

Smash Reagan/Pope Counterrevolution! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!

Central America Aflame!



MARCH 8—With the dramatic battlefield successes by leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, Ronald Reagan's plans for escalating U.S. intervention and now Pope John Paul Wojtyla's provocative "pilgrimage" to rally the forces of reaction in the region, it is revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Central America.

The Catholic pope has declared a holy war against the left-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. From Warsaw to Managua, the Vatican is pushing a virulent anti-Communist crusade in conjunction with Reagan/Carter's Washington. The Spartacist League (SL) says: Defeat the anti-Soviet war drive, from El Salvador to Poland!

Meanwhile, as the Salvadoran insurgents have government forces on the run, the imperialist liberals and nationalist-reformists are clamoring for a "negotiated settlement." They fear that destruction of the blood-drenched army that has run the country for the past 50 years could unleash mass insurrection and social revolution. The Trotskyist SL calls for military victory to leftist rebels, and for the construction of a communist vanguard party that can lead the workers at the head of all the oppressed.

The oligarchic domination that dates back to the subjugation of the Indian

masses four centuries ago, a system enforced by the military and sanctioned by the church, is under siege. The workers and peasants of the isthmus face a desperate struggle of survival against murderous capitalist rulers backed to the hilt by their Yankee godfather of the North. But the exploited cannot secure victory within the narrow limits of tiny banana and coffee republics. The land bridge between North and South America must become a platform for launching socialist revolution throughout the hemisphere.

Falling Dominoes

The U.S. administration has pulled out all the rhetorical stops to convince the American bourgeoisie that its class rule and immediate strategic interests are threatened by the conflict in Central

America. Speaking on March 4 to corporate executives and politicians at the San Francisco Hilton, Reagan proclaimed: "We believe the Government of El Salvador is on the front line of a battle that is really aimed at the very heart of the Western Hemisphere, and eventually at us." He estimated that "50 percent of everything we import comes through the Caribbean, the Panama Canal." And he added, resuscitating the Vietnam-era domino theory, "If they get a foothold, with Nicaragua there, if El Salvador should fall... Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, all of these would follow." His lesson: stand by your butchers.

When trying to wheedle military aid out of liberal Democratic "doves" worried that the U.S. is backing another loser in El Salvador, however, administration spokesmen sing a different tune.

According to the *New York Times* (2 March), "Mr. [Thomas] Enders [Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs] said: 'The Vietnam analogy is really false. We are not escalating little by little. Nobody has suggested sending in military advisers,' again making a distinction between 'trainers' and combat troops." (We can't help recalling here the line from Phil Ochs' liberal protest song "Talking Vietnam Blues": "Training is the word we use, nice word to have in case we lose.") At another point in his Congressional testimony, Enders predicted that if Salvador is "knocked off by guerrillas" then "in four or five years we'll be fighting along the banks of the Panama Canal and along the Mexican border."

While El Salvador is the "front line" in Reagan's war drive, there is no doubt as to his ultimate target. His sights are set on "rolling back" the Russian October Revolution, reversing the hard-fought gains of socialized property and the planned economy in the Soviet bloc states, and returning them to the chains of capitalist exploitation. If the Soviet Union did not exist, the drug traffickers and casino owners would long since have returned to Havana under the U.S. "free world" auspices. Trotskyists, while calling for workers political revolution

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Terminate the Monarchy!

Britain's Sacred Cow on Reagan's Ranch

SAN FRANCISCO—Tom Paine writes in his grave, parents of lunchless black school kids burn with anger, Irish-Americans scream with outrage, and every kind of democrat everywhere recoils in disgust. Queen Elizabeth II—"Queen by the Grace of God and Defender of the Faith"—meets on the West Coast with Ronald Reagan—"Leader of the Free World and President of All the People" (who can afford it). And ten days of spectacular royal insult are added to the economic and social injuries inflicted by imperialism. But for the U.S. bourgeoisie the queen's visit is a Disneyland carnival of reaction, an opportunity to celebrate its sacred principle of social privilege by flaunting a round of festivities the decadence of which would make an old Roman slave merchant envious.

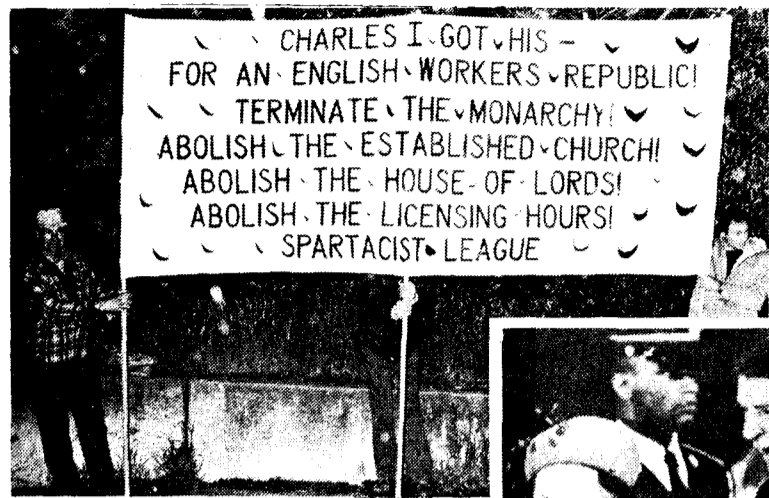
The U.S. bourgeoisie started laying out the royal carpet for this symbol of reaction months before "Her Majesty" stepped off the royal yacht (the world's largest pleasure craft at 412 feet). With her were her consort, Prince Philip, her ladies in waiting, her chefs and food tasters, and the whole complement of traveling grovellers. Reagan, California governor George Deukmejian, the Democratic mayors and their protocol experts made out the royal guest lists and had the Union Jack strewn across building fronts and hung from lamp poles from L.A. to Seattle.

The sycophantic press, particularly on the West Coast, curtsied dutifully,

describing the queen's and Nancy Reagan's long gowns and jewelry, their endless rounds of luncheons and dinners aboard the royal yacht, and in elegant hotels. In Depression U.S.A., the papers were glutted with talk of quenelles of goose liver and lobster terrine with golden caviar. The public was apprised of which chardonnays and cabernet sauvignons were selected by Michael Deaver, one of Reagan's closest advisers, who doubles as the arbiter of spirits.

Security for the queen was tight and expensive. So tight that in Yosemite a Secret Service car hit one of the sheriff's cars head-on, leaving three security men dead. The queen's security also delayed welfare checks in San Francisco in a Dickensque story in which the cops take over the basement of City Hall for a command post, closing off access to a city computer needed to print the checks (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 March). Plenty was spent on keeping the sacred cow away from the profane commoners. The press reported that in San Francisco, an entire bathroom was built in the De Young museum for the queen's personal and private use, at a cost of \$20,000. The Wolftones, an Irish singing group, announced they were releasing a new song about the royal loo entitled, "Oh, The Can Is For The Queen, And Likes Was Never Seen."

As the queen made her way up the Pacific coast in the royal yacht and Air Force II, more than the unseasonably violent storms rained on this parade of



Craig Jackson

Spartacist League protests king and queen of imperialist terrorism in San Francisco.

bourgeois hypocrisy. First of all there was Mayor Feinstein and the Irish. San Francisco contains the third-largest concentration of Irish Americans in the U.S. The majority of SF's board of supervisors therefore decided they had other things to do when the queen came to town, declining invitations to various presentations and dinners.

Feinstein had obviously thought she could sidestep the issue with the ploy she used when she hosted the butcher dictator of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, last fall. To assuage anti-Marcos demonstrators she had promised to raise the issue of "human rights" violations with him in private. However, when she tried a similar tactic at SF's Irish Cultural Center claiming she would speak to Her Majesty about Ireland, the furies of protocol unleashed their dictum: thou dost not speak to the queen about such matters.

Feinstein quickly backed down saying she was "not going to do anything to embarrass the Queen" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 February). Indeed not. And to show just how far she'd bow, at the expense of ordinary San Franciscans, Feinstein ordered the city's mostly Irish gardeners removed from their normal duties in Golden Gate Park to what a Laborers Union Local 400 official described as a "POW camp" at the Polo Grounds so they would not be near the queen when she attended the big fete at the De Young museum in the park. Feinstein insisted, not very convincingly, that the gardeners were needed at the Polo Grounds to "trim hedges." But as Local 400 official George Evankovich said sarcastically, "if all those guys spent an hour trimming the hedges, there'd be no hedges left... Maybe they should put the boys to work dyeing the park orange for the Queen" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 February).

Moving Irish gardeners to the Polo Grounds, however, did not stop a number of protests against the queen in San Francisco. On March 2, while the queen was being entertained by Reagan's buddy Frank Sinatra and the entire cast of "Beach Blanket Babylon," an Irish Northern Aid spokesman was thrown out chanting, "Stop the torture!" The largest protest of about 7,000 was held outside the De Young museum where Reagan hosted the queen and a couple of hundred of selected others. Organized mainly by the Irish American green nationalists, the "March 3 Coalition" was the usual lash-up of anti-Reagan pro-Democratic Party reformists with mainstream Democrats: "Let's tell Reagan we want jobs.... Let's tell Queen Elizabeth: England Out of Ireland Now!" However, a prominent SL banner along the route of march proclaimed, "You Can't



AP

Fight Reagan with Democrats—For Mass Strike Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Another SL banner highlighted the socialist attitude toward the queen, recalling the fate of the English monarch who got the ax in 1649 from Cromwellian revolutionaries: "Charles I Got His—For an English Workers Republic!" In this revolutionary spirit, the SL banner demanded: "Terminate the Monarchy! Abolish the Established Church! Abolish the House of Lords! Abolish the Licensing Hours!"

Down with the Monarchy!

The tab for the queen's West Coast visit hasn't been totaled, but estimates run into the millions as money poured out of public coffers as freely as good champagne at a state dinner. In the U.S. as in Britain much of the opposition to the monarchy is based on its expense. In impoverished Britain, the monarchy's castles, jewels, multi-million-dollar maintenance and lavish feudal displays serve an important social function for the bourgeoisie—and cheap at the price. The royal family is the living symbol of the immutability of the class structure, the principle that everybody has "his place" and he had better stay there.

The English bourgeoisie is quite proud that it reached accord with the feudal aristocracy after the bourgeois revolution and absorbed it into the capitalist social order. They became the Establishment, "forever" embodied in the Monarchy, the House of Lords and

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Victory to UTU Rail Strike!

MARCH 8—Yesterday the United Transportation Union (UTU) struck the commuter lines (Metro-North) which run from upstate and Connecticut to New York City. Last Tuesday the UTU had already shut down NJ Transit, and the 160,000 extra commuters have jammed the roads and subways.

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) is out to break the back of the UTU locals as part of a takeover of Metro-North. NYC area transit workers are divided into many different unions and locals, who often don't honor each other's strikes, as the transit bosses pick them off one by one. But UTU must not be left to go it alone! Union solidarity, particularly by the powerful Transport Workers Union Local 100, can beat back MTA strikebreaking.

The UTU has been working without a contract since January 1 when the MTA took over the system from Conrail. The TA wants to chop 150 jobs, a quarter of the workforce, cutting anyone with under 15 years. Trainmen and conductors now get no overtime pay and the MTA wants to cut "swing time" pay in half! Not long ago the workers were forced to give up a 12 percent wage increase and mileage pay for the promise that Conrail would keep the bankrupt system rolling. The union has refused to submit to binding arbitration. The workers are fed up with bailing out the railroad companies.

It could be a long strike. The MTA is hardlining it. MTA chairman Ravitch says they won't compromise on the issue of train crew sizes. Racist strikebreaker mayor Koch urged him to "stand fast" against the strikers: "We can do this on one foot." Now



WV Photo

NYC transit militants walk picket line with UTU rail strikers.

Ravitch is calling on Reagan to order the strikers back to work.

The TWU must act to stop MTA union-busting! The TWU should shut down all scab operations set up for overload passengers: Shut down the scab buses! Stop rerouting and adding on trains for bused-in passengers in the Bronx and Manhattan! It is criminal that the TWU leadership does nothing while the MTA picks off the small UTU locals.

The TWU got mugged last April when the TA forced a giveback deal down the throats of the workers under binding arbitration, aided and abetted by union chief John Lawe. Since then there's been a return to virtual open shop conditions with job cuts and speedup. The issues in the UTU strike affect all transit workers. Militants in the TWU have called for the union to take action in solidarity. Victory to the UTU strike!

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Auto Militants Campaign for Sitdowns Not Soup Lines

Fremont UAW Local Says Defeat Union-Busting!

FREMONT, California—United Auto Workers (UAW) members here declared their intention to beat the union-busting challenge made when General Motors and Toyota announced they would reopen the Fremont plant without obligation to the workers laid off when the GM plant closed one year ago. Over the objections of representatives of the UAW International, which is asking GM and Toyota for a substandard agreement, local members voted to serve notice to union chief Doug Fraser that there will be no new wage-cutting/speed-up contract at Fremont.

UAW militants Karen Allen and Ruth Ryan told *WV* they raised the motion at a February 27 local meeting attended by about a hundred members. The motion passed overwhelmingly. It was reprinted in articles in the *Oakland Tribune*, the *San Jose Mercury*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Los Angeles Times* and broadcast on KSAN and KCBS radio. Several papers quoted Ryan's call for tactics ranging from demonstrations to sitdowns to implement the motion. Not only the bourgeoisie and its press but also the organized working class is watching Fremont as a precedent—one way or the other.

Auto workers want to fight for their jobs. Hundreds showed up spontaneously at the Fremont union hall and milled about in anger after the GM/Toyota press conference. In Los Angeles, 500 laid-off GM workers demonstrated March 1 at the Van Nuys GM plant to demand the reopening of the second shift. The Milpitas Ford plant, a stone's throw from Fremont, and the historic Fisher Body plant in Flint, Michigan (where the great 1937 sit-down strikes won industrial unionism in auto) are both scheduled to close this

year. These workers, too, would fight for their jobs. The traitorous leadership of Solidarity House is the roadblock that must be cleared away.

We reprint below a leaflet of the UAW Militant Caucus—being distributed by caucus members and supporters at unemployment offices and union polling places in San Jose, Fremont and Oakland—which exemplifies the program and struggle that are needed on a national scale to dump the sell-out Fraser gang and build a class-struggle leadership in the UAW.

Stop GM/Toyota Union Busting!

At the Union meeting on February 27, Local 1364 members voted overwhelmingly to pass the following motion:

"UAW Local 1364 will use every tactic necessary to ensure that all hiring at the re-opened Fremont plant will be UAW members strictly according to the seniority agreement, and that there will be no substandard contract in wages and working conditions."

The motion was raised by Ruth Ryan and Karen Allen of the UAW Militant Caucus, a class struggle opposition with a ten year history in the Local, in response to General Motors and Toyota's statements that they had no intentions of rehiring the thousands of laid off Fremont UAW members.

Union members were outraged on February 17 when General Motors and Toyota announced their union-busting plans. Both GM chairman Roger Smith and Toyota chairman Eiji Toyoda said the "new company" would not recognize the recall and seniority rights of UAW members and furthermore they did not even recognize the UAW as the bargain-

ing agent. Smith said the plant could be non-union, noting: "We have operated a non-union plant in Anaheim in excess of nearly twenty years." (*Detroit Free Press*, February 18, 1983). This is a direct and calculated attack on the UAW and industrial unionism itself. The consequences of the battle that have



Wilson/Oakland Tribune

UAW bureaucrats at Fremont have hard time answering questions about GM/Toyota deal.

been posed here are tremendous, for the UAW and the entire American labor movement. If the auto bosses can get away with this outrage in a stronghold of organized labor like the Bay Area they will try it everywhere else.

The UAW and the entire Bay Area labor movement must take resolute action to stop this union-busting attack! Every tactic necessary must be used, from mass picketing to seal off the plant, stopping any non-union labor from going in for any work, to plant occupations. GM is already placing orders for new equipment. Our bottom line must be that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree that all hiring will be laid-off UAW mem-

bers, strictly by seniority, with full contract rights on wages and working conditions.

The GM/Toyota union-busting deal is being followed very closely nationally by big business. Articles and editorials appearing in the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* make it clear that this is seen as a prototype for not only auto, but other industries. Therefore the February 27 Local 1364 motion demanding strict recall rights and union conditions has been widely publicized in newspapers and on radio. *The Los Angeles Times* (March 3, 1983) notes:

"For General Motors the re-opening of the plant is an opportunity to see if a belligerent union local can be pushed into concessions on hiring, wages and work rules which could set a pattern for a new nationwide auto workers' contract when the present one expires in September of 1984."

This fight is a challenge to the UAW and the entire labor movement. Fre-

mont must not be the spearhead for successful union-busting.

