

Military Victory to Anti-Somoza Rebels!

Nicaragua Civil War

**For Popular
Insurrection Against
the Dictatorship!**

**For a Workers and
Peasants Government!**

JUNE 19—After weeks of heavy fighting between the guerrilla army of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the praetorian National Guard of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, rebel leaders are now predicting that their "final offensive" will achieve victory "in a matter of days." Already the five nations of the Andean Pact—Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia—have taken an officially neutral position in the raging civil war, and the members of a provisional government have been named by the Sandinistas. While it is not possible to predict with certainty the imminent fall of the hated tyrant, the U.S. State Department is sufficiently worried to call an emergency meeting of its colonial ministry, the Organization of American States.

On the battlefield fighting has seesawed from day to day since the launching of the FSLN offensive on June 8, tilting toward the Sandinistas in recent days. The country's second city, León, has been in rebel hands for weeks and its National Guard barracks has now been burned to the ground as Somoza's troops sought to flee by donning civilian clothes. As we go to



Funeral for another victim of bloody Somoza regime.

Meiselas/Magnum

press two successive FSLN columns invading from Costa Rica are attempting to establish a "liberated zone" around the contested provincial capital of Rivas, where the provisional government would be installed. And in the slum districts of the capital city of Managua, large areas have become Sandinista strongholds which are bombed at random by government planes. Only Somoza's concrete bunker and the U.S. embassy remain as unchal-

lenged outposts of the puppet dictator's rule.

The current offensive has shaken the country as deeply as last September's general strike/uprising. With civilian life brought to a standstill by a total work stoppage called by the Sandinistas on June 8, the populations of Managua and other cities have been without food, gasoline or electricity for days. FSLN forces attempt to distribute scarce supplies in districts under their control,

but driven by hunger the impoverished slum population has been forced to seize food wherever they can find it with widespread looting of markets. Somoza, for his part, is determined to hold out to the last, relying on the Guard's superior numbers, munitions and heavy weaponry to outlast the rebels' stockpiles. So far the working masses, though overwhelmingly sympathetic to the anti-Somoza forces, have remained largely

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SALT Hoax

**Not a Penny Nor a
Man for the U.S.
War Machine!**

The Great SALT Debate has begun. The U.S. imperialists—who saturated Vietnam with terror bombing raids until the country looked like a crater-pocked moonscape, who brought a murderous wall of fire to Dresden and deadly nuclear destruction to Hiroshima and Nagasaki—fill the air with talk about "the cause of world peace."

SALT is a phony. The arms buildup will continue to escalate as before. Since SALT I was signed in 1972 the U.S. has added three new warheads to its missile force every day. And President Carter has recently approved the development of the new MX mobile missile, which will triple

the number of warheads of the existing Minuteman 3.

The SALT debate is phony. SALT "doves" and "hawks" agree on stepped-up war "preparedness." For all the speeches about "deterrence," the "missile gap" and the "need for security," imperialist disarmament schemes are a propaganda smoke-screen behind which the capitalists' war machine grinds exceedingly fast.

What is real is that every missile is aimed at the Soviet Union, the industrial/military powerhouse of that third of the world where capitalism has been overthrown. A recent U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency document states that the present arsenal can destroy 200 Soviet cities. About 60 warheads would strike Moscow, for instance, with 1,400 times the megatonnage that hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "Not a building or a tree would remain standing."

Our opposition to the war drive of the American ruling class, which includes its "disarmament" hoaxes, is not that of pacifistic liberals. We recognize that the USSR, based upon a collectivized economy, is, despite its oppressive Stalinist bureaucracy, a great historic gain for the workers of the world. We defend the Soviet Union against imperialist militarism and support its having whatever weapons are necessary for that purpose.

The danger is that the Soviet bureaucrats believe in the illusions of détente, in their desire to reach accord with and rely on the imperialist "doves." In contrast to the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucrats who peddle "disarmament" schemes, revolutionaries recognize that war and nuclear armaments will end only with the advent of international proletarian revolution. We stand in the tradition of Leon Trotsky, who posed the question 40 years ago:

"But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers."

