

Two, Three, Many Defeats for Imperialism!

Vietnam Was a Victory!



Vietnam News Agency



Granma

Defeat U.S. In Central America!

Ronald Reagan came to power vowing to avenge the U.S.' humiliating defeat in Vietnam by quickly smashing leftist insurgency in Central America. But despite trillions in armaments, CIA mercenaries and the concerted Cold War campaign, Washington has not pulled off a victory against Communism in what it believes to be its own backyard. Because the U.S.-backed butchers in El Salvador are on the run, and its *contras* are repulsed at the Nicaraguan border, all wings of Yankee imperialism—from Democratic doves to Reaganite hawks—fear “another Vietnam.” They fear another defeat at the hands of a desperately poor and poorly armed population determined to win against the tyranny of U.S. imperialism and its puppet regimes.

But for the workers and peasants of El Salvador, for revolutionaries in America and throughout the world, *Vietnam was a victory!* That is why the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth

League say: *Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!*

“No more Vietnams” is the counterrevolutionary battle cry of an imperialist power still smarting from the rout it suffered militarily and politically in Southeast Asia. Despicably, it is also the primary slogan around which the July 2 El Salvador protest in Washington, D.C. has been called. Making an explicit appeal to the Democratic liberals who hope to head off U.S. defeat in Central America through a “negotiated sellout,” the Workers World Party/People’s Anti-War Mobilization/All-Peoples Congress (WWP/PAM/APC) of Sam Marcy has draped the July 2 demo in the stars and stripes.

This “emergency” demonstration was called months in advance to coincide with the July 4th patriotic holiday. The Marcyite organizers chose the Vietnam War Veterans Memorial for their rally site—the imperialists’ grotesque monu-

ment to the mission of “their boys,” the Lt. Calleys who were driven out by the heroic Vietnamese. Perhaps the Marcyites are considering beginning the rally with a moment of silence or a prayer for the defeated U.S. troops.

We have noted that the Veterans Memorial would be “a fitting place for a rally of the American Legion” (*WV* No. 331, 3 June). Now the Marcyites find they are competing with precisely such reactionaries for this “sacred” patriotic space. A lash-up of fascistic “captive nations” emigrés, the New Right and flag-waving veterans groups, as well as Cuban and Vietnamese *gusanos* have threatened a counterdemonstration with disgusting ex-Panther and Moonie showpiece Eldridge Cleaver as speaker, to “neutralize” the July 2 rally at the Memorial. But “No More Vietnams” rally spokesman Bob Lamoth has tried to indicate to these fanatic anti-Communists that the Marcyite demo is pretty neutral already: “We don’t mean

to offend anyone,” he whined about the use of the Memorial. “We think it is important to point out that there were 57,000 Americans killed in Vietnam, and our purpose is to keep that from happening again” (*Washington Post*, 24 June).

The July 2 “call to action” (printed in the *New York Times*, 1 May) is one of the most disgustingly chauvinist documents ever produced even by the U.S. “peace movement.” It sums up the result of the Vietnam War: “300,000 GI’s wounded and 57,000 dead. Over \$150 billion spent on a cruel, illegal and unjust war that finally had to be abandoned.” The call says *not one word* about the *one million Vietnamese* slaughtered by U.S. imperialism, not a word about the Vietnamese men, women and children cruelly maimed for life by napalm, the razing of whole villages until the countryside resembled a moonscape. In fact, more bombs were dropped by the U.S. in the Vietnam War than in all of World War II. But for the organizers of the July 2 demonstration, like the Senators and Congressmen they hope to appeal to, all of this is covered under the cost-effectiveness of pursuing the war.

The Vietnam War was not one which “finally had to be abandoned.” The U.S. was *driven out* by the National Liberation Front (NLF) and North Vietnam-

continued on page 9

Stalinist Deal with the Vatican? The Pope of Counterrevolution

SEE PAGE TWO

Stalinist Deal with the Vatican?

The Pope of Counterrevolution

JUNE 28—Pope John Paul Wojtyla's eight-day "pilgrimage" to his Polish "homeland" unleashed an orgy of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet demonstrations, as all knew it would. He reignited the forces of clerical-nationalist counterrevolution which were temporarily checked by General Jaruzelski's December 1981 countercoup against Solidarność bid for power. Everyone has been asking, why did Warsaw allow it? What did the beleaguered Polish Stalinists hope to gain from the pope's inflammatory visit?

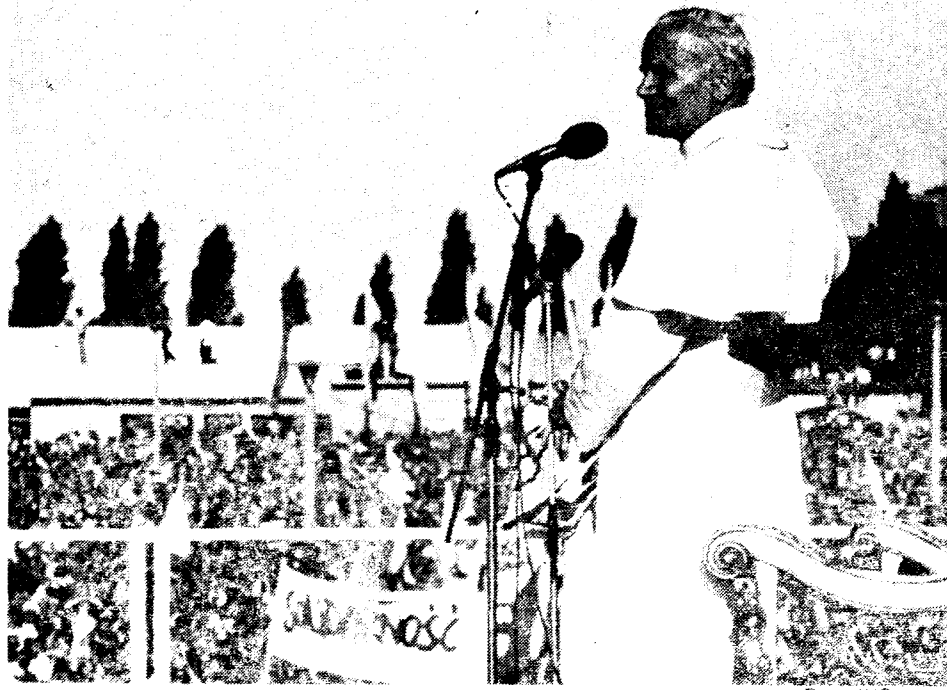
As we go to press there are sensational and increasingly detailed reports of a deal between the Vatican pontiff and the Polish general. Allegedly martial law would be lifted in exchange for the disappearance of Solidarność and a return to oblivion for its leader, Lech Walesa. A new "union" would be sanctioned under the direct control of the Catholic church hierarchy. In addition, the church would establish a bank providing loans for Poland's several million peasant smallholders and petty entrepreneurs. In turn, Western imperialist powers—Wojtyla's masters—would lift sanctions to ease the economic pressure on Poland.

We are not in a position to know if such a deal were made. But we warn: this would threaten the very foundations of proletarian state power in Poland, endangering the entire Soviet bloc. The Catholic hierarchy seeks institutionalized control over the economic life of the nation, interposing itself as an intermediary between the regime and the petty bourgeoisie and working class. We Trotskyists, who in late 1981 proclaimed "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" insist that only through proletarian political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states and socialist revolution in the capitalist West can the forces of counterrevolution be defeated.

Pilgrimage for the Cold War

"He goes right in there and stops just short of stirring up rebellion," Republican Senator Charles Percy observed approvingly (*New York Times*, 24 June). And indeed Wojtyla whipped up anti-Communist hysteria, exhibiting his authority in Poland in order to increase his bargaining power. For more than a week he roamed the country, preaching the gospel according to NATO, demanding Polish "sovereignty" and "freedom" from Russian "domination":

- "The fate of Poland in 1983 cannot



Pope stirs the spirit of clerical counterrevolution in Nowa Huta—town of the Stakhanovite "Man of Marble," now a Solidarność stronghold.

be a matter of indifference to the nations of the world, especially Europe and America" (Warsaw).

- "Solidarity" was a time "when the Polish worker stood up for himself with the gospel in hand and a prayer on his lips" (Czestochowa).

- "Do not be swallowed up by immorality and indifference.... The nation is called to victory" (Krakow).

Pope Wojtyla was the imperialists' man in Poland. His visit gave a "legitimate" cover for massive anti-Communist demonstrations, far and away the largest since Walesa's power grab was spiked two and a half years ago. Altogether, an estimated ten million people filled the churches, the parks, the soccer stadiums dominated by monstrous altars and crosses. Solidarność activists brandished their crosses and banners, wore their Black Madonna pins, flashed their V-signs and marched through the streets proclaiming, "The priests are with us. The pope is with us."

It was a week-long orgy of anti-Russian Polish nationalism: every religious image made political, every "sacred" site chosen to further the chilling appeal: the pilgrimage to the icon of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, credited with having broken the siege of the "foreign invaders" (Swedish Protestants in 1655). "Before your altars, we entreat you, oh lord, deign to restore to us a free homeland," intoned the pope, dressed in royal crown and red cape emblazoned with the Polish eagle and the cross. Home Army songs are sung at mass, along with "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland" and "March, March Dombrowski," ode to the emigré general who fought the Russians under Napoleon. And everywhere Wojtyla warns about the "arrogance of power."

The beleaguered Stalinist officialdom is dismayed by it all. "The pope is the only authority in the country," one of them exclaimed (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 June). A genuinely communist regime, as opposed to this wretched bureaucracy, would have a base in the population to pursue the struggle against clericalism. What is involved is *not* a religious issue, a matter of personal faith in god. Marxists do not go around burning crucifixes and knocking down churches. If the church stays out of political life, then social development over the generations will determine whether or not people continue to believe in an afterlife.

But Wojtyla is making a bid to enhance the already enormous political weight of the Catholic church in Polish society. (In fact, the Italian wing of the Vatican is clearly upset that the Polish pope has become so deeply embroiled in the political life of his homeland.) After his second meeting with Jaruzelski, a son of the Polish upper classes educated by the Jesuits, reports began circulating about a deal, most of them emanating from Rome.

Lech Walesa is reportedly being dumped as the church's favorite son in Poland. Since the general strike on the Baltic coast in August 1980, the Vatican has constantly praised him for having uncompromisingly and unconditionally followed the directives of the church. This, of course, led him to become a front man for Western imperialism, financially for the West Germans, militarily for the Americans. His proud boast was that he had never read a book—which is how he got invited to lecture at Harvard. He is a Polish version of Father Gapon, who was finally murdered by the Social Revolutionaries as a tsarist agent. Well, now the Vatican paper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, observes, "Officially Lech Walesa once more leaves the scene" because "he has lost his battle." Walesa is undoubtedly too far gone to have learned from what is happening to him, so we will not lecture to him that the path of the socialist class struggle is the way. But maybe others in Poland will learn from his contemptible fate.

Stalinists Conciliate Clerical-Nationalist Reaction

For decades the Polish Stalinists have conciliated the Catholic church in a vain effort to secure social stability. After the 1956 "thaw" the church was allowed to become the *only* voice of political opposition. At the same time, the Polish Stalinists abandoned agricultural collectivization and so perpetuated a class of priest-ridden peasant smallholders hostile to socialism. When Karol Wojtyla, then archbishop of Krakow, was elected the first Polish pope in 1978, we warned:

"To the Stalinists Pope John Paul II may seem a prince of peace and détente, a man of the post-Helsinki period. Domestically the Gierek regime portrays him as a symbol of Communist-Catholic coexistence. But he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a

tremendous potential force for counterrevolution. *And it is precisely the Stalinists who are responsible for the existence of this grave threat to the social conquests of the degenerated and deformed workers states.*

—"The President's Pope?" *WV*
No. 217, 20 October 1978

Behind Pope Wojtyla stands the power of Western imperialism, now in particular its capacity for economic blackmail. Poland owes \$25 billion or more to Western bankers and governments. The Jaruzelski regime hoped that allowing the pope's visit would ease Reagan's economic sanctions and perhaps open the way for additional Western credits or, at least, easier repayment terms. The minister of religion and atheism, Adam Lopatka, explained this disastrous maneuver: "The trip by the head of the Vatican state and the church will make the continuation of this unfriendly policy toward Poland more difficult." Not a chance. Reagan & Co. will stop being "unfriendly" toward Poland only when Wojtyla is in power in the Belvedere Palace and Jaruzelski is in prison or dead.