From the time the auto companies started their big layoffs UAW president Fraser has been using the sucker-bait of racist anti-Japanese protectionism to relieve the UAW bureaucracy of any responsibility of fighting the auto companies. Fraser aims to line auto workers up behind their "own" auto bosses, blaming the layoffs on Japanese auto workers. Protectionism is the same line used by capitalist politicians like Democrat Mondale. Japanese and other foreign workers are not our enemy. The real enemy is right here at home: the auto companies, the government and both the Democratic and Republican parties. They are all lined up in a campaign to force auto workers and other industrial workers to work at non-union wage levels and working conditions with Fraser & Co. as the enforcers.

In fact Fraser is *inviting* Japanese and other foreign producers to seek maximum concessions in wage cuts and speedup, using multi-billion dollar concessions already given to the Big 3 as a precedent! He assured GM/Toyota that he is "ready to sit down and negotiate on all issues, including new work methods which we are actually already using at GM and Ford." (*L.A. Times* 2/19/83). Right now in Detroit UAW officials are in negotiations with Ford, preparing massive concessions in wages and incentive pay so that Ford can sell 75 percent of its steel-making operation at the River Rouge plant to a Japanese steel company. Yet Fraser is still pushing the anti-Japanese chauvinism, trying to present this union-busting deal at Fremont as Toyota's responsibility and GM as "reasonable". GM is in fact the senior partner in this deal. Toyota is coming in as a partner with GM to offset protectionist measures like the "local content" bill being pushed by Fraser. They're going to try for an open shop, or failing that, hire who they want and hold new union representation elections starting from scratch with massive takeaways. If the UAW gets any kind of representation of the younger workforce the companies have in mind, GM/Toyota are insisting on "flexible

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Jail L.A. Killer Cop!

Racist Child Murder

LOS ANGELES—On March 3 a cop in Orange County drew his gun and forced his way into a Stanton apartment home. The apartment seemed empty, but the policeman, Anthony Sperl, thought he heard a "noise"—so he kicked in the bedroom door and shot and killed a five-year-old child. The little boy, Patrick Mason, was home alone watching TV, carefully locked in by his mother, who was working nights as an auto mechanic to support him. The cop said he thought he saw a "gun" and just opened fire, shooting the child through the neck. Patrick was apparently playing with a little plastic toy pistol, just like any other American kid. Except he was black. So now he's dead.

Killer cop Sperl has already been cleared by the police in a preliminary investigation. And who are the police trying to blame it all on? The child's mother, Patricia Ridge! "Police said they are considering investigating her for child neglect," reported the *Los Angeles Times* (5 March). Patricia Ridge, a single mother, was out that night working to support her family.

In Orange County, heart of "Reagan Country," there's no other recourse if you're black and poor; even with welfare plus lousy "workfare" jobs, you can't make ends meet. How was she supposed to know that some killer cops were going to come through her carefully locked front door, then break down her bedroom door, then cold-bloodedly shoot down her baby?!!!

Racist License to Kill

The bourgeois press is whitewashing this cruel, insane murder. They're playing up Sperl's "remorse." But it was no accident. The racially integrated apartment building that Patricia Ridge and her son lived in is considered "anti-police" by the cops—in other words, it has as tenants some of the few blacks who live in Orange County. So when the cops got a routine complaint that the little boy hadn't been in his kindergarten class lately (he had been home sick), they came in armed and ready to kill. This racist, capitalist state gives its police license to kill at will. Especially the



Patrick Mason

LA Times

notorious Los Angeles-area police know they can get away with murder and will be protected, especially if it's a *black* man, or woman, or even a five-year-old child that they wantonly blow away.

We say, jail the racist, killer cop! A society so poisoned with racism that the forces of "law and order" break into our homes and slaughter even our children is surely near its own death agony. For socialist revolution to sweep away the decaying capitalist system and its racist, murdering cops!

Who Was Guilty of the Crime Against Japanese Americans

The Infamy of America's Concentration Camps

Some 120,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up and incarcerated in barbed-wire concentration camps by the American government during World War II. This infamous crime against an entire ethnic group, victims of capitalist America's war hysteria, was perpetrated at the highest levels, by "New Deal" president Franklin D. Roosevelt and other prominent liberals, including then California attorney general Earl Warren. Now after some 40 years of burying this bourgeois atrocity, finally a Congressional commission decided to "investigate" and has concluded that indeed a "grave injustice" was done to the Japanese Americans. Maybe, the committee announced, they'll even consider giving some reparations—as if any amount of money could ever compensate for the savage degradation, the vile humiliation of enforced "loyalty oaths" to the state that imprisoned them, the homes and livelihoods and land ripped away forever by the racist American state. As a recent TV movie "Farewell to Manzanar" movingly showed, the years of imprisonment of this deeply assimilationist minority literally destroyed the lives and hopes and self-esteem of many.

The Congressional "Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians," which also castigated the brutal forced relocation of the native people of the Aleutian Islands (some 10 percent of whom died as a result of the uprooting), concluded on February 24 that the concentration camps were motivated by "racial prejudice, war hysteria and failure of political leadership." In fact, it reported, "not a single



It can't happen here? In 1942 Japanese Americans were ordered to concentration camps like Manzanar (above).

documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien" (*New York Times*, 25 February). The Commission's report noted that even the FBI and members of naval intelligence at the time saw no need for the

massive concentration camps, but that Roosevelt simply ignored their reports. So between the imperialist bourgeoisie's need to whip up U.S. war fever after the debacle of Pearl Harbor and historic anti-Oriental racism, egged on by California agribusinesses eager to grab Japanese American farmers' land, the racist deed was done.

Who protested at the time? Only the Trotskyists—and a very few individuals, like Norman Thomas, and the Quakers. The American Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), although themselves sharply persecuted by the ruling class for their opposition to the imperialist World War II, offered what aid they could to the Japanese Americans. In March 1942 the SWP's *Militant* attacked the "brutal and indiscriminate witchhunt being conducted against non-citizens," while the 30 May 1942 issue charged the roundup was "a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desires of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy'."

Who did *not* utter a word of protest at the time was, shamefully and scandalously in view of their pretensions to represent the working class and oppressed, the American Communist Party. Indeed, even the bourgeois Congress today has gone further in "self-criticism" than the CPUSA ever has for its despicable actions during World War II. The CP and its *Daily Worker* pledged total loyalty to Roosevelt, enthusiastically participating in the slander attacks on the Japanese Americans. The *Sunday Worker* (25 January 1942) was but one example, carrying an article titled "Pearl Harbor Holds Vital Lesson for Cuba," containing such vile slanders as "the fifth column of Pearl Harbor was formed by the Japanese of Honolulu," who had supposedly led the Japanese planes to their targets by "arrows made on the canefields" (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," *WV* No.

Put Away the Killers of Willie Turks!

The murderers of Willie Turks must not go free! As we go to press, Gino Bova, charged with murder of the black NYC transit worker, was convicted by a virtually all-white jury of the lesser charge of second degree manslaughter. This is a racist outrage! There is no justice for the black man in the bourgeois courts! Bova, one of 15 to 20 white hoodlums involved in the lynch mob murder, struck Turks in the head five or ten times with a stick. Now the jury says there was no intent to kill! The verdict is of a piece with efforts by the defense attorney to portray the victims of this racist atrocity as the criminals, saying Bova was "just a young man trying to defend a friend!"

At the trial Dennis Dixon, one of the assaulted transit workers, recounted the horror of racist mob terror in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn last June 22. When the three black workers left the bagel shop that night, a group of white punks surrounded their car yelling, "What are you niggers doing in this area? Niggers get out!" They rocked the car and smashed the windows with sticks, cans and debris. Dixon, who went down after being struck in the face by a bottle, managed to scramble away and run several

blocks, bleeding profusely from the head, to find the police. He pleaded with them to save his friends, but the cops did nothing. As more youths descended on the car Donald Cooper too ran for his life. But Willie Turks, his arm in a cast, was dragged from the car, clubbed, and left lying on a sewer with his skull cracked and his face beaten in. A few hours later he died.

Willie Turks' murderers should be locked up and the key thrown away. But that won't end such lynch mob attacks. Black transit workers still have to travel through the Gravesend neighborhood every day to get to work, and blacks in the Marlborough projects face racist abuse all the time. TWU militants have fought for effective union action to stop such racist atrocities. In a leaflet and at union meetings last summer they called for jailing the murderers, for the right to armed self-defense, and called on the union to send hundreds of flatbed trucks with thousands of union brothers and sisters ready to defend the right of black people to walk the streets of Brooklyn. It will take such integrated working-class action, not reliance on the racist "justice" of bourgeois courts and cops, to stop the lynchers in their tracks.

139, 7 January 1977, for fuller documentation). This CP racist filth is the kind of garbage even the FBI wasn't buying back then! And when the U.S. unleashed the world's first nuclear holocaust over Hiroshima and Nagasaki—primarily as a warning to the Soviet Union since Japan was *already* defeated—the CP hailed this crime against humanity as part of "war against fascism." So no wonder today the CP pretends it's all news to them, simply printing a bland article supporting the commission's findings in the *Daily World* (25 February) titled "WWII internments racist." They certainly ought to know.

The CP did offer an "excuse" for its actions, in a buried aside in a book review some years ago. Albert J. Lima wrote, in an article titled "Racism—a bone in the throat of the labor movement" (*World Magazine*, 1 January 1972) that:

"When the war between the United States and Japan began in the midst of WWII, the U.S. Army decided to round up all people of Japanese ancestry and to herd them into concentration camps on the West Coast. Among others who failed to fight this vicious racist action which violated the most fundamental democratic rights in our country was the Communist Party.

"Under a slogan of 'unity' in the struggles against fascism and Japanese imperialism, the Party allowed this act to go unchallenged, decided to drop Japanese from membership, and allowed their members to go to concentration camps."

How can *any* ethnic minority today, any black, any Latin, any "illegal alien" or refugee, trust the CP—who sent even its *own members* to the brutal concentration camps without a whimper? They betrayed when the heat was really on, because their fundamental loyalty is *not* to the oppressed and working class, but to their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie.

It's ironic that this Congressional commission today bemoans the "racial prejudice and war hysteria" of 40 years ago directed against Japanese Americans just as the ruling class is waging a hysterical trade war against its imperialist rival Japan, encouraging workers to such chauvinist stunts as smashing Toyotas in union parking lots. And once again the Communist Party is going along with "its own" bourgeoisie, encouraging protectionist poison. At a recent Flint, Michigan, UAW unemployment rally a supporter of the CP's *Daily World* put up a resolution calling for support to the UAW bureaucracy's "domestic content" bill, which only pits American auto workers against their class brothers and sisters in Japanese auto plants, instead of against their *real* enemy, the capitalist employers.

They said the concentration camps could never happen here—but they did, and they're still here, kept ready and waiting for the next "national emergency." The war-fever of the American ruling class, today directed centrally against the Soviet Union, will destroy us all—unless we stop them. Today it is the Spartacist League, which carries on the revolutionary internationalist tradition the Socialist Workers Party long ago abandoned, that offers the program and organization that can unite the workers and oppressed minorities in successful battle against the American ruling class. ■

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Black History and the Class Struggle

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Mugabe Unleashes Tribal Vendetta

Zimbabwe "Solution": Neo-Colonial Chains

At a mission hospital in southern Zimbabwe a frightened 13-year-old Ndebele girl said that government troops came and demanded to know where the "dissidents" were. "Tell us, or we will kill you," they ordered. The group of villagers she was among was forced into huts, which the soldiers then set afire while shooting into them. The girl, who suffered gunshot wounds in her shoulder and arms and burns all over arms and back, was the only one to survive the massacre. Similar scenes of terror are occurring throughout the area populated by the Ndebele tribe. In mid-February, Zimbabwe premier Robert Mugabe unleashed his praetorian guard, the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, to rampage in Matabeleland "until all dissidents are eliminated." "Dissidents" are followers of Mugabe's

pro-Reagan London *Economist* (19 February) argues that the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas should be induced to lay down their arms and accept imperialist-organized elections. The precedent: "a largish international peacekeeping force of the kind sent to Zimbabwe in 1980 could give them [the leftist guerrillas] the protection they need." Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) is thus held up as a model for "peaceful" reform as opposed to violent revolution.

Similarly, the *Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America*, produced in late 1980 by former State Department analysts, has a whole section on the "Zimbabwe option." These imperialist braintrusters pointed out that, as in El Salvador, a section of the guerrilla leadership in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe called itself Marxist: "Mr.

Mugabe's troops beat suspect.



AP

by the leftist cheerleaders of "Third World" nationalists. "Zimbabwe Masses Sweep Out Settler Regime!" cheered *Workers World* in 1980, while the SWP's *Militant* called it a "Victory for Black Freedom," the Maoist *Unity* proclaimed a "Historic Victory" and the chic radical *Guardian* announced a "People's Victory." Meanwhile, the victorious Mugabe, whom an aide described as standing somewhere "between Swedish social democracy and Yugoslav socialism," declared his loyalty to capitalism at the very outset of his rule:

"We recognize that the economic structure is based on capitalism and that whatever ideas we have we must build on that. We are not going to interfere with private property whether it be the mining sector or the industrial sector."
—*New York Times*, 5 March 1980

But the masses still had illusions in the "socialist" rhetoric of Mugabe's ZANU, and the 1980 elections gave his party an overwhelming majority. The elections also exposed the tribalist roots of the enmity between Mugabe and Nkomo. Mugabe got the votes of the Shona-speaking people, who comprise 80 percent of the population, while Nkomo's ZAPU vote was pretty much limited to the Ndebeles of Matabeleland. Nkomo initially served in Mugabe's cabinet, but beginning in early 1982 the drive toward a tribalist "one-party" state began in earnest. Nkomo was dismissed from the cabinet and his two closest aides from the guerrilla days were arrested on charges of treason. At the same time, hundreds of ZAPU activists have been arrested. In response, thousands of Nkomo's followers from the former guerrilla organization deserted the army and fled back to Matabeleland. Nkomo, who denies leading the "dissidents," was detained last month, while Mugabe's forces have created a tribalist reign of terror in Matabeleland. Zimbabwean troops out of Matabeleland!

Smash U.S./South Africa Axis!

A black African ruler massacring his own black subjects does not unduly upset his imperialist overseers. And for Washington, Mugabe's Zimbabwe remains a success. The Reagan administration, which does not exactly go out of its way to woo black African states, nonetheless renewed the \$75 million in aid to Zimbabwe originally granted by Carter.

If Reagan's Washington smiles beneficently upon Mugabe's Zimbabwe, it is in large measure because this black African regime maintains good and close relations with South Africa. White-ruled South Africa has increasingly become a central part of the "free world" as Reagan encourages the apartheid state in its war against the Soviet-armed SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia and its attempt to overthrow the Soviet-allied nationalist MPLA government in Angola, which is defended by 15,000 Cuban troops.

Mugabe's Zimbabwe has emerged as the most pro-Western of the so-called frontline states bordering South Africa. It can be described as a neo-colony shared in different ways among Britain, the United States and South Africa. It is heavily economically dependent upon apartheid imperialism, and has even agreed to honor the debts incurred to South Africa by the former white-settler regime of Ian Smith! The Mugabe regime has also prevented the guerrilla forces of the African National Congress from using Zimbabwean territory to attack its "good neighbor" South Africa. And Washington expects that Mugabe's Zimbabwe will play a helpful role in imposing the "Zimbabwe solution" on Namibia! We say: Down with the neo-colonial "Zimbabwe solution"! Independence for Namibia—Military victory to SWAPO!

Petty-bourgeois nationalists in power have demonstrated time after time their reactionary character. Zimbabwe is only one more example in a very long list. The only perspective for the toiling masses of Zimbabwe, as well as those of Central America and all backward capitalist countries dominated by imperialism, is that of permanent revolution:



Jeune Afrique

Joshua Nkomo

proletarian leadership in the struggle for national liberation and democratic rights, aiming at a workers and peasants government. What is needed for genuine national and social emancipation is a Trotskyist vanguard party steered in combat against nationalist demagogues of the Mugabe type.

In southern Africa the key to permanent revolution lies in the five-million strong black proletariat of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the entire continent. As we wrote right after Mugabe came to power (*WW* No. 256, 16 May 1980):

"...an isolated workers state in Zimbabwe with an unchallenged apartheid regime next door could not maintain itself for more than the short term. But a black workers revolution which began in Zimbabwe, led by a Trotskyist party, would almost certainly detonate a mass upsurge by the powerful South African proletariat." ■



Der Spiegel

Fake-left hailed "Marxist" Mugabe.

rival, Joshua Nkomo. So far, the *New York Times* (27 February) reports that "more than a thousand people have been killed and many more beaten and tortured by Zimbabwe's army in the last month."