**Behind S.F.
Night of
Gay Rage**

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Save Jailed Iranian SWPers!

In the wake of the Iranian government's bloody suppression of the recent struggle for Arab rights in southern Khuzistan Province, the center of the country's oil industry, hundreds have been arrested in sweeping raids organized by the murderous "Imam's Committee." Among the victims are nine members of Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party, fraternally linked to the American SWP and the United Secretariat [USec]). As we go to press, the whereabouts of seven of the arrested militants remain unknown, and it is clear that their lives are in grave danger.

A united-front defense must be immediately undertaken to publicize internationally the case of these courageous militants if they, together with the dozens of Fedayeen arrested in the aftermath of the Turkoman and Kurdish uprisings, are to be saved from execution. This defense must be based on the left and labor movements internationally and must seek to mobilize the powerful Iranian proletariat as well as other oppressed sectors of Iranian society. There can be no temporizing with regard to this urgent task of defending the leftists against Ayatollah Khomeini's white terror. But the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. and the USec have seriously undermined their own defense by tying it to continued support for the same "Islamic revolution" which now holds a gun to the heads of their comrades.

Free the Fedayeen and the nine HKS members! Hands off the Iranian left! End the attacks against national minorities and women in Iran!

"We're Going to Arrest You All"

The HKS in the oil refining center of Ahwaz had been harassed and brutal-



Australasian Spartacist
Australian SWP and SL/ANZ contingents before the SWP abandoned the HKS comrades' defense and went home.

ized for months by the religious fanatics of the local Revolutionary Committee, who repeatedly disrupted their public sales with physical attacks and arrests.

According to the 22 June issue of the SWP's *Militant*, on May 30 HKS members Omid Mirbaha and Mohammed Poorkahvaz were dragged from their car by Imam's Committee guards, taken to Committee headquarters and brutally beaten. When HKS member Hamid Shahrabi and the brother of Poorkahvaz attempted to secure the release of the two victims, they also were arrested by guards shouting, "We're going to arrest you all." (Poorkahvaz' brother was later

released when it was determined that he was not a member of the HKS, but Shahrabi was led by the guards into the arms of a waiting gang of reactionary thugs who beat him viciously and left him severely injured.)

The HKS responded to the arrests of Mirbaha and Poorkahvaz with a statement which appeared on May 31 supporting the Arab struggles against Khomeini and demanding the end of martial law in Khuzistan. The mullahs' armed goons retaliated the very next day by arresting seven more HKS supporters in their homes and confiscating their hooks, newspapers and even their clothes. Khuzistan's military governor,

Admiral Ahmad Mahdani, in recounting his brutal suppression of the Arab uprising to the press, labeled the arrested militants "masked leftists in the service of international imperialism."

This was followed shortly thereafter by the publication of an even more ominous statement by the Council of Revolutionary Courts in Ahwaz citing the arrest of "CIA collaborators," including four men and two women charged with having "provoked" the Arab populace.

Australian SWP Dumps Defense Demo

The SWP's defense appeal, addressed to "supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world," continues to build illusions in a non-existent "progressive" wing of the reactionary-clericalist government that rules Iran. Having heralded Khomeini's coming to power as a great proletarian victory, the SWP is now reluctant to draw a sharp line of opposition to the mullahs and to expose the treacherous, reactionary essence of the "Islamic Republic." By continuing to cover for the crimes of the butcher Khomeini the SWP has weakened and narrowed its own defense efforts.

In Australia the SWP actually disbanded a demonstration rather than permit a contingent of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) to march with slogans demanding the release of *all* the arrested leftists and an end to the veil and to the rule of the mullahs through workers revolution. After the Australian SWP's cowardly abandonment of its own picket line, leaving the SL/ANZ and independents alone to maintain a spirited defense of the HKS and Fedayeen, SWP National Committee member Ron

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Nicaragua...