While the Moscow Stalinists have taken a harder line on Poland than their Warsaw counterparts, they very much want to cut down their present massive subsidies to the Polish kulaks and neo-Pilsudskiite scum. So the Kremlin, too, is under pressure to accept a deal with the Vatican. The Polish crisis is the product of decades of capitulation by the Stalinists to capitalist restorationist forces and world imperialism. A Trotskyist leadership in the USSR would make short shrift of the mess in Poland.

Wojtyla's anti-Communist pilgrimage and the reported deal to establish a church-run "union" in Poland demonstrate anew that the Stalinist bureaucracy acts as a transmission belt for the imperialist pressures on the Soviet bloc. There can be no "peaceful coexistence" with the Vatican, the International Monetary Fund, Ronald Reagan, NATO and other agencies of global counterrevolution. The social gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and their extension to East Europe after World War II can be defended only by proletarian political revolution which ousts the Stalinist bureaucracy and restores the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, as a bastion of world communism. ■



Rosa Luxemburg, Communist leader and martyr, epitomized the internationalist tradition of Poland's historically socialist proletariat.

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SL/SYL Protest Lynching of South African Martyrs

Smash Apartheid— For Workers Revolution!

The June 9 lynching of three African National Congress (ANC) fighters by the racist South African police state ignited militant outrage from blacks and opponents of apartheid all over the world. In protest against the executions of Jerry Mosololi, Thabo Motaung and Thelle Mogoerane, on June 16 an angry crowd—2,000-strong and overwhelmingly black—marched in New York City from South Africa's UN offices to Madison Square Garden chanting, "Liberation, yes! Apartheid, no! Death to apartheid, blow by blow!"

The nationalists and Stalinists who organized the protest tried to channel this anger and militancy into their strategy of pressuring the blood-soaked U.S. government to reform apartheid. In line with the call for a boycott of South Africa by the "democratic" imperialists, the protest focused on the Duran-Moore boxing match taking place in the Garden, which was sponsored by Bob Arum, who has promoted fights within South Africa. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) countered with the call: "Not liberal divestment schemes, but labor action to smash apartheid!"

The SL/SYL intervened with a contingent of 50 people, including militant trade unionists, that called for the U.S. *working class* to take action in defense of the South African oppressed—notably hot-cargoing military goods to the South African butchers. Unaffiliated demonstrators eagerly carried Spartacist placards with slogans like "Free Tsotsobe, Shabangu, Moise—Free All Victims of Apartheid!", "South Africa Out of Namibia—Military Victory to SWAPO!" and "Smash Reagan/Botha Anti-Soviet War Drive—The Main Enemy Is at Home!" Our chant, "Put Botha on the run—ANC fighters need Russian guns!" was picked up by protesters marching near the SL contingent. We particularly raised the defense of ANC leaders Nelson and Winnie Mandela—"South Africa's last, best hope" as fighters against apartheid and all forms of racialism—who have been jailed and persecuted for more than two

decades. In all, over 600 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to the anti-apartheid demonstrators.

The U.S. imperialists have a big stake in the survival of the Pretoria regime, a staunch ally in Reagan's war drive against the USSR. But cracks are appearing in the apartheid structure as the power and militancy of the black working class grows. The key is the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party to lead the proletariat in the fight to topple the brutal apartheid system and go forward to a black-centered workers and peasants government. As our comrades chanted on June 16: "Black labor is the key to smash apartheid slavery!"



WV Photos

Nicaragua Needs MIGs

On the Jalapa Front

On June 2, hundreds of Honduras-based counterrevolutionaries backed by the U.S. launched their third major attack on northern Nicaragua in as many months. The mercenaries, called "freedom fighters" by Ronald Reagan and "beasts" by the Nicaraguan people, are largely former members of dictator Anastasio Somoza's murderous National Guard, paid and directed by the CIA in an overt-covert war against the radical nationalist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In March a Somozaist invasion reached into the heart of the country. In May they surrounded the town of Jalapa, isolating its FSLN defenders for several days. This time the *contras* managed to hold a thin sliver of Nicaraguan territory including the border village of El Porvenir for over a week, while destroying a significant part of the tobacco harvest. Ominously, the Honduran army prepared this attack with a two-day barrage of mortar fire. Reagan and his puppets are preparing a counterrevolutionary war throughout the region. It must be met by a struggle for workers revolution, from Central America to the U.S.

Last month, the Peruvian magazine

Caretas (16 May) published an article entitled "En el frente de Jalapa" (On the Jalapa Front). This recalled the Spanish Civil War song, "En el frente de Jarama," whose lines continued, "No tenemos ni aviones, ni tanques, ni cañones" (We don't have planes or tanks or cannons). The song reflected the unequal struggle in which the Republican soldiers were starved of arms by the "democratic" imperialists' "non-intervention pact," in cooperation with Stalin who allowed only a trickle of Soviet weapons to reach the Loyalist side, while the Francoists were supplied with the most up-to-date aircraft and artillery by the German and Italian fascists. With mass support and a growing people's militia, the FSLN can beat back anything short of a direct U.S. invasion. But today on the Jalapa front, Sandinista soldiers could repeat the refrain as they, too, lack planes, tanks and heavy guns while Honduras has the most modern air force in the region, equipped with U.S. and Israeli jets. As FSLN interior minister Tomás Borge remarked: "We're lacking weapons. We don't lack the people to hold them" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 May).

U.S. aggression against the Sandinistas

continues to escalate. In May Reagan cut off the sugar quota—shades of Cuba 1960. In response to Managua's expulsion of three CIA spies, whose guilt was demonstrated on videotape, on June 7 Washington closed down every Nicaraguan consulate in the country and summarily deported 21 diplomats. This measure was only two steps short of a formal declaration of war: next comes breaking of diplomatic relations. Yet only four days after it was revealed that the Americans attempted to poison Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto, the intended victim held a chat with U.S. "peace" envoy Richard Stone, former lobbyist of the Guatemalan military dictatorship! The FSLN *comandantes* seem determined to follow the treacherous advice of Fidel Castro, who counseled them on the morrow of their victory over Somoza to "avoid [the Cubans'] mistakes" and seek to conciliate the Yankee imperialists whatever the cost. But while the Sandinistas keep turning the other cheek, the CIA is amassing a counterrevolutionary army on both borders, staging bloody invasions and activating a capitalist fifth column to "destabilize" the country from within.

With every step toward open war, the Reagan administration is pushing Nicaragua down the "Cuban road," toward the formation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state. But the Sandinistas remain wedded to their petty-bourgeois nationalist program of "nonalignment, mixed economy and political pluralism." Recently the FSLN regime seized the properties of 15 landowners guilty of collaboration with the *contras*, as well as two factories of a leading businessman who had systematically "decapitalized" them (milking profits to feed bank accounts in Miami or Switzerland). Yet these are still measures aimed only at those counterrevolutionary plotters who have been caught. Marxists understand that the capitalist *class* as a whole is the base of counterrevolution, which would bring back the bloody tyranny of the Somozaist butchers to protect their profits and property, in concert with U.S. imperialism's global anti-Soviet war drive.

The question posed sharply in Nicaragua today is that of social revolution or bloody counterrevolution: will Sandinistas act as Cuban Castroists and finally expropriate the bourgeoisie; or as Spanish Loyalists whose policies of preserving capitalist rule strangled proletarian revolution and let the Francoists pass—at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dead and decades of dictatorship? The Spartacist tendency fights for the formation of Trotskyist parties throughout the region, forged on the program of permanent revolution: Kill the *contras*—workers to power! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! ■

Syrians Exploit Anger Over Arafat's Betrayals

Mutiny in the PLO

JUNE 26—With the open mutiny in the Palestinian guerrilla army in Lebanon and the expulsion of Yasir Arafat from Syria, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is facing the most serious crisis in its almost 20-year history. Retreating to the northern Lebanese port of Tripoli, Arafat loyalists are hemmed in by Israeli patrol boats on the sea and hostile Syrian forces on the city's edge. Arafat is paying for his own treachery during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last summer. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian guerrillas during the siege of Beirut was betrayed by Arafat's deal with Washington—without a peep of protest from the PLO "radicals" like George Habash (PFLP) and Nayef Hawatmeh (DPFLP) or the leaders of the present anti-Arafat mutiny—allowing PLO forces to be disarmed and dispersed by the U.S. Marines, French Foreign Legion and Italian troops. The immediate result of the imperialist disarmament of the PLO commandos was the Israeli-orchestrated Lebanese Phalangist massacre of Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra.

The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon demonstrated in the most naked way the genocidal program of Zionism. Tens of thousands of Palestinians were killed, hundreds of thousands driven from their refugee camp homes. The only language to describe Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon is the language of the Nazi holocaust in East Europe. The Israeli army itself described its mission with the Hebrew word *letaher*—the "purification" of Lebanon of PLO forces. And with the aid of the Arafat leadership and the Syrian Ba'athists, the Zionist criminals have gone a long way toward achieving that aim.

After the withdrawal from Beirut Arafat became a general without an army. The PLO commandos were dispersed in concentration camps across the Arab world, while those remaining in Lebanon were firmly under the control of the Syrian army. The *New York Times* (5 June) observed:

"Given what has happened to the P.L.O. over the last year it would appear that former Israeli Defense

these in negotiations with the Jordanian monarch. According to the leader of the mutiny, Colonel Saed Musa, Arafat was willing to agree that the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians would become vassals to the Hashemite throne.

The mutiny in the PLO ranks clearly expresses angry frustration over the last year's defeats and betrayals, in particular Arafat's open turn toward Pax Americana in the Near East. Centered in the Fatah, the predominant organization in the PLO coalition, the mutiny represents a deep split. It must be a desperate act, since it challenges the personal authority of Arafat, who for almost ten years has held the Arab League franchise as the official leader of the Palestinian people. At the same time, it is also clear that the Palestinian fighters' anger at Arafat is being manipulated by the Syrian Ba'athist regime for its own ends, which have nothing to do with Palestinian national liberation.

The mutiny began in early May when Arafat attempted to replace two PLO officers in the Syrian-occupied Bekaa Valley of Lebanon with his own loyalists. The leader of the mutiny, Saed Musa, reportedly walked into the headquarters of the elite PLO Yarmouk Brigade in the Bekaa and took over with the help of two mutinous battalions. By early June the conflict had escalated into a full-scale battle around Baalbek, resulting in several dead and wounded.

The mutiny could not have taken place without the support of the Syrians. Syrian officers were reportedly present at the takeover of the Yarmouk Brigade, and the rebels were able to open up an office in Damascus as well as seize six PLO supply centers in the Syrian capital. Just before he was expelled from Damascus, Arafat protested: "The Syrian tanks are surrounding and sieging our troops at every base." Syrian strongman Assad clearly intends to control all of the PLO forces as he now controls the significant Palestinian organization al-Saiqa.

For their part, the leaders of the anti-Arafat mutiny make no secret of their support to the Assad regime. When asked by the liberal West German *Der*

passively until its own forces were attacked, and made a separate cease-fire while the PLO was being systematically destroyed" (*Washington Post*, 16 June 1982). Musa also conveniently forgets that the Syrian army first entered Lebanon in 1976 (with an Arab League mandate) to support the Christian Maronite forces against the PLO. The Syrian intervention shifted the balance of forces, setting the stage for the massacre of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar by the Phalangists and Chamounists.

If the Damascus rulers now oppose the Reagan plan to make the West Bank

any worse, Arafat might have to ask for asylum at the *Militant* offices.

Far from encouraging the PLO mutiny, some American ruling circles are not at all happy about Arafat's declining fortunes, since the main beneficiary is the Soviet-backed Syrian regime. On June 25 the *New York Times'* well-connected military analyst, Drew Middleton, reported:

"The worst development, some intelligence sources said, would be the ouster of Mr. Arafat by left-wing organizations such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, backed by Syria with the blessing of the Soviet Union. The sources said a consequence could be a more aggressive P.L.O. in which the number of fully armed battalions could be increased with Soviet help to at least five, from the present three."

