



WV Photo

**CISPES says: "No More Vietnams." We say Vietnam was a victory for world revolution.**

or the honor and reputation of the American people.... The best defense of the Vietnamese revolution is to build a militant antiwar movement in this country strong enough to compel the United States to get out of Vietnam!"

—"Spartacist Breaks with New York Parade Committee," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

Such a militant antiwar movement had to be based centrally on the organized working class, the only social force capable of ending the wars of U.S. imperialism once and for all. Throughout the Vietnam War we agitated for *class* struggle against imperialist militarism.

### Break With the Democrats!

As in the Vietnam War, the reformists are again busy building platforms for the Democratic Party, the party of the Bay of Pigs and 1965 Dominican invasion, of the Vietnam War and the 1979 "human rights" junta in El Salvador which installed Duarte. El Salvador has now become the front line of Washington's anti-Soviet Cold War. And on the strategic goal of that war drive—the destruction of the USSR—there is bipartisan consensus. Remem-

ber it was the Carter/Brzezinski "human rights" crusade which sought to revive anti-Communism after the Vietnam debacle, laying the basis for Reagan's Cold War II.

The greatest obstacle to mobilizing the working class against Washington's bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive remains the deeply reactionary and ossified American labor bureaucracy. The AFL-CIO tops, from right-wing Neanderthals like Lane Kirkland to social democrats like William Winpisinger, were in the vanguard of the new Cold War militarization while Reagan was still making movies. These Cold War labor fakers are up to their eyeballs in CIA "destabilization" and gangsterism from Santiago to San Salvador, creating "free trade unions" run out of the local American consulate.

This union bureaucracy organized a demonstration last September 19 in an attempt to refurbish the Democratic Party. But that demonstration turned into something more as over half a million workers marched to express their deep hatred of Reagan and willingness to fight. It provided a hint of the social power that can bring down Reagan and block the imperialists' war plans, not by protest marches but by militant strike action.

In an educational after the May 3 El Salvador protest, a Spartacist spokesman summed up the lessons of the Vietnam antiwar protests for the SL:

"As soon as the U.S. troops pulled out, the antiwar movement simply collapsed. Because it was not an antiwar movement, it was an anti-U.S.-involvement-in-the-war movement. A very different thing. The broader New Left radicalization tended to dissipate into the 'me generation'....

"We live in the belly of the monster. In the Vietnam War the monster was wounded not by us who live within, but by the Vietnamese from without. But the monster survived, recovered somewhat and is now screaming for vengeance. So we have our work cut out for us. The real lesson of the Vietnam War is that there is no victory but victory. On May 3 we marched, like we will in the future, not simply for victory for the Central American leftist insurgents or the southern African leftist insurgents or the southeast Asian leftist insurgents, but also for a victory of the American working class, of the black and Hispanic poor, of the exploited and oppressed of this country, a victory over the American imperialist ruling class, which is truly the monstrous enemy of the world's peoples." ■

## Hands Off Dominican Leftists!

With presidential elections approaching on May 16, a wave of police and army repression has hit the left in the Dominican Republic. The focus has been people painting wall-slogans and murals, with both far leftists and the reformists of the Dominican Communist Party (PCD) being singled out. But in the heated electoral climate, the crackdown against the left together with talk of coup threats reflects the ominous bonapartist appetites of the Dominican military.

On February 27, thirty members of the PCD were arrested for postering in the northern city of Santiago. On March 2 a well-known mural painter and PCD central committee member and other party members were arrested. The following day, 15 more militants were arrested for continuing the mural.

Other left groups were also caught in the roundup, among them three members of the Liga Comunista de los

Trabajadores (LCT), known as Trotskyists, who were arrested March 4 in the northern town of Moca for wall painting. After being picked up at the request of local pro-government thugs, the three were beaten with rifle butts, interrogated for 15 hours daily and threatened with being sent to the notorious Victoria prison in Santo Domingo, until they were finally released four days later.

At press time many of those arrested had been freed, only to be rearrested again. And on March 10 anti-riot police with tear gas and full force broke up a mill strike, arresting nearly 300 strikers many of whom suffered broken bones during the police rampage. In Santo Domingo, arrests and roundups by the National Police continue in various sectors of the city.

That this was not just "repression as usual" is shown by threats from army and police commanders directed against the governing Revolutionary

Democratic Party (PRD) of President Antonio Guzmán. The PRD is a bourgeois populist party, associated with the social-democratic Second International, which got into office in 1978 only because U.S. president Jimmy Carter warned the army not to overturn election results. Since then the condition of the masses has hardly improved, while the military is growing restive. In mid-February a Navy admiral accused PRD leader Peña Gómez of planning a revolt if his party did not win the May 16 vote. More recently, talking of the arrests of leftists, National Police chief Reyes de León threatened to also go after the "vandals inside the PRD who are causing disorders during the campaign."

Clearly, the Dominican military is yearning to reestablish the monopoly on power which it had enjoyed under the hated "Benefactor" Rafael Trujillo and again following the crushing of

the 1965 Santo Domingo uprising in a decade of rule by the reactionary Balaguer. Twice the PRD "liberals" have come to office, but only under the aegis of U.S. imperialism and with assurances that they would preserve intact the economic structure of latifundistas (Guzmán is himself a large landowner) and multi-nationals such as Gulf + Western and not touch the military. When the crackdown comes it is of course always the left, the workers and peasants who pay the price.

At least since the Russian October Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, it has been an empirical truism that only socialist revolution, led by a proletarian communist vanguard party and establishing a workers and peasants government, can break the imperialist yoke; end the scourge of military-landlord rule which has condemned the masses to a fate of poverty and repression, and through extending the revolution internationally create the conditions for food, peace and creativity for the mass of the people.

Josef Goebbels, Hitler's minister of propaganda, was the consummate practitioner of the technique known as the "Big Lie." Repeat it loud enough and often enough, he said, and a phony accusation will stick—evidence or no evidence, denial or no denial. And the bigger the lie the better. From the legend of a "stab in the back" by the Social Democrats that supposedly lost Germany World War I to the myth of an "international Jewish conspiracy" to the frame-up of the Communists for the torching of the Reichstag, the Nazis tried to hide their crimes behind a heavy smokescreen of slander.

Today the Big Lies come from Washington, and the biggest liar of them all is Secretary of State General Alexander Haig. Some of Haig's more memorable fabrications include portraying the Kremlin as godfather of an "international terrorist conspiracy" from Afghanistan to Nyack, tall tales of Russian "yellow rain" nerve gas and now alleged "genocide" against Indians in Sandinista Nicaragua. In particular, over the last year, using phony White Papers and theatrical briefings, this Cold War master of deceit has tried to paint civil war in El Salvador as an exercise in Soviet/Cuban remote control. But where propaganda wizard Goebbels managed to mobilize the German population for imperialist war, Haig's concoctions have repeatedly blown up in his face. Just look at the abysmal record of the Reagan administration in the last two weeks.

On March 4 Haig told a Senate committee that "for the first time, a Nicaraguan military man was captured in Salvador, having been sent there by the FSLN [Sandinista Front for National Liberation] to participate in the direction which is so evident of this guerrilla operation from Nicaragua." But the "military man" turned out to be a Nicaraguan student on his way home from Mexico, who was quickly granted asylum in the Mexican embassy in San Salvador. After that disaster, the State Department let the CIA have a go at producing the "irrefutable" proof. On March 9 Deputy CIA Director Admiral Bobby Inman presented a show-and-tell session for the press featuring giant blowups of spy-plane photos of Nicaraguan military bases. Inman pointed out "Cuban-style" barracks and "Soviet-style" obstacle courses (what about the

# Haig-Goebbels



Bossu/Sygma

## Architects of the Big Lie.

American-style baseball diamonds?) in an effort to whip up a Cuban missile crisis-style scare. But the photos proved nothing and the CIA quickly scrubbed plans for a second slide show on supposed aid to El Salvador.

The next fiasco had to be seen to be believed. Haig decided to silence the doubters once and for all by presenting a star witness to the press on March 12, a Nicaraguan allegedly trained in Cuba and Ethiopia to command Salvadorans for the Sandinistas. But when 19-year-old Orlando Tardencillas took the microphone at the State Department briefing the captured guerrilla fighter stunned Haig by announcing: "An official of the U.S. embassy told me that they needed to demonstrate the presence of Cubans in El Salvador. . . . They gave me an option. They said I could come here or face certain death. All my previous statements about training in Cuba and Ethiopia were false" (*New York Times*, 13 March). Tardencillas showed the marks of torture used to extract false confessions from him and denied any connection with the Sandinista government.

Once again Haig's credibility had evaporated under the TV klieg lights.