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passive.

The Sandinistas remain confident that "the morale of the infantry has been broken." On June 17 they named a junta of five to head a provisional government of "national reconstruction." The composition of the group clearly demonstrates the FSLN's commitment to preserving capitalist rule after the fall of the dictatorship. It is headed by the widow of assassinated newspaper publisher Joaquin Pedro Chamorro, a leading business opposition leader; includes industrialist Alfonso Robelo, a

well-known friend of Washington, Moises Hassan Morales, a leader of the National Patriotic Front (FPN) popular front, a pro-Sandinista university professor and Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the leader of the right wing of the FSLN. The minimum program of the government is limited to expropriation of Somoza family holdings and a purge of the most corrupt National Guard officers.

The United States, which put Somoza's father in power in the early 1930s and above all fears a genuine social revolution in a region where U.S.-supported military dictators are facing mounting popular opposition, is worriedly pondering how to make the best of a bad situation. The current instrument of American imperialism is the Andean Pact group, whose legalistic declaration of a "state of belligerency" is a feeble attempt to gain a foothold of influence over the nature of a post-Somoza government. More important levers of influence, however, are the FSLN's ties to the bourgeois governments of Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Latin America, particularly the more than a dozen military dictatorships in the region, have good reason for nervousness over the fall of Anastasio Somoza. The overthrow of this quintessential banana republic caudillo will have a tremendous psychological impact throughout the area, both directly in neighboring El Salvador and Guatemala where mass protest has been rising, but also on such major powers as Brazil, Argentina or Chile, whose dictatorial stranglehold has been challenged in recent months. And while the Sandinista leadership has clearly sought to restrict the fighting to a clash of

regular forces, the final toppling of the regime may bring about a popular insurrection in the capital and major cities.

If Somoza falls, it will be the first successful popular uprising against a Latin American dictator since Batista fled Cuba on 1 January 1959. Proletarian revolutionaries must fight to give the anti-Somoza struggle a working-class leadership, to spark a powerful popular insurrection which would go beyond a mere political revolution and begin to attack the capitalist underpinnings of the dictatorship. Any attempt to establish a regime of "Somozism without Somoza" through negotiations with the bloodthirsty strongman must be opposed, and all efforts to maintain the mercenary private army intact must be countered with the demand for popular tribunals to try the National Guard criminals. In the U.S. the left and labor movement have a special duty to vigorously demand: U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!

Who Are the Sandinistas?

Before last September's insurrection the imperialist press most often referred to the FSLN guerrillas as "pro-Castro terrorists." Even today the "Somoza lobby" in Congress remains powerful, publishing a full-page ad signed by 125 senators and congressmen under the headline "Please, Mr. President, Not Another Cuba!" and calling for restoring military aid to the tottering regime. Yet it is obvious from all press accounts that the recent Sandinista offensive has received the backing not only of the poor but also of the vast majority of the petty bourgeoisie and even of the highest capitalist families in the country not directly under the thumb of the Somoza dynasty. What is the reality? Who are

the FSLN guerrillas and what do they stand for?

The Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional takes its name from General Augusto César Sandino, who from 1927 until his death in 1934 led the Nicaraguan armed resistance to the U.S. Marines who had ruled the country directly for a decade and installed the father of the present dictator, Anastasio Sr., as head of the National Guard. Assassinated in a trap at a dinner held by the American ambassador, Sandino became the hero of anti-Yankee nationalism. Sandino's legacy of armed struggle was revived in a series of guerrilla actions begun under the influence of the Cuban revolution, and in 1962 the FSLN was founded as an amorphous petty-bourgeois radical Jacobin nationalist grouping much like Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement before it took power.