The recent Shultz/Gemayel/Begin agreement to turn southern Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate and the presence of American troops in Lebanon paves the way for a Pax Americana in the Near East, backed up by Israeli



Frey/Time

PLO exits Beirut: then came the Israeli-instigated massacre of Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra.

Palestinians into Hashemite vassals, it is not because they are champions of Palestinian national liberation. The Reagan plan goes their ox because it would deny Syria the return of the Golan Heights seized by Israel in the 1967 war. More generally, Assad & Co. have their own ambitions for a Greater Syria incorporating Lebanon and all of Palestine. Should any significant section of the Palestinian population fall under the sway of the Syrian Ba'athists, they would be suppressed as ruthlessly as the Palestinians in Hussein's Jordan.

Therefore, proletarian revolutionaries cannot support either the Arafat loyalists or the pro-Syrian dissidents. All of the present factions making up the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, including the "radical" PFLP and DPFLP, are beholden to one or another of the treacherous Arab bourgeois regimes with their constantly shifting alliances and enmities.

Unintentional satirical comment on the PLO mutiny is being provided by the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). At first these fervent Arafat cheerleaders tried to ignore the whole thing. The 10 June *Militant* ran a giant centerfold interview with PLO UN observer Dr. Hatem Hussein, who brashly asserted that the organization was "more united and determined" than ever. Two weeks later the SWP blamed it all on the Western press:

"Disputes within the PLO, involving longstanding differences, are being played up in the media. This is part of the attempt to discredit and divide the Palestinian liberation movement."

—*Militant*, 24 June

Never mind that PLO commandos are killing one another and that Arafat was expelled from Syria practically at gun point. If the bourgeois media hype gets

armed power which will now be resupplied with American F-16s and other modern weapons. Israeli/imperialist troops out of Lebanon! The only kink for Reagan's imperialist ambitions in the region is the refusal thus far of Syria to go along with the deal by withdrawing its 40,000 troops from Lebanon along with its Soviet-supplied missiles. Should the Soviet Union become directly involved in an imperialist-designed military provocation in the Near East, the urgent requirement for the international proletariat would be unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

The workers and oppressed masses in the Near East will gain nothing by supporting the Syrian army, and will suffer bloody repression at its hands. The road to liberation for the displaced Palestinians can only lie in workers revolution throughout the region—from Tel Aviv to Damascus. The recent antiwar protests in Israel as well as significant strike activity there shows that the country is not a Zionist monolith but is rent by deep class and social divisions. Revolutionary communist (Trotskyist) parties are urgently needed in the Near East, seeking to mobilize the working class at the head of the oppressed masses to overthrow capitalism. Given Israel's dominant role in the region—with up to 30,000 occupying troops in Lebanon—it is especially incumbent on the Israeli workers to demand: Israel out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories! Self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking people can be achieved only within the framework of a Socialist Federation of the Near East, born of a common class struggle of Arab and Hebrew workers against their own rulers. ■



Der Spiegel

Arafat disarmed PLO, now Assad wants to subjugate it.

Minister Ariel Sharon's Lebanon strategy was close to the mark. His plan to drive the P.L.O. into the iron grip of the Syrians has in large measure worked. As a result, the organization is losing its unity and independent identity...."

As his reward for brokering the introduction of imperialist troops into Lebanon, last September Arafat was given the Reagan plan, which proposes to establish a Palestinian "entity" under the guns of Jordan's King Hussein, butcher of the 1970 Black September massacre. The PLO chief found "positive elements" in Reagan's plan and spent the next several months pursuing

Spiegel (6 June) if he did not fear becoming totally dependent on the Syrians, Musa replied: "No. As long as Syria rejects the Reagan initiative and Syrian tanks stand with us against the Israelis, as long as we have a common goal, so long as that we are comrades-in-arms."

Musa conveniently omits that last summer his Syrian "comrades-in-arms" negotiated a separate cease-fire with the invading Israelis, thus allowing Begin/Sharon to concentrate their entire military might against the PLO forces. Henry Kissinger noted at the time with malicious glee that "Syria stood by

Birmingham Bomber Jailed: Put Him Away for Good!

J.B. Stoner: Racist Terrorist

ATLANTA—It was a testament to "justice" in racist, imperialist America and the state of Alabama, where George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace has returned to the state house over which the Confederate flag still flies. Twenty-five years after the bombing of the Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham, one of America's bloodiest race-terrorists, "J.B." Stoner, began serving the minimum sentence of ten years for his heinous crime.

Turning himself in earlier this month after four months as a fugitive, this unrepentant racist killer told reporters, "I am a white political prisoner." And in a gracious demonstration of "Southern hospitality," Wallace's prison authorities treated Stoner like a war hero. The 3 June *Atlanta Constitution* described how "State corrections officials were polite and even shook hands with their newest charge as they subjected him to a pat-down search." Prison authorities assured: "Stoner would be given a cell to himself and measures taken to ensure his safety." But if Stoner were integrated into the mainstream of Alabama prisons, with their large black population, the cause of genuine justice would be quickly served.

The cordiality of the state of Alabama toward this fascist murderer was reflected in the Southern bourgeois press which has treated him as something of a folk hero. Typical was an *Atlanta Constitution* (6 June) headline, "Stoner's Life on the Run Pleasant." Well, he certainly wasn't troubled by those former employers of the racist killer Gary Rowe, the FBI. No doubt Stoner exploited a KKK and fascist underground whose "close working relationship" with Southern police is notorious. Stoner's bombing was one of 60 to rock that city during the civil rights movement, so that it acquired the nickname "Bombingham." The *Atlanta Journal* ran an article the day after Stoner turned himself in: "Bombing a passionless memory now." Not for its victims, blacks, Jews and other minorities, the labor movement and every decent American that opposes fascist terror and racist murder!

There is one Birmingham bombing in particular, burned into the consciousness of this country, that no "New South" claptrap is going to render a "passionless memory." It was a little past ten in the morning when Ella Demand dismissed her Sunday school class. Cynthia Wesley, Carol Robertson and Addie Mae Collins, all age 14, and 11-year-old Denise McNair went downstairs to a lounge to put on their choir robes when an explosion ripped through the Sixth Street Baptist Church. Horrified black residents rushed to the church past riot police with dogs and shotguns mobilized to keep them back. They watched as the mutilated bodies of the four girls were carried from the rubble. Twenty-one other members of the congregation were seriously injured. The date: 15 September 1963.

Five hundred National Guardsmen were sent by Governor George Wallace to Birmingham that night to intimidate and terrorize angry blacks. By daybreak police had murdered two more black youth, one while riding his bicycle. The bombers were known to the police and within a few days Robert Chamblis, a former Klansman, and two other men were indicted. But the state presented a case so weak that charges were reduced to illegal possession of dynamite, and even these were thrown out on appeal. Chamblis was reindicted in September 1977 for the bombing, the same month

Stoner was charged with the 1958 Bethel Baptist Church bombing, and Chamblis was found guilty in a trial later that year. But Patsy Sims in her book *The Klan* (New York: Stein and Day, 1978) asserts that state troopers had information at the time of the original indictments that would have led to the implication of an out-of-state man as the ringleader in the bombings: "One lawman told me that J.B. Stoner was the man behind all the bombings."

Biography of a Racist Murderer

Born in Walker County, Georgia in 1924, Benjamin Stoner was a vicious racist from his youth. By the age of 16 he



Birmingham, 1963: bombing of Baptist Church kills four young black girls. "J.B. Stoner was the man behind all the bombings," according to one Alabama lawman.

had worked out a method to communicate with Nazi propagandist Lord Haw Haw. He moved to Chattanooga at age 18 and joined the Ku Klux Klan there. Three years later he formed his own fascist group, the "Stoner Anti-Jewish Party." In 1946 he told an Atlanta newspaper the purpose of this group was "to make being a Jew punishable by death," and criticized Hitler as "too moderate" in dealing with Jews!

His anti-Semitic pronouncements were so extreme that they resulted in his expulsion from the Association of Georgia Klans in 1950. But Stoner never broke off his relationship with the KKK. In 1952 he moved to Atlanta, linking up with Edward Fields. Together they formed the National States Rights Party (NSRP) in the late '50s, as the self-styled political arm of the KKK. The NSRP organized lynch-mob rallies throughout the South as Stoner traveled from St. Augustine, Florida to Bogalusa, Louisiana in the company of racist demagogue "Connie" Lynch. A typical rally occurred in Anniston, Alabama where Lynch told his audience: "If it takes killing to get the Negroes out of the white man's streets and to protect our constitutional rights, I say 'Yes, kill them!'" A carload of men left that rally and gunned down a black man on a stretch of highway where a Freedom Riders bus had been burned in 1961.

Bogalusa was in central Louisiana, known as Klan country. When CORE tried to organize a voter registration drive, armed Klansmen patrolled the streets while on the edge of town Stoner and Lynch would work up crowds with their race-hate. But here courageous black residents fought back, organizing the armed Deacons for Defense and Justice. The Spartacist League (SL), although in existence for a bare two years as an independent organization, sought to mobilize national support for the efforts of the Deacons, writing:

"The Deacons organization is a tremendous step forward for the Negro

struggle, not only because it saves lives, but also because it raises the level of consciousness of the civil rights movement by encouraging independent action and discouraging reliance upon the institutions of the bourgeois state."

—"Toward Arming the Negro Struggle," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

Stoner has also had a long relationship with Jerry Ray, brother of James Earl Ray, the assassin of Martin Luther King, and was at one time the attorney for James Earl Ray. Sims' book, *The Klan*, marshals substantial evidence that Stoner may have been involved in a conspiracy to kill King and in James Earl Ray's escape from prison.

zation in Marietta, a racist suburb of Atlanta. The custodian of those KKK headquarters is none other than Jerry Ray. Stoner's law partner is NSRP supporter James Venable, leader of the National Knights of the KKK located in Stone Mountain, Georgia. And Marietta, known as "Lockheed country" after its major employer, is in the Sixth Congressional district whose House representative is the fanatical Birchite witchhunting demagogue, Larry McDonald.

Black Democrats and the NAACP have responded to the resurgence of the Klan in Georgia by pushing a measure introduced by Atlanta state representative Tyrone Brooks to create an "anti-terrorist task force" as part of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI). The measure passed early this year and, as is always the case with "anti-extremist" legislation, deference is paid to the fascists while zeal is exhibited toward the targets of the fascists: the left and labor movement. Already, the Revolutionary Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party have been singled out.

That the creation of the GBI "anti-terrorist task force" has done nothing to stop the growth of the Klan was ominously demonstrated in late May when 100 members of the Knights of the Invisible Empire led by Bill Wilkinson paraded through the streets of the integrated Atlanta suburb of College Park. The KKK got a city permit to march through the efforts of the ACLU which appealed the city council's denial to federal district court. The ACLU, so solicitous of "rights" for fascists, is also campaigning to prod the state to investigate Klan murders of Mexican workers in Georgia. But as has been demonstrated for over a century, Klan mobilizations are not a question of "free speech" but of firebombings, lynch terror and racist murder.

The strategy to stop the fascists was demonstrated in Washington, D.C. on November 27 when the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, kept the Klan off the streets of the nation's capital, a Southern and predominantly black city. This was the most important victory against racist terror in the U.S. in decades. But that demonstration only started the work necessary to sweep the race-terrorists off the streets once and for all. This perspective was summed up in a popular chant at that demonstration: "1,2,3,4—Time to Finish the Civil War, 5,6,7,8—Forward to a Workers State!" It will take a workers revolution in this country to avenge that murder of four black girls in September 1963 and the countless victims of racist terror, so that black people can walk the streets of this country without fear and in dignity and freedom. ■

Atlanta Spartacist League Forum/Video Showing

**November 27: Labor/Black Mobilization
Shakes Washington, D.C.**

"We Stopped the Klan!"

Thousands Take the Street, Drive Out KKK Terrorists!

Speaker: **Ed Kartsen**, Chairman, November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK; New York City Transit Worker

Saturday, July 9, 7:00 p.m.

Saint Anthony's Educational Center, 951 Gordon St. S.W.