AP

One State Department official told reporters he was late to a briefing on the subject the next morning because he was wiping the egg off his face. Another wailed, "It was a disaster. I don't know whether to laugh or cry." All State Department spokesman Dean Fischer could say was, "You win some and you lose some." But so far in their propaganda war on the home front Reagan's team hasn't won one yet.

The list of Haig bombshells that fizzled is endless. Recently there was the great hullabaloo over alleged "genocide" against the Miskito Indians by the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. Haig waved around a photo supposedly showing these "atrocious actions" and demanded to know why the U.S. press hadn't printed it. UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick went Haig one better, comparing the Sandinistas to Hitler and claiming that there were "250,000" Miskitos in "concentration camps." But with all this commotion over what are becoming the Montagnards of Central America, there's only half that many Miskitos in all of Nicaragua, less than 10,000 of whom were transferred away from border areas where they were subjected to terror raids from Hondu-

ras. And Haig's famous photo turned out to be a forgery, showing the victims of dictator Somoza's mass murder three years ago.

Meanwhile, with all the charges of "international terrorism" in the air, leaks from "informed administration officials" confirmed to the *Washington Post* (March 10) that the Reagan administration was itself masterminding a vast campaign of CIA terror against Nicaragua: a 500-man CIA commando squad to hit "vital targets," a 1,000-man Latin American army trained by Argentina, and backing for the several thousand anti-Sandinista terrorists of Somoza's army now in Honduras. And there is no reason to assume that the whole truth is out. What about the Nicaraguan and Cuban rightists training in Florida and California for a new Bay of Pigs? What about the huge naval exercises going on now in the Straits of Florida? What about Haig's repeated threats to blockade Cuba and Nicaragua?

As Latin American radical journalist Gregorio Selser observed in his article, "From Goebbels to Haig" (*Barricada*, 2 February), there has been much speculation about Haig's mental stability. The words "paranoia" and "psychopath" keep popping up. And his overweening ambition (recall how the sweaty, quivering general blurted out "I am in control" when his boss was shot) tends to frighten even his fellow Reaganites. To become a successful practitioner of the Big Lie, Haig needs above all the Nazi regime's absolutely controlled press, something he no doubt envies each time he picks up the newspaper. Beware of secretaries on horseback!

Yet it should not be forgotten that among the glazed-eyed Cold Warriors now in power in Washington, Haig is considered a "moderate"! And Goebbels and the Nazis never had a tenth of the war machine Reagan & Co. have at their disposal. As Selser warned, the most frightening thing about them is not what they say but what they are doing and getting ready to do: "We can't dismiss the possibility that within Haig's crazed brain there may be a rigorously military rationale at work, planning to create an accomplished fact that could drag the whole country in after it." It's not enough to expose the Big Liars. They must be stopped! ■

## NMU Militants Call for Maritime Boycott

# Stop Death Cargo to Butcher Junta!

Reprinted below are excerpts from *The Beacon* dated 16 March 1982, published by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the *National Maritime Union (NMU)*.

NMU crewed ships bound for El Salvador are carrying military hardware which is being used to slaughter workers and peasants. Seamen have reported to the Militant-Solidarity Caucus that the *SS Dawn* (formerly the *African Dawn*) owned now by Central Gulf Lines and under a time charter to the Military Sealift Command (MSC) was spotted loading ammo in Port Chicago for El Salvador. A company official also indicated that the *Dawn* carried logistical materiel to El Salvador. The *Elizabeth Lykes* transported jeeps and personnel carriers to Acajutla, El Salvador.

We must take union action to stop the shipment of these death cargos. The working people of El Salvador are fighting for their lives against one of the bloodiest military dictatorships backed to the hilt by Reagan and Haig. The workers and peasants are facing starvation and slaughter by the military and paramilitary death squads. They have

two choices: fight or die! Now the leftist insurgents are winning. But the rebels have taken heavy losses and the military junta retaliates by butchering children, women and the aged: 30,000 people have been slaughtered in the past two years!

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), with 18,000 members on the West Coast, announced a boycott in December 1979 against American military goods to El Salvador. These words must be put into action. Our union must follow up on this and lead the rest of labor by refusing to sail ships supplying the junta with weapons, bombs, napalm and other military goods! In the same way that American labor had a stake in the North defeating the South in the U.S. civil war, we want a military victory for the leftist insurgents over the junta. . . .

[NMU President Shannon] Wall stated at the January New York port meeting that he supports Reagan's maritime program based on "defense" and that "defense equals prosperity in this industry." If the U.S. "defends" much more, the working people of

Central America will be exterminated! Agent Rich said at the last port meeting he's *still glad he backed Reagan for President!* The NMU officials of the Wall regime are so greedy, they don't care how bloodsoaked their money is as long as it rolls into their pockets. The 5 percent dues rip-off from our vacation checks is nothing compared to their policies which support Reagan's death program for the Salvadoran people. . . .

Would the officials have been for shipping rope to the Klan to lynch blacks or gas to the Nazis to gas Jews. . . . as, today, they are for transporting armaments to massacre working people around the world and at home in support of Reagan!!! This is what the

\$6.5 billion MSC buildup of the merchant marine means: Bloodbaths in Central America, blockades around Cuba to put another Batista back in power, Rapid Deployment Forces to bolster reactionary Khomeini-like religious madmen in Afghanistan, and finally (or maybe sooner) war with the Soviet Union to destroy the greatest victory labor ever had, the defeat of the entire ruling class. Seamen don't need jobs like this! We must fight for united labor action to defend our working-class brothers and sisters and make jobs to provide for the needs and use of people! Our union should take action to support the working people of El Salvador! ■

## OAKLAND

**Build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent!**  
**Join Us March 27 in Oakland!**

**Meet at 10 a.m. in Rilea Railroad Park (7th & Harrison)**

**For transportation and information call:**

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**San Francisco**  
(415) 863-6963

**Los Angeles**  
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# March with Us for the



Anti-Imperialist Contingent, May 3.

WV Photo

## Building the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent is on the road. From Massachusetts to Madison supporters are selling bus tickets in campus dorms and at factory gates, leafleting shopping centers and bullhoring on city streets. Last May 3 we brought 500 people to march in Washington for military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents and for defense of Cuba and the USSR against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. With red flags and anti-imperialist slogans, we drew the *class* line over El Salvador. It was revolution or death, which side are you on?

The contingent will be built in struggle against the reformists with their anti-communist exclusions and their treacherous calls for deals with the murderous Salvadoran junta. Reagan/Haig and their sadistic

junta butchers must be brought down through a mobilization of the working masses. Not imperialist pressure politics but class struggle at home and abroad—this is the program for which we will be marching on March 27. Join us and help build the contingent!

### New York City

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent was announced at a February 26 Spartacist League forum at Columbia University. The talk by SL speaker Barbara Francis drew 100 people, including at least 35 in the audience who were new to the SL and revolutionary politics. Quite a few had first met the SL at the February 20 El

## U.S./OAS Hands Off Defense of Cuba and US Break with the For Workers Action to

Salvador demonstration where they crossed police barricades and lines of goons to join our contingent, protesting the reformists who had brought in the capitalist cops to exclude the reds from the march.

Comrade Francis remarked that the reformists will not even call for victory of what is supposedly "their" side in the Salvadoran civil war:

"Their actions bring to mind nothing so much as the copperheads, the traitors of the North, during the American Civil War. What would a 'negotiated settlement' have meant for American slavery?"

Other activities in NYC included winning circles of activists at Queens College and at Staten Island Community College to organize their campuses to march with the Contingent in Washington. Regional trips have also gone to Princeton and Rutgers. The main event building for the march will be a rally for the contingent Saturday March 20 at the Machinists Hall off Union Square. In addition to the film "Revolution or Death" there will be a talk and slide show by Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador and eyewitness to the 1979 takeover by the "human rights" junta. Tom is on national tour for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

The struggle to build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent is also being waged in the unions. Subway workers in the key Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 have been circulating a resolution in union meetings and in the shops demanding "Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador" and for labor to "Hot cargo all military goods destined for El Salvador and other Central American dictators" (see box page 8). At one division meeting a TWU militant emphasized: "Let me tell you that if this union hall was in San Salvador, it would have been burned to the ground by troops of the government Reagan supports." While bureaucrats and right-wingers sought to squelch the resolution for powerful labor action, supporters of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have come up with a soggy petition begging the Reagan government to "change its priorities" and give "money for jobs, not for war."

### Midwest

The El Salvador issue has been particularly hot at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. On February 25 some 150 students attended an SYL protest rally, the kick-off demo in this year's Salvador protests on campus. And on March 13, the organizers of a local CISPES-like coalition tied themselves in knots trying to exclude the Spartacus Youth League from the demonstration. The night before the march they called up to say no "Military Victory" signs would be allowed since it represented a "higher level of unity" (defeat presumably is a "lower level of unity"?). At the assembly point, they announced we would have to march at the back, and reformist goons swarmed around our literature table and contingent. They finally backed off in the face of the SYL's firm refusal to "go to the back of the bus."