For years the movement led a marginal existence, but in the upsurge of mass opposition to Somoza in the late 1970s the FSLN split three ways. The Prolonged People's War (GPP) tendency retained the rural guerrilla strategy of the early Sandinista movement combined with a "Marxist-Leninist" Stalinist ideology. A GPP guerrilla zone in the northeastern mountains was brutally repressed in 1977, leading to the massacre of more than 300 peasants by the National Guard. The Proletarian Tendency of the FSLN remained within the Castroite tradition while organizing support in the urban shantytowns and among students, while remaining militarily largely quiescent.

The third force, or *terceristas*, was the most recently formed faction and represents a sharp turn to the right by some of the historic leaders of the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Behind S.F. Night of Gay Rage

SAN FRANCISCO, June 17—Next week's "Gay Pride" demonstrations are expected to be large and angry as homosexual communities across the country are still indignant in the wake of the "night of wrath" at San Francisco City Hall on May 21. After years of peaceful celebrations, legislative lobbying and candlelight prayer vigils, the "gay ghetto" of San Francisco exploded, hating the cops for six hours. That confrontation—occurring in a city so many homosexuals consider their own—highlights some hard questions about bourgeois politics in the "gay Mecca."

It began when the Dan White "voluntary manslaughter" verdict was announced on May 21. White, an ex-cop, ex-supervisor and permanent bigot, had confessed to the November 27 killing of Mayor George Moscone and popular S.F. Supervisor Harvey Milk, a homosexual Democrat. As the Market Street crowd swelled so did the indignation: "If it had been the other way around..." began the statements of many of those who gathered near City Hall. If a homosexual had shot down a big-city mayor and another city official, the case would likely have become a national media witchhunt over "the pervert mass murderer" and the killer would probably face the chair.

A crowd of thousands fought the cops well into the night and early morning. Nearly every window in City Hall was broken and doors were smashed. Mayor Dianne Feinstein and other big-wigs were trapped inside while 15 cop cars and a couple of paddy wagons went up in flames. When the tear gas cleared and the broken glass was finally swept away, an estimated 165 had been injured including 106 cops (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 June).

Gays vs. Cops

The signs read "Avenge Harvey Milk!" but there was more to it than that. Repressed rage had accumulated over months of increased cop harassment since Feinstein's takeover. On March 30, patrons of Peg's Place, a lesbian bar, were assaulted by two off-duty cops. Throughout April it became increasingly clear that the mayor's "red light abatement" campaign to "clean up" the seedy Tenderloin area had targeted gay hotels. The news broke that a six-month investigation-and-entrapment campaign against gay private clubs had been undertaken by the



Police cars burn outside SF City Hall on May 21. Gays battled cops for six hours.

Vice Squad. The office of Supervisor Harry Britt, the homosexual Democrat chosen to replace Milk, reports a flood of calls about cop harassment.

On the night of May 21, using "the riot" that same evening at City Hall as a pretext, cops invaded a quiet Castro district. The cop cars rolled into the area full of cops packed like sardines. Police captain George Jeffries told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 May): "We lost the battle at City Hall. We aren't going to lose this one." When the search-and-destroy convoy reached 18th and Castro at the fashionable "sexually integrated" Elephant Walk Cafe, some 20 riot-helmeted cops waded in with clubs swinging, splitting heads and breaking ribs of a dozen customers, according to a bartender.

But this revenge was not sufficient to soothe the cops' humiliation at having been chased down the streets around City Hall by a bunch of "queers." The cops turned on police chief Charles Gain, a liberal Moscone appointee who has been calling for gay cops to "come out of the closet." Last week the Police Officers Association voted an overwhelming (1,081 to 22) "no confidence" in their "soft cop" while Gain joked that he would be more welcome on Castro Street than in the station house. This is undoubtedly true—and a tragic reflection of many homosexuals' illusions in cops with a slicker strategy for repression. The latest program for "reforming the police department" calls for the addition of 110 gays to a police force which increasingly sees itself as an organized anti-gay battering ram. Open

homosexual cops in San Francisco will be about as welcome on "the force" as alcoholic atheists in Khomeini's "Revolutionary Committees." Following White's arrest, cops were seen wearing "Free Dan White" buttons; slogans like "Dan White, live like him!" and "Kill a fag!" were scrawled on the walls of police locker rooms.