The eruption of state terror in this southern African neo-colony is of special importance because the "Zimbabwe solution" has been explicitly peddled by imperialist spokesmen as a model to be applied from South Africa-ruled Namibia to El Salvador. Whenever a reactionary regime could fall to leftist or nationalist guerrilla forces, some imperialist policymakers put forward a "negotiated solution" to save the bourgeois army from a shattering military defeat. For example, the conservative,

Mugabe was a marxist extremist with limited representation until his landslide electoral victory made him a prestigious and influential head of state." And now Mr. "Marxist" Mugabe is one of America's best friends in black Africa.

The "Zimbabwe Solution": Blueprint for Neo-Colonial Oppression

"Zimbabwe Is a Success" declares the title of a recent article by the former deputy chief of the U.S. mission in Harare (formerly Salisbury), Jeffrey Davidow (*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1982-83). And Zimbabwe is a success for imperialist policymakers. In 1980 the black nationalist guerrilla leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo welcomed the return of white-ruled Rhodesia to the status of a British colony so that 1,200 Commonwealth troops under governor Lord Soames could supervise an election. The imperialist-orchestrated deal left intact much of the white colonial-settler order, and the new constitution guaranteed the whites 20 percent of the seats in parliament. The privileged white population, who comprise only 3 percent of the country's 7 million inhabitants, continue to hold on to nearly half the farmland, including the choicest acreage. Indeed, the number of white commercial farmers has actually increased since independence. And the American diplomat Davidow observes that "as the third academic year after independence begins, the excellent government schools in Harare's posh northern suburbs remain nearly lily white."

Yet Robert Mugabe, who typically styled himself a "Marxist," was hailed

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Ledru/Syigma



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Lebanon erupted into civil war and communalist bloodshed, 1975-76: Rightist Christian Maronites (left) battle Palestinian commandos (right).

After Lebanon:

The Left and the Palestinian Question From the “Arab Revolution” to Pax Americana

The myth of “Arab unity” behind the Palestinian cause was buried along with much else in the rubble of Tyre, Sidon and West Beirut. The indifference, to say the least, of Arab capitals to Israel’s destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was so striking that imperialist and Zionist spokesmen have been positively crowing about it. For example, a prominent American Zionist, Aaron D. Rosenbaum, recently

PART THREE

exulted in an article entitled “Discard Conventional Wisdom”:

“Israel invaded Lebanon, besieged an Arab capital, and inflicted a telling defeat upon the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Yet throughout the summer the reaction and retribution many authorities had predicted did not occur. The Soviet Union did not intervene. The Arab states did not mobilize to relieve the PLO nor did they sever relations with the United States.”

—*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1982-83

The “conventional wisdom” which Rosenbaum urges be discarded is especially common to the enthusiasts of “Third World” nationalism in the left.

Lebanon demonstrated that when the late Anwar Sadat embraced the Zionist butcher Menachem Begin and signed a “separate peace” with Israel, the Egyptian *rais* (strongman) did not really isolate himself from the other Arab regimes; he merely anticipated them by a few years. Israel could not have invaded Lebanon without first securing its southern border with Egypt, the strongest state militarily in the Arab world. The genocidal terror against the Palestinians in Lebanon is the *direct result* of Pax Americana in the Near East, i.e., Washington’s forging of an anti-Soviet alliance embracing both Zionist Israel and various Arab regimes, centrally Egypt. Indeed, Begin justified the invasion by claiming that in recent

years, “Lebanon became a Soviet base for the whole of the Middle East.”

The 1973 War and the Reversal of Alliances

The October 1973 war was decisive in the transformation of Egypt from the principal Soviet client state to the pivotal American client among the Arab states. Following the debacle in the 1967 war, Nasser put out feelers for Washington to broker a deal with Israel. The Nixon gang told the Egyptians that if they wanted to get the Sinai back, they would have to formally recognize the Zionist state, openly repudiate Palestinian national liberation, break the Soviet connection and become a U.S. client. In brief, Washington aimed to bring about, in Kissinger’s words, “a reversal of alliances in the Arab world.”

When Nasser died in 1970, his successor, Sadat, accelerated the turn toward Pax Americana. In July 1972 the new Egyptian leader signalled in the clearest possible way his willingness to become Washington’s man against Moscow. He expelled the 15,000 Soviet military advisers from Egypt, a rebuff which did not prevent the Kremlin bureaucrats from continuing to shower armaments on its ungrateful friend and soon-to-be enemy. We wrote at the time:

“Thus, the road for Egypt to regain the Israeli-occupied territories no longer passes through Moscow but through Washington.... By expelling the Russians, Sadat has eliminated at least one of the U.S. rationales for supporting Israel: as a bulwark against Communism. Sadat would like to return to the fold of U.S. imperialism....”

—“Murderous Nationalism and Stalinist Betrayal in the Near East,” *WV* No. 12, October 1972

Israel, however, remained intransigent, and the Nixon administration was reluctant to press its ally too hard in part for fear of antagonizing the powerful American Zionist lobby. So Sadat

decided he had to do something to shake Israel’s confidence, increase his own freedom of maneuver and draw U.S. imperialism more actively into the “peacemaking” process. Hence, the October War.

On 6 October 1973 Sadat ordered the Egyptian army to cross the Suez Canal and attack the supposedly impregnable Bar-Lev line, while the Syrians attacked on the Golan Heights. Caught by surprise the Israelis fell back suffering heavy casualties, but in a week or so counterattacked effectively on both the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. Another week of complex negotiations between Washington, Moscow, Jerusalem and Cairo produced a shaky cease-fire in place.

Israel, however, disregarded this cease-fire and moved to destroy the Egyptian Third Army trapped on the east bank of the Suez Canal. At this point Sadat called upon *both* Washington and Moscow to send its troops to enforce the cease-fire. Trying to maneuver the U.S. into policing Israel, the Kremlin strongly endorsed the Egyptian appeal. The Nixon gang reacted by dramatically reminding Brezhnev that Israel was an ally of the U.S. *against the Soviet Union*. On October 24 the White House ordered a worldwide “Condition 3” nuclear alert supposedly to “forestall Russian aggression.” And this was the heyday of détente! The Soviet leaders, of course, had no intention of unilateral military intervention.

The October War thus demonstrated how easily the Arab-Israeli conflict could escalate into nuclear war between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. In this respect the Near East today resembles the Balkans before World War I. However, unlike the inter-imperialist rivalry which exploded into war in August 1914, there exists a *class line* between the imperialist United States and the Soviet bureaucratically

degenerated workers state. As we wrote immediately after the October War and Washington’s nuclear “alert”:

“The fundamental hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Russian degenerated workers state tends to drive them into military conflict, even in situations where the leaders of the two nations want to avoid such confrontations. For that reason, it is necessary for revolutionary socialists faced with local wars, such as the present Arab-Israeli conflict, to warn the working masses of the danger of World War III and the need to defend the Soviet Union.”

—“More War Ahead!”

WV No. 32.

9 November 1973

Once again, as in 1967, much of the pseudo-left rallied to the defense of the fictitious “Arab revolution,” this time under that unlikely champion Anwar al-Sadat. For example, the not very United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel and the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) declared: “The fourth Arab-Israeli war of autumn 1973 is a new phase in the armed resistance of the Arab peoples to the counterrevolutionary policy of aggression systematically practiced by the Zionist state” (“For the Defeat of Zionism and Imperialism!” *Intercontinental Press*, 5 November 1973).

The elevation of Sadat to leader of the Arab peoples against imperialism was grotesque. Nasser, at least, had nationalized the Suez Canal and established close ties with the Soviet bloc. But Sadat had *already* demonstrated his pro-imperialist orientation by expelling the Soviet advisers from Egypt and abandoning Nasserite pan-Arab rhetoric.

Why then did he attack Washington’s main ally in the Near East, Zionist Israel? In order to create the political conditions for a deal with Israel at the expense of both the Palestinians and his Arab allies. As Kissinger explained, Sadat aimed to produce a crisis which “would enable *both* sides, including Egypt, to show a flexibility that was

impossible while Israel considered itself militarily supreme and Egypt was paralyzed by humiliation" (emphasis in original, *Years of Upheaval* [1982]). At the end of the war America's would-be Metternich concluded, "Sadat was staking his future on American diplomatic support rather than Soviet military pressure" (*Ibid.*).

The 1979 Washington-drafted Camp David Accords was the *intended result* of Sadat's limited action against Israel six years earlier. A little noticed aspect of this agreement (except by the Pentagon) was the introduction of U.S. "peacekeeping" forces into the Sinai. (Here Sadat anticipated his then nemesis, PLO chief Arafat.) The "separate peace" with Egypt enabled the Zionist militarists to concentrate their war machine against the rest of the Arab world, especially the Palestinians. A few months after Sadat flew to Jerusalem in 1977 to embrace Begin, Israel celebrated the event by invading southern Lebanon, a dress rehearsal for its full-scale blitzkrieg last summer.

The 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War: From Social Conflict to Communalist Bloodletting

With Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon the Palestinian national liberation struggle has suffered a historic defeat. The PLO commandos are scattered in concentration camps across the Arab world, while the half million Palestinians in Lebanon face genocidal terror at the hands of the Israeli army and Christian Maronite militias. Following the lead of Sadat, PLO chief Arafat has turned openly to Pax Americana, brokering the introduction of U.S. Marines and also French and Italian troops into Lebanon.

The Lebanese catastrophe is not, as many of the PLO's left apologists contend, a "moral" or "political victory." Rather the defeat in Lebanon was a culmination of the entire past history of the PLO, its dependence upon one or another of the Arab bourgeois states and consequent principle of "non-interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries."

In early 1975 Lebanon stood on the brink of a social revolution which could have radically altered the political situation in the entire region, most immediately by extending itself to Syria. But the PLO leadership subordinated its forces to the traditional Muslim clan chiefs, notably Druze sect head Kamal Jumblatt, and so contributed to the subsequent communalist bloodletting.

The entity known as Lebanon is a classic product of imperialist divide-and-rule policies. France, which along with Britain carved up the Ottoman empire in the Near East after World War I, created a separate Lebanon in order to maintain a base of support among the Maronite Christian community which feared incorporation into a predominantly Muslim Greater Syria. The French colonialist system of Maronite privilege was preserved in the so-called 1943 National Covenant, when Lebanon became independent after World War II. The president would always be a Maronite, the premier a Sunni Muslim, the president of the Chamber of Deputies a Shi'ite Muslim, and so on. The Christians were allocated a six-to-five majority in parliament, and more importantly the military officer caste was drawn predominantly from the Maronite elite.

However, Christian Maronite domination in this pro-Western outpost increasingly came into conflict with demographic and social developments within Lebanon and the rise of Arab nationalism in the region. The confessional system first broke down in 1958 when the Muslim establishment led an uprising against the attempt of Maronite president Camille Chamoun to prolong his term of office. To suppress this uprising, Chamoun called for U.S. intervention, appealing to the "Eisen-

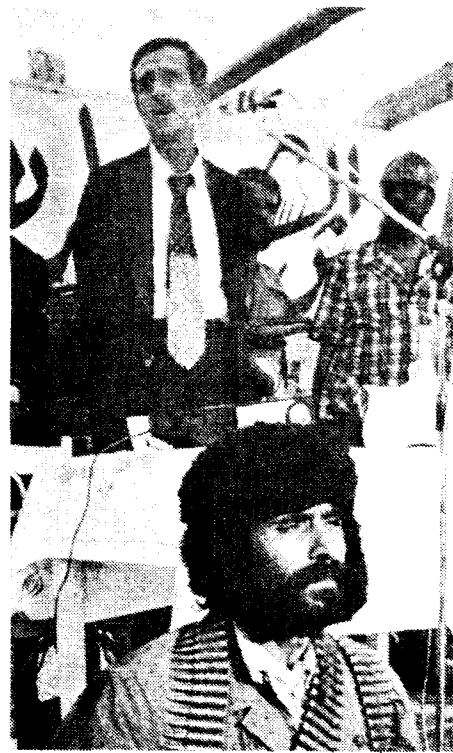
hower Doctrine" of containing "Soviet aggression."

Eisenhower duly responded, and 15,000 Marines waded ashore Beirut's beaches in July 1958. The Marines were not sent simply to preserve Lebanon as a pro-Western enclave in the turbulent Arab East. The real target of American imperialism was the Iraqi revolution, based on the strategic oil workers under Communist leadership. As it turned out, the Iraqi Stalinists, under orders from Moscow, betrayed the revolution for the sake of "peaceful coexistence" with Eisenhower. In Lebanon, under the guns of the Marines, a deal was worked out by the Christian and Muslim clan chiefs—"no victors, no vanquished"—which preserved the sectarian constitution and Maronite predominance.

However, the steadily growing weight of the Muslim population, concentrated in the lower classes, built up ever greater pressure against the National Covenant. Adding to the forces potentially arrayed against the Maronite elite were the Palestinian commandos, who after the 1970 Black September massacre in Jordan were concentrated in Lebanon. In fact, Lebanon became the only Arab country where the PLO could operate with any degree of freedom.

The OPEC oil boom of the early 1970s, which Lebanon shared as the main financial center and entrepot for the Arab East, widened the social divisions in this bankers' republic. Peasants from the hinterland, mainly Shi'ite Muslims, and migrant workers from Syria streamed into Beirut and the other cities looking for work, producing a class of desperate slum dwellers. The Beirut slums, called the "belt of misery," existed but a few miles from exclusive neighborhoods resembling the French Riviera. A liberal American academic, Stanley Reed, describes the situation which finally exploded into civil war:

"The conflict occurred because Lebanon's political and economic structure cheated too many people in too many ways. The Maronite businessmen and bankers who dominated the country refused to part with any of their huge profits derived from handling oil



PLO commandos and Lebanese left subordinated themselves to Kamal Jumblatt (top), feudalist chieftain of Moslem Druze sect.

money. Despite a rapidly growing and increasingly urban population, the Government held taxes, and consequently expenditures on public services, to a minimum. In the face of rabid inflation, wages were actually kept stable by importing 300,000 Syrian laborers. This wage-price squeeze produced a spate of violent labor disputes that touched off the war in 1975."

—*New York Times*, 9 July 1982

In February 1975 the southern city of Sidon was paralyzed by a fishermen's strike against a newly established fishing monopoly headed by none other than Camille Chamoun. When a protest march was fired upon by soldiers, the city erupted and in the subsequent street



Kretz/Stern

U.S. nuclear arsenal targeted at Soviet Union. In 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Nixon/Kissinger ordered "Condition 3" nuclear alert.

fighting the plebeian masses forced the army to withdraw. This event foreshadowed the outbreak of civil war two months later.

The civil war was triggered in April 1975 when a busload of Palestinians was ambushed and massacred by the fascistic Phalange of Pierre Gemayel, the principal Christian Maronite organization. Underlying the conflict between the Phalange and the Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims was a deep social division. The *New York Times* (19 July 1975) reported that "the fighting was something of a class war between the haves, who are for the most part Christians, and the have-nots, who are for the most part Moslems and who are allied with the heavily armed Palestinian guerrilla movement."

Had a revolutionary Marxist party stood at the head of the Palestinian and Lebanese Muslim toilers, it would have put forward a socialist program capable of attracting the have-nots in the Christian community, splitting and weakening the base of the Gemayels and Chamouns. Instead the struggles of the Lebanese Muslim toilers and PLO commandos were channeled into the efforts of the Muslim establishment to increase its influence in the traditional confessional system. A key figure in derailing the incipient social revolution and transforming it into communalist bloodletting was Kamal Jumblatt, hereditary head of the Druze sect and leader of the so-called Lebanese National Movement, which included the important pro-Moscow Communist Party and also the small Lebanese section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. Jumblatt was thus the main intermediary between the PLO leadership and Lebanese left on the one hand, and the traditional Muslim clan chiefs, like the premier Rashid Karami, on the other.

Yet all wings of the PLO—the self-styled "Marxist-Leninist" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) as well as Arafat's Fatah—subordinated their forces to this sectarian demagogue, as did the entire Lebanese left from the Stalinists to the Mandelites. This line was stated quite categorically by PFLP spokesman Yusif al-Haytham already in an October 1975 interview: "As long as Jumblatt is a major leader in the progressive forces the demands will be in accordance with his ideological framework." But in this same interview he admits that Jumblatt's base is feudalist and sectarian:

"Kamal Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party is a major component of the progressive forces. It is a social democratic party, but it is really based on feudal or tribal affiliations. Jumblatt represents the whole Druze sect as well as the social democratic tendency."