This attempted anti-red exclusion obviously caused unease among many of the protesters, particularly when they walled off the reds while allowing pro-junta Moonies to gather unmolested at a site near the speakers' platform. SYLers chanted, "They exclude communists, but allow Moonie disrupters." As an SYL leaflet distributed at the Madison demo said, "While Reagan fights the 'spectre of communism' in Central America, the liberal reformist organizers fight the spectre of communism within the 'respectable' El Salvador protests here in America."

Elsewhere in the Midwest, in Detroit and Ann Arbor the SL/SYL is combining building for the contingent with organizing a rally to stop the Nazis from staging a racist provocation at the Ann Arbor City Hall March 20 (see page 12). In Cleveland sales and leafleting are going on outside the J&L and U.S. Steel plants, at a shopping center in the black community, at Case

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

**El Salvador:**  
**Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!**

U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!  
Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!  
Break with the Democrats—  
For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!

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## Central America! R Begins in El Salvador! Democrats— Bring Down Reagan!

Western Reserve University, Oberlin, and at a UAW local meeting.

In Chicago March 14, 160 people attended a slide show and benefit for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, including students from area universities and unionists from steel, auto, phone, rail and public employees unions. Tom Janota exposed the FDR's treachery in calling for a "political solution." "What is at work," he said, "is an attempt to draw in the reins on a revolution that has the potential to win militarily, to overthrow capitalism." Spartacist spokesman Joe Vetter denounced the reformists' slogan of "No More Vietnams," saying "We want to see two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism."

### Bay Area

Here the reformists' coalition has split into two parts with each calling separate actions for March 27. CISPES has called for a "non-violent blockade" of the Oakland Naval Center and at press time were also calling for a picket line there. Meanwhile the Communist Party and Casa El Salvador were calling for a rally and march in San Francisco at a site as yet unnamed. The split is without a principled political difference; both sides are simply fighting over the same reformist terrain.

The rallying point for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent will be in Oakland in Rilea Railroad Park (7th and Harrison Streets) at 10:00 a.m. Already some 40 students are signed up from the University of California at Berkeley to march for "Military Victory." Building activities included a rally March 16 at Sproul Plaza on the Berkeley campus, forums and contingent planning meetings at UC/Davis, UC/Santa Cruz and Sonoma State University, with upcoming plans for a rally and slide show at San Francisco State. And in Oakland March 16, phone workers in CWA Local 9415 voted for their local to march on March 27 under slogans calling for leftist rebels to win the war, and for labor boycotts of military goods to El Salvador.

### East Coast

At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 45 people came out in the midst of a driving snowstorm March 4 to see a showing of "Revolution or Death" and hear Spartacus Youth League speaker Marijke Asten call for the students to "take a side" in the class war in El Salvador. Contingent literature tables are operating throughout the Cambridge area, at Hampshire College and many other area schools. Last week Harvard students hung a banner outside their dormitory window in Grays Hall reading "Military Victory to Salvadoran Rebels—Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent." Now another one has gone up on the other side of Harvard Yard at Holworthy, reading "Drive Marine Recruiters Off Campus—3/23 Anti-Imperialist Contingent"—referring to an anti-Marine recruiters demonstration there March 23.

In Washington, D.C., at Howard University on March 6 an SYL forum, "Blacks Don't Cry for Solidarność," was held, followed by an organizing meeting to plan a Howard Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Featured speaker at the forum was black NYC transit worker Ed Kartsen, a presidential candidate in TWU Local 100 last December. "Solidarność was a movement of counterrevolution," said Kartsen. "And because Reagan embraced it, black people have no tears for it." Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home, he noted:

"Mobilizing to stop the fascists—we've got a concrete example on March 20, when the Nazi groups are coming to Ann Arbor. And we've got a concrete example with the contingent for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador. Anybody who stands on the side of decency and defends the workers and peasants of El Salvador against the junta which is known for the massacre of tens of thousands, who stand for their victory against this junta, should join our contingent." ■



Tom Janota speaks at Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally in Washington, D.C., May 3.

## On Tour for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent Eyewitness El Salvador

- Tom Janota, last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador, report and slide show
- Film: "Revolution or Death"
- Film: May 3, 1981, Washington El Salvador Protest: "Which Side Are You On?"
- Spartacist League Speaker

### Boston

Harvard University  
Emerson 305  
Wednesday, March 17, 8:00 pm

UMass/Boston  
Building 2, 2nd Floor, Room 213  
Thursday, March 18, Noon

Tufts University  
Barnum 8  
Thursday, March 18, 8:00 pm

### Providence, R.I.

Brown University  
Wilson 102  
Friday, March 19, 8:00 pm

### New York City

Machinists Hall, 7 East 15th Street  
Saturday, March 20, 7:30 pm

Queens College  
Rally, 11:30 am  
The Quad  
Forum, 1:00 pm  
150 Powdermaker Hall (The Dome)  
Tuesday, March 23

### Princeton, N.J.

Princeton University  
McCosh 48  
Tuesday, March 23, 7:30 pm

### Pittsburgh

University of Pittsburgh  
Forbes Quad 1K56  
Wednesday, March 24, 7:30 pm

### Oberlin, Ohio

Oberlin College  
Wieler 101  
Thursday, March 25, 7:30 pm

### Washington, D.C.

Antioch School of Law, Room 101  
2633 16th St., N.W. (nr. Euclid St.)  
Friday, March 26, 7:30 pm

### Staten Island

Film Showing and Forum  
College of Staten Island  
120 Stuyvesant Place  
Friday, March 19, 7:30 pm  
(sponsored by the Staten Island  
Committee on El Salvador)



Alfonso Rojo

## Get on the Bus!

Sign up for buses to Washington, D.C.  
NOW! For information about the  
Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the  
March 27 demonstrations, call:

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Washington, D.C.  
(202) 363-7312



WV Photo

## Fight...

(continued from page 1)

rebels with their nationalist program seek at best can be nothing more than another Cuba, a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The last thing they have in mind is the creation of the Bolshevik soviet democracy of Lenin and Trotsky. This is not merely a reflection of Stalinist ideology, but also of the social reality of populist guerrilla war. Nevertheless, the overthrow of capitalism in Nicaragua or El Salvador would set Central America aflame, above all threatening to ignite Mexico with its sizable industrial base and proletariat.

### Whose "Political Solution"?

Currently attention in the El Salvador protests is focused on plans for a negotiated settlement in Central America, particularly the French-Mexican initiative. For right-wing "hawks" this is the product of lily-livered liberals who are "soft on Communism." For imperialist "doves" it is a means of avoiding the catastrophe of "another Vietnam"—i.e., a losing military adventure. For the Nicaraguan Sandinistas it means sidetracking a rebel military victory that would threaten capitalist rule, and therefore their delicate balancing act, throughout the region. For the workers and peasants of El Salvador, such a treacherous "political solution" leaving the landlord-puppet army and oligarchical rule intact means the greatest bloodbath in the bloody history of their oppression.

So what's in it for the French and Mexicans? What we are witnessing here is some big-power and middle-power rivalries within the framework of imperialism. Mitterrand, the French Socialist president, is manifestly as virulently anti-Soviet as the Cold Warriors in Washington, and pro-Israel besides. But the French have their own visions of national glory going back to the Emperor Maximilian, and consequently a semi-adversary relationship with the Americans. Thus Paris has decided to cultivate some friends in Central America, delivering a few million dollars of inoffensive trucks and band-aids to the Nicaraguans. (Lest anyone think they're gone pinko, however, the French are supplying the military strongmen in neighboring Honduras with advanced Mirage jets.)

Mexico, meanwhile, is the most populous Latin American country next to Brazil, and for 150 years it has seen Central America as part of its natural sphere of influence (annexation currently being out of fashion). Despite occasional rhetorical flourishes and bear hugs for Fidel Castro, Mexico is a capitalist country with a large, wealthy and very conscious bourgeoisie. And lately it has discovered vast new oil reserves which greatly improve its bargaining power with the *yanqui* colossus to the north. Far from being even slightly favorable to revolution,

Mexican president López Portillo has just created an elite army unit to keep the Central American insurgents from spilling across the border. And in proposing a "political solution" in El Salvador, the Mexicans explicitly offered guarantees against a Marxist government. Whether they can deliver will be another matter.