Mayor Feinstein has tried to balance between giving the cops room to do their brutal work and angling for the considerable electoral clout of the gay community. So far she has backed Gain, who describes her as a "law and order moderate." But one thing is certain: a cop is a cop. They have a job to do for the capitalist state, and while they sometimes play "hard-cop, soft-cop" games, that job includes the repression of "deviant" behavior.

"Gay Power" Fraud

Castro Street saw the White verdict as a direct and official attack on their whole community, a declaration of open season on homosexuals. Milk was the symbol of gay respectability, "proof" that gays could "make it" in the public life of the bourgeoisie. Milk was a Democratic Party power broker, and through him official approval seemed to flow. Homosexuals saw the White verdict as a betrayal. After all, hadn't they voted for the liberal Democrats? Hadn't they put one of "their own" on the Board of Supes? Weren't they part—perhaps the best-organized part—of the Democratic liberal establishment?

Revolutionaries solidarize with the legitimate outrage of San Francisco's homosexuals over the light sentence given to this bigoted, reactionary, killer ex-cop. And we fully support their defending themselves against the ram-paging goons of the capitalist state. But the identification of many San Francisco gay people with Harvey Milk generally translates into political support for the liberal-chic wing of the Democratic Party, a ruling-class group whose policies toward workers and the poor are often harsher than their more traditional, old-line "machine" opponents. And we warn that cries for vengeance against White could easily be exploited by law-and-order liberals and capital-punishment fans who want "tougher justice"—which means the legal murder of poor and black convicts. This case could also buttress efforts to narrow the basis for "temporary insanity" legal defenses and may feed into sentiment to extend the *lèse majesté* laws (which define an attack on the U.S. president as more serious than attacks on "ordinary" people) to other public officials.

The gay milieu sees the Dan White killings as simply "homophobic" (anti-homosexual). Now Dan White was certainly a neanderthal and an all-American bigot who seems to have believed everything the Catholic church taught him about sex and communism.

But Dan White also killed George Moscone; in fact, he killed him first. The evidence seems to indicate that it was Moscone—the debonair mayor who appointed someone else to White's seat—who was the killer's main target.

The charge that White is a "homophobic" assassin is shared by all those who wept for Moscone and Milk. But the killings were the dramatic culmination of an embittered in-house political squabble in the Democratic Party. When the killings took place, on the heels of the mass suicides in Guyana, there was a massive outpouring against violence "in general." From Pacific Heights to Noe Valley, liberals throughout the city portrayed Moscone and Milk as progressive martyrs shot by reaction. Castro Street bought the scenario and for the most part "forgot" the heterosexual "martyr."

But there is no class difference between these actors in the Democratic Party's vengeance drama. The public tears shed for Moscone and Milk were a form of political support to the liberal wing of the Democrats. The candlelight marches and Harvey Milk's memorial birthday party (in which the reformist Socialist Workers Party participated) are meant to garner political support to the Democrats. In contrast, *WV* wrote:

"Just who are these 'elected officials' anyway? Isn't Moscone the same capitalist politician who crushed the 1976 San Francisco municipal craft workers strike? Isn't Milk responsible for funneling votes of the large homosexual 'community' to the party of Anita Bryant, the Dixiecrats and the Vietnam War? Not according to the SWP. For them the Milks and Moscones are the voice of bourgeois 'sanity' menaced by crazy right-wingers...."

"White the ex-cop did not fit in with the clique of slick professional pols who make up the S.F. Board of Supervisors—the well-off businessmen, realtors and lawyers for whom such open contempt for the oppressed is considered bad taste. So naturally the

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Riot cops invaded Castro Street in brutal revenge for City Hall "defeat."