ATLANTA

1973: Popular Front Brought Bloody Coup... 1983: Now "Unity" With Pinochet's Henchmen

General Strike in Chile

On June 14, hundreds of thousands of Chileans joined in a national "day of protest" against the decade-old dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet. The demonstrations extended from banging pots and honking horns in middle-class neighborhoods to bonfires and barricades in the impoverished *poblaciones* on the outskirts of Santiago. More than 1,300 people were arrested and three killed as the Carabineros clashed with protesters in the center of the capital. "People of all ages and classes joined in defying the government," reported the liberal *New York Times* with satisfaction. When the government responded by arresting Rodolfo Seguel, president of the Copper Workers Federation (CTC), and other miners' leaders, it was met with a call for an unlimited general strike beginning June 23. The work stoppage was largely limited to copper miners (who had already been out for a week) and the truck owners, and on June 26 the action was called off on orders from the Catholic church hierarchy.

The military regime, as usual, blamed everything on "the Communist Party and its known and permanent strategy of violence and subversion." Pinochet proclaimed, "We are going to send the politicians back to their caves to end this problem." While the reformists (Socialists and Communists alike) are tied to a wretched "multisector front" dominated by former Pinochet supporters, their Christian Democratic allies were angling for a coup by "democratic" officers—a petition calling for a "change in command" is now circulating in the barracks (*Clarín* [Buenos Aires], 23 June). But even though the May/June actions have been led by forces seeking a "negotiated transition," this crisis must be seized upon to build a revolutionary opposition rooted in the Chilean proletariat. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency demand, as we have ever since that tragic September 11: "Smash the Junta—For Workers Revolution!"

The bloody defeat of the Chilean proletariat ten years ago raised once again fundamental lessons of the communist movement. Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) coalition of mass reformist workers parties allied with tiny middle-class liberal formations was a classic "popular front." And as in the



El Teniente miners (left) vote for a general strike. Chilean soldiers (right) comb through working-class barrios May 14.

1930s (in France, Spain and Chile notably), this class-collaborationist bloc paved the way to disaster by subordinating the workers to "democratic" bourgeois politicians like Christian Democrat Frei and "constitutionalist" officers like Pinochet. The UP literally disarmed the Chilean masses militarily and politically, preventing any serious resistance to the coup. The 1973 defeat was severe, but not a holocaust as in China 1927 or Germany 1933, after which the proletariat did not raise its head for a generation. As a Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau meeting stated a few months after the coup:

"The urgent and central political task within the Chilean and international ostensibly revolutionary left is to assimilate concretely the lessons of popular frontism with or without revisionist 'structural transition to socialism' or petty-bourgeois guerrillist rhetoric. Our international tendency is uniquely qualified programmatically to assist in such a regroupment perspective. Objectively, the stage in Chile is being set for a giant civil war, perhaps within a few years, because the underlying enthusiasm and capacity of the proletariat have not been exhausted. But without the painstaking and patient construction of a Bolshevik party by work from both without and within the country, this momentary opportunity can be let slip."

—"Perspective for Proletarian Revolution in Chile,"
WV No. 41, 29 March 1974

As the Pinochet regime finally begins to totter, this task has never been more urgent.

Split in the Ruling Class

The June 14 protest came in response to the army crackdown against a similar action a month earlier (see accompanying article). In late May a National Workers Command (CNT) was formed, headed by CTC leader Seguel. The objective of the CNT action was proclaimed to be "total recuperation of [the people's] dignity and full democracy." While the day began with some bomb explosions of suspicious origin, the protest was utterly peaceful, if not to say impotent. Copper workers refused to eat in company cafeterias, schoolchildren stayed home, etc. Once again government repression hit the poor neighborhoods hardest. Seguel talked of Gandhi, while CNT leaders "privately blamed leftist youths [for the downtown clashes with police] who they said were outside their control" (*New York Times*, 15 June). The next day plainclothesmen

arrested the 29-year-old CTC chief, soon to be followed by the rest of the copper union leaders.

This finally provoked a strike, as workers at the El Salvador, El Teniente and Andina mines walked out. The unions at Chuquicamata, the largest open-pit copper mine in the world, buckled under to government pressure. As the strike continued, CNT leaders called for a national work stoppage; they were joined by small businessmen who are on the verge of bankruptcy as a result of Chile's staggering depression. The Christian Democrats indicated their approval, and the American embassy protested against the arrest of Seguel. From the beginning it has been clear that the current unrest reflects a split in the Chilean ruling class. While the work stoppage petered out, influential imperialist mouthpieces insist that Pinochet's days are numbered.

The organizers of the May and June actions were clearly rightist in orientation. While three union leaders associated with the Communist Party were arrested, the Copper Federation is controlled by Christian Democrats. CTC/CNT leader Seguel even brags that on 11 September 1973 he hung out the Chilean flag in support of the Pinochet coup. The other leading group is the Democratic Workers Union (UDT), an outfit associated with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA "labor" front formed by the anti-Communist American AFL-CIO and leading multinational corporations. These company unionists were actively involved in the U.S. campaign of "destabilizing" the UP regime, as were the truckers whose lengthy 1972 and 1973 lockouts were financed directly by the CIA. By forming a political bloc with these paid agents of imperialism, the "Socialist" and "Communist" sellouts are once again preparing to sabotage the workers' struggles if they go beyond the limits of (bourgeois) "democracy." Genuine revolutionaries would have intervened in the recent protests organizing independent actions and *warning the masses against "unity" with such criminals who howled with the wolves for the Pinochet bloodbath.*

Who Supported the Copper Miners?

The fake-lefts are predictably enthusing over a "New Generation of

Labor Leaders Defying Pinochet" (*Guardian* [New York], 29 June). Others are touting Seguel as a "new Walesa." Certainly this Christian Democrat who hailed Pinochet is just as reactionary as the head of the Polish company union for the Vatican and Western bankers. But how has it come to pass that these are the most prominent Chilean union leaders today? What we are witnessing is the heavy legacy of the UP popular front, ten years later. In the last months of the Allende regime, the leftist government repeatedly acted to hold back militant workers (as in the *cordones industriales*), to give back plants seized from the capitalists, to enforce a "gun control" law through searching factories and leftist party offices. This not only greatly demoralized the most class-conscious proletariat in South America, but in the case of the famous El Teniente copper strike, the popular front forced many into the arms of the right. This betrayal is vividly recalled by every copper miner in Chile today.

The May-June 1973 miners strike was called to demand payment of a cost-of-living adjustment, due under a "sliding scale" won initially from the imperialist copper corporations and maintained by the state mining company CODELCO in 1972. As Nixon & Co. tightened the screws on Chile, "making the economy scream," rather than proceeding to expropriate the bourgeoisie the Unidad Popular tried to squeeze better-paid sectors of the working class. When the miners struck for their rights, they were denounced as "privileged" and "economistic" including by much of the "far left." The foaming Stalinists even called the strikers "fascists." Yet the miners in the past had been the vanguard of the Chilean labor movement, as they are once again today. They had voted for leftist union leaders, even supporting a tiny left-reformist split from the Socialist Party which refused to join the UP. The strike leader, Guillermo Medina, though a former Christian Democrat, was elected as a maverick with leftist support, and some Socialist union officials voted for the strike. But when Allende declared military rule in the mining town of Rancagua and tried to force the strikers back to work, this changed dramatically.

While the entire Chilean popular front was denouncing the miners, the Spartacists supported their just action

continued on page 10

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues.: 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

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Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

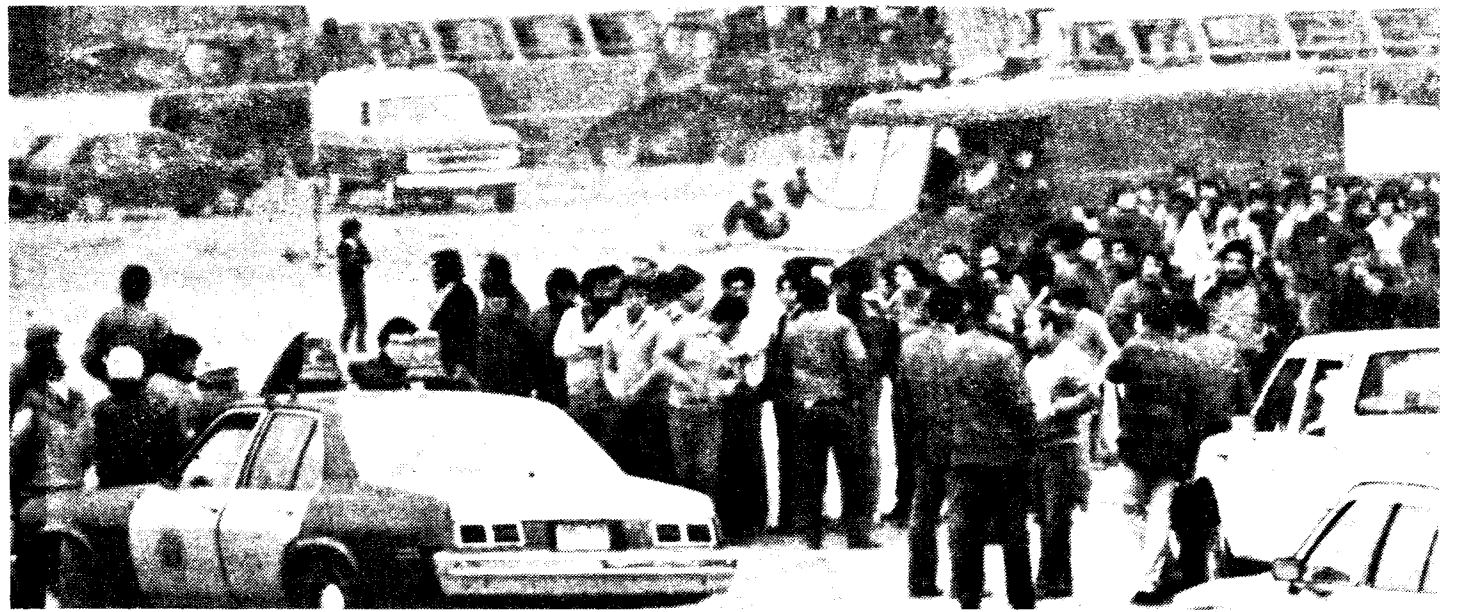
Pinochet to the Wall, Workers to Power!

JUNE 13—The May Days in Chile marked the first coordinated national mass protests in the country since the bloody overthrow of Allende's left-wing Unidad Popular (UP) regime a decade ago. The old images return: once again the stadiums are filled with prisoners, once again they are banging empty pots and pans. Enraged sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are in the streets again, this time against Pinochet. Yet the fundamental force in the May protests was not the lawyers, students and housewives from the *barrio alto*. It was the working class, from the powerful copper miners to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed who set up barricades in Santiago's shantytowns. The political leaders, from the reactionary right to the pseudo-socialist left, are seeking to put together a new class-collaborationist alliance to hold these masses in check. They know that once the working class arises it will shake this shoestring country from the Atacama Desert to the Antarctic. But the only way to avenge the tens of thousands dead, the hundred thousand sent to concentration camps, the million Chileans forced into exile, the only way to wipe the *milico* butchers off the face of the earth forever, is through *workers revolution*.

May 11 opened a new stage in the struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship, the stage of open mobilization. The regime responded with its accustomed brutality, arresting, beating, killing. But already a new day of protest has been called for June 14. As one leader of the protests remarked, "Under the terror, the Chilean masses have lost everything, even their fear." A correspondent reports: "Audiences watching the American film *Reds* routinely break into cheers and whistles when the sound track plays the Internationale, the anthem of the world communist movement" (*Miami Herald*, 29 March). Today the junta has become almost completely isolated from the civilian population, supported on its bayonets alone. Chile's so-called "economic miracle" produced by the notorious "Chicago boys" has devastated the country: official unemployment well over 30 percent, spiraling bankruptcies. With massive discontent at every level of the population, Pinochet's agony has begun. This opportunity must be seized to bring down the dictatorship through revolutionary action. The Spartacist tendency has called ever since that infamous September 11, "Down with the junta—Workers to power!"

A moment is approaching that

millions of Chileans have been yearning for, as the jobless scratched through garbage piles for a scrap to eat, as they have suffered through ten years of brutal repression under the military boot. The day of reckoning would come, days of vengeance when the tyrants who goosestep past the burnt-out Moneda Palace could be brought to revolutionary justice. But the reformist misleaders of the left and labor movement are putting together one of the most hideous "popular fronts" in history, including not only Socialists and Radicals (sup-



Santiago, May 14—Shaky Pinochet regime responds to May mobilizations with mass arrests, torture, killing.