—"Lebanon Explodes: 'Battles for Survival,'" *MERIP Reports* No. 44, February 1976

Because the PLO and "progressive" Lebanese forces fought on behalf of the traditional Muslim clan chiefs like Jumblatt and Karami, the Maronite clan chiefs, the Gemayels and Cha-

mouns, were able to mobilize the entire Christian community by appealing to its ancient fear of Muslim domination. And left organizations which joined Jumblatt's National Movement, in particular the Lebanese Communist Party (PCL), were completely eliminated from the Christian areas. A book by two Lebanese socialist journalists reported:

"The PCL, which counted hundreds of Christian members and had a dominant influence in some Christian villages, saw its membership and its influence in the Mount Lebanon area crumble in a few months. Communist militants were chased out or massacred, and their houses burned.

"By going in on the Muslim confessionalists' game, the PCL was able to implant itself in the Muslim areas of Beirut; but at the same time it lost most of its ranks in the Christian regions."

—Selim Accaoui and Magida Salman, *Comprendre le Liban* (1976)

The *changed* character of the civil war was unhappily recognized by the PFLPer al-Haytham:

"The battles started as a fight between reactionary and progressive forces and ended up as a fight between Muslims and Christians, principally Maronites. Whether or not we like to admit it, it is a fact. The battles ended up in the street, among the ordinary people of Lebanon, between Christian and Muslim."

Somewhat in the spirit of self-criticism al-Haytham notes that the Palestinians' indiscriminate bombardment of Christian neighborhoods in Beirut strengthened the hold of the Phalange over the Maronite masses:

"The essential character of the battles in Beirut is urban warfare, but the tactics used are those appropriate to the mountains—that is, shelling from one hilltop to another hilltop. In Beirut, however, there were a lot of houses and civilians between the hilltops. This of course lent credence to the *Kataeb* [Phalange] analysis that it is a battle between Christian and Muslim. A bomb cannot differentiate between a progressive and a reactionary Christian."

By the beginning of 1976 the war had become a succession of communalist massacres and counter-massacres. The Phalange sacked the isolated Muslim enclave of Quarantina in East Beirut, killing some 1,500 defenseless men, women and children. The Phalange and Chamounists also overran and destroyed the Palestinian refugee camp of Dbaiye, whose 3,500 inhabitants were Christian Palestinians. In reprisal and to relieve the pressure on other besieged Palestinian camps, PLO forces and Druze militia attacked the Christian village of Damur south of Beirut, the home base of Camille Chamoun. Damur was then put to the torch, 500 villagers killed and the rest driven out at machine-gun point. One youthful Palestinian commando exclaimed: "From now on, there is going to be no mercy. . . . They used to say that Damur is the cemetery of the Palestinians, but now it's a cemetery for them" (*New York Times*, 22 January 1976).

(In their genocidal campaign against

continued on page 12

For Permanent Revolution in Central America

Workers Revolution vs. the Guerrilla Road

In the three years that a civil war has been raging in El Salvador, a curious phenomenon has been observed. The harder the leftist guerrillas fight, the more successful they are militarily, the more insistent their leaders are in offering to exchange what has been won on the battlefield for some cabinet seats and promises of reform. At the height of the recent fighting a Salvadoran opposition spokesman held a press conference in Washington to call for immediate negotiations and offer a cease-fire. According to the rad-lib *Guardian* (5 February), "[Rubén] Zamora cautioned that the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] is not trying to achieve a military victory in El Salvador, because the country's problems must be 'solved through dialog, through negotiation, and not... a military solution'." Meanwhile, in the U.S. El Salvador protests exclude the Spartacist League for carrying our slogan, "Military victory to leftist insurgents!" Why? If the guerrillas defeat the government army, in class-polarized El Salvador it could unleash a mass uprising and social revolution. But if the butcher army is *not* smashed, a cease-fire will just mean giving a free rein to the death squads and the massacres will continue.

Another curious fact: in this region of mini-countries smaller than most U.S. states, the leaders of the Central American left do everything possible to keep the struggle within narrow national bounds while the right-wing dictators aid each other constantly and are openly supplied by the United States. Neither the Sandinistas, the Cubans or the Soviets provide substantial amounts of weapons to the Salvadoran rebels, and the FMLN refuses to call for international brigades. Moreover, even though the various "armed struggle" organizations all grew out of the Cuban Revolution, when the Trotskyists of the SL proclaim "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador" their American supporters start screaming "provocation." These groups which were inspired by Che Guevara and the Vietnamese struggle now raise as an official slogan



Combative Salvadoran trade unions played key role in repeated mass mobilizations such as the 200,000-strong protest in San Salvador, January 1980. Geographical Magazine

"No more Vietnams," while the Spartacists say: "Vietnam was a victory: two, three, many defeats for imperialism!" But Ronald Reagan has placed Central America in the front line of his global war against Communism, like it or not. And he has his own "domino" theory, beginning with drowning the Salvadoran rebels in blood, overthrowing the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, then rolling back the gains of revolutions from Cuba to Poland and the Soviet Union.

For the last 20 years, ever since the Cuban Revolution, the Latin American left has been dominated by two main currents: first in the 1960s the "guerrilla road" inspired by Castro and Guevara, and then in the early '70s the so-called "peaceful road" of Allende's popular front in Chile. The Chilean debacle is still fresh in people's minds with its tens of thousands of workers, peasants and students massacred in cold blood. However, guerrillism was no less a road to disaster. A whole generation of leftists throughout the continent picked up the gun and Che's handbook and headed into the hills, only to be

ruthlessly slaughtered by Pentagon-trained counterinsurgency squads. Guevara himself, the most heroic advocate of guerrilla warfare, tragically was murdered by the CIA and its local flunkies in Bolivia in 1967. But the Guevarists were not just outgunned—their guerrilla road *could not* lead to socialist revolution.

Now we are witnessing a new round of guerrilla warfare, and would-be revolutionaries must look to the lessons of the past as well as the events of today. Guerrillism seems very militant, even adventurist, while an Allende-type popular front explicitly aims at holding back the masses from "going too far" by tying them to a section of the bourgeoisie. Yet politically guerrillism and popular frontism are not necessarily contradictory by any means. In El Salvador, for instance, the FMLN coalition of five "politico-military" organizations is allied with the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), including several marginal liberal parties and politicians. And *all* sectors of the FDR/FMLN popular front are committed to a program for a "revolutionary democratic" government—that is, for a reformed Salvadoran capitalism.

In Cuba, Fidel Castro originally put forward a bourgeois-democratic program of land reform and return to the 1940 constitution. But not long after the rebel victory, the hostility of the United States and a massive departure of Cuban capitalists forced the guerrillas in power to expropriate the imperialists and the entire domestic bourgeoisie simply in self-defense. Even in this exceptional case, however, the result was a bureaucratically deformed workers state rather than the soviet democracy of the Bolsheviks. (The usual result of such a guerrilla war would be the consolidation of a nationalist-bonapartist bourgeois state, as in post-independence Algeria.) Constant U.S. aggression also explains the more militant tone of the Cuban leaders, compared to the cautious Kremlin, and their sometime support (more ideologi-

cal than material) to guerrilla warfare elsewhere in Latin America.

The guerrilla episodes of the '60s mostly ended in defeat within a few months, or else degenerated into banditry. But in Central America the Nicaraguan Sandinistas managed to defeat Somoza's mercenaries, and the Salvadoran FMLN has the upper hand against the army, National Guard, Treasury Police, death squads and their American "advisers." However, there is another factor: the combative Salvadoran working class, which has not been defeated but has been politically misled and abandoned. What is needed is above all a communist vanguard to lead it at the head of the urban and rural masses, to carry out a proletarian insurrection establishing a workers and peasants government and extending the revolution internationally. That can only be a Trotskyist party following the road of October 1917, the road of permanent revolution.

Guerrilla Road to Disaster

There are, of course, many different brands of guerrillism. In Latin America during the '60s the dominant theme was Guevarism, also known as "focism." In contrast to Maoist "people's war," which seeks to build up a peasant army led by a bonapartist officer corps calling itself a Communist Party, Guevarism relies on a small nucleus (or *foco*) of guerrilla fighters who are supposed to act as the detonator to ignite the masses. In his how-to-do-it manual on *Guerrilla Warfare*, Guevara gave as the first lesson of the Cuban Revolution that "it is not necessary to wait until all the conditions for making the revolution exist," guerrilla struggle would create them. The second was that in Latin America "the countryside is the basic area for armed struggle." His voluntarist/militarist theory was further elaborated by the French café guerrilla Régis Debray (*Revolution in the Revolution?*), who proclaimed that "the people's army will be the nucleus of the party."



Petty-bourgeois guerrillists took to the hills, refused to organize for proletarian insurrection. Granma

In the first instance, Guevarism is an updating of the pre-Marxian petty-bourgeois revolutionism exemplified by August Blanqui—adapted to a rural setting and in an entirely different social and historical framework. Even the peasantry is not to be trusted but rather used by rootless petty-bourgeois heroes (“a prestigious leader” is necessary, said Guevara, who was later canonized by Castro as “the heroic guerrilla”) in direct armed conflict with the state. At the beginning, the guerrilla *foco* is deliberately isolated from the masses; and in almost every case, this was the stage when it was crushed. The most famous example was Guevara himself, tracked down in the Bolivian rain forest many miles from the nearest villages. When the guerrillas did get some support from the peasantry such as in Guatemala, counterinsurgency experts just “removed the water from the fish” by rounding up *campesinos* in fortified camps. What failed in Indochina with its vast rural masses, worked in Guatemala.

Blanquist in its tactics, strategically Guevarism comes down to peasant war:

“The guerrilla is above all an agrarian revolutionary. He interprets the desire of the great mass of the peasants: to be the owners of their land, of their means of production, of their animals, of all that they have yearned for for years.”

—Ernesto Che Guevara,
Guerrilla War (1962)

As a mass of petty-bourgeois small commodity producers, the peasantry does not have the collective strength and the independent class interest of the proletariat. There is no characteristic peasant mode of production, much less a “socialist peasantry,” and therefore the peasantry cannot lead a social revolution. But the vast peasant masses are driven by a thirst for land, and to get it they will even follow a guerrilla band, or the revolutionary working class, if these forces can demonstrate the ability to defeat the oligarchy and its army. Once they have their plots that will end the peasants’ role as a revolutionary factor. For instance, in Bolivia, where the peasants became landowners in 1952 as the result of an extensive land reform, they became allies of the army against the workers in the so-called “military-peasant pact.” Peasant militias were even sent into the mines to massacre the combative tin miners. Thus a peasant-based guerrilla war, although directed initially against a landlord-capitalist oligarchy, contains within it the seeds of a restabilized capitalist regime. But even though numerically small, the urban working class in backward capitalist countries as in Central America can become the revolutionary vanguard, by placing itself at the head of a stormy agrarian revolt in the struggle for a workers and peasants government, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The petty-bourgeois Guevarists had only disdain for the urban proletariat. “The city is a cemetery of revolutionaries,” proclaimed Castro. Debray denounced the Trotskyist conception of permanent revolution, working-class armed self-defense and proletarian insurrection as a “provocation.” All that Guevarism offered the working class was to “liberate” themselves by abandoning the factories. Thus in Bolivia, Communiqué No. 5 of Guevara’s National Liberation Army (ELN) called on the historically class-conscious tin miners to leave the mines and join them in the jungles! This would have meant giving up their tremendous social power which time and again has enabled the miners to defeat counterrevolutionary onslaughts. The shameless Debray went even further and condemned the entire Bolivian proletariat for “hypertrophy of class consciousness” (*Che’s Guerrilla War*) because the workers were convinced that they must lead the peasants!!

Programmatically practically all the Guevarist guerrillas were not socialist,

but called only for “national liberation” through armed struggle to establish a “democratic” regime. As we explained in our “Theses on Guerrilla Warfare”:

“One of the reasons that a guerrilla movement is forced to represent the interests of segments of the ‘patriotic’ bourgeoisie is its own concomitant property-hungry peasant base.... On different occasions, the guerrilla leadership will have to rely on the financial backing of ‘patriotic’ bourgeois and landlord sectors.”

—*Spartacist* No. 11,
March-April 1968

The Guevarists were fully aware of this. Debray wrote that “If it is more difficult, after Cuba, to integrate any sizable fraction of the national bourgeoisie in an anti-imperialist front, this latter can and must still be the prime objective.” And in the one case where a Latin American peasant guerrilla movement adopted a socialist platform, the Guatemalan MR-13, it was met with a vitriolic anti-Trotskyist onslaught not only by the Moscow-line Stalinists but from Castro himself at the 1966 Tricon-



Bolivian rangers and CIA hunted down and killed the heroic Che Guevara in 1967.

tinental Congress (see “Posadas in the MR-13,” *Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967).

All this is not to say that Leninists can never resort to forms of guerrilla struggle, but only as a secondary civil war tactic. The issue was posed in Russia following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, when the Mensheviks (along with Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg) criticized the Bolsheviks’ bank “expropriations.” Lenin misestimated the pace of events, expecting a new upsurge soon, but he correctly pointed out that guerrilla warfare is an inevitable form of struggle in certain periods, particularly “when fairly large intervals occur between the ‘big engagements’” of the revolution. But he added, “the party of the proletariat can never regard guerrilla warfare as the only, or even as the chief, method of struggle,” and that it must be subordinated to other methods, particularly the mass insurrection (“Guerrilla Warfare,” September 1906). Any strategy of guerrilla warfare is utterly anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist because it is not based on the mobilization of the revolutionary class, the proletariat.

This same point was made in the course of discussions in 1974-76 which led to the fusion of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) with the Chilean Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR). The OTR, while rejecting Guevarist focoism and Tupamaro-style urban guerrillaism, had advocated “irregular war” by the working class. This was the application of guerrillaist conceptions (in this case derived from Ernest Mandel’s pseudo-

Trotskyist United Secretariat) to their particular milieu of miners, where skirmishes with the police and army were a regular occurrence. The “Declaration of Fraternal Relations” between the iSt and OTR established that:

“The proletariat cannot sustain guerrilla war, for the very concept implies the absence of a revolutionary situation and the kind of irregular fighting which requires an ability to retreat rapidly. In addition to its clear class interest, it is the organization of the proletariat which gives it political superiority over the atomized peasantry. This organization is the result of the position of the working class in the structure of capitalist society; to retreat into the hills would eventually destroy the class or the class character of its vanguard.... “The revolutionary party must, of course, take an active role in organizing the self-defense of the working masses, and the use of guerrilla tactics is often vital as a subordinate civil war tactic. However, the road to power for the proletariat is through mass insurrection against the bourgeois state: the central military organization of the uprising must be an arm of and directed by the

is regrettable, as he strived, within the limits of his own conceptions, to be a genuine revolutionary.” PB member Harry Turner had argued that it was no loss, comparing Guevara to Adam Clayton Powell, the demagogic black Democratic politico! Today Turner is with the one-time Guevarists and sometime guerrilla-posing Nahuel Moreno outfit—a strange marriage indeed. We also pay our respects to a courageous reformist like Salvador Allende. The pictures of him in front of the burning La Moneda palace carrying a Kalashnikov automatic rifle given to him by Fidel Castro give the lie to all the Pinochet propaganda about Allende committing suicide. At the end of the “peaceful road” some of the popular-fronters end up in the enemy camp, while others pay the supreme price.

But if we have respect for these martyrs, that is more than one can say for the likes of Debray, an unprincipled literary camp follower who first enthused for Guevara, then publicized Allende, and now as an official of the French government of social democrat Mitterrand gets a former Batista cop, the phony “wheelchair poet” Armando Valladares, released from Castro’s prisons. The ease with which Debray switched from the “guerrilla road” to the “peaceful road” makes the description of cynical personal careerist a compliment.

The “Guerrilla Road” in El Salvador

El Salvador is hardly suited for Guevara-style focoism. It is a tiny country the size of Massachusetts with the highest population density in Latin America. Even most of the rural areas are semi-urban and there are no mountains, at most rugged hills and dozens of volcanos (which have now become guerrilla base camps). So there was no guerrilla movement in the 1960s, only an abortive attempt by the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) to set up an “armed branch” just in case... which in three years of existence didn’t carry out a single action (interview with Salvador Cayetano Carpio, *Punto Final Internacional*, October 1982). Later in the ‘70s when the so-called “politico-military” organizations appeared, they were still imbued with Guevarist conceptions. Since Che had said you had to have mountains for a guerrilla struggle, and El Salvador had none, they coined the slogan, “the people are our mountains.”