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

**Revolutionary Leadership
Key to
Democratic Rights Struggle
"GAY POWER" AND THE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

- Night of Wrath in S.F.: What is Behind the Dan White Verdict?
- Socialist Workers Party on the Age of Consent "Save the Children" Bigotry
- Marxist Analysis of Homosexual Oppression and How to Fight It

Speaker: Michael Weinstein
Founder, Lavender and Red
Union/Red Flag Union
Spartacist League Central
Committee

Thursday June 28, 7:30 p.m.
New York University Meyer Hall of
Physics, Room 102
4 Washington Place (two blocks east of
Washington Square Park, between Broadway
and Mercer)

NEW YORK CITY

1,400 Farm Workers Drag Scabs Out of Fields

SAN FRANCISCO—On June 11 over 1,400 embattled United Farm Workers (UFW) strikers engaged in a swirling eight-hour battle with scabs and cops along a 70-mile front in the lettuce-growing area of the Salinas Valley in northern California. It was the first time since union brother Rufino Contreras was killed in February that the UFW ranks have been able to hit back at the army of private thugs, armed scabs and police guards which have been thrown against the union by the growers. Although the Monterey County Sheriff's Department and the California Highway Patrol arrested over 100 strikers, it took the cops more than eight hours to get the situation "in hand." Meanwhile, 14 deputy sheriffs were allegedly injured, traffic was blocked for a time on vital Highway 101 and numerous armed scabs were taught a lesson in the fields by union militants.

Three days later the Santa Cruz County Sheriff's Department invaded Monterey County and raided the UFW union hall in Papajo. The sheriff arrested eight people, seven of them picket captains, on charges related to Monday's battle in the Salinas fields. Among the charges were "suspicion of rioting" and trespassing; three were charged with assault on police officers. When the union demanded a warrant, the cops replied they didn't need one. The UFW responded by picketing the Santa Cruz Sheriff's Office.

Meanwhile, on June 13 opportunities for the UFW to link up with other unions increased when several hundred state water and power workers went on strike for higher wages, temporarily halting the flow of irrigation water for up to 700,000 acres of farm lands and shutting down three hydroelectric power stations, including the key Oroville Dam complex. Although parts of the water and power system have been restored by scab labor, the strike has continued in defiance of a court re-

straining order, and has already spread to other state labor such as the hospital workers and government maintenance workers, all of whom have been suffering under post-Proposition 13 cutbacks. A massive joint strike by the 120,000 state employees alongside the UFW could bring victory for both unions. However, the labor bureaucracy stands in the way of such joint actions (most notably the leadership of the California State Employees Association, which has ordered its members to cross picket lines of the water and power workers).

The United Farm Workers strike, which began on January 19 against lettuce growers, has turned into a major test of strength for the union, putting its very existence in the balance. The initial dispute was over wages; the union has been demanding an increase from a paltry \$3.70 per hour to \$5.25, while the growers have been hiding behind President Carter's "wage guidelines" and offering only a measly \$3.95. The strike quickly mushroomed into open class warfare in Southern California's Imperial Valley, and now has spread to Northern California as the lettuce harvest moved north.

While the growers have since upped their "offer" to \$4.12, their main tactic has been open violence against the picketers—Ku Klux Klan terrorism, attacks by private guards and scabs, and finally the county and state police forces. When a union picketer was killed in February, the three foremen arrested for the crime were later released for "lack of evidence"—a classic example of the bosses' double-standard "justice."

UFW leader Cesar Chavez has predictably attempted to repeat his treacherous 1973 retreat (which killed the organizing strike) by winding down this strike in favor of a consumer boycott (in this case, a boycott of Chiquita bananas, which are sold by Sun-Harvest, a major lettuce grower). However, the militancy of the strikers



Imperial Valley Press
More than 2,000 striking farm workers and supporters rally February 1 in Calexico.

has not permitted that avenue of betrayal as yet. Similarly, Chavez' appeals to his Democratic "friend," Governor Jerry Brown, have not defused the strike. Brown's response to the latest battle was to issue an ostensibly neutral letter urging "frequent and intensive bargaining" and condemning "violence." Brown's hypocrisy is transparent; he only became concerned about "violence" when the strikers began to

defend themselves on June 11.