Syigma

ported by the Communists), but also the Christian Democrats who cheered the '73 coup, the National Party which spearheaded the rightist mobilizations, and even some of the fascist Patria y Libertad terrorists! During the time of Allende, powerful workers struggles which took over factories and farms were blocked by the UP popular front, paving the way for the bloody takeover by "constitutionalist" General Pinochet. Today the "democratic" and "multi-party" alliances threaten to strangle a brewing mass insurrection. It is urgently necessary to forge a Trotskyist party, drawing the tragic lessons of the popular front, to lead the Chilean proletariat to victory. The alternative is another catastrophic defeat, as today's "democrats" once again become the bloodhounds when things get "out of hand."

May Days in Santiago

The May 11 protests were called by the Confederation of Copper Workers (CTC), representing 22,000 workers of the state-owned CODELCO mining

corporation. In the last couple years a new leadership, politically close to the Christian Democrats, has taken over the CTC, growing out of the two-month copper strike of 1981 and replacing the previous unconditional *pinochetistas* at the head of this strategic union. A national congress of the CTC in April originally called for a national work stoppage against the "complete economic, social, cultural and political system... which is surrounding us and crushing us." At the end of their congress, the miners marched through

people joined the funeral procession shouting anti-government slogans. Then in the early morning hours of May 14 the military struck hard. At 4 a.m. dozens of army trucks carrying heavily armed combat troops pulled up to the La Victoria and João Goulart shantytowns. Streets were cordoned off as loudspeakers ordered all males over the age of 14 to come out. Some 3,000 men were picked out and hauled off to the soccer stadiums where they stood for hours in the rain for "identity checks." Several hundred were then removed to

the capital, defying busloads of police. The regime, caught off guard, hesitated briefly and then responded the only way it knows how. Attempts by several hundred protesters to march on May 1 were broken up by bands of government thugs in plainclothes. And in the next days tanks surrounded the El Teniente, Chuquicamata and El Salvador mines as the army threatened dire consequences in the event of a strike. On May 7 CTC leader Rodolfo Seguel rescinded the call for a strike, urging "peaceful but active protests" instead.

But the whole country was in a state of expectation, and even though the action was called off it could not stop the outpouring of rebellion on the 11th. The CTC tops had called for a classless "civic protest," including the banging of pots and pans, that symbol of the right-wing "destabilization" of Allende's UP. And the middle class expressed its growing desperation: parents kept children home from school, key intersections were tied up in the evening with everyone honking their horns, when darkness fell students poured out of the universities to hold lightning rallies. When police tried to scatter them it led to running battles all over downtown Santiago and government forces were not able to regain control until dawn. But the hard core of the protests was in the slum neighborhoods, where barricades went up in full daylight and the riot police launched murderous charges. Thousands took part in the actions: two were killed and 350 arrested in the capital and hundreds more in the provinces. Among those detained were three priests and 34 seminarians.

While the protests ranged from the slums to the suburbs, the dictatorship knew who was their real enemy: the repression was concentrated overwhelmingly in the workers districts. The following day there was a funeral for one of the victims of the cop terror in the barrio of La Victoria. Fifteen hundred

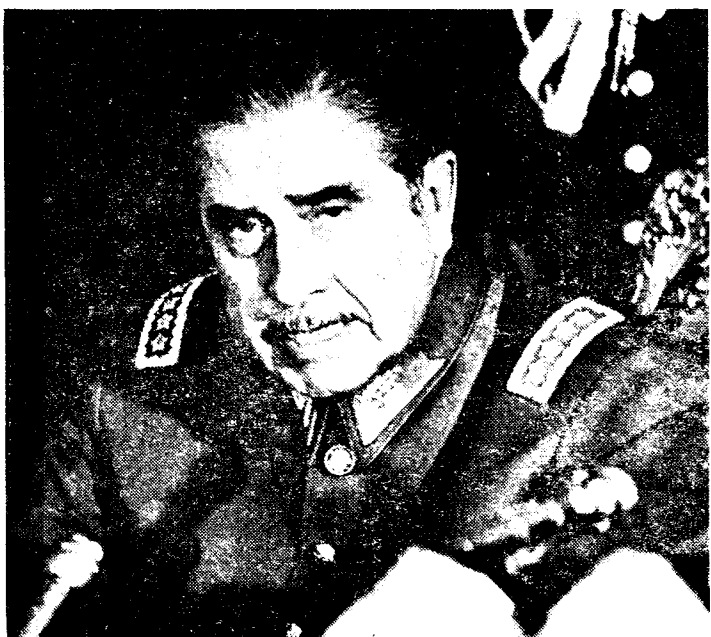
police stations to face beatings and torture at the hands of the CNI (Pinochet's secret police, formerly the DINA). But the repression no longer intimidates, and new anti-government actions have already been announced.

May 11 came after a geometric escalation of protests against the military regime over the last six months. In December 1982 a series of demonstrations by the National Union Coordinating Committee (CNS) brought hundreds into the streets of Santiago, resulting in the deportation and banishment (to remote areas of Chile) of several CNS leaders. In January 10,000 Christian Democratic Party (PDC) supporters paraded on the anniversary of the death of PDC leader Eduardo Frei. And on March 25 thousands surged through downtown Santiago in a demonstration announced over Radio Moscow's "Escucha Chile" (Listen Chile) shortwave radio program. Some 250 Communist Party (PCCh) youth battled it out with the cops, throwing bricks and receiving blasts from water cannons which were used for the first time since 1973.

Bourgeois Opposition Grows

Behind the explosion of opposition to the Pinochet regime is a depression rivaling that of the 1930s. But while it is fed by the worldwide capitalist crisis, the policies of the Chilean dictatorship have turned this into a catastrophe. The "economic miracle" of the "Chicago boys," disciples of monetarist madman Milton Friedman, have devastated Chile. Last year, according to official figures, the country's gross national production plunged by 14 percent, compared to a 1 percent decline in South America as a whole. According to government statistics, 30 percent of the workforce is jobless and another 5 percent are working on government starvation wage (\$27 a month) projects. In a

continued on page 8



Panorama

¡Ni olvido, ni perdón,
Pinochet al paredón!
(Neither forgive nor forget,
Pinochet to the wall!)

Pinochet...

(continued from page 7)

country of 11 million people, more than 350,000 are homeless. Beggars are everywhere, the desperately poor cluster around soup kitchens as unemployment reaches 90 percent in some of the Santiago slums. Production has fallen to below 1972 levels, while those workers who have jobs are earning only 40 percent of what they were making ten years ago in terms of real wages (adjusted for inflation). Chile under Pinochet has become an unmitigated economic disaster area.

If Milton Friedman returned to Chile today he would be lynched by the most "respectable" citizens, once his avid supporters. Conservative wheat farmers issued a manifesto in Temuco last December calling for a debt moratorium, government takeover of the banking system and fixed interest rates. Last month the rabidly right-wing small truck owners threatened to repeat their shutdown/lockout which paralyzed transport and helped bring down Allende in 1973, unless the government reverses its economic policies. Even Roberto Thieme, one of the top leaders of the fascist Patria y Libertad terrorists, has denounced Pinochet for selling out to the international bankers. And former junta General Leigh, too, has become a born-again democrat.

Concluding that the present ruling clique is incapable of competently managing the affairs of the bourgeoisie, late last year truckers leader Villarín got together with Christian Democratic spokesman Lavandero to launch the "Project to Develop a National Consensus" (Proden). This right-wing coalition called on Pinochet to step down as head of government (while remaining in command of the armed forces) as a new military junta together with the bourgeois parties would prepare for elections two years hence. In March the Proden gave rise to a broader "multiparty" coalition based on the so-called "Democratic Manifesto." This document calls for rescinding the state of emergency, reestablishing individual liberties, disclosing the fate of the "disappeared," legalizing political parties and sealing a pact between the state, employers and workers. The Manifesto does *not* call even for the end of the military regime, and its talk of a "social pact" is nothing but a device to save the *milico* butchers from a richly deserved fate—out of fear of a popular uprising. Yet not only arch-reactionaries signed this disgustingly anti-democratic manifesto; the *multi-partidaria* also includes bourgeois liberal social democrats (formerly Radicals) and reformist socialists of the Altamirano, Almeyda and Ampuero fractions of the splintered Socialist Party (PS).

For a Chilean Trotskyist Party

The days are numbered for the Pinochet regime. Will the regime crisis be transformed into a revolutionary crisis of Chilean capitalism? Certainly

the "procer" (Führer) Pinochet shows the same qualities as a Nicholas Romanov or Louis XVI: having forgotten nothing and learned nothing, his answer to all challenges is... more clubs and more bullets. And while the masses are starving, while the Moneda remains a burnt-out shell, Pinochet is building a palatial new bunker preparing, perhaps, for a fiery *Götterdämmerung*. Meanwhile, the Argentine junta, which already suffered a disastrous defeat through its Falklands/Malvinas adventure, is now facing a swelling tide of outrage over the ghosts of the "disappeared." In Bolivia the (not very) "popular democratic" government is being challenged by the very working class it claims to represent. Thus the opportunity is posed throughout the Southern Cone, that the overthrow of the bloody rule of the *milico* butchers could open the road to workers revolution. But it requires the intervention of a Bolshevik vanguard, built in the struggle to reforge Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, to mobilize the proletariat on the program of permanent revolution.

Today the most radical elements of the Chilean left are calling for a new edition of the UP, which prepared the way for Pinochet (Allende's last minister of defense) by demobilizing, demoralizing and directly repressing the combative workers. But the major parties are promoting an even more sinister popular front with the very counterrevolutionaries who worked together with the CIA to prepare the 1973 bloodbath, who for years cheered the "patriot" Pinochet... until their own profits were affected. The Communist Party of Chile is one of the most abysmally reformist parties in the firmament of Latin American Stalinism. For seven years after the generals and admirals took power, the PCCh continued to preach the "peaceful road" lie. In late 1980 these gravediggers of the revolution reluctantly came out for "armed struggle" to "restore democracy." Now, in the midst of the anti-Soviet war drive, this empty gesture is being used to keep the Communists out of the multiparty fronts. But this has not stopped the groveling Stalinists from supporting them. In January, PCCh leader Corvalán issued a call for:

"...an understanding with all opposition forces of the left, center and right to reconstruct the country... even though this implies that the left will not participate in the government."
—*El Puelche*, April 1983

The Socialist Party has again split into a myriad of squabbling clienteles: MAS, USOPO, CNR, Consensus Group, 24th Congress, Spark, Commander, Vanguard Tendency, Workers Front, etc. The right-wing elements last year sponsored the Convergencia Socialista regroupment with ex-Christian Democrats of MAPU and IC, based on a "pluralist" platform rejecting an "exclusively Marxist vision." They have also joined the "Democratic Manifesto" grouping despite the exclusion of the CP. But even the most left-talking sectors of the PS are holding up bourgeois democracy as the alternative to Pinochet "fascism."

What about the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), at one time the nemesis of the CP which even blamed the Pinochet coup on supposed MIR "ultraleft" excesses. Under the UP the MIR followed a policy of "critical support" to Allende, providing a squad of bodyguards to the "*compañero presidente*" while fostering land takeovers which went beyond the narrow limits of the land reform inherited from the Christian Democrats. As guerrillists they had no confidence in the power of the working class: during the crucial months of 1972-73 the MIR was pushing its empty *comandos comunales* ("professional" barrio militias) and stood largely outside the mushrooming *cordones industriales*, district factory committees representing embryos of

dual power. After the coup it sponsored some ill-fated adventures while insisting on the suicidal policy of keeping all its militants inside the country. Today the MIR has issued a disgusting appeal for petty-bourgeois exiles to return to Chile using various kinds of imperialist aid ("Carta abierta al exilio chileno," January 1983), and MIR leader Andrés Pascal Allende sent a positively groveling letter to the president of the Christian Democrats, praising the PDC leader's "high civic profile," praising Christian Democracy's supposed aspiration for "real mass democracy in Chile" (!) and proposing points for a social pact (*AIR*, January-February 1983).