### Sandinista Nicaragua with Its Back to the Wall

Ever since he got into office Ronald Reagan has been going after the Sandinistas with a vengeance. (The Republican platform declared Nicaragua already lost to Communism, and the UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick labeled former dictator Somoza, the jackal of Managua, a benevolent "authoritarian.") Starting with cancellation of U.S. aid agreements, Washington has now escalated to more military forms of "destabilizing" the radical nationalist FSLN regime. There have been mounting border raids by ex-Somoza National Guardsmen operating out of Honduras with evident CIA support. Then came the threats of a Caribbean blockade directed against Nicaragua. And now it has been confirmed that the U.S. is spending \$19 million to train a force of counterrevolutionary mercenaries to overthrow the Sandinistas. Reagan seems determined to force Nicaragua onto the "Cuban road," finally to forcibly create the evidence of their "communism."

The FSLN comandantes are petty-bourgeois nationalists, not communist internationalists. Immediately after taking power in 1979 they expelled several score Latin American radicals in an international brigade which organized a demonstration demanding workers to power. The Sandinistas have periodically arrested leftists, broken strikes and currently hold several leaders of the pro-Moscow Communist Party in jail. They have channeled the bulk of government investment funds into the private sector. They claim, evidently correctly, not to be providing arms to the Salvadoran insurgents and right now are whining that FMLN plans to disrupt the junta's phony "elections" could have adverse effects on Nicaragua. This is treacherous, repulsive, petty nationalism with a vengeance! They have given ample proof of their desire to uphold national capitalism. But when threatened with a challenge to their own state power, the Sandinistas occasionally threaten to hand out rifles to every militant in Central America. And they are certainly threatened now.

Faced with the overt declaration that the CIA is pouring in huge sums of money to prop up their domestic enemies and mobilize counterrevolutionary military forces in a campaign of terror and sabotage, the Sandinistas will have to act. They cannot tolerate an internal and external enemy at the same time, and with Washington set on its present course this will oblige the Sandinistas to liquidate the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. (This is clear to the local

## Transit Militants on El Salvador

### WHEREAS:

The civil war in El Salvador pits the workers and peasants against the landlords, coffee barons, the death squads and Reagan's junta. Just as American labor had a stake in the victory of the North over the South in our own civil war, we have a stake in this fight. Only a military victory of the leftists who have the junta on the run can stop the bloodbath.

### WHEREAS:

Calling for negotiations between the junta and the leftists is like calling for the goat to negotiate his fate with the tiger. A "political solution," a deal with the junta would leave the kill-crazy military untouched, the corporations intact, and the social conditions for the workers and peasants unchanged.

### WHEREAS:

Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive is a war against the workers and poor here at home. Reagan busts PATCO and axes social services. The companies scream for give-backs and concessions. The unions

are giving all and getting nothing while the Pentagon gets billions. Reagan throws Haitian refugees into concentration camps while he welcomes gusanos with open arms. The Democrats like Reagan want to roll back workers' gains here and abroad. This party of racist strike-breakers, that brought us Vietnam and the Bay of Pigs, has no place in the protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The TWU and all labor must take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador win. Therefore be it resolved that we demand:

1. Military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador.
2. Hot cargo all military goods destined for El Salvador and other Central American dictators.
3. Stop all U.S. military and economic aid to the junta.
4. Stop Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union and Cuba.
5. Break with the Democrats. For labor action to bring down Reagan.

—David Brewer

capitalists themselves, who have been bitterly complaining about Reagan/Haig's counterproductive policies.) While they're at it, a deep-going purge of the Sandinista junta, to get rid of the worst "moderates" who have repeatedly blocked the road to social revolution, would be an indicated step. Then we'd like to see Reagan shove his *gusano* mercenaries into Nicaragua—"they check in, but they don't check out," as they advertise about "Roach Motels."

What makes Reagan and Haig do it? Have they decided that with their repeated failure to produce evidence of Nicaraguan-sponsored revolutionary subversion they're just going to have to make them Communists, like it or not? These failed Big Liars, who make Idi Amin and Dr. Goebbels look rational in comparison, seem determined to create a truth behind the lies.

### Class Struggle at Home

El Salvador is not just an isolated "foreign policy" issue but the reflection of a global program to remove every obstacle to the rearming of American imperialism in order to "roll back" Communism. As the *New York Times* (14 March) reported: "A senior Administration official said today that the problem in El Salvador was global in nature and that the United States should involve the Soviet Union, Cuba and other Latin American nations in the search for a solution." The anti-Soviet war drive is a bipartisan policy uniting all wings of the American bourgeoisie. Thus while Democratic liberals differ with Republican conservatives over Central America, they all join hands over Poland (along with most of the reformist left). And this program of war preparations with selective, substantively trivial, mini-austerity is necessarily a war against the American working class, minorities and poor. With the economy collapsing, union givebacks and savage budget cuts are demanded as "necessary sacrifices" for the "national defense." The domestic program of the pro-imperialist "doves" who call for a "political solution" in El Salvador is for higher, not lower taxes to finance the war budget, i.e., the sanity of Adolf Hitler in 1938 as opposed to Reagan's 1945 version.

Yet important sections of the U.S. ruling class sense and fear the growing economic desperation of the working people and their deepening hatred for the political rulers of American capitalism. Liberal and not-so-liberal bourgeois forces would like to offer some

social amelioration, not just naked reaction on all fronts. The haughty *New York Times*, which hasn't shed a tear for the masses in 100 years, now runs interviews in practically every issue exposing the growth of truly desperate poverty among large sections of the population. But the liberals have no policy except being against Reagan. They can't admit, even to themselves, that the arms budget is really a war budget because they support the basic aim of that war—the destruction of the Soviet Union.

At the same time the Reaganite far right is openly bridling at the restraints of bourgeois democracy, from sniping at the liberal media to the objections of Congressional budget committees. A Republican California state senator was recently expelled from the John Birch Society for openly advocating a coup d'état to do away with the parliamentary process and Jewish lesbians. And further to the right of the Birch Society the Klan and Nazis are growing and becoming more active as the fascist fringe of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. This gives increasing urgency to efforts by the Spartacist League and class-struggle union militants to stop the race terrorists in their tracks through labor/black mobilization.

The Reagan policy aims at destroying Russia in a war that they think will be painless for middle-class Americans. There is to be no drafting of white college boys or heavily taxing the upper layers of the American population. Instead there are to be Buck Rogers weapons, laser beams in space and the like, which probably won't work at all,

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# El Salvador...

(continued from page 3)

testing ground for World War III. Ignoring this fundamental reality won't make it go away. The question is, which side are you on?

## Who Wants a "Political Solution"—and Why

The majority of the UN General Assembly voted for it. The governments of France and Mexico declared for it. U.S. Catholic bishops want it. Teddy Kennedy supports it. Castro, the Kremlin and the Sandinistas are for it too. The reformists' final argument (before they call the cops) is that "the Salvadorans" want a "political solution." Indeed, the leaders of the FMLN guerrillas and their liberal allies in the Salvadoran opposition popular front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), vow that their goal is a "political solution" to the civil war through a cease-fire, negotiations and eventual "free elections."

The countries that Reagan sees as the forces behind Central America's falling dominos, Cuba and Nicaragua, are among the staunchest opponents of a battlefield victory for the FMLN. Moreover, both Castro and the Sandinistas vigorously deny helping to arm the Salvadoran left. Castro responded to the Mexican offer to mediate the conflict by pledging "to offer the fullest guarantees" that Cuban weapons would not be used by other leftists. And Sandinista leader Jaime Wheelock traveled to Washington to declare, "I want to make it clear that Nicaragua is not engaged in any transfer of arms to El Salvador" (*New York Times*, 5 March).

There is, shamefully, no evidence that Castro and Wheelock are significantly aiding the Salvadoran rebels. The Havana and Moscow Stalinists above all seek stable diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S. They fear that even the remote possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with Reagan would evaporate should the guerrillas take power in El Salvador. As for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Nicaraguan Sandinistas, they would have the Salvadoran FMLN sacrifice their victory as the price of not giving Reagan an excuse to intervene in Nicaragua.

The same CISPES reformists who call for a "political solution" and oppose military victory in El Salvador also uncritically enthuse over the Sandinistas' revolution. Yet where would Nicaragua be today if in 1979 the Sandinistas had worked out a deal with the Somoza regime, if the murderous National Guard hadn't been destroyed? Or does CISPES think that the Salvadoran colonels and death squads are less bloodthirsty, more democratic than the Somoza regime?

True, the Sandinistas, like the FMLN

today, initially pledged to preserve the existing army, purging it only of "genocidal" elements. But a mass insurrectionary uprising in the cities sent the National Guard fleeing for their lives to Miami and Honduras. Because—and only because—the old capitalist state apparatus, what Engels called the "bodies of armed men" committed to the old order, was destroyed, Nicaragua today is in an uncertain state of transition. Even though 60 percent of the economy remains in private hands and the Sandinistas vow to defend a "mixed economy" and political pluralism, the Reagan administration's hardline Cold War policies seem perversely determined to drive Nicaragua down the Cuban road to (bureaucratically controlled) social revolution. Yet there would have been no question at all, only a terrible *defeat* for the revolutionary aspirations of the working masses, had the Nicaraguan civil war ended in a "political solution."