The original “armed struggle” group was set up in 1970 by the former general secretary of the PCS, Cayetano Carpio. It was so undergroundist that for the first two years it didn’t have a name; Cayetano refused to wage a struggle inside the CP, or even to talk with sympathetic former party members! Instead it was totally conspiratorial, preparing the heroic gesture of the defiant guerrilla sounding a clarion by picking up the gun and galvanizing the masses with his example. The results

continued on page 10

mass organization of the working class, led by the Leninist party.”

—*WV* No. 111, 28 May 1976

The Spartacist tendency was born in the discussion over the nature of the Cuban Revolution. From our inception we have held that guerrillaism represents a petty-bourgeois reaction to the absence and delay of proletarian revolution. Following the long string of defeats after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, many impressionistic leftists seized on the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, declared themselves Maoists or Fidelistas and discovered the peasant vanguard. In our first international document, “Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International,” written two decades ago by the Revolutionary Tendency in the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), we noted that although under exceptional circumstances the petty-bourgeois guerrilla leadership can be forced to expropriate the capitalists, at best this will lead to a bureaucratically deformed workers state as occurred in Cuba. Adoption of the so-called “peasant guerrilla road to socialism,” we wrote, would be “a suicidal course for the socialist goals of the movement, and perhaps physically for the adventurers” (*Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964).

Tragically, this last warning proved to be true indeed. While the Spartacist League (SL) was one of the few tendencies to swim against the guerrillaist current in the early ‘60s, we noted in a Political Bureau meeting (12 October 1967) not long after Che Guevara was assassinated by Bolivian army and CIA operatives that “the passing of Guevara

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Guerrillaism...

(continued from page 9)

were predictably negative. Later this became the Popular Forces of Liberation "Farabundo Martí" (FPL). In 1972-74 came the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) recruited from Catholic sectors, particularly the Christian Democratic youth, Catholic-led peasant unions and the so-called "grass-roots communities" of the church which were spreading in the rural areas. The ERP was rent by a vicious faction fight in 1975, in which a minority accused the leadership of "militarism," whereupon the minority leaders were shot! The remaining ERP dissidents formed the National Resistance (RN). The two other members of the FMLN guerrilla coalition today are the small Central American Workers Party (PRTC) and the PCS.

FPL leader Cayetano Carpio later maintained that, "From the start we ruled out the guerrilla foco theory," on the basis of "the experience of some guerrilla movements in Latin America and in other countries that were removed from the people...and that succumbed to militarist designs" (*Granma* [weekly edition], 30 March 1980). The other "politico-military" organizations also reject "focoism," as has virtually the entire Latin American left following the tragic finale of Guevara's adventure at Nancahuazú (Bolivia). But fundamentally the entire FMLN coalition is guerrillaist, lacking a belief in the ability of the working class to make the revolution and advocating policies diametrically opposed to proletarian insurrection. This is seen most clearly in the FDR/FMLN popular-front alliance and its program for reforming Salvadoran capitalism. Carpio, for example, wrote an article last year calling explicitly for a "democratic revolutionary government, not for a Socialist government," in which there would be room for everyone from "large businessmen to small farmers and merchants" (*New York Times*, 9 February 1982). But this opposition to proletarian revolution can also be seen in the nature of the armed struggle which they carry out.

While the FMLN has made an impressive showing on the battlefield, the leftist insurgents have suffered a number of reverses—and in each case it has been because of their failure to rouse the urban masses to struggle. That was what happened in the junta's phony elections of March 1982, which the guerrillas did not effectively disrupt, handing the government a propaganda victory at home and abroad. The so-called "final"/general offensive of January 1981 failed to achieve its announced goals, in particular because there was no

rising in San Salvador. An attempted general strike in August 1980 also collapsed, and it was in the wake of that defeat that the Salvadoran left abandoned the cities en masse. But even earlier, in October 1979, a key revolutionary opportunity was missed when the so-called "human rights junta" took over from General Romero with the aid of the U.S. State Department...and the Salvadoran left. And as the struggle

presses the anti-revolutionary strategy of guerrillaism. They have it exactly backwards: a proletarian insurrection must be the crowning moment. But they're not talking about *workers* revolution.

Let's take another of the FMLN commanders, Fermán Cienfuegos of the RN and their Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN). Cienfuegos admitted in an analysis of the January 1981

with all its phony talk of "Farabundismo," so would the FMLN today.

Thus the ERP and FARN openly say that they are not for socialist revolution and seek an alliance with large sectors of the bourgeoisie. What of Cayetano Carpio's FPL, which calls for a "prolonged people's war." A small pamphlet entitled "Chalatenango Heroico" (distributed by the Casa El Salvador "Farabundo Martí") gives an idea of what the FPL's line looks like in the field of battle. It reports that the local militias were demanding "industrial arms," that the masses "who have been hearing for years about armed struggle, who have been dreaming for years about having a gun, are not going to be content with a machete." Yet, says the article, "at the level of the masses and the militias, we'll never see weapons of war, not even after the victory." This is the logic of guerrillaism, which relies not on the mobilization of the working masses but on a "professional" party/army. No wonder there is discontent.

And on negotiations, according to the pamphlet: "If you tell them to put down their arms, these people would probably shoot anyone who came to tell them that.... In Guazapa the people have made it clear that it cost blood for them to get those guns and they are not going to give them up." Good. But in fact, the FDR/FMLN are calling for precisely that. Concretely, in FDR spokesman Zamora's Washington press conference during the January offensive he called for a ceasefire to achieve negotiations. (Later he tried to cover up by claiming he was only advocating laying down arms "in the context" of negotiations). And he made clear why the FDR/FMLN tops reject a "military solution." According to the *Guardian*, Zamora said that, "To win only in a military sense, could mean 'to lose in the end.' One purpose of military pressure is to insure that the U.S. administration eventually will accept a negotiated solution that gives the rebel forces a share of the power."

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

So who is it that "loses in the end" if the leftist insurgents win on the battlefield? Zamora, a dissident Christian Democrat, is speaking here in the higher interests of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie. For liberals like him and FDR leader Guillermo Ungo, calls for a "political solution" are no compromise. The destruction of the genocidal army, the core of the Salvadoran state, would remove the very basis of their plans for a "democratic, pluralist" capitalist regime. We understand on the basis of Marxism, and Zamora grasps out of an acute sense of defending his class interests, that *there is no "middle way"* such as the Sandinistas are attempting. In El Salvador, where the classes are far more polarized than in Somoza's Nicaragua, the life of such a precarious interregnum could be measured in weeks rather than months. Yet a social revolution would provoke a confrontation with U.S. imperialism which, from the standpoint of tiny El Salvador, the nationalist-reformists feel they cannot win. So the guerrillaists and "democratic" politicians of the FDR/FMLN join hands to stave off a military victory. But the fighters in the field will pay the price. For them it is literally a choice of revolution or death.

The Trotskyists have a fundamentally counterposed strategy, based on the theory and program of permanent revolution. In the epoch of imperialism the weak bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are unwilling and incapable of carrying out even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Their intimate ties to imperialism and domestic reaction, combined with their fear of a militant working

Castro in the Sierra Maestra in 1957. The peasant-guerrilla road to power can at best lead to a bureaucratically deformed workers state.



Prensa Latina

nears a conclusion, the battle for San Salvador will loom large. Then once again guerrillaism and popular frontism threaten to strangle the potential for proletarian revolution.

Take the case of the January 1981 offensive. In a recent interview, Joaquín Villalobos, commander-in-chief of the ERP, talked about why there was no urban insurrection. He complains that "the development of the mass movement...obviously generated expectations about the insurrectional possibilities." But "the explanation for why we didn't achieve our objectives is to be found in the deterioration of the mass struggle in the last months due to the terror imposed on the cities.... What happened is that we lost the appropriate moment." He notes that general strikes repeatedly paralyzed the country during 1980, and "it took the enemy a year to wear down this movement and...exhaust its insurrectional possibilities." All very true. He places the key moment at March-April 1980, particularly around the time of the assassination of Archbishop Romero. The Salvadoran prelate had protested the government's repression, and his murder touched off a massive protest in the capital and local rebellions to the battle-cry of "Viva Monsignor Romero!"

But what is most significant is *why* Villalobos picks this point: "At that time there were even sectors of the bourgeoisie willing to establish alliances with us and we had political weight" (*Punto Final Internacional*, November-December 1982). Thus the ERP leader hinges successful insurrection on support from the bourgeoisie—making it clear that their slogan of "armed people's insurrection" refers *not* to a proletarian uprising establishing a workers and peasants government but to the installation of a new capitalist regime. And what about the future? At the end of the lengthy interview, Villalobos remarks: "So what will be the form in which the masses participate in the final phase of the war? It's hard to predict.... Whether they will appear at that moment in an insurrectional form or in the form of a general strike, or by massively joining the revolutionary army, we will have to see." Who knows, who cares—that is his position. In fact, the title of Villalobos' interview, "El Salvador: From the Insurrection to Revolutionary War," perfectly ex-

plains the anti-revolutionary strategy of guerrillaism. They have it exactly backwards: a proletarian insurrection must be the crowning moment. But they're not talking about *workers* revolution. Let's take another of the FMLN commanders, Fermán Cienfuegos of the RN and their Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN). Cienfuegos admitted in an analysis of the January 1981 offensive that, during the previous year, "there were situations in which it was possible to carry out a general strike that did not develop into an *insurrection*.... The general strike ran ahead of us; we didn't implement the insurrection, nor was the structure of our army prepared for it." He notes that there were three general strikes during 1980, but excuses the fact that they were not transformed into insurrection by referring to "an imbalance in the development of the power of the masses and military power"! However, by the next January the masses had been intimidated and therefore, he concludes, "it was an error to have resorted to the classic form of calling for a strike" (*Commander Fermán Cienfuegos Speaks*, March 1982). So Cienfuegos, who bombastically proclaimed the "final" offensive in the first place, concludes that there should have been *no* attempt to raise up the masses!

Cienfuegos, too, emphasized the importance of "alliances" with the bourgeoisie, trying to develop a new ideology of "Farabundismo." This, he says, allows for an alliance of the workers and peasants with the petty bourgeoisie "and the small and medium business sectors." He rails against "some authors" who "try to portray the Salvadorean struggle as the classic struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." In *Farabundismo*, according to Cienfuegos, "there also exists the distinctive form of incorporation of the Christian movements." In another pamphlet (*El Salvador: La revolución inevitable*) he remarks that, "Our process is very similar to that in Nicaragua but our policy of alliances will be much broader," including "private enterprise, sectors of the army, democratic forces not yet in the FDR" and others. Call it what you may, this conception, common to all the sectors of the FMLN, has nothing to do with the actual program of Salvadoran Communist leader Farabundo Martí, who led the 1932 insurrection that was brutally suppressed in the infamous *Matanza*. His program was:

"The Communist Party calls all the poor workers and peasants of El Salvador to bloody struggle against the national bourgeoisie, who are unconditionally allied to Yankee Imperialists.... Down with the imperialist oppressor and his national dogs!"

Stalin's Comintern condemned the 1932 Salvadoran uprising as "ultra-left," and

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class and the huge landless peasantry, places them in the camp of counterrevolution. On the agrarian question, for instance: the Trotskyists call for the revolutionary seizure of the estates, the peasants should take the land. No section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie advocates this program, for there is no separate industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie: they are all the same families. It is significant that the land reform advocated by the FDR is no more advanced than that enacted by the Christian Democratic/military junta two years ago. And they are all tied to imperialism. FDR leader Zamora was installed in the October 1979 junta at the behest of the U.S. State Department. Today he goes around vituperating against a leftist military victory.

Leninists base themselves on the proletariat, and a Central American working class exists, especially in El Salvador, which in turn can have a powerful impact on the millions-strong Mexican workers movement. The majority of all industrial workers in the isthmus are located in this tiny country. They are employed by U.S. multinationals such as ARCO, Phelps Dodge, Westinghouse, Maidenform Bras, Texas Instruments, and in the Free Trade Zone at San Bartolo where they are paid \$4 a day to assemble semi-manufactures for the U.S. market. And they have a recent history of militant struggle. In March 1979 workers at two bottling plants won their demands when the electrical workers union (STECCEL) cut off power for an hour nationwide in solidarity with the bottlers' strike. A week later STECEL occupied the power plants again, electrifying the surrounding fences with high voltage and blacking out the country for a day in support of their own demands. The government utility company was forced to give in. And in September 1979, workers struck five factories along San Salvador's strategic Army Boulevard, occupying the plants and taking managers hostage in order to forestall a military intervention.

For the first half of 1980 there was a constant stream of mass protests. As the liberals were slowly eliminated from the ruling junta, opposition mounted in the streets. The formation of the Revolutionary Mass Coordinating Committee, the nucleus of the later FMLN, was greeted in a January 22 mass march of 200,000, which was fired on by the security forces leaving 100 dead. In March there was a one-day general strike that shut down urban transport. In April tens of thousands poured into the streets to mourn the slain Archbishop Romero: the toll, 40 killed by government snipers. In June a second general strike paralyzed the capital: nothing moved in San Salvador for two days. Finally, the leftist coalition called a three-day general strike for mid-August. But instead of waging an offensive struggle, they told the workers to stay at home or in the plants. At most some barricades were built in the working-class suburbs and militias took pot shots at the police. The strike was a failure as petty-bourgeois layers, mini-bus owners and shopkeepers, buckled under to government repression.

The year of mass mobilization dissipated because the leaders of the Salvadoran left held back the struggle in the name of their guerrillaist, popular-frontist programs. Instead of placing themselves at the head of the workers and leading them to proletarian insurrection, they worried about an "imbalance in the development of the power of the masses and the military power." Marxists understand that in a revolutionary situation the course of events takes on its own rhythm. Thus Lenin stressed that in the Russian 1905 Revolution by December an uprising was absolutely essential: "A general

strike could no longer take the government unawares: it had already organized the forces of counterrevolution and they were ready for action" ("Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," August 1906). But in Moscow the Bolsheviks attempted to lead such an insurrection, setting the pattern for 1917, while in San Salvador the guerrillaist/popular-frontist left was able to prevent it. (As for the level of military power, at the time of the Moscow uprising the workers militias had only 80 rifles going up against machine guns.)

This is the logic of guerrillaism, not just in El Salvador but everywhere, whether it is called focoism or the "armed struggle road." The guerrillaists have no faith in the revolutionary power of the working class. They believe that only a "professional" party/army is capable of waging military struggle. In Chile this was the program of the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), the largest left organization outside of Allende's Unidad Popular (UP). The MIR had considerable influence among sectors of workers, peasants and students; it talked of armed struggle and carried pictures of Guevara. But it "critically" supported the UP to the end, and never called for arming the masses. Instead the MIR created artificial groups, the so-called *comandos comunales*, which didn't get off the ground. And when the bloody end came, it could offer no serious resistance.

Following the defeat of the August 1980 general strike, the Salvadoran left abandoned the cities to build a "people's army" in the hills. Partly in response to repression, partly obeying the dictates of their "politico-military" strategies, hundreds of militant workers left San Salvador for nearby Guazapa volcano to build a "people's army." Elsewhere the composition of the guerrilla forces is overwhelmingly peasant in origin. And this exodus to the countryside will inevitably have an impact on the class outlook of the leftist insurgents. The FMLN has created a *peasant army* led by declassed intellectuals, ex-peasant youth and some former workers. Built out of mass organizing in the late '70s, particularly by two Catholic-led peasant unions, it can unleash a powerful storm against the murderous landlord/capitalist/army oligarchy that has run El Salvador as its fiefdom for half a century and more. But it can also be used *against the working class*.

Trotsky raised this possibility in the case of China during the 1930s, when Mao's Communist Party had transformed itself into the leadership of a peasant "Red Army." Should the Stalinist-led peasant troops occupy the industrial centers and come face-to-face with the workers, he wrote, it is quite likely that it will be used to repress the proletariat, particularly in the name of crushing "counterrevolutionary Trotskyites." He wrote:

"The peasant movement is a mighty revolutionary factor, insofar as it is directed against the large landowners, militarists, feudalists and usurers. But in the peasant movement itself are very powerful proprietary and reactionary tendencies and at a certain stage it can become hostile to the workers, and sustain that hostility already equipped with arms. He who forgets about the dual nature of the peasantry is not a Marxist."