The struggle to expose and politically defeat the reformist betrayers of the Chilean proletariat, who delivered it bound hand and foot to the military and now promise to do the same for the Christian Democrats, requires the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard. Drawing the lessons of the UP popular front, it prepares the road to a workers' victory. The reformist misleaders justify their class collaboration with endless arguments about the need to "restore democracy." Suffering through the long night of military bonapartism, the Chilean masses certainly yearn for "bread, justice and freedom." They can and must be mobilized around democratic demands, but these can be won only through revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. In a military confrontation between bourgeois democracy and bonapartism, the working class fights on the side of the former, with the Spanish republic against the Francoists, with Kerensky against Kornilov. But the working class defends democracy, and its democratic rights in particular, with its own revolutionary methods and against all the parties and politicians of the class enemy.

Not a treacherous social pact to provide immunity for the torturers and killers, but people's tribunals to mete out justice to the junta criminals and their accomplices! Smash the CNI/DINA secret police, stronghold of the Pinochet dictatorship! For the formation of soldiers and sailors committees in the armed forces, to mobilize the worker-peasant ranks against the Prussian-minded officer caste, uniformed guard dogs of the bourgeoisie! For an agrarian revolution—the peasants must seize the landed estates! No negotiated "return to the barracks" with carefully orchestrated "free elections" (manipulated by the CIA), but a revolutionary constituent assembly. None of these demands can be achieved except through a mass workers uprising, to overthrow the butcher junta and establish a workers and peasants government. Moreover, a victorious workers revolution would immediately pass on to socialist tasks, including expropri-

ation of the capitalist class. Today it is vital to begin organizing in clandestinity the future workers militias, to rebuild the *cordones industriales* as potential soviets, and to forge the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in struggle against all variants of popular frontism.

In 1970 when the rest of the left was hailing Allende, we wrote prophetically:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

—*Spartacist* No. 19,
November-December 1970

After the fall of the UP, with its tragic toll of thousands of the best fighters for the workers' cause, the shameless Moscow Stalinists blamed "ultralefts" while their Castroite allies lamented only that the masses were not armed. But now the PCCh and MIR are united in calling for "armed struggle"... and in desperately seeking an alliance with the Christian Democratic friends of the CIA and ex-friends of Pinochet! In demonstration after demonstration, the reformists chanted, "The people united will never be defeated," a cynical apology for their own role in preparing the bloody defeat of September 1973 by "uniting" the working people with their exploiters. Now once again we warn: popular front means workers' blood!

Shortly after the fall of the UP and the assassination of Salvador Allende, Chilean Stalinist poet Pablo Neruda also died when troops raided his home. His magnum opus, the *Canto General*, had been put to music and was to have been performed in Santiago that month. In that poem Neruda referred in bitter terms to an earlier period when the northern deserts and frozen southern islands were populated by concentration camps full of communists. The hangman then was named González Videla, who like Pinochet was brought to power by the popular front (in 1946). Neruda wrote:

"González Videla is the rat who sweeps his tail full of dung and blood, over my land which he sold out. Every day "He pulls the stolen money out of his pockets and thinks whether tomorrow he will sell territory or blood. "He had betrayed everything. He rose like a rat on the shoulders of the people..."

But Comrade Neruda—who betrayed, who sold out? González Videla and Pinochet were doing their duty to their rapacious class in bloodily suppressing the workers. It was the Stalinists, the reformists and popular frontists, who betrayed. The task of the Trotskyists is to expose that betrayal, break their stranglehold and lead the struggle for workers revolution. "*Pinochet al poder, obreros al poder!*" ■

CORRECTIONS

The article "Avenge Black South African Martyrs" (*WV* No. 332, 17 June) incorrectly reported that 1,200 leaflets were distributed for the June 8 protest outside the South African airline office in San Francisco. In fact, 12,000 leaflets were distributed.

In the article "Racist Courts Give FBI/KKK Informers License to Kill" (*WV* No. 331, 3 June), a paragraph was garbled through a paste-up error. It should have read: "The judge went further, aping J. Edgar Hoover's tribute in stating that Gary Rowe was 'a good informer, perhaps the best informer in the whole area.' This is the man who planned, organized and led most of the major KKK terrorist actions in Alabama during the time he was on the FBI's payroll!"

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Central America...

(continued from page 1)

ese forces. The imperialists were defeated militarily in the field. But the rad-libs and reformists like to pretend that they coaxed U.S. rulers to "abandon" Vietnam with their "peace crawls" in New York and Washington. Now once again it is defeat of the U.S. and U.S.-backed regimes which is posed in Central America. So one of the endorsers of the July 2 demonstration, CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), asks us to "remember how the U.S. finally had to leave Vietnam in disgrace, with embassy staff and 'allies' rushing to helicopters on the U.S. embassy roof to escape." We sure do remember! And we long to see just such a hasty exit from the American embassy compound in San Salvador!!

Fear of losing again—the so-called "Vietnam Syndrome"—continues to haunt all wings of U.S. imperialism. Ever since Reagan announced in May there is "no thought" of sending U.S. combat troops to Central America, there has been a campaign to win over the hearts and minds of Congress to do exactly that. At the June Williamsburg economic summit Reagan declared that it couldn't be "ruled out." Army chief of staff Edward C. Meyer, with plenty of caveats about the "lessons of Vietnam," said he'd be willing to send in the troops, but "there will have to be a consensus within the U.S. populace." Washington is well aware that the entire South American continent is a tinderbox and the intervention of Yankee troops in Central America could easily trigger resistance and upheaval from Chile to Mexico. So the U.S. government is trying to soften up the U.S. populace precisely for that possibility.

Which Side Are You On?

It is not an accident that it is the Spartacist League (SL) which has raised the call for "Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!" While the Marcyites and the rest of the reformists were looking to



Der Spiegel

Victims of U.S.-backed death squads: liberals want to cut a deal with Salvadoran butchers, but a negotiated solution will only lead to a bloodbath.

please the anti-Reagan, anti-Soviet popular front we raised the slogan: "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" The pop-frontists take a side: at the 3 May 1981 march on the Pentagon, last March 27 in Washington, they set up goon squads and called the capitalist cops to prevent demonstrators from joining with the Trotskyist revolutionaries of the SL. Big for Bella, ready for Teddy, clean for Conyers—the reformists could not tolerate our slogans, our open defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, or the fact that we carried the Cuban, NLF and FMLN flags in solidarity with those targets of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. They could not tolerate that we openly sided with the U.S.' enemies.

Because the U.S. position has deteriorated dramatically in Central America, the reformists must even more openly take the side of U.S. imperialism. Lenin could have been describing these American social-patriots when he wrote about the traitors of the Second Interna-

tional who voted war credits to their "own" bourgeoisie in World War I: "In the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie they inevitably, and in no small numbers, stand side by side with the bourgeoisie, with the 'Versailles' against the 'Communards'" (Preface to *Imperialism*).

Class Struggle at Home

Not "dovish" peace-crawls which pressure for a sellout, but revolutionary struggle is needed now. We must organize concrete acts of working-class solidarity here in the heart of the imperialist monster. This is why class-struggle unionists of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have been fighting for hot-cargoing of goods bound for El Salvador and a coastwide port shutdown (see articles, page 12). During the Vietnam War the SL called for political strikes against the war. The fundamental defeatism of the reformists, who see no possibility of mobilizing the working class, led them to rely on the Democrats, the very party responsible for the genocidal war in Vietnam—and subsequently, willy-nilly, to adopt the imperialist doves' fear and loathing of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Now the Democrats smell "Vietnam-style" defeat in El Salvador. "We are backing sure losers," Democratic Party spokesman Dodd replied to Reagan. In the next breath he underlined, "We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America. We will not accept... the creation of Soviet military bases in Central America." And only a week after Reagan's "get tough on Communism in Central America" speech, Salvadoran FDR leader Guillermo Ungo announced: "The United States has the right to stop the spread of communism" (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May). That's supposed to be the "opposition" to Reagan and his puppets! The Dodds and Ungos view negotiations as the last,

best hope of heading off a military victory by the leftist insurgents. The reformists and rad-libs join the Democrats and their bourgeois counterparts in Central America in calling for a negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran rebel fighters in the field. We say: Forward to military victory against the U.S.-backed junta! Keep the butchers on the run!

"No more Vietnams" means for the Democrats no more social revolutions, no more "going Communist," no more "Soviet bases." The Vietnamese not only defeated the U.S. war machine and shattered the morale of the U.S. military, but they made a social revolution against capitalism in their country. In so doing, they "alienated" liberal public opinion, particularly as the anti-Soviet war drive heated up under Jimmy Carter. His "human rights" campaign specifically and vindictively targeted Vietnam. "Boat people," "reeducation camps" and "Soviet yellow rain" (a.k.a. bee shit) were all supposed to outrage public opinion in the "free world" and reverse the image of U.S. imperialism from terror-bombers to defenders of the victims of "totalitarianism."

When Vietnam intervened in Cambodia in 1979, China played the role of cat's paw for U.S. imperialism and threatened to teach the Vietnamese a "bloody lesson." The Pentagon no doubt itched to more directly get in on the action—but it could not. Nor could the U.S. intervene when Cuban troops backed up the Angolan MPLA against the South African invasion of Angola in 1975-76. The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive seeks to do away with the "Vietnam syndrome" and free the U.S. imperialists to intervene where and when they want to.

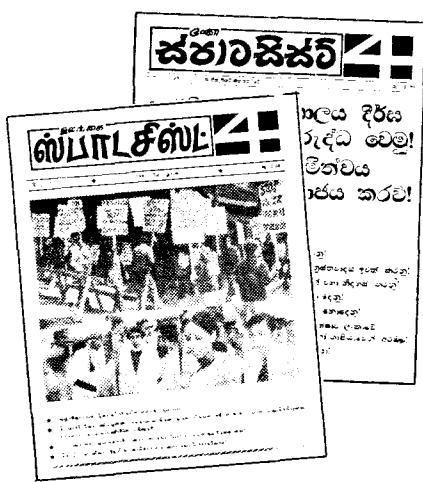
Unfortunately, the imperialist propaganda that behind every movement for social justice in the world lurks a Kremlin plot to spread "Marxist states" is not true. Soviet arms are not flowing into El Salvador—although they are sorely needed. Nor are the Sandinistas getting what they need to kill the Somocista invaders. Certainly the Vietnamese received insufficient military aid from the USSR (compared to what was given to capitalist Egypt, for example). The Stalinist bureaucracies which sit atop the deformed and degenerated workers states will go (and have gone) to almost any lengths to contain the global class war in their pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

U.S. imperialism is hell-bent on reclaiming the one-sixth of the globe ripped from the capitalist world when the workers of Russia made a revolution in 1917. But the frightened U.S. left has been in rapid flight to the right since Reagan's election. Unable and unwilling to stand up to the anti-Soviet war drive, the reformists now find themselves organizing a social-patriotic show for the bourgeoisie to bury the spectre of Vietnam and sell out the heroic fighters in the hills of Central America. The Spartacists say: Salvadoran butchers on the run—Leftist rebels need Russian guns! Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs! ■

SL/Lanka Publications Fund

The Spartacist League of Lanka (Ceylon) has announced a campaign for funds to support its public press. The SL/Lanka publishes *Lanka Spartacist* (in Sinhalese) and *Illangai Spartacist* (in Tamil) and intends to raise 5,000 rupees. The Lanka comrades recently issued No. 3 of *Illangai Spartacist* which will be circulated not only on the island but among Tamil militants abroad. In recent months in Europe and the U.S., hundreds of militant Tamil nationalists have demonstrated alongside comrades of the international Spartacist tendency to protest the Jayawardene government's continuing brutal military occupation of the Jaffna peninsula.

The Lanka comrades' struggle for Tamil national rights is key to our international revolutionary perspectives. Our Trotskyist propaganda must reach not only vanguard elements among the embattled Tamil national minority concentrated in the North and East of the island, but especially the Tamil plantation workers whose grueling labor brings in most of the country's hard-currency export earnings. These workers, whose parents and grandparents were mainly brought to Ceylon from India by the British imperialists, are denied basic citizenship and real union protection. They are virtually ignored by the parliamentarist "left" which has for decades marched to the Sinhala-chauvinist tune of the capi-



Sinhala-language Lanka Spartacist (right) and Tamil-language Illangai Spartacist (left).

talist "opposition" party. These Tamil workers, many of them women, are strategic to the agriculture-based economy. They are also a living link to the tens of millions of Tamils in India, that prison house of oppressed nationalities and starving people. Proletarian revolutionary struggle in Lanka can be the springboard for socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent.