Why do the FMLN/FDR leaders seemingly oppose their own victory? To begin with, the FDR is a class-collaborationist alliance of the political-military organizations of the workers and peasants with reform-minded capitalist politicians. The politicians, men like Guillermo Ungo and Rubén Zamora, lend their names to the FDR front only on the condition that the guerrillas pledge not to overturn capitalist rule or smash the capitalist army. Zamora recently remarked candidly that he opposed a rebel military victory because it would "find the U.S. completely hostile," and "the people in the business community and the professions would get out." He asked: "Under these circumstances, what are the chances of pluralism [i.e., capitalism]?" (*Newsweek*, 15 February).

For Salvadoran leftist fighters, a "political solution" as opposed to military victory is utopian and dangerously reactionary. El Salvador has already seen what the liberal imperialists mean by a "political solution." Two and a half years ago with much fanfare Democratic president Jimmy Carter introduced the "human rights" junta in El Salvador. This "reform" junta purged the army of "criminal" officers and established an interim government which included Guillermo Ungo (head of the FDR) and Colonel Adolfo Majano, an officer now in exile but frequently mentioned as a key figure in any "restructured" army.

The result of the October 1979 attempt to head off revolution with Carter's "human rights" junta was instant repression. Unarmed demonstrators were attacked by troops. Strikers occupying factories were evicted with machine gun fire. Working-class barrios were put under a state of siege. Farm workers who occupied haciendas were butchered. The paramilitary

## Phone Workers Vote to March for Salvadoran Leftist Victory

OAKLAND, March 16—The following motion to march on March 27 under class-struggle banners was passed tonight at the union meeting of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415. The motion was introduced by a member of the Militant Action Caucus who moved the unionists with stirring accounts from the victims of the Salvadoran junta. When the motion passed, applause went up in the hall registering the deep feeling against Reagan's U.S. intervention in Central America by American workers, particularly the largely black workforce of the local.

There should be no illusions that the CWA bureaucracy will carry out this mandate to mobilize the membership for political action. The affirmation of this motion underlines the growing appetite of U.S. workers to fight. Here is proletarian internationalism in the concrete—the linking of the struggle of El Salvador's workers and peasants with the urgent need to unleash the power of American workers to bring Reagan down through labor action.

### WHEREAS:

Reagan/Haig have in effect declared war on Nicaragua by openly backing a Bay of Pigs-style invasion force to overthrow the Sandinista government and restore Somocista terror, and

### WHEREAS:

Reagan/Haig are making Central

America the front line in their anti-Soviet war drive by training Salvadoran troops in the U.S., posting spy ships off the coast of El Salvador, and hysterically trying to whip up support for military intervention into the Salvadoran civil war by peddling the grossest lies, and

### WHEREAS:

Reagan/Haig seek to prop up the murderous and losing junta which has killed 30,000 workers and peasants and vows to kill many times more than this if it wins, and

### WHEREAS:

the liberals who call for negotiations for a "political solution" are asking guerrillas to lay down their arms, which would result in their slaughter by government troops and rightist death squads:

### BE IT RESOLVED:

That CWA Local 9415 oppose Reagan's anti-Soviet, anti-Cuban war drive and that the local march in Oakland on March 27 under the following slogans: U.S.—Hands Off El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba! Stop all U.S. military and economic aid to the junta! No negotiations—military victory to Salvadoran leftists! For labor action to stop U.S. intervention! Hot cargo all military goods to El Salvador and other Central American dictators! Break with the Democrats—For labor action to bring down Reagan!

ORDEN organization, supposedly banned by the new junta, continued to assassinate leftists, unionists and peasant activists. Within months the junta fell apart, giving way to a series of governments in which the army held the real power. The fruits of this "political solution" were 30,000 corpses.

## Death to the Junta! Workers to Power!

How could it have been any different? El Salvador is a violently class-polarized society. When the masses rose up in 1932 behind the Communist Farabundo Martí, the landlords and generals drowned the land in blood in the infamous *matanza* (massacre) and installed a military dictatorship which has lasted half a century. Even the most elementary demands of the workers and peasants—land, an end to the killing, independence from imperialist domination—cannot be won without expropriating the landlord and capitalist oligarchy. The liberals and reformists pride themselves on being more "ma-

ture" and "realistic" than the revolutionaries. Yet in El Salvador today it is not realistic to speak of any but revolutionary solutions. Anything short of military victory will leave intact kill-crazed military forces which have proved with the blood of tens of thousands of victims that they must be destroyed root and branch.

What is needed above all is the mobilization of the toiling masses in their own *class* interests, culminating in a *workers* revolution. Military victory for the leftist insurgents is vitally necessary to open the possibility of such a revolution. Carrying it through would require forging a working-class vanguard implacably opposed to treacherous popular frontism, building a Trotskyist party committed to leading the working class to victory over *all* wings of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and to extending the revolutionary struggle not only throughout Central America but north to Mexico with its large, powerful and combative proletariat. This is the road to victory in El Salvador. ■

and certainly not with the high school dropouts who form the bulk of the present volunteer army. But this does not mean that they don't intend to nuke Russia. The \$2.3 trillion scheduled to be spent in Reagan's arms budget is not *simply* waste as many liberals contend (although Admiral Hyman Rickover has demonstrated that there is plenty of that). The gang in Washington is dead serious about launching the war for which they are preparing.

Meanwhile, the crushing burden of this military budget is enormously intensifying all of the contradictions of American capitalism. The country is now in a deep recession which prominent bourgeois economists fear could plunge into a full-scale depression comparable to the 1930s. General Motors, for example, the symbol of American industry, is now operating on the margins of profitability. GM management doesn't *want* to lay off workers; it prefers to make money off those

workers through exploiting their labor power. But this corporate giant is also subject to the capitalist business cycle, aggravated by the irrationality of Reaganomics, and thus throws hundreds of thousands of auto workers into the streets.

In the present conditions of severe capitalist economic crisis, any real labor struggle must ever more directly confront the capitalist system itself. Accepting the logic of the system means submitting to the givebacks which are gutting the unions. The union bureaucrats have absolutely no answer to the mass layoffs and concessions to the companies except nationalist economic protectionism, directed especially against the Japanese, which sows further seeds of war. Deeply complicit in imperialism's war drive, from the 1950s through the Vietnam years right up to the present, the Cold War labor officialdom cannot credibly present itself as an opponent of the domestic consequences:

economic crisis, "givebacks" and cutbacks.

## It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight

El Salvador, Klan/Nazi attacks, layoffs in Detroit and all over—they are all linked, not by some kind of imposed schema but by the logic of capitalism in deep crisis. It is desperately necessary to fight, and the only successful struggles will be those on a *class* basis, with a revolutionary leadership fighting to overthrow the entire destructive boom-bust system of production for profit, not social need. Already most of the fake solutions are rapidly being excluded, openly and in the minds of thoughtful militants. The bankruptcy of trade-union reformism—which yesterday said "more" and today says "less"—is patent. What's needed is the Marxist, Trotskyist vanguard to unite all of the oppressed behind the proletariat and direct its struggle beyond piecemeal reforms

(today less than marginal) to the question of power. To stop the anti-Soviet war drive, to put and end to U.S. aggression in Central America and elsewhere, it is necessary to bring Reagan down through workers action on the way to a workers state! ■

## It Takes \$\$\$

Help us build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington, D.C., and Oakland March 27. We need dollars for chartering buses, rides for those who can't afford it; money for posters, leaflets, press releases, organizing. Your contribution will help us reach thousands of young activists with the program to *win* the war in El Salvador. Checks may be sent to Spartacist League, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

# Ann Arbor...

(continued from page 12)

several blocks away to hear the mayor. So on March 20 there will be a "Stop the Nazis" rally at City Hall and an "ignore the Nazis" diversion whose whole purpose is to let the fascists get away with their provocation. But as union support grows, the Stop the Nazis demonstration is building up a head of steam while the mayor's plan for a "diversion demo" is having difficulty gaining popular support.

A number of important union locals have already endorsed the Stop the Nazis rally. At a Tuesday morning meeting the Ann Arbor Joint Building Trades Council endorsed, and at a meeting later in the day, over 100 workers of AFSCME Local 2733 of Washtenaw County overwhelmingly voted to endorse the Committee's proposal. Workers took stacks of leaflets and began to build for Saturday. This growing labor support to stop the Nazis in Ann Arbor is no accident. Workers of southern Michigan are plenty angry and frustrated. They have suffered the most devastating economic attacks since the depression of the 1930s. They have been told that there is nothing they can do by the Frasers and Kirklands who administer givebacks and layoffs. But they know damn well they can do something about a gang of swastika-waving union haters and race terrorists! A mass mobilization on Saturday is exactly the kind of combativity that the labor movement in this area needs to begin to unleash its mighty power.