—Leon Trotsky, "Peasant War in China" (September 1932)

This possibility has already occurred in neighboring Nicaragua. During the last moments of the Nicaraguan civil war, when the Sandinistas had temporarily retreated from the capital, the workers and slum dwellers took over Managua the day after Somoza fled. They sacked the barracks and military headquarters, obtaining many arms. It took the Sandinistas months to get the guns back. They began by arresting the members of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade," led by the pseudo-Trotskyist

Moreno tendency, after it staged a demonstration for "workers power" in August 1979. They shut down the Maoist paper *El Pueblo* after it called for peasants to occupy haciendas of the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." They arrested leaders of the Frente Obrero group and of the dissident Communist Party of Nicaragua, as well as local ostensible Trotskyists. They broke several strikes for higher wages and workers control, sacking the offices of the CAUS union federation. And when workers at one textile factory (FABRITEX, the largest in Nicaragua) could not be intimidated in any other way, they brought in the Sandinista People's Army to *dismantle the factory*, removing the raw materials and machines! Should the Salvadoran army collapse before a "negotiated solution" is worked out, the FDR/FMLN leaders promise to do the same. Whether they can succeed is another matter.

The "guerrilla road" of the Salvadoran left is an expression of petty-bourgeois forces opposed to the

from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer" ("Lessons of October"). A Trotskyist party must be built in struggle against the guerrillaism, popular-frontism and *nationalism* of the Salvadoran left. Workers revolution in the Central American area must be international from the beginning. A workers insurrection in San Salvador must not only combine with a peasant war throughout the country, but also with proletarian revolution from Nicaragua to Mexico. For it's not a question of tiny El Salvador taking on the Yankee colossus to the north by itself. Right next door is the sleeping giant of the Mexican proletariat, now facing a government that has imposed drastic austerity measures which (together with a push from events in Central America) can take millions onto the path of revolutionary struggle.

The Salvadoran struggle can also have a tremendous impact on the United States far exceeding that of the liberal-



Salvadoran workers stage one-day political general strike on 17 March 1980 against murderous junta.

Leninist-Trotskyist program of workers revolution. It is no accident that Castro's models on military matters were not Marx, Engels and Lenin (or Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army), but José Martí and Simón Bolívar—leaders of the bourgeois national independence movements. This corresponds to the Castroites' "democratic" program and orientation to the peasantry. They reason that in the "Third World" the bourgeoisie is so weak that it must rule through a praetorian guard army, which in fact acts as a political party; their answer is to counterpose their own army/party, a left version of a military coup. But for communists who seek to lead the proletariat, followed by the oppressed masses of the city and country, in a socialist revolution, what is necessary is to build a Bolshevik vanguard party of the working class and soviet organs of workers power. This will also lay the basis for the exercise of genuine workers democracy, including bringing to justice the criminals responsible for the murder of Salvadoran leftist poet Roque Dalton, leader of the "anti-militarist" faction of the ERP in 1975 who was shot on phony charges of being a "CIA agent."

For a Trotskyist Party!

Summarizing the experience of the Russian Revolution and the first years of the Communist International, Leon Trotsky wrote: "Without a party, apart

led El Salvador protests. The matter of working-class solidarity is not at all abstract. Thus the Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists have fought for a labor boycott of all military goods to Central American rightist juntas. And this is part of an overall struggle for the American revolution—for labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, for sitdown strikes against mass layoffs and so on. Because the only way to secure revolutionary gains for the people of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico and the rest of Latin America is through socialist revolution in the United States itself.

The reformists call for agrarian reform, a mixed economy, purging the army and a non-aligned foreign policy, carried out by a revolutionary democratic government of a "free El Salvador." The Trotskyists fight for agrarian revolution, expropriation of the bourgeoisie, destruction of the present butcher army and the creation of a proletarian red army, and unconditional defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states, through military victory by the leftist insurgents and a proletarian insurrection installing a workers and peasants government, as part of a soviet federation of Central America in a Socialist United States of Latin America. As Trotsky wrote of Spain in the early '30s: "For a successful solution of all these tasks, three conditions are required: a party; once more a party; again a party." ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 7)

the Palestinians, the Zionist war machine has fully exploited the blood hatreds generated during the Lebanese civil war. It was the special Israeli-organized "Damuri Brigade" of the Phalange who were the main executioners of the Shatila/Sabra massacre.)

The Third Worldist cheerleaders on the left naturally hailed the Palestinian/Muslim side in the Lebanese civil war, either denying its communalist character or else condemning the Maronite population to death as pro-imperialist reactionaries. Typically, the eclectic Stalinoid Workers World Party of Sam Marcy not only glorified the Palestinian/Muslim forces in general but specifically celebrated their destruction of Damur:

"The burning of Chamoun's mansion and the seizure of the stronghold of his National Liberal Party, the village of Damur, underlined the new weakened

the "progressive, democratic" peoples. This kind of division of the world (and its constant redivision) into "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples has nothing in common with Marxism.

To grasp the difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism on this question, let us consider interwar Czechoslovakia. The 1919 Versailles treaty incorporated some three million Germans concentrated in the Sudetenland in the new Czech-dominated, albeit bourgeois-democratic, state. Needless to say, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky recognized the right of the Sudeten Germans to national self-determination, i.e., the right to secede from Czechoslovakia and become part of the German national state if they so chose.

In the mid-1930s the Nazis gained political hegemony over the Sudeten Germans. Nationalistically blinded, a substantial majority desired unity with Hitler's Third Reich. While the "liberal" imperialists, social democrats and Stalinists now ardently defended the

not only with light arms but also Soviet-made armored personnel carriers and tanks captured in the 1967 and 1973 wars. The alliance between the Israeli armed forces and the Phalangists, which now wreaks genocidal terror against the Palestinians in Lebanon, was thus cemented in the 1975-76 civil war.

But it was not Israel nor the U.S. which saved the pro-Western Christian rightists from defeat; it was that pillar of "radical" Arab nationalism, Ba'athist Syria, which in June 1976 invaded Lebanon with Washington's approval. For the Third Worldist left (and also the Kremlin), this was indeed a low blow. Ba'athist Syria was the self-proclaimed "vanguard of the Arab Revolution." The Damascus colonels were members in good standing of the "rejection front" which opposed negotiations with Israel for a West Bank mini-state. And initially they had supported and armed the Palestinian/Muslim side in the civil war.

Why did this Moscow-allied Arab nationalist regime come to the aid of the

surrounding the camp. Even before Tel Zaatar fell in mid-August, hundreds, if not thousands, died of hunger, thirst and untended wounds. And when the Palestinians laid down their arms and *surrendered*, they were slaughtered en masse. *Newsweek* (23 August 1976) described what happened:

"As the people of Tel Zaatar surged out toward the 'confrontation line' between Christian and Muslim Beirut, the rightists fell on them like wolves, arguing, by some accounts, over how many Palestinians each right-wing group was entitled to execute... entire families were killed."

At Tel Zaatar the Syrian Ba'athists provided the Zionists with a model (if they needed any) for the Shatila/Sabra massacre carried out by the same Maronite criminals six years later. In fact, a Mossad agent was in the Phalangist command post during the 1976 siege. A true united front against Palestinians!

Any and all illusions that Ba'athist Syria is an ally of Palestinian liberation should have been buried once and for all among the thousands of corpses at Tel Zaatar. But poor memory is a congenital disease of opportunists. Once they had broken the back of Palestinian military power, the Syrians distanced themselves from their erstwhile Maronite allies (there was never any love lost between Assad and the Gemayel clan) and played a bonapartist role balancing above the myriad national and sectarian groupings of Lebanon. By the late 1970s Syria's Assad was once again hailed as an "anti-imperialist" by the PLO nationalists and their left cheerleaders. George Habash, head of the "radical" PFLP, recently stressed, "we have many things in common with the Syrian regime. It is against Camp David, against the unfair U.S. imperialist solution of the Middle East crisis" (*Intercontinental Press*, 31 January).

A typically centrist variant of this kind of glorification of Assad's Syria is to be found in a leaflet put out by the small fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League of Peter Sollenberger when Israel invaded Lebanon: "The Syrian government is an unstable, anti-communist, tactical military ally in the fight against U.S. imperialism in the Middle East" ("Defend Lebanon!," 13 June 1982). It should be emphasized that this was written *after* Syria had negotiated a separate cease-fire with Israel, thus allowing Sharon to concentrate his entire machine of terror against the PLO forces. The Syrian bourgeoisie is *not* an untrustworthy ally but a mortal *enemy* of Palestinian national liberation. Should any significant section of the Palestinian people fall under the control of the Ba'athist regime, it would be subjugated as ruthlessly as the million Palestinians in King Hussein's Jordan. And any Palestinian resistance would be dealt with as savagely as at Tel Zaatar.

In 1976 Ba'athist Syria crippled the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon. Last summer Zionist Israel finished the job. And both Damascus and Jerusalem were supported and encouraged by U.S. imperialism seeking to impose an anti-Soviet Pax Americana in the Near East. These military defeats were not inevitable. The Palestinian resistance has been *politically* disarmed by its petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership before the forces of Zionism, the Arab bourgeoisies and imperialism. A proletarian insurrection in Lebanon in 1975 would have shaken the colonels of Damascus, the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan and not least the Zionist state. By contributing to the transformation of an incipient social revolution into communalist civil war, all wings of the PLO created the conditions for the present Lebanese catastrophe. What is needed is a revolutionary vanguard party capable of uniting the Arab toilers and Hebrew proletariat against the Begins, Assads, Husseins and their imperialist backers.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



By 1976 Lebanese civil war had become communalist slaughter. Syrian-backed Maronites killed thousands of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar (left). PLO forces and Druze militia massacred Christian villagers at Damur (right).

position the pro-imperialist rulers are now in."

—*Workers World*, 30 January 1976

In opposition to the left cheerleaders for "progressive" communalist violence, we wrote at the time:

"In the present fluid conflict, and particularly given the rapidly shifting allegiances, none of these nationalist and communalist formations are fighting a just struggle that would merit military support from the class-conscious proletariat."

—"Blood Feud in Lebanon," *WW* No. 115, 25 June 1976

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism on Nationalist/Communist Conflict

Our anti-nationalist position on the Lebanese civil war was denounced, often hysterically, by our fake-left opponents at the time and still is. For example, a tiny Marcyite splinter group, the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), in a recent article on the successful SL-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, singles out our line on the Lebanese civil war as, in their view, particularly egregious: "the SL continues to mistakenly uphold its position of *abstention* during the '75-'76 war in Lebanon, where workers and oppressed battled the Lebanese equivalents of the KKK, such as the Phalangists" (*Internationalist Worker*, January 1983).

As we have shown, this is exactly what did *not* happen. The combatants on both sides were organized *not* along class but along national/communal/sectarian lines. And the Palestinian and Muslim toilers did *not* simply battle the Phalangists but the entire Maronite community. More generally, these small-time Marcyites are expressing the essentially Stalinist concept that if a people is unfortunate to fall under the sway of fascist or other right-wing leadership, then they are condemned to be subjugated, if not exterminated, by

territorial integrity of "progressive, democratic" Czechoslovakia, the Trotskyists continued to recognize the right of self-determination for the oppressed German minority. In 1938 the liberal Prague government of Benes ordered the Czech army to occupy the Sudetenland and suppress the Nazi agitators. Trotsky denounced this as an act of national oppression, and in response to the question, "what should be the policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists," he replied: "If we can do it, if we have the strength, of course we fight against sending troops into the German region" ("Remarks on Czechoslovakia," *Writings [1937-38]*).

The situation of the Sudeten Germans in interwar Czechoslovakia and the Maronites in Lebanon is certainly in many and important ways different. The fundamental point, however, is that Trotsky defended the democratic rights of a people even as they fell under fascist leadership (in good part due to the chauvinist betrayals of the Stalinists and social democrats). In this he was adhering to the Leninist principle of opposing all forms of national oppression and upholding equality for all nations. Only in this way can proletarian class consciousness and unity overcome deep-seated national enmities. And here it should be recalled that Lenin's last political fight was against Stalin's abuse of the national minorities, specifically the Georgians. The Stalinist notion of "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples leads to support for "democratic" imperialism and serves as a left cover for nationalist pogroms.

Ba'athist Syria Attacks the Palestinians

By the spring of 1976 the once-privileged Maronites were on the defensive, squeezed into besieged enclaves as Lebanon gradually moved toward de facto partition. Seeking to turn the tide of battle Israel began massively supplying the Christian forces

pro-Western Christian Lebanese particularists? What interests lay behind this seemingly most unnatural alliance? First, Syria, like Lebanon, is a medieval patchwork of potentially hostile ethnic, national and sectarian groupings (Kurds, Druze, etc.). The Damascus Ba'athist regime is itself drawn heavily from the small Alawite sect, a splinter of Shia Islam, whose base of support is even narrower than that of the Lebanese Maronites. Thus Assad & Co. feared that the breakup of Lebanon along sectarian lines would spill over into Syria.

Secondly, Assad, like Sadat, was negotiating via U.S. imperialism for a return of the territory occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. The Syrian strongman knew he had no chance whatsoever to get back the Golan Heights unless he could demonstrate to Washington and Jerusalem that he could police the Palestinians in Lebanon. That Assad was unable to emulate Sadat at this time was due solely to Israeli intransigence, not any lack of desire on his part. In mid-1975 Kissinger complained to a group of prominent American Jewish businessmen and academics: "We could have split the Palestinians from the Syrians [in exchange] for only a few more kilometers on the Golan, but the Israelis insisted on moving the settlements right up to the line" ("Kissinger Memorandum: To Isolate the Palestinians," *MERIP Reports* No. 96, May 1981). As it turned out, Assad did not require the carrot of even a single kilometer on the Golan to split from the Palestinians in the most violent way.

The Syrian military intervention in Lebanon shifted the balance of forces in favor of the Maronite militias as was tragically demonstrated by the two-month siege and fall of the huge Palestinian camp of Tel Zaatar in Beirut. The Syrian army prevented the PLO commandos from lifting the siege and also provided logistical support for the Phalangist and Chamounist forces

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats (who politically oppose extension of the revolution beyond their borders, as well as refusing to adequately arm Central America insurgents), unconditionally defend the USSR, Cuba and the other deformed workers states against imperialism.

The reformist left and Latin American nationalists try to duck this crucial question in order to appeal to imperialist liberals. Instead they call lamely for "self-determination" for Central America. Well, butchers like El Salvador's D'Abuissou and Guatemala's Rios Montt, and the region's numerous right-wing death squads, are home grown and determined to crush the slightest opposition to their bloody rule. A civil war is being waged, and we take the side of the working people of Central America out of elementary class solidarity. To refuse to call for leftist insurgents to win the war, in favor of some kind of negotiated sellout, means opening the way to new massacres the moment the masses lay down their arms.

Now Reagan is demanding that military aid to El Salvador be tripled this year. (The deceptively small figures mask the fact that more than \$1 billion has been poured into the region in the last three years.) A key element in this new get-tough policy was a gloomy report from UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's "own" Dragon Lady, just back from a visit to her favorite "moderately authoritarian" dictators. (No doubt after being driven off the stage at the University of California/Berkeley by angry El Salvador protesters, this imperialist war-monger yearned for the "real democracy" of Central America!) Reagan and Kirkpatrick stand by their butchers. The present gang in Washington was elected on a "who lost Vietnam and Nicaragua" platform, and they're not likely to give up without trying to send in the Marines. And this would unleash tremendous struggles not only in Central America, but in the United States as well.

President's Pope Goes to Central America

John Paul Wojtyla took his anti-Communist crusade to Central America, and his mass in Managua may be the turning point for Sandinista Nicaragua. Already in Costa Rica the Polish pope denounced "resort to violence or to collectivist systems." In Panama he railed against divorce, contraception and abortion. In El Salvador the pope called for "dialogue" while endorsing the government's plans for phony "elections" ordered by Washington to give the appearance of progress on "human rights." In Nicaragua, the pope vituperated against "unacceptable ideological commitments," state education "inspired by atheism" and the "absurd and dangerous" People's Church movement which has supported the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) against conservative Archbishop Obando y Bravo. In five separate speeches Wojtyla never expressed the slightest sympathy for the nationalist revolution that overthrew one of the bloodthirstiest tyrants in the Americas.

The battle was on from the moment the Catholic vicar kissed the ground at Sandino Airport. FSLN junta coordinator Daniel Ortega welcomed the pope with a call for peace, because "our people is martyred and crucified every day, and we demand solidarity with right on our side." Ortega denounced U.S.-sponsored aggression, referring to more than 375 Nicaraguans killed by counterrevolutionary mercenaries

armed, paid and directed by the CIA. Wojtyla refused to comment on these crimes. When Rev. Ernesto Cardenal, a poet and Nicaragua's minister of culture, knelt to kiss the pontiff's ring in the receiving line, the pope withdrew his hand and wagging a finger told the priest to "straighten out your position with the Church." Later in the open-air mass in the center of Managua he attacked the five priests holding high government positions for "acting outside or against the will of the bishops."