Support the important work of our comrades in South Asia by contributing to the SL/Lanka publications fund. Payable to/mail to: Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Earmark checks "Lanka publications."

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Chile General Strike...

(continued from page 6)

("Defend Chilean Miners' Strike," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973). We have discussed the 1973 copper strike in detail in our review of the sophisticated Stalinist propaganda film, "The Battle of Chile." We pointed out that "the profits from El Teniente went not to the workers but to buy the armed forces new airplanes and guns which were later used to massacre leftists by the tens of thousands" ("How The Battle of Chile Disarms the Workers," *WV* No. 202, 21 April 1978). And in the crucial last months of 1973 we repeatedly put forward a revolutionary program of extending strike action, factory and hacienda takeovers, calling to turn the *cordones industriales* into genuine soviets, to break with the bourgeoisie and fight for workers' action to smash the impending coup, for a workers and peasants government. We repeatedly recalled our 1970 warning that the popular front in power was "paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready." (These articles are collected in our Spanish-language pamphlet, "Chile: Lecciones del Frente Popular," *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3.)

Only the Trotskyists, who defended the Chilean miners both against the UP and Pinochet, have the moral authority to speak to the copper workers today and warn them that their present Christian Democratic union tops will block any genuinely militant struggle against the hated Pinochet dictatorship. It is necessary to forge a revolutionary leadership of the Chilean workers movement. This cannot be done through joining the various "left" blocs, including such bureaucratic shells as the "CUT [United Workers Federation] in exile," but only through intransigent struggle against all brands of popular frontism and reformism. Against the ex-MIRistas of the Bloque Popular Unitario (BPU), who turn disgust with the treachery of the reformists into "anti-party" sentiment, we seek to forge a Chilean Trotskyist party that can be an authentic vanguard of proletarian revolution. ■

Port Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

to union-busting throughout the Bay Area ports and coastwise. A serious fight must begin to get rid of these treacherous misleaders who once again have proven to be labor cops for the bosses.

The walkout was marked by exemplary militancy in the ranks, who were eager for a fight. As a dozen huge container ships lay idle in the Bay, 700 longshoremen picketed the Levin Metal Corporation terminal in Richmond, stopping a security car carrying scabs from entering the terminal and turning away trucks. Two dozen other ILWU members with picket signs used a rented fishing boat to set up a floating picket of a cargo vessel, which was honored by the Masters, Mates and Pilots union. The notorious Richmond cops, who delight in beating and killing black people, didn't show up all day, despite the issuance of injunctions and restraining orders to stop the picketing. The idea of going up against 700 militant and mainly black longshoremen obviously scared the hell out of these racist killers. This example of the power of organized labor points the way to putting an end to cop terror in the heavily black city of Richmond.

The Local 10 bureaucrats were forced into calling the port shutdown by an



WV Photo
Longshoremen's mass picket in Richmond shows the way to beat the maritime bosses, but ILWU tops sold them them out.

angry and militant membership who want to fight to keep their jobs. The union bureaucrats have been temporizing with the Levin Metal Corporation's refusal to use ILWU longshoremen for six months. Token picketing earlier this year had been called off after injunctions were issued. The practice of "ghost workers" was tolerated, whereby ILWU longshoremen dispatched to the Levin terminal would be paid for standing around all day while the anti-union company used its own employees to load the ship.

Last Saturday, in response to membership pressure and in an attempt to refurbish their image after being handed a stunning defeat over their attempt to purge Stan Gow from union leadership, the Local 10 officers organized a "mass picket" by 200 ILWU longshoremen of the Levin terminal. However the picket line was set up at noon, four hours after work had started on the ship, and any attempt to stop the loading of the ship was expressly forbidden by Local 10 secretary-treasurer Bill Bancroft who was on the spot. The 200 longshoremen had come for action and they became furious at Bancroft when they learned there was to be none. On penalty of fines they were forced to remain there impotently watching the ship being loaded by non-ILWU workers for six hours. The long afternoon was punctuated by angry shouting matches between the outraged longshoremen and Bancroft. The next day, fearful of an explosion by the ranks, the decision was announced that the port would be shut down Monday.

While the membership was enthusiastically and eagerly doing battle with the bosses, the union bureaucrats were in negotiations behind their backs selling out the port shutdown. ILWU International president Jimmy Herman and the union's Coast Committee were huddled in a meeting with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) where they jointly agreed that the port shutdown was an "illegal work stoppage." After getting all their lines from the union lawyers, the Local 10 officers went into negotiations with Levin Metal Corporation and the deal was struck. At 7:30 p.m. Local 10 president Carr and his mouthpiece Bancroft arrived back at the picket line and announced that Levin had "agreed" to use a token of four ILWU longshoremen at the terminal. This complete sellout, which formalizes the anti-union "ghost worker" practices, was praised by Carr and Bancroft as a "victory" and, over shouts of outrage by the furious longshoremen, the shutdown was declared over. Pande-monium broke out and hundreds of disgusted workers began leaving the terminal.

This utter betrayal by the International and Local 10 officers is of a piece with their sniveling, groveling capitulation to

Reagan and Kirkpatrick over the U.S. war in El Salvador and their refusal to take action to defend anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa. It underlines what became clear by their trial of Stan Gow: that they do not speak for the union members but instead act as the political police of the bosses. These labor traitors must be thrown out and replaced by a class-struggle leadership that will use the power of labor to defend the interests of the working class here and internationally, in the struggle against the union-busting maritime bosses as well as in the struggle against imperialism by our class brothers in El Salvador and South Africa. One longshoreman said to a *WV* salesman, "These guys are rotten, but we got them when they tried to get Stan." The membership's victorious defense of Stan Gow showed that the officers can be beaten. The port shutdown showed that the members are willing and eager to engage in class struggle against the bosses. The supporters of Stan Gow must now take a step forward and join with him to help in the construction of a class-struggle leadership in the ILWU. ■

Bureaucrats' Bay of Pigs...

(continued from page 12)

appointed himself hanging judge and stage-managed the proceedings. Mr. Bancroft is pretty proud of his years of training in the bosses' law, law that has victimized many a longshoreman. He proceeded to eliminate "all this mundane and petty bullshit"—like Gow's right to present his witnesses and ask his questions, and have his lawyer present, or even a tape recorder. He ordered out all but one of Gow's witnesses, members of the Local 6 Militant Caucus, and made the first of several threats to call in the SF cops to enforce his "justice."

As events of the next week showed, Bancroft was only warming up. Prosecutor Carl Smith could scarcely contain himself to get out one of his first questions to Gow: "Do you belong to any political organizations outside the union?" Smith had apparently forgotten the more classic McCarthyite query, "Are you now or have you ever been...?" We don't know which cop agency Smith asked the question on behalf of (even the trial court thought it was out of line), but Gow has never made a secret of his support for the revolutionary program of the Spartacist League (SL). Much to the bureaucrats' chagrin, it's precisely that program that has exposed their role as the "progressive" cops for the capitalists inside the labor movement.

Even in rigged trial courts, life is no

bed of roses for the embattled fakers of the Local 10 leadership. They wanted Gow banned from union office for the next five years. But despite their efforts to conduct a trial more appropriate to some caricature of a mobster-infested Teamster local, they had to settle for a 30-day suspension and a six-month probation. Clearly the members of the trial court, who have to work the docks daily, were queasy about giving the bureaucracy everything it demanded.

When the verdict against Gow was announced, Militant Caucus members went to work mobilizing for a big turnout at the membership meeting the following Thursday. They covered the hiring hall with leaflets ("Dump the Verdict! Defend Stan Gow!" reprinted in *WV* No. 332, 17 June), pointing out the link between the witchhunt and the officers' support to the Democrats' austerity policies and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. One thing really galled the bureaucrats—that they hadn't backed Gow down. Just two days before their purge trial, he was out organizing to hot cargo the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, protesting the lynching of three black ANC fighters by the apartheid police state. The official Local 10 South Africa Liberation Support Committee and its head, *People's World* supporter Leo Robinson, could only suggest phone calls to the South African consulate! But the largely black dockers saw who was fighting for the victims of Reagan's favorite "free world" racists, particularly when Carr gave orders to work the ship and ignore the "illegal" picket set up by Gow and other ILWU militants.

Carr, Bancroft & Co. are dumb as well as vicious, and it seems they are going blind too. Sensing the swell of membership support for Gow, their fury grew white hot. With no way to answer the militants, they tried to silence them. The day before the Local meeting, Bancroft called his friends in the SFPD again and had *Local 6 Militant Caucus* member Jackie Clark arrested. The boys in blue also threw other ILWU members out of the hall. Bay Area papers began to cover this unprecedented scandal. As Clark told the *San Francisco Examiner* (16 June), "I've been going into that hall for three, four years now and talking to people about political issues. I've handed out leaflets many times, and I've never been told to leave. Calling the police is not the way trade unions run their business."

The bureaucrats will let damn near anyone into the hall, except oppositionist union members. But arresting a Local 6 general exec board member like Clark and claiming she's an "outside agitator" isn't very smart. Clark has been fighting her firing by R.J. Reynolds/Heublein for honoring IBEW pickets, while Bancroft's history runs more toward crossing picket lines (like those of construction workers at the University of California). His "outside agitator" bust against Clark backfired like the rest of the purge campaign. Most dockers don't like the cops, and Bay Area blacks are seething with anger over brazen cop murders like in Richmond—they don't want them busting into their homes or union halls.

The militants' hard work paid off—nearly 500 showed up for the Local meeting. According to Gow, the officers tried to create a stampede to end the meeting early by directing their supporters to line up to have their union books stamped. But the chief dispatchers walked up to the mike and proposed a \$25 fine on anyone who didn't return to the meeting. Thus the bureaucrats were forced to sit through an hour-long discussion in which the purge attempt and the sellout policies behind it were decisively repudiated.

The commotion in the hall dropped to silence as Gow made his appeal, and burst into applause as he finished. His trial counsel, Roy Bowie, did the job a union defense needs—getting the workers on their feet to denounce the

Dock union punishes El Salvador ship picket

By Norman Melnick
Examiner staff writer

A 24-year member and officer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union says he is facing a 30-day suspension because he picketed a ship bearing cargo for El Salvador.

"I think this is a measure of accommodation to the Reagan administration," said Stan Gow, an avowed socialist who has been on the executive board of ILWU Local 10 for the last nine years.

Gow, who will be 55 tomorrow, said the local's trial board found him guilty of being "a discredited to the union."

"How can I be a discredited to the union?" he asked last night. "I should think that the ILWU, which has done good things in the past, would support me, but maybe this is what is happening in the union. I think they want to have no problems."

Said ILWU President James R. Herman: "I have no comment because this is a local matter."

Local 10 President John Carr would not confirm the action or make any comment on the matter.

Gow said he appeared at the Seventh Street pier in Oakland the night of March 29. He and a half-dozen other ILWU members picketed a ship whose destination was El Salvador.

Gow said he handed out leaflets containing the signatures of 23 of the 1,600 members of Local 10 calling for a 24-hour Pacific Coast work stoppage by ILWU members. Three of the 23

were executive board members, including himself, said Gow.

Watkins arrived and was quoted by Gow as stating: "This looks like a demonstration picket line." Gow said: "I'd like it to be more than that. Then someone else made a comment similar to mine, and (Watkins) went inside to talk about the picketing and 45 minutes later he left."

Gow said most of the ILWU members ignored his picket line and went to work that night, "except those who called up Watkins to make sure it wasn't an official union action."

Earlier, Gow said, he had informed the Local 10 president that he intended to picket the ship. Gow said Carr told him that he would recommend that union members go through the picket line since it was not sanctioned.

The picketing broke up shortly after Watkins left, Gow said.

But he didn't stop there, Gow admitted. He said he introduced the matter again at the ILWU convention in Portland in April. His motion received only one delegate vote -- his.

He said he conducted "a very heavy fight" for his motion. "I think it was highly called for. Opposition to this war (in El Salvador) is something that calls for labor union action."

On May 12 he was informed that charges had been brought against him and last Saturday, at a five-hour hearing before a trial board of 20 ILWU Local 10 members, he was found guilty of conduct unbecoming a union member, he said.