Hundreds of thousands of decent working people in Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Detroit, throughout southern Michigan hate the nightriders and lynch mobs of the KKK/Nazis.

On March 15, Don Andrews of the Spartacist League, who ran for Detroit city council last year, addressed remarks to the Ann Arbor city council on behalf of the Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20. He made it clear why there is such justified hatred of the Nazis:

"Most of you know what the Nazis are and what they represent. Some of you, some of your relatives fought them in World War II.... They want to exterminate groups that make up the majority of the population here in Ann Arbor—Jews, blacks, homosexuals, trade unionists, handicapped people. All these people were exterminated during the Third Reich....

"Many of us have stories of Klan and Nazi atrocities. I had a friend in November of 1980. He was a phone worker in Fontana, California who was

shot down off of a pole by a Klan terrorist. He's paralyzed for life. What was his crime? What was he guilty of? Wrong skin color? And of course he had the desire to feed his family.

"We say, no! We're going to mobilize labor and all the oppressed to stop them on March 20th."

At the city council meeting the mayor responded to the deeply felt desire to stop the Nazis with implied accusations that the anti-Nazi demonstrators were the source rather than the response to violence. Councilman Peterson noted that "it's the Nazis who are bringing threats of violence to us, and not the community." The mayor was answered by UAW militant Frank Hicks for the Committee to Stop the Nazis: "To raise the question of violence this coming

ing all of fascism's intended victims to fight the Klan/Nazis. For just as in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, the basic aim of the fascists in this country is to terrorize the working class in order to mobilize the population for imperialist war. With Reagan busting the air controllers union and funding Jim Crow schools, is it any wonder that the Klan/Nazis are growing and growing bolder, that they feel it is now open season on blacks, Jews, labor militants and leftists? The Klan and Nazis are acting as the fascist fringe of Washington's anti-Soviet war drive, the domestic counterpart of the El Salvador death squads.

How can the fascists, and behind them the whole program of capitalist

in that city.

What is needed in Ann Arbor is a mass mobilization of labor and its allies. A confrontation of a small group of leftists and some students against the Nazis protected by the police would simply allow the cops to victimize the anti-fascists. To stop the Nazis there must be thousands out on March 20. And it's the labor movement that has the social power and organization to really put the fascists on the run.

The Committee to Stop the Nazis campaign has already won support, not only within the Ann Arbor campus community but with the trade unions around the state as well. From as far away as Grand Rapids, trade unionists are planning to be there on March 20. The sizable United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1776 at GM's Willow Run assembly plant has endorsed the rally. One UAW official who backs the Committee's campaign told us that he had worked previously to shut down a Nazi bookstore in Detroit and was sick of futile appeals to the government for action. Several local union officials from Detroit and Ann Arbor have endorsed, and the Detroit AFSCME President's Council made a cash donation.

The Ford Rouge Militant Caucus, which has been waging a fight for a sit-down protest strike to stop givebacks and layoffs, is organizing to bring workers from the huge Dearborn auto plant. Caucus members have been distributing a leaflet which reminds workers:

"The Rouge Militant Caucus helped organize Rouge, Cadillac, Chrysler workers, Teamsters and city workers who made damn sure the Klan didn't ride in Detroit on November 10, 1979, after they murdered five leftists in Greensboro. We must use the same power to strip these little Hitlers of their swastikas and sweep them off the streets of Ann Arbor!"

Actively opposing a militant mass

**"SS Action" Nazis in Detroit celebrate racist murders. They want to bring Greensboro to Ann Arbor.**



WV Photo

Saturday is a straw man. What we want is to confront the Nazis with the very justifiable anger of their past and intended victims. To that end, there's wide involvement in the labor movement throughout this community and southeastern Michigan."

The following day, a ranking Michigan state AFL-CIO official caught the spirit of militancy when he aptly noted that we don't need Nazi martyrs. What we do need, he said, is a mass mobilization which would take the Nazis, strip them naked, and tar or paint them.

### Labor Must Smash the Fascists!

The trade unions, the *only* racially integrated mass movement in the country, must take the lead in mobiliz-

reaction from the White House down, be defeated? Twice before when the Klan/Nazis tried to penetrate the working-class centers with their race terror, the Spartacist League initiated labor-centered mobilizations which stopped them in their tracks. Following the Greensboro, North Carolina massacre in November 1979, the Klan threatened to march in downtown Detroit. The SL was instrumental in mounting a successful rally of 500, mainly blacks and auto workers, proclaiming, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" The following April the SL initiated a broad united-front demonstration, in which 22 unions participated, that kept the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Since that day the Nazis haven't shown their faces

## Funds Needed to Stop the Nazis

The Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20 is spending several thousand dollars to get out tens of thousands of leaflets and posters to students, auto workers, bus drivers, residents of Detroit/Ann Arbor. The Committee needs your help. Send contributions to: Committee to Stop the Nazis, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107.

# Protest Racist Stabbing at S.F. State

SAN FRANCISCO—Five hundred outraged black students marched on the offices of S.F. State University President Paul Romberg March 5, demanding the firing of a white male clerical employee and graduate student who assaulted and knifed a black woman student in a campus elevator. The attacker, Richard Moss, stabbed Doris Collum in the chest with a four-inch hunting knife February 26, after trying to physically bar her from an administration building elevator and hysterically demanding that she put out a cigarette she was smoking. Moss, a certified anti-smoking nut who has customarily harassed black student smokers in the campus cafeteria, is now claiming that Collum attacked him. "She... forced me to defend myself," he told the press. "She thought she had a right to pollute my air."

Black students were incensed because Moss was charged only with assault with a deadly weapon and the only action taken by the university was to place him on two weeks leave with pay.

"If the shoe was on the other foot and it was a black guy stabbing a white woman there would be no question of attempted murder," said Hursey Baker of the S.F. State Spartacus Youth League (SYL). "And we don't think Moss would have been so quick to stab a white woman. The SYL is outraged, and we participated in the march on March 5 despite the fact that the Pan-Africanist All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party tried to exclude us from carrying signs." The SYL has contributed \$50 to Doris Collum's medical/legal fund.

The university eventually backed down under student pressure and fired Moss.

California is the state where several municipalities are attempting to ban public smoking, and the attack on Doris Collum for smoking a cigarette is a prime example of what might be called "eco-racism." After the vicious knifing was reported in San Francisco newspapers a number of people called the racist psychopath Moss to congratulate him "for showing smokers that non-smokers

aren't going to take it anymore!"

At a well-attended SYL forum March 9, speaker Lonnie Graham emphasized that Moss must be jailed. The bizarre assault on Collum is not merely the work of an individual nut, but must be seen in the context of the racist atmosphere generated by the Reagan

administration, by both Republican and Democratic parties, who have declared open season on blacks through budget cuts and civil rights rollbacks, encouraging the Klan/Nazi nightriders. Only labor/black mobilization can destroy the racist offensive, through powerful class struggle to bring down Reagan. ■

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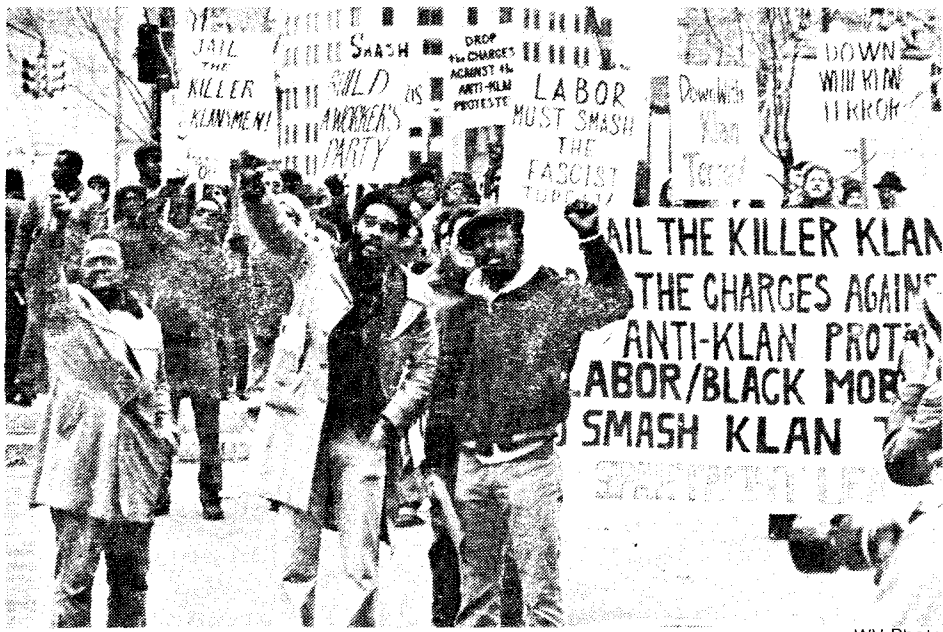
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10 November 1979: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

WV Photo

labor-centered mobilization is the "Coalition Against the Nazis," which consists of diverse left sectlets, principally Peter Sollenberger's cultist Revolutionary Workers League and its habitual bedfellow, the anti-Soviet "Third Campist" Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). At its first meeting the Coalition rejected an SL motion calling for a "broad united-front demonstration to drive the Nazis out of Ann Arbor." Pandering to the liberals present, an RWL spokesman complained that such a militant action would "alienate people." Later the Coalition decided they would "counter-demonstrate" against the Nazis. At a later Coalition meeting there was a disagreement between liberals who simply wanted to wear yellow stars and pink triangles as a symbol of protest and others who wanted to get the Nazis. In a typical example of swamp politics, it was decided that everyone was free to "do their own thing."