The mass in the Plaza 19 de Julio was the showdown. When Wojtyla not only vociferously attacked the "People's Church" but pointedly refused to say a word of condolences for the victims of anti-Sandinista terror, the crowd began shouting, "We want peace," "People's power," "Long live liberated Nicaragua," and "No pasarán" (They shall not pass). The pope repeatedly ordered "silence" to no avail. Then, dramatically:

"A group of mothers whose teenage sons were reported killed by 'contras,' ... carried framed photographs of their boys over their heads and surged toward the altar, demanding 'prayers for our martyrs'."

—Chicago Tribune, 6 March

There were shouts of "imperialist" and "people's power." In response, the pope made a reference to Nicaragua's Miskito Indians, a section of whom have gone into exile in Honduras, some of them joining the *contra* bands, and then provocatively proclaimed in the Miskito language "Miskito power!" But about the 85 Miskito children and mothers who died last December in a tragic helicopter crash while being evacuated from areas under mercenary attack, this apostle of imperialist reaction has had not a word to say.

The head of the Catholic church in effect declared an anathema against Sandinista Nicaragua. "Viva el Papa!" will become a battlecry of the counter-revolution. According to the *New York Times* (6 March), an FSLN organizer said angrily, "The Pope has sold out to imperialism and to Reagan." But Pope John Paul Wojtyla did not "sell out" anything. It was the Sandinistas who spread illusions with slogans such as "between Christianity and the revolution, there is no contradiction." The very fact that the pope was invited to Nicaragua was an expression of the FSLN's false hopes to walk a "middle road" with the toleration of imperialism, preserving a "mixed economy" and following a "non-aligned" foreign policy. But Reagan and the pope have brought the counterrevolutionary onslaught to Nicaragua's borders and into the heart of Managua. The church hierarchy is a potent force for counter-revolution, no less than the private capitalists who control 60 percent of the country's economy and the many pro-capitalist elements still incrusting in the governing apparatus, exemplified by the former "Comandante Zero," Edén Pastora.

Wojtyla's mass in Managua was quite different from his triumphal tour of his native Poland in the summer of 1979. This was the real birthdate of the Solidarność "union," a pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet nationalist movement which honored the fascist dictator Pilsudski and whose leader Lech Walesa was an instrument of the church hierarchy. Walesa/Wojtyla brought Poland to the brink of bloody counterrevolution in late 1981, preparing to strike for power while calling for "free enterprise" and submission of the Polish economy to the dictates of the IMF, the international bankers cartel. In the imperialist countries, many "leftist" cheerleaders for the Sandinistas are also fervent supporters of Polish Solidarność (e.g., the American Socialist Workers Party). While they hail the company "union" for the Vatican and Western bankers in Poland, the Polish pope attacks their idols in Managua. Thus they must view Wojtyla's actions as contradictory. On the contrary, he is a consistent

anti-Communist, from Warsaw to Managua.

For International Workers Revolution!

Next door in El Salvador, the Sandinistas' counterparts of the FDR/FMLN opposition popular front sought to enlist the pope in their diplomatic drive for a "negotiated solution" to the civil war. Wojtyla supports "dialogue" in El Salvador precisely as a means of maintaining capitalist rule. And his counterrevolutionary gospel will have a powerful effect, particularly in the deeply religious rural areas (although perhaps also radicalizing many, particularly in Nicaragua). It is by mobilizing the working class in an openly socialist struggle that the prophets of reaction and anti-Communism can be most effectively combated. And this requires the leadership of Trotskyist workers parties, built in struggle against the Stalinism and nationalism which binds the working masses to their exploiters. Based on a program of permanent revolution, such parties will fight not only for workers and peasants governments throughout Central America, but above all to extend revolution to the powerful working class of Mexico. And in the present exacerbated crisis of Mexican capitalism, one of the most acute points in the international economic mess, this is no mere abstract possibility.

That fact has been well noted in Washington, and not just by the Reaganites. Democratic Senator Henry Jackson recently remarked:

"My concern from the beginning has been that Mexico is the ultimate objective of those forces seeking to destabilize countries in Central America. Mexico's the ultimate target. There are severe problems in Mexico that could be utilized in an effort to destabilize it. Serious unemployment. Unrest. Corruption. The financial problems. It's all there."

—New York Times, 1 March

The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency have been *unique* in pointing from the beginning of the Salvadoran civil war to the crucial importance of sparking revolutionary struggle—not just empty "solidarity" gestures—by the Mexican proletariat. The FSLN, FDR/FMLN, Castro, even Mexican pseudo-Trotskyists have failed to raise this perspective because they supported the foreign policy of the López Portillo government, for a "negotiated solution" to the Central American conflict in the interests of Mexican capitalism.

We Trotskyists fight for workers revolution in the heart of U.S. imperialism, and concrete workers solidarity with the Salvadoran insurgents is an important part of that fight. Class-struggle trade unionists in the West Coast longshore union have called for a labor boycott of all military goods to Central American reactionary regimes. In the face of sharp American escalation, direct political strikes against U.S. intervention would be called for. Real solidarity with anti-imperialist struggle abroad means waging militant class struggle at home. ■

Britain's Sacred Cow...

(continued from page 2)

the Established Church. Thus behind all the apologies for the anachronism of the monarchy as the continuity of the past, is the expression of hard core national chauvinism and the trappings for the reactionary myth of class peace, i.e., status quo.

For Americans, kings and queens seem to exist not so much on the terrain of politics as in a land of enchantment along with trolls, goblins and Snow White. But the monarchy is a pillar of British rule. Generally passive, the monarchy has at certain points become directly active, and remains always a potential rallying point for military reaction. When the British officer corps lifts its glasses to "Queen and Country" more than a traditional toast is made. The officers are in fact loyal to the monarchy—head of the military—rather than to parliament.

British monarchs are not repealing acts of parliament these days, but every so often they assert their residual royal prerogatives, especially when they believe their position of privilege is being contaminated by democratic practices. So even as the *Britannia* recently sailed toward San Diego, the monarchy issued a high court injunction to stop Fleet Street's tabloid press from continuing to publish gossip about Prince Andrew and American starlet Koo Stark.

It is no wonder Reagan welcomes the queen and royal reaction to the U.S. The Reaganites doubtless feel deprived of a U.S. monarchy. Nevertheless the flaunting of conspicuous wealth by Reagan's *nouveau riche* regime tries to accomplish the same thing. The stretch-limo inauguration of Reagan was aptly described as a "bacchanalia of the haves." If one of Nancy Reagan's salad plates costs more than a black mother's welfare aid for a year, it is assumed that in the "great free marketplace" each gets what he deserves—the filthy rich and the dirt poor.

Even more irritating amid the pomp and sycophancy of the queen's visit, are the P.R. men and ideologues who tell us how much we common folk love it. They say the more society is dragged into economic desperation, the more we appreciate the queens and gilded presidents. Depressions, we are told, are particularly good times for the collective praise of the royal "lifestyle." It is at these moments we revolutionaries are pleased to invoke the historical record of such "culture heroes" as Louis XVI, Charles I and Czar Nicholas.

The end of the monarchy in Britain is centuries overdue. It is a law of history that where the bourgeois revolution was weak or truncated some of the more repulsive features of the old order remain. It is not only in backward societies, but also in "civilized" nations that some of the most elementary demands of the bourgeois revolution must await the socialist revolution. ■

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Chicago Machine...

(continued from page 16)

propaganda is being circulated in the police department. The *Chicago Defender* reports one of the disgusting racist tracts "shows a Chicago Police Department insignia which is misspelled and labeled 'Chicagongo Police' and has two chicken drumsticks separating the wordings. Inside the design the literature has a composite of two large lips, a slice of watermelon, a slab of ribs and a can of beer." Another filthy leaflet says, "No matter what anyone else tells you this election has come down to race.... Make the difference on April 12, vote Republican. It's the only chance we have."

The danger of a racist cop rampage in this racially polarized city is very real. When Byrne was elected with the support of the gay vote the cops demonstrated their disapproval by busting up over a dozen gay bars. One black Chicago resident told *WV* that when he entered a restaurant recently near the Fraternal Order of Police hall, eight white cops jeered, "Well, if it isn't Harold Washington," and as he turned to leave he overheard one of the cops say, "I ought to shoot that nigger." These trigger-happy thugs, the murderers of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, who've shot down scores of blacks in the streets, may just stage a police riot to prove a black mayor will mean chaos in the streets.

The cops are the racist enemies of blacks and working people and any bonapartist drive on their part to organize as an independent political force or break loose from civilian control must be opposed. But Washington's liberal schemes like a civilian review board and more black cops are only designed to make the police more credible in the eyes of their victims. No amount of "reforms" will eliminate the racism of cops enforcing bourgeois property rights in the ghettos, or change the role of the police as the armed fist of the bourgeois state. Only the destruction of the capitalist system that breeds crime and racist reaction can do away with police terror once and for all.

The Black Mayors: Reagan's Black Overseers

Jesse Jackson described the overwhelming black vote for Washington as a "political riot, disciplined rage." Washington said his victory represented the "coming into political maturity" of minority groups that once thought simple street protests were enough:

"We were slow to move from the protest movement into politics. We were lulled to sleep thinking that passing a few laws was enough. But we've got to be involved in the mainstream political activity. That's what's happening here in Chicago. And that's the lesson that's going out across the country."
—*New York Times*, 27 February

And that lesson has not been lost on the liberal bourgeoisie which sees in the Washington victory the possibility of channeling deep-seated black outrage into harmless electoral channels. The *New York Times* greeted the Washington win as a great achievement and lauded "using the vote to assert influence as the American way." As black columnist and former USIA director Carl Rowan noted, Reagan's racist America, economically depressed and politically volatile, "is a tinderbox in which explosion can come quickly." As blacks and the poor are driven to desperation, the bourgeoisie needs its black overseers to keep the lid on the major urban centers.

The black Democratic mayors are Reagan's field marshals of oppression and austerity—all union-busters, all enemies of black people. There are now 223 black mayors in the U.S. running major cities like Los Angeles, Detroit, New Orleans and Washington, D.C.

Harold Washington's victory may have tipped the scales for the black mayoral candidates in Philadelphia and Memphis. These black front men have done an important job for the bourgeoisie. Like the bantustan chieftains who offer themselves up as loyal servants of South African apartheid, the black mayors offer themselves up to maintain social peace for the racist American ruling class.

Many of the country's black mayors came to Chicago to boost the Washington campaign, among them Coleman Young, Marion Barry and Richard Hatcher. In an article entitled, "Experts Give Black Mayors Good Marks," the *Chicago Tribune* singled out Detroit's Coleman Young in particular as an



Williams/Chicago Defender
Black Democrats stump for Harold Washington, another front man for Reagan's racist cuts. From left: Congressman John Conyers, Harold Washington, Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, Baptist leader Franklin Richardson, Gary mayor Richard Hatcher.

"astute politician" who "...has managed to hold the town together despite the city's depressed economic state..." Coleman Young certainly has done an admirable job for the auto bosses and the banks, but he has done nothing to relieve the grinding poverty that grips Detroit. He's presided over mass layoffs in the auto industry that have left the city a wasteland, and he opposed cross-district busing to integrate the schools. When the KKK announced it would parade in downtown Detroit to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre, Young threatened to arrest anti-Klan protesters. But 500 blacks, socialists and auto workers led by the Spartacist League (SL) turned up to make sure the Klan didn't ride in the Motor City. Democrat Young has gone after the largely black city workers unions with a vengeance, including busting the 1980 AFSCME strike so he could play host to the Republican convention that nominated Ronald Reagan! Just last fall Young mobilized his Democratic machine to bust the strike of the mainly black teachers union, shoving wage cuts and concessions down their throats. Harold Washington's election promises more of the same for Chicago.

Fake-Lefts Just Wild About Harold

The Democratic Party hopes to cash in on the Washington victory. After nothing but abuse and neglect at the hands of both capitalist parties, now everyone's talking about the "increased credibility of the black vote." It was the black vote that tipped the scale for Jimmy Carter in 1976, and the Democrats have renewed hopes that they'll do it again in '84. Charles Manatt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, called the lesson of Washington's victory "very important for the Democratic Party, because we need that base." And House leader Tip O'Neill has assured Harold Washington that the party will stand behind him. For the first time in ages blacks feel like they may be able to expand their influence in the Democratic Party.

Washington's victory has certainly buoyed the hopes of the anti-Reagan popular front. It was mainly the remnants of the '60s black movement—King's lieutenants Jesse Jackson, Al Raby, Lu Palmer and ex-Black Panther Bobby Rush, et al.—who provided the demagoguery and grassroots organization

that pulled out the vote for Washington. But the left waterboys for the Democrats are doing their bit to channel black anger into the small change of electoral reformism. Under the pressures of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive virtually every so-called socialist group is scrambling for the spot traditionally occupied by the mainstream social democrats. It's clear these reformists have one answer to Reagan's war on blacks, workers and the poor—put a Democrat in the White House in 1984.

The reformists all try to justify their support to Washington by trying to portray him as an anti-Machine candidate. But for 15 years he operated as a Machine flunky in the Illinois legislature. He sat back and watched as his old

friend and mentor Ralph Metcalfe was unceremoniously dumped and run out of office by Boss Daley. The Machine is not dead, it is not dying and Washington has pledged it "would not be dismantled." "In a sense," says Washington, "I am a product of the machine. I've dealt with it for years. It is proper in its place" (*Chicago Sun Times*, 23 February). In fact, Washington is working overtime to mend fences with his Democratic opponents. He has carefully distanced himself from the controversial Rev. Jesse Jackson, saying he will play no formal role in the new administration. At the same time he has sought a rapprochement with Cook County Democratic Party boss "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, the main man behind Byrne's campaign.

The ex-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) provided an amusing side show in the Chicago primary. These reformists are forever running "independent socialist" election campaigns to demonstrate their commitment to the "peaceful, legal" electoral road to socialism. The question of independence from the capitalist parties is a purely formal question for the reformist hucksters of the SWP. They supported Carl Stokes when he first ran for mayor of Cleveland as a nominal "independent," though it was obvious to

all he was a Democrat. The SWP mayoral candidate Ed Warren ran an all but invisible campaign against the popular Harold Washington. But the *Chicago Tribune* captured the SWP's opportunism in bold print the day after the election in an article entitled, "Socialist Pleased by Washington Strength." Warren offers a "Socialist" rationale for critical support to Washington while choking on an actual endorsement. He predicted a Washington win and the *Tribune* noted "that, Warren said, would be good for his own party because Washington would be found unable to produce what the people want, thus giving Socialists a chance."

Meanwhile, the news broke that Warren was offered a million dollars and the post of head of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) if he would drop his name from the April ballot and allow a more "suitable" candidate to take his spot. Only in Chicago, the city of patronage where even the dead vote Democrat, could a small-time reformist chump like Warren get an offer like that! Still it must have been difficult for these ballot box reformists to resist the payoff. Imagine, a minister with portfolio in Chicago's first black administration. True, it's not Castro's Cuba, or the Sandinistas' Nicaragua.... But for now he says "my campaign is not for sale at any price," and he's toned down his enthusiasm for Washington for the *Militant*.

While the reformists hail Washington's victory, life for Chicago's blacks and working people will get worse. And Jim Crow will still live in Harold Washington's Chicago. Washington refuses to support busing or call for open housing. When asked about the Justice Department's suit against Cicero for systematic violations of federal civil rights laws, all he could say was "it bothers me." Those who hold up Harold Washington as the savior of blacks are helping to refurbish the image of the Democratic Party. But the Democratic Party helped make Chicago America's most segregated city. It was precisely the strength of the Democratic Party under Daley and his ability to turn out millions of Cook County voters for Democratic presidential hopefuls which made it possible for the city to fend off even the most minimal reforms of the Johnson "Great Society" era. Busing for school integration never got one inch off the ground in Chicago because the Democratic Party wanted it that way.

Labor/Black Struggle, Not Black Democrats

Many of those who go to the polls and pull the lever for black Democrats like Harold Washington have no particular illusions that black faces in high places will mean "liberation," yet they remain tied to Democratic "lesser-evilism"

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because there appears to be no alternative. At an SL forum on Chicago's South Side the day after the primaries a young black woman said:

"I notice that you tend to put down Coleman Young and Hatcher [the black mayor of Gary, Indiana] a lot. You have to understand that when these men were elected they were given a city that was on the edge of financial ruin anyway. The big corporations already got what they wanted from the cities, so they leave the waste heap to the black man to run. It's hard to turn a city around when you don't see any possible way of doing it. . . . I think you're being a little hard on Coleman Young. . . . He's just going along with the plan. . . ."