He said the pickets who had joined him in Oakland were not allowed to testify. Nor was the lawyer he hired allowed to be in the same room with him, he said.

Gow said he was the only one charged. "Frankly, I think my just having taken some action when they didn't want any action, they just wanted to take paper action. In a sense, it was like a purge." (The ILWU is opposed to the present government in El Salvador.)

Union policy dispute ends with an arrest

By Norman Melnick
Examiner staff writer

An officer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was arrested yesterday in the escalating dispute between the union and a faction favoring a work stoppage over the El Salvador issue.

Jackie Clark, 33, a member of the general executive board of ILWU Local 6, was jailed at the instigation of Bill Bancroft, secretary-treasurer of ILWU Local 10. He said she had been repeatedly told to get off Local 10's premises at Fisherman's Wharf and had disregarded the order.

"I asked Jacqueline and the others to leave," Bancroft said, "and they said nope, and I said I'm going to call the police, and they said do what you have to do. I called the police."

Said Clark: "I've been going into that hall for three, four years now and talking to people about political issues. I've handed out leaflets many times, and I've never been told to leave. Calling the police is not the way trade unions run their business."

Clark was to be arraigned today in San Francisco Municipal Court on a charge of trespassing.

She and two other members of Local 6 were at the ILWU hiring hall at 400 North Point St. to protest a union trial board's decision to discipline Local 10 executive board member Stan Gow.

Gow, 55 yesterday, had tried to stop loading operations on a ship bound for El Salvador in March and was found guilty Saturday of conduct unbecoming to a union member. The trial board recommended a 30-day work suspension and six months' probation.

Whether these go into effect will be decided at a

meeting tonight of the 1,800 members of Local 10.

Bancroft said Clark and the others showed up at the North Point hiring hall Tuesday night and handed out fliers to Local 10 members. The fliers, published by a longshore group called the Militant Caucus, accused the ILWU of staging a "witchhunt purge trial" against Gow. They said "the Local 10 bureaucracy (was trying) to railroad Stan Gow out of the leadership of the union."

I asked them to leave," said Bancroft. "They refused, the police were called, they issued a citation to Jackie and told her if she returned she would be arrested."

Clark and her cohorts, including Gow, were back at the hiring hall bright and early yesterday.

When the police were called, the other Local 6 demonstrators left. Only Clark and Gow stayed. Bancroft said Gow had a right to distribute fliers because he is a Local 10 member. "Those rights don't extend to people who are not a member of Local 10. We don't allow non-Local 10 people to get involved in our politics."

Bancroft said the issue of El Salvador was a "smoke screen."

He said the ILWU opposed by resolution the present government in El Salvador and backed the guerrillas there. The ILWU also opposed the shipment of arms to government troops there, he said.

"But that's not the issue here," he asserted. "The issue is whether Stan Gow will be able to impose his will on the membership. Twice now his motions to call a work stoppage have been voted down, by our local's executive board and by the ILWU convention in Portland (Ore.) in April."

"Which means that we are not going to close down our ports unless the membership mandates it. If in fact he had been successful in shutting down that ship (back in March), ILWU members would have lost almost \$250,000 in a pay guarantee for that week. And that's the real issue. He set up an illegal picket line allegedly endorsed by Local 10 when in fact it wasn't."

Clark, jailed for two hours, was free on \$250 bail.

Valerie West, her attorney, said her client had "every right" to be at the Local 10 hiring hall. "That has always been the practice of the union. Jackie feels that it is very important for the union to take action on El Salvador."

She said that her client and the others also wanted Local 10 members to be aware of tonight's meeting.

Members back ILWU maverick

The membership of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union reversed a trial board's decision last night against Stan Gow, accused of "unbecoming conduct" for trying to stop loading operations on a ship bound for El Salvador.

Bill Bancroft, secretary-treasurer of Local 10, withheld details of the meeting. The trial board found Gow guilty last Saturday and recommended a 30-day suspension and six months probation.

Gow favors a 24-hour work stoppage at West Coast ports to protest shipment of goods to the government in El Salvador.

He could not be reached last night.

Charlott Gow, his wife, said the vote in her husband's favor was 10-1.

Sat., June 18, 1983

Union members throw out longshoreman's conviction

By Lester On
Tribune Staff Writer

A longshoreman's conviction by a union trial committee for organizing a protest against the El Salvador government has been tossed out by members of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

In a rebuke to the leadership of Local 10, the members voted Thursday night to reject the conviction of Stanley Gow, 55, of Oakland, for his part on March 29 in organizing the

protest at the foot of Seventh Street in Oakland.

Bill Bancroft, secretary-treasurer of Local 10, confirmed the reversal Friday, saying "the membership is the ruling body in our union."

On March 29, Gow and about 10 other longshoremen from another local picketed a ship, the Lafayette, which was carrying general cargo to El Salvador.

A trial committee of Local 10 voted 16-4 last Saturday to convict Gow of conduct unbecoming a union

member and of bringing his local into jeopardy by his action.

Gow, a socialist and a member of the "Militant Caucus," was suspended from his job for 30 days and placed on probation for six months.

However, Gow appealed and the conviction was thrown out Thursday night in a raucous meeting attended by several hundred members of Local 10 in its headquarters at 400 North Point St. in San Francisco.

Gow said he organized the protest because he sides with the rebels in El Salvador. One of Gow's supporters, Jackie Clark, of Local 6, was arrested by San Francisco police Wednesday when she tried to pass out leaflets at 400 North Point.

frameup they knew was aimed at them too. The bureaucrats spoke, but Carr was a mere shadow of the arrogant witchhunter who only days earlier taunted Gow: "You're dead!" Bancroft spoke too, as did Leo Robinson, who remembers how the Stalinists helped the FBI sic the Smith Act on Trotskyist Teamsters in Minneapolis decades ago (although now that Leo has counted the votes, he says he was "mistaken").

The ranks weren't buying "progressive" purges though. First there was a voice vote, and the guard claimed it was unclear. So the bureaucrats took a show of hands. About 40 people meekly raised their hands for the motion, but then about 400 Local 10 members rose up, jumping out of their seats to vote against the purge as chants of "No! No! No!" rang out. The verdict was thrown into the trash. While the fakers and their friends slunk away, the members thronged around Gow to congratulate him on their victory. A "Longshore Militant" leaflet entitled "We Won!" laid it out:

"This victory was a powerful example of the initiative and resources of the workers when they stick together and organize to fight in their own interests. If the officers can be beaten once they

can be beaten again. It's a question of program, leadership and organization. "Another valuable lesson of this whole fight to stop the witchhunt against Stan is learning who your friends are and who your enemies are when the chips are down. And not just the open enemies, but the hidden enemies as well. We'll have more to say on this score later."

There's a changed mood around the Local 10 hall these days. *WV* salesmen report that *People's World* hawkers scurry away when confronted about their support to the bureaucrats' witchhunt. Seeing our coverage of the purge attempt, members proudly boast, "We took care of that." The majority black membership of Local 10 doesn't buy Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, and they want to put a stop to imperialist butchery in Central America and South Africa. One black member in particular respected Gow's action under fire against the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*: "All the guys have been talking about it. We just couldn't let them do that to him. Wrong is wrong is wrong." Already the Local 10 misleaders are feeling the sting. Their attempt to short sell the fight to protect longshore jobs against scabs in Richmond is meeting heavy resistance.

The anti-Communist historian

Theodore Draper once wrote that John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba was "one of those rare politico-military events—a perfect failure." Well, Herman, Carr and Bancroft—errand boys for the sinister warmonger Jeane Kirkpatrick and her boss Reagan—managed to achieve their own "Bay of Pigs." It's a defeat they can't forget. As the "Longshore Militant"

leaflet concluded:

"In his 24 years in the ILWU Stan Gow has never stopped fighting against the bosses, racism and imperialism. That's why the International and Local officers—acting as political policemen for the bosses and the government—went after him. They know they are sitting on a powder keg. The task now is to consolidate this victory and translate it into action against the PMA bosses and their imperialist government." ■



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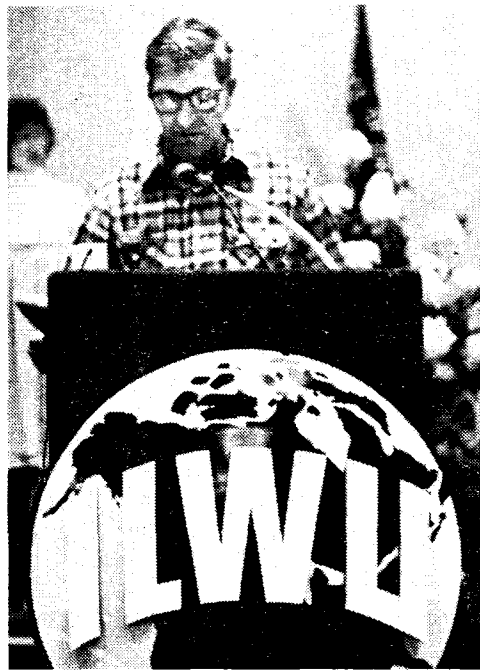
Victory for Longshore Militancy and Democracy

Bureaucrats' Bay of Pigs

SAN FRANCISCO—At the June 16 membership meeting of SF Longshore Local 10, members handed a stinging rebuke to the liberal witchhunters who run the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), and struck a substantial blow for the right to organize concrete labor solidarity actions with their class brothers around the world. At issue was the purge attempt aimed at Stan Gow, "Longshore Militant" editor and Local 10 executive board member, for his attempt to stop the loading of the freighter *Lafayette* with death cargo bound for Reagan's butchers in El Salvador. The ILWU Local 10 leadership charged Gow with "conduct unbecoming a union member," but Local 10 members were not about to sit still for International president Jimmy Herman's plans to make the ILWU safe for his imperialist masters. Hundreds overwhelmingly rejected (by a 10-to-1 margin) a Local trial court's verdict against Gow, and in the process handed the bureaucrats the biggest defeat they've suffered in years.

Gow was made the target of this purge attempt for the "crime" of trying to put teeth in one of the officials' empty solidarity resolutions. For two and a half years, the ILWU's paper pledge to "hot-cargo" military goods to El Salvador has been one more dead letter of liberal "solidarity." Along with members of several different ILWU locals, Gow picketed the *Lafayette* on March 29. Several weeks later, after the Longshore Coast Caucus where the bureaucrats nearly lost a bid to table

ILWU Ranks Beat Back Witchhunt Against Stan Gow



Hot Cargo Arms to El Salvador, South Africa!

Gow's motion for a one-day port shutdown to stop Reagan's lifeline to the Salvadoran butchers, the fakers in the leadership went into the witchhunt frenzy that produced the charges. Herman, Local president Carr and their Stalinist cheerleaders wanted to run Stan Gow out of the union to make sure that Reagan/Kirkpatrick got their death cargos worked.

Many longshoremen remember that their union once defended victims of the anti-Communist witchhunts of the 1950s. The jailing of ILWU president Harry Bridges for opposing the Korean War was met by port shutdowns in San Francisco and Hawaii. But for the sellout bureaucrats today, fighting for class-struggle tactics and international solidarity is "conduct unbecoming a

union member"! The membership threw this out, and there's also an older layer, including founders of the union reaching up to the highest levels, with whom this crude purge attempt didn't sit well.

The charges against Gow were an affront to decency, and the "trial" was run to match. Local 10 secretary-treasurer Bill "Bankrupt" Bancroft

continued on page 10

2,000 Longshoremen Stabbed in the Back by ILWU Tops

Bay Area Port Shutdown Sold Out

SAN FRANCISCO/OAKLAND, June 27—A solid port shutdown by 2,000 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) dock workers and ship clerks, that completely paralyzed all shipping operations in the San Francisco Bay Area for over ten hours, ended abruptly tonight with a stab in the back by ILWU International and Local 10 officers. The walkout had been triggered by a union-busting operation being carried out by the Levin Metal Corporation which was refusing to use ILWU longshoremen to load cargo at its Port of Richmond terminal. What could have been a chance to stand up to the maritime bosses and teach them a lesson in workers power was instead turned into an utter capitulation by the union tops on the key question of non-union labor. ILWU members must decisively reject this sellout, which is an open invitation

continued on page 10

Militant 700-strong longshoremen's picket shuts down scab operation in Richmond, California.