This motley collection of opportunists and adventurists has no intention of

mobilizing the labor movement to fight fascist terror. And with their rotten history in the labor movement here it is no wonder. A few years ago Sollenberger, manipulating a clerical workers group at the University of Michigan, managed to get a UAW local decertified. Then he criminally instructed his followers to cross AFSCME picket lines in the bitter campus workers strike of 1977. Condemned for this treachery by the Spartacists, the RWL has become a cult for scabbing.

The main "activity" of the Coalition and in particular of the RWL has been to badmouth the efforts of the SL and the Committee to Stop the Nazis. The RWL dismissed the November 1979 Detroit labor/black mobilization against the Klan—the largest in the city in decades—as "fraud" and "media hype." Likewise it called the San Francisco anti-Nazi rally of 1,200, predominantly trade unionists, a "sectarian" action. Yet both times we stopped the race terrorists in their tracks.

## Partial List of Endorsers, Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20

AFSCME Local 2733  
Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression  
Arab-American Community Advisory Council  
Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS)  
Bruce Belcher, Economics Department, University of Michigan  
Phil Carroll, union member  
Lewis Cohen, Eclipse Jazz; student activist, University of Michigan  
Herbert Eagle, professor, Slavic Studies Department, University of Michigan  
Michael Foley, Economics Department, University of Michigan  
Daniel Fusfeld, professor of economics, University of Michigan  
John Garland, Gay Liberation Front, IWW #660  
Richard Garland, former Black Advocate and Representative, University of Michigan  
Louis Gates, former president Frame Plant, UAW Local 600, Detroit  
William Goodman, attorney; ex-president, National Lawyers Guild  
James Greene, artist  
Roy Greer, Business Manager, Laborers International Union Local 959  
David Gutchen, student activist, University of Michigan  
Robert Hefner, professor of psychology, University of Michigan  
House Officers Association Executive Board, University of Michigan Hospital  
Abdeen Jabara, attorney, Arab-American Community Advisory Council  
Willie Jenkins, Recording Secretary, Laborers International Union Local 334  
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Sigma Chapter, University of Michigan

Josephus King, President, AFSCME Local 23  
Richard Layman, LSA curriculum committee, MSA course evaluation committee, University of Michigan  
Rev. Obie Mathews, pastor, Christ Cornerstone Missionary Baptist Church; program director, Eastside Ministers United in Action  
David Monforton, Alternative Action Films  
Michael Moore, editor, *Flint Voice*  
Mosher-Jordan Minority Council, University of Michigan  
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, University of Michigan  
Doug Packer, Vice President, SEIU Local 31M  
Partisan Defense Committee  
Keith Phelps, Business Manager, Laborers International Union Local 1165  
Armando Pizana, District Committeeman, UAW Local 600, Detroit  
Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600  
Marcie Skinner, Latin American Solidarity Committee  
Spartacist League  
Spartacus Youth League  
Thomas Swenson, Latin American Solidarity Committee  
Jimmie Terrell, Committeeman, UAW Local 900 (retired)  
Transportation Employees Union, Local 171 of Transport Workers Union  
UAW Local 735, Ypsilanti  
UAW Local 1776, Willow Run  
Washtenaw County Local Building Trades, AFL-CIO, Board of Directors  
Robert F. Williams, editor, *Crusader*  
John Winsatt, teacher, Jackson Community College; library assistant, University of Michigan  
*Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only.*

The Sollenbergerites take as their own "model" of an anti-fascist demonstration what happened in Detroit last August 22. On that occasion the cops protected the Nazis, charged the counterdemonstrators, beat up leftist protesters and arrested nine of them. This the RWL hails as a "victory." This victory for the cops and Nazis was in good measure a result of the protest organizers' failure to even try to mobilize the

city's tens of thousands of class-conscious black proletarians.

But the Committee to Stop the Nazis has no intention of allowing this to happen on March 20. The working people and students can drive out the Nazi scum and humiliate them so they won't dare show their faces in Ann Arbor and Detroit for a long time. All out at Ann Arbor City Hall on March 20! ■

## Reply to Michigan Daily

# You Can't Ignore the Nazis—Stop Them!

We reprint below a letter to the Michigan Daily, student newspaper at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

14 March 1982

To the editor:

Self-proclaimed Hitler-lovers and white supremacists, the fascist "Special Services Action Group," has announced that it intends to flaunt its genocidal "message" at the Ann Arbor City Hall on March 20. The University and Ann Arbor communities are thus confronted with a challenge: will the Hitler-lovers be stopped by a massive mobilization of students, trade unionists, Jews, blacks, Arabs, homosexuals, socialists and all the rest of us on the fascists' hit list for extermination? Or will the Michigan stormtroopers march again and again with greater numbers and ever-escalating terror against the bulk of the town populace?

We say that the only answer can be to stop the Nazis. To insure that the broadest possible anti-fascist mobilization "greet" this goose-stepping provocation at City Hall, the Committee to Stop the Nazis has been initiated by the Spartacus Youth League. This call to action has the endorsement of a large number of groups and individuals representing labor, student and minority organizations opposed to the "SS Action Group" march. A partial sampling of endorsers include: Willie Jenkins, recording secretary of the Laborers International Union, Local 334; Josephus King, president of AFSCME Local 23; Doug Packer, vice-president SEIU Local 31M; Roy Greer, business manager, Laborers International Union Local 959; UAW Local

1776; the Arab-American Community Advisory Council; Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services; Richard Garland, former Black Advocate and Representative, U.M.; Abdeen Jabara, attorney; Mosher-Jordan Minority Council, U.M. and well-known civil rights activist Robert F. Williams, editor of *Crusader*.

Much of the *Daily's* reportage of the threatened Nazi march has had the general tenor of Howard Witt's article (2 March) "Let's Ignore the Neo-Nazis." Witt argues that the intended victims of these criminal terrorists should wilfully blind themselves to the real threat presented by the Nazi march. He writes off the march as nothing more than "hollow taunts of some half-baked neo-Nazis." There was nothing "hollow" about the bombing of school buses in Pontiac for which Michigan Klansman Robert Miles spent several years in prison; Miles has close ties with the "SS" swine. Black victims of escalating Klan terror in the region like George Stewart—who was the target of attempted murder by KKKers because he frequented an integrated bar in

### Let's ignore the neo-Nazis

Michigan Daily, 2 March

Howard Witt

Communists Youth Brigade or the Save the Whites Foundation or the Women's Garden Club, may be the only ones who are

stary and the television viewers started circling overhead, while back on earth various community groups planned strategy sessions and the police department dusted off its riot gear.

It all went off like clockwork. The neo Nazis saw the time and the alarm started blaring. Most Congressmen couldn't generate such furor if they ran naked through the streets promising to vote for a tax increase.

They are perhaps the most skillful manipulators of the media since Joe McCarthy. Year after year, in city after city, the neo-Nazis have had only to announce plans for a demonstration and the media have rushed up like lap-dogs to a biscuit. And year after year in city after city, the public has complained about the extensive media coverage—all the while continuing to buy papers and watch TV news.

MOST OF THE time the neo-Nazis don't even have to show up for their scheduled rally. They are so successful in getting the

only interested in one or two stories about Zimbabwe, then that's all he's going to publish.

By the same token, if a TV producer feels that her audience wants two minutes on the neo-Nazi every night for a week, then that's what we're going to see. Economics is the bottom line.

WHY DO YOU suppose most newspapers don't publish the names of rape victims or juvenile delinquents? Sure, some lefty ethical principles enter into it. But mostly, the audience won't stand for it.

If enough people write angry letters or cancel their subscriptions or stop patronizing advertisers or turn the channel, you can be sure the newspapers and television stations will quickly modify their coverage. So there's one power we hold—and there are a lot more of us than there are neo-Nazis.

But we have an even simpler, more effective weapon at our disposal. We can dismiss the neo-Nazis for what they are—an inconsequential tiny band of sociopaths not worth our attention.