The point is there's no way to turn the decaying cities around under capitalism. Detroit, Gary and Chicago are going down the tubes because capitalism is going down the tubes, and the capitalists plan to make blacks and workers pay for the crisis. The inner cities have become hellhole prisons for blacks and the poor, and the black Democrats have become the wardens. They volunteer for the front lines in Reagan's war on workers and minorities.

It will take integrated labor/black struggle to break down segregation, to fight layoffs, plant closures and givebacks, and to beat back Klan/Nazi terror. And that means a fight against the Democrats, including their black front men and their loyal lieutenants in the leadership of the unions. Chicago is not just a patchwork of rigidly segregated neighborhoods; there are integrated factories, integrated unions. Last summer the city got a taste of the power of the Marxist program for labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror when the Spartacist League mobilized 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and socialists to stop the Nazis' threatened attack on the Gay Pride parade in Lincoln Park. Byrne told people to ignore the fascist provocation. The black Democrats, the people who brought you Harold Washington, had Byrne's line. They were too busy with the campaign to be bothered with the Nazis. More recently, on November 27 in Washington, D.C., the Spartacist League initiated and led a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading the streets of the nation's capital, and again the black Democrats sought to sabotage the action.

The black establishment is clearly worried that black outrage will take on a conscious, organized anti-capitalist political direction as it did when thousands of unionists and blacks chased the Klan out of Washington. So with D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy leading the charge, they violence-baited and red-baited the organizers of the protest, declaring the Klan scored a propaganda victory that day. An article by Dr. Charles Faulkner in the *Chicago Defender* (12 February) mouths the same line: "The Klan emerged looking like the good guys. Blacks ended up looking like emotional, disoriented, easily manipulated children." What arrogance! A vote for Washington is a sign of "political maturity" but stopping the Klan is "childish"! The "talented tenth" never likes it when the black masses take matters into their own hands. After all, things might get out of hand, and they might be out of a job. The black Democrats leave black people defenseless in the face of racist terror as long as they get their "turn to rule."

As SL spokesman Bernard Vance put it at the February 23 Spartacist forum, "The big turnout for [Harold] Washington is a defeat for black liberation. It means that the old line about the Democratic Party being 'where it's at' won again. . . . that's a defeat for the interests of black people and the working class in general. We're talking about building an alternative to the twin parties of the capitalist class." What's needed is a revolutionary workers party leading all of the oppressed in the fight for black rights and socialist revolution. That's the only road to black liberation! ■

Steel Sellout...

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Soviet war buildup, austerity and intensified racial oppression. Two years ago USWA "dissidents" were in the forefront of those who cheered the strikes in Poland organized by Reagan's favorite company union, Solidarność. This year, at home, they will do everything possible to *prevent* strike action to scrap McBride's colossal givebacks, just like they fought to prevent militant labor action to stop the layoffs that have been turning Gary, Homestead and other steel cities into ghost towns.

The "solution" proposed by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants is readily apparent in Gary, a dying company town with a black Democrat "friend of labor" mayor who is doing Reagan's dirty work of enforcing austerity. The city center is almost entirely boarded up: even the USWA has taken its offices to the suburbs. Black steel workers there know that even 15 years seniority isn't enough to get a lousy shovel job in U.S. Steel's labor pool. Meanwhile the top rate for unemployment benefits in Indiana is a stinking \$84 a week! Not Democratic Party handouts but militant labor action is desperately needed to defend the black and working-class populations of depression-torn cities like Gary.

Steel workers must fight! A militant *industry-wide strike* is urgently needed to throw back the givebacks in McBride's face. The union misleaders—from McBride to the "dissidents" like Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397 in Homestead—are unwilling and incapable of leading a successful strike: their loyalties are to the capitalists' Democratic Party, not the workers' interests. Class-struggle militants must therefore spearhead a fight for *elected strike committees* to wage a winning strike with mass picketing and fighting labor solidarity. If steel workers don't go into action to smash this deal, every USWA household will be an economic disaster area.

Break the No-Strike Stranglehold!

USWA members are familiar with the shopping list of givebacks that McBride/Odorcich signed away with a stroke of the pen: the \$1.25 per hour direct wage cut, no COLA for a year and a half, elimination of extended vacations plus a week of regular vacation, a holiday lopped off, Sunday premium pay pared back, etc. The cost amounts to over \$12,000 per worker! And still, District 31 director Jack Parton announced the companies may well come back for more!

Then there's the scab clause, an attempt to squash the right to honor picket lines: "The Union deems itself bound by two arbitration awards at Inland Steel and U.S. Steel which held that sympathy strike conduct is prohibited by the broad language of the no-strike provision." McBride and the companies inserted this paragraph after the National Labor Relations Board overturned both arbitration awards mentioned. One of these cases involves Keith Anwar, a Local 1010 member at Inland Steel fired in May 1979 for refusing to cross another USWA local's picket line.

The Anwar picket line case won wide backing from Calumet-area steel workers who understand that picket line solidarity is an essential tool for uniting workers in struggle against the bosses. However the USWA bureaucracy, including then-district director James Balanoff, a so-called "progressive," saw the picket line case as a threat to their scabherding policies. These misleaders use no-strike clauses and anti-labor laws as an excuse for junking the labor principle that picket lines mean don't cross. Back in 1979 the union leaders

tried unsuccessfully to bury the case. Now McBride snatches defeat from the jaws of victory and the USWA "dissidents" go along with this tightening of the no-strike stranglehold. Militants must demand: Dump the no-strike clause!

For Class-Struggle Leadership!

Rank-and-file anger against this giveback pact erupted at a Local 1010 meeting attended by more than 500 workers on March 3. District director Parton and Bernard Kleiman, general counsel for the International, tried to explain the contract's terms, but according to union members present at the meeting, both these hacks were shouted down. Kleiman was nailed by one member who exposed his "backstabbing" role in negotiating the scab clause.

The angry March 3 meeting saw the decisive breakup of the incumbent "progressive" Rank and File Caucus, with one griever, a longtime caucus supporter, calling for the resignations of local president Bill Andrews and Joe Gyurko, chairman of the grievance committee, because of their defense of concessions in the local contract involving job combinations and the elimination of a clause that provided some protection against layoffs. (According to one witness, about the only speaker from the floor who was *not* applauded was a member of Progressive Labor's InCAR front group, who said the *union* was an obstacle that had to be removed!) What was lacking was an authoritative class-struggle leadership to direct the members' anger into labor action to fight the givebacks and layoffs.

Faced with this leadership gulf, three militants pointed the way forward with a leaflet distributed at the Local 1010 meeting entitled, "Givebacks and Unemployment: For Steel Workers It's... *Fight or Starve!*" These militants correctly emphasize that the AFL-CIO/Democratic alliance is based in part on protectionism: "It's the old refrain: 'Love U.S. Steel—Hate foreign workers.'" This program leads not just to trade wars, but shooting wars in which working people butcher each other on behalf of their capitalist masters. Pointing to the concessions, mass layoffs and racism that go hand in hand with the bipartisan program to funnel *trillions* into a war machine aimed at the Soviet Union, the leaflet states:

"The only way we can turn these attacks around is by waging some hard class struggle. One USWA sit-in strike in a plant like Bethlehem's Lackawanna works would be worth more than all the canned food in Buffalo. The 'steel' companies don't give a damn about steel, steel workers or the need for steel to rebuild this country from the inside out. Their drive for higher profits means cutting loose for more profitable investments (like U.S. Steel's Marathon Oil), while trying to force our wages and benefits lower and lower. For us it's *fight or starve!*"

The leadership needed to wage such a fight must be forged in the struggle to oust the labor traitors, from McBride to Andrews and Weisen. The labor reform-

FUNDS NEEDED IN PICKET LINE FIGHT

Last September 24 the NLRB ordered Inland Steel to reinstate, with seniority and back pay, Keith Anwar, a member of USWA Local 1010 who was fired in 1979 for honoring the picket line of another Steelworkers local. But the company has filed yet another appeal which will prolong the four-year struggle and consume more precious dollars in legal fees. The Keith Anwar Defense Committee, already heavily in debt, urgently needs money. Support this fight for labor solidarity! Send checks payable to the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680.

mists in steel and all the unions have always tailored their demands to the capitalist profit system. The working class is being ravaged by givebacks today not because these bureaucrats have gotten "worse" but because the profit system itself is in severe decline. The pro-capitalist labor lieutenants are ready and willing to go down with it, dragging along the entire labor movement. The Spartacist League says it is necessary to build a workers party to fight for what all workers and oppressed people need. And that means organizing to put an end to this irrational, racist boom-bust system, replacing it with a planned economy under a workers government. ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 3)

work rules", i.e., runaway speedup.

The *Detroit Free Press* (2/16/83) cites GM/Toyota's plan to hire 3,000 workers to make 200,000 cars a year at Fremont, commenting, "That will be about *half the employment* at a GM assembly plant with comparable annual production, giving the joint venture large labor savings over other U.S. auto makers." (our emphasis)

At this point Fraser is trying to cover up the fact that as far as GM/Toyota are concerned, all bets with the UAW are off. Fraser is willing to accept *any* deal, even if it means workers with nearly 30 years have their pensions stolen and workers in the plant are worked to death at non-union wages. For Fraser no sacrifice by UAW members is too great to keep the auto companies making bigger profits. That's why he is on Chrysler's Board of Directors and is going to *stay* there, even when Owen Bieber takes over as President at the UAW convention.

Fraser's local flunkies like Kamekani, Marsh and Scremos opposed our motion at the Local meeting. Marsh argued for *dropping* that part of the motion opposing a substandard contract! Kamekani was quoted on KCBS radio attacking those members who voted for the motion, stating they were looking for "violence", thinking only of themselves, and that a motion proposing a fight for our jobs would "scare away" GM/Toyota. This is exactly the same line they used last year when the UAW Militant Caucus and other members made an urgent fight for a sitdown strike to stop the closing of the Fremont plant. These same junior partners of Fraser—Mays, Nano, Marsh, Kamekani—led the workers out of the plant without a fight. They told us to go quietly or else risk losing our benefits. But we lost everything and these Local and International misleaders are directly responsible. These are the people who then used the plant shutdown to sell the GM concessions contract. The much-touted GIS [Guaranteed Income Stream] is a cruel swindle to force older workers out of the industry, giving them a "choice" of Oklahoma GM jobs with no protection against layoffs or loss of GIS and all other benefits.

Despite the depression the auto companies have regained their profits primarily because of the concessions engineered by the Fraser gang, and the plant closings and layoffs they never fought. Because of these betrayals hundreds of thousands of UAW members have been reduced to welfare, soup lines or worse. This time we had better fight to defeat the union-busters, both American and Japanese. In the course of that fight UAW members will forge a new internationalist class-struggle leadership and sweep Fraser and his gang aside.

Vote for Ruth Ryan and Karen Allen for convention delegate 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. Thursday March 10. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Break with Democrats—Workers/Blacks Need Their Own Party!

Harold Washington Takes Over Chicago Machine

CHICAGO—On February 22, Harold Washington was the victor in Chicago's Democratic primary over opponents incumbent Jane Byrne and Boss Daley's kid, Richie. Newscasters choked as they reported the upset on election night, and blacks were jubilant. It does seem likely that "segregation city" will get its first black mayor. As the *New York Times* noted, "His defeat by a Republican is unlikely; as one Chicago alderman put it, Attila the Hun or Yuri Andropov could win Chicago's April election provided they ran as Democrats." But despite the massive numbers of black voters turned out by Washington's 10,000-strong army of volunteers—the biggest vote in 30 years—the election of this Machine Democrat is no victory for Chicago blacks. As long as the capitalists run Chicago, it will remain "segregation city."

Washington's victory is being touted as the best thing that's happened to black people in years. "Martin Luther King said he wouldn't see the promised land but that we would," said Al Raby, Washington's campaign organizer. "In Chicago we have come to see that promised land." And virtually the entire left has gone gaga for this mainline black Democrat. The Communist Party's *Daily World* hailed his victory proclaiming, "Washington Beats Chicago Bosses." Socialist Workers Party



Harold Washington's Chicago will still be "segregation city." Chicago Defender

candidate Ed Warren "was jubilant Tuesday night over the strong showing made by U.S. Rep. Harold Washington" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 February). And Workers World Party shamelessly urged, "Every effort should be made by white workers and progressives to join in the push to elect Washington on April 12 as mayor" (*Workers World*, 25

February). But while the black establishment and socialist fakers prattle on about the "promised land," for the vast majority of black and working people Washington's victory will mean more of the same racist hell—epidemic level unemployment, killer cuts in social services, cop terror in the ghettos, and rising Nazi/Klan terror.

The Washington victory of course led to the predictable rumors of massive "white flight" from the city. And Byrne, whose high-handed racism in office enraged the city's black population, deliberately inflamed racial polarization in the final weeks of the campaign. She sent her precinct captains into the Northwest and Southwest side ethnic wards to spread the word, in Polish and Lithuanian when necessary, that a vote for Daley was a vote for Washington. "You can't answer that kind of thing unless you put on a white sheet and run around," said William Daley, his brother's campaign strategist. Now incumbent Democratic alderman Majerczyk whose ward lies just north of racist stronghold Marquette Park has announced his support of liberal Republican Bernard Epton as an act of "racial pride."

But the real focal point for a racial backlash against the Harold Washington victory is the notoriously racist bonapartist Chicago police department. Washington pledged to fire police superintendent Richard Brzezczek, especially after he made a campaign commercial for Byrne. Brzezczek immediately retorted, "I won't work a day for that man... I'll quit." Now Brzezczek is saying the streets of Chicago may not be safe if Washington is elected mayor and racist

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Throw Out the Giveback Bureaucrats!

\$4 Billion Steel Sellout!

CHICAGO—Lloyd McBride and his gang of Pittsburgh stealers have put over the biggest "voluntary" giveback deal in history. The new United Steelworkers of America (USWA) contract approved March 1 by the basic steel industry conference will rob some *four billion dollars* from 260,000 basic steel workers and 100,000 other USWA members covered by "me-too" agreements. In dollars per worker, the USWA concessions overshadow even the mammoth givebacks in auto last year. Twice in the past several months USWA president McBride tried unsuccessfully to follow the giveback example set by Auto Workers head Doug Fraser. Now McBride has outdone his mentor in Detroit.

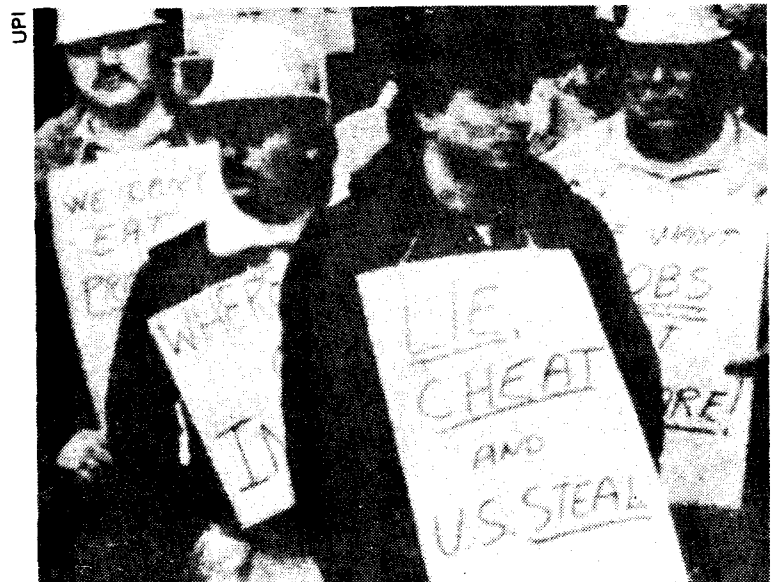
But it wasn't just McBride who paved the way for concessions. Equally responsible are the USWA "progressives" who have helped enforce class peace for years while the steel bosses gouged the

union with impunity. USWA membership has plummeted by an incredible 50 percent, yet all the bureaucrats and their fake-left toadies can muster is food banks and caravans to Washington to lobby the Democrats for a few crumbs.

The USWA misleaders say what's needed is givebacks, taking billions from steel workers' paychecks to put into company coffers. McBride & Co. don't even pretend that their sellout will "save jobs." How could they: the contract explicitly gives the companies a free hand to shut down plants at will. After all, layoffs are the American Way! Even without the "job protection" fig leaf that was draped on Fraser's auto concessions, 169 USWA local presidents bought the betrayal, while the other 63 put up only a token opposition.

In the past the steel barons provoked bitter bloody struggles by using Pinkertons, spies, tear gas and machine guns to drive down wages; now their labor

At U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh, steel workers demonstrate against layoffs.



lieutenants do it for them at no extra cost. From top to bottom, the USWA bureaucracy accepts givebacks as a

necessary part of the AFL-CIO-supported bipartisan program of anti-

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