Detroit—would also take issue with Witt's blithe dismissal of the race-terrorists as "half-baked." In January this same "SS" group staged a "Death to [Communist Party chairman] Gus Hall" rally outside a meeting of CP members and workers. Such antics are the prelude to the real thing and these armed thugs in semi-political garb will seize the first opportunity to put their "death" slogan into action.

Greensboro was not so long ago. The five slain anti-fascist demonstrators were not the product of "media hype" but rather the victims of cold-blooded Klan/Nazi murder. Greensboro was a fascist victory. No more! The "SS" scum don't call themselves an action group for nothing—we must stop them here.

Throughout southern Michigan, plant closures and layoffs have meant bitter poverty for workers, black and white. It is in just such conditions of economic crisis—when even the once [omnipotent] GM has become a vulnerable part of the capitalist economy—that the race terrorists see the opportunity to breed. Their "solution": genocide of minorities, smashing unions, exter-

mination of all dissidents. Ann Arbor is a fine place to teach these Hitler-lovers a lesson. The "SS" group's hero did not limit his death camp "solution" to Jews and socialists—gypsies, homosexuals, artists and even the physically challenged were exterminated under the "Third Reich." Just about everyone in this town has good reason to hate the Nazis. To defeat them here in Ann Arbor, furthermore, can powerfully contribute to inhibiting the growth of fascist activity in the whole area.

Witt and the "Committee on the Affirmation of Human Dignity and Freedom," which has the mayor's support and plans to rally on March 20 at the Federal Building (i.e., nowhere near the Nazi march), claim to abhor everything the "SS" gang advocates. But the liberal committee and Witt oppose taking the necessary measures to defend ourselves against the violence and ultimate genocide for which the "action group" is organizing. Such shameless passivity is a recipe for bloody disaster.

Ignore them? They don't ignore us! Witt writes, "we have it in our power to determine whether the neo-Nazis get a 20-inch story on Page 1 or three inches on Page 10." That's hardly the point. First the fascists must be stopped, then follows a well-deserved end to their publicity and, more importantly, a severe decline in their recruitment. We have the power to send a message of victory over race-hate garbage everywhere: on every front page in the country, the headline "Nazis Stopped in Ann Arbor."

All out on March 20, 12 noon, City Hall! STOP THE NAZIS!

Spartacus Youth League

# Ann Arbor: All Out

# March 20th!

ANN ARBOR, Michigan—The Nazis say they are going to stage a racist provocation at City Hall. We say they must and will be stopped! The Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), is organizing a mass rally of all enemies of fascism. We will be at Ann Arbor City Hall when the Nazis show their faces. Workers, students, Jews, blacks, gays: Be there to sweep the Hitler-lovers off the streets!

The Nazis think that if they can march in a liberal campus town like Ann Arbor, then they can march anywhere. What's at stake here is whether the Klan/Nazis can break out of their white racist enclaves, attacking university towns like Ann Arbor and aiming at industrial cities like Detroit with its huge black working class. The fascist threat must be crushed in the egg, decisively defeated. A defeat for the Nazis in Ann Arbor on March 20 will be a victory for the labor movement and minorities in the industrial heartland of the United States.

Ann Arbor's liberal establishment has reacted to the fascist threat by burying its head in the sand, while the town bosses are doing everything in their power to give the Nazis a platform. Trying to be cute, Mayor Belcher quipped: "Wouldn't it be nice if the Nazis threw a party and nobody came?" A lot of Germans too once thought Hitler's movement was a joke. But they didn't die laughing. The campus paper, the *Michigan Daily*, has taken to running columns entitled "Let's Ignore the Nazis," which depict the fascists as "an inconsequential band of sociopaths not worthy of the legitimacy that our attention gives them."

Mayor Belcher is desperately afraid that the outraged citizens of Ann Arbor will *not ignore* the Nazis, but will descend on City Hall to give them what they deserve. Therefore liberal notables and the "socialist" councilman Lowell Peterson are trying to lure anti-Nazi protesters

*continued on page 10*

## The Nazis say they want to march in Ann Arbor.

### It better not happen here!



# STOP THE NAZIS!

### A Call to Action • Be There!

## Ann Arbor City Hall, 12 Noon, Saturday, March 20

#### Partial List of Endorsers

Arab-American Community Advisory Council  
Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS)  
Bruce Belcher, Economic Department, University of Michigan  
Phi Carrolls, Independent  
Lewis Cohen, Ethnic Jazz student group, University of Michigan  
Herbert Eagle, Professor, Slavic Studies Department, University of Michigan  
Michael Foley, Economic Department, University of Michigan  
Daniel Fustled, Professor of Economics

James Greene, Jr.  
John Garland, University of Michigan  
Richard Garland, UAW Local 1000  
William Goodman, UAW Local 1000  
Abdeen Jabara, UAW Local 1000  
David Gulichen, UAW Local 1000  
Wille Jenkins, UAW Local 1000  
Robert Kelley, UAW Local 1000  
Robert Kelley, UAW Local 1000

Joseph King, UAW Local 1000  
Richard Layman, UAW Local 1000  
Rev. Olin Mathews, UAW Local 1000  
David Montford, UAW Local 1000  
Michael Moore, UAW Local 1000  
Doug Packer, UAW Local 1000  
Moshier-Jordan Minority Council, UAW Local 1000  
Parliam Defense Committee  
Kelin Phelps, Business Manager, UAW Local 1000

Roger Millant Caucus, UAW Local 1000  
Marce Skinner, UAW Local 1000  
Spartacist League  
Spartacus Youth League  
Thomas Swenson, UAW Local 1000  
Jimmie Terrell, UAW Local 1000  
Robert F. Williams, UAW Local 1000  
John Winstall, UAW Local 1000  
Lynette Winstall, UAW Local 1000  
Tegan Zarbo, UAW Local 1000

### Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20

For more information, call (313) 662-2339 P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107 In Detroit, call (313) 868-9095

## A Call to Action

# STOP THE NAZIS!

We print below a leaflet distributed by the Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20.

The Nazis say they are going to goosestep into Ann Arbor to take over City Hall on March 20. The Hitler lovers want to rejoice in the torture and genocide of the Third Reich, the death camps with their smell of burning flesh. This obscene provocation must be stopped!

What the Nazis are marching for is "Death to Ann Arbor." Because the Nazis hate almost everyone who lives here. This is a liberal college town filled with thousands of Jewish, black, Latin and Catholic students. The race terrorists want them out of the university and into the concentration camps. This is a town with hundreds of homosexuals who know what happened to "social deviants" in Hitler's

Germany. If you are opposed to Reagan's bloody war drive in El Salvador, if you're a socialist, if you're against race hatred, then you are on their extermination list. And for the hundreds of thousands of blacks and UAW members in neighboring Ypsilanti and Detroit, the Nazis want Hitler's "final solution."

Thousands of decent working people and students will not stand for this outrage. We're calling a massive demonstration to stop the Nazi creeps in their tracks. If we don't, if the Nazis march here on March 20, then they can march anywhere. No one will be safe.

There is no question of "free speech" here. It's a matter of self-defense of the populations of this area against the race terrorists. These sociopathic killers are not only dreaming of their death camps, they have their guns loaded right now, and pointed

directly at you.

With mass layoffs and with Reagan training the death squads in El Salvador, busting unions and giving millions to segregated schools, these labor-hating racists think they can march here. It's no joke. The Nazi SS Action Group has close ties with the Michigan Klan led by Robert Miles, a convicted race terrorist. Miles spent several years in the penitentiary for bombing school buses in Pontiac to stop integration. Klan members blew the hand off a black woman when they hurled a pipe bomb into her home in an integrated neighborhood in Detroit a year ago. Recently three more Klansmen were sentenced for trying to murder a Detroit black man, George Stewart, who drank in an integrated bar and had a white girlfriend.

The fascists can and must be stopped now! But there is no sense in calling on the courts and cops to "ban the Klan" and Nazis. Last August in Detroit's Kennedy Square police clubbed and arrested demonstrators protesting these same Nazis. In Greensboro the cops and FBI helped set up the murder of anti-Klan protest-

ers. Then the courts let the killer Klansmen off scot free.

We have the power to sweep the Nazis off the streets of Ann Arbor. Not a small confrontation between a gang of Nazi hoods and small groups of militants, but thousands of auto workers from Ypsilanti and Detroit, students, gays, Jews, blacks, and all enemies of fascism, must gather in a massive demonstration at the same time and place where the Nazis want to march.

In November, 1979, several hundred blacks, auto workers and socialists mobilized to keep the Klan from celebrating the Greensboro massacre in Detroit. We can do it again.

Some say "it can't happen here." We say it better not! STOP THE NAZIS!

### Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20

The Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20 was initiated by the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League and will actively seek endorsements and support from the Ann Arbor and Detroit areas.