But Chavez' tactics have been crippling the strike. In Southern California the union struck only 14 out of the 28 growers, and in Northern California only 6 of 17 unionized growers have been struck. Like the United Auto Workers (UAW) "Apache strategy," this partial strike has served not to divide the bosses but the workers

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Huelga Si, Migra No! Victory to the UFW!

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The embattled farmworkers are out to smash Carter's wage guidelines by striking for a 40 percent pay hike from their current (supposed) hourly rate of \$3.70. The growers have responded by unleashing hired guns, cops and the KKK at the cost of one UFW member's life already. Rufino Contreras must be avenged. This strike must be won.

The heroic battles against cops and scabs waged by roving mass UFW pickets in Imperial Valley a few months ago show the way forward for the Salinas strikers. Their militant fighting tactics to rid the fields of scabs have proven a thousand times more effective than any consumer boycott in keeping scab produce off the market. If these tactics were extended in a California-wide shut-down, the strike could be over today—it would be won.

Instead, these fighting tactics by the UFW rank and file are being discouraged and suppressed by the

Chavez leadership in favor of an ineffective boycott of Chiquita bananas. This is a tragic repetition of 1973 when the union leadership capitulated before the violence of the Teamster/grower/government alliance. Chavez liquidated the strike in southern California and substituted a years-long grape and lettuce boycott that nearly hled the union to death. By 1975 only a small percentage of California's fields were covered by UFW contracts. That number must be raised to 100 percent!

The UFW needs help from other unions, not only cash donations, but most importantly by "hot cargoing" or refusing to handle scab produce. Stop scab produce from reaching the supermarkets! Appeal to California labor unions to send hundreds of volunteers to build mass pickets in Salinas and elsewhere—chase out the scabs and shut down all the lettuce fields!

The union should stand for full citizenship rights for foreign workers—Prevent the growers from pitting undocumented workers against the rest. To the great harm of this cause, Chavez and the rest of the

UFW leadership have launched a bitter attack on undocumented workers. Chavez appeals to the U.S. Immigration Service (INS) to deport undocumented workers from struck fields! The hated INS or "La Migra" is all too willing to harass and deport undocumented workers—only they go after union members, not scabs! "La Migra" has a long history of union-busting and terrorizing raids on California warehouses, factories and fields. In response to a proposed INS "census" in San Jose in 1975, our own UAW Local 1364 passed a motion initiated by UAW Militant Caucus members that condemned the phony census and raids. Our local is on record for supporting full citizenship rights for foreign workers.

The May 11 *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that since Chavez' call for stepped-up deportations, the Salinas unit of the INS has doubled its normal arrests to 75 a day. A Chavez spokesman is quoted complaining that the INS has not raided a single struck company in Salinas for scabs. Instead, the article says, "More than 90 percent of the 667

arrests in the Salinas Valley since May 1 have been in non-struck fields involving both union and non-union crews. Two of the arrests were union pickets."

This disastrous policy grows from the practice of Chavez and the rest of the U.S. labor bureaucracy of relying on the bosses' Democratic Party politicians instead of mobilizing the strike power of the labor movement. Chavez and the officials subordinate and sacrifice the just struggles of the farmworkers to maintain their relations with the capitalist politicians. The truth is that Jerry Brown, Jimmy Carter and the Democrats are every bit as much the enemy of labor as the Republicans. They will use everything from anti-labor legislation like the ALRA (the Agricultural Labor Relations Act which outlaw mass picketing, hot cargoing and strikes for union recognition) to calling out the National Guard to break strikes and organizing drives. In order to score a decisive victory against the growers, the UFW must break with the cops, courts, politicians and agencies of the bosses' government.

Huelga Si, Migra No! Victory to the UFW!

Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism

From the moment of his landing to the tumultuous ringing of Warsaw church bells until his farewell mass before huge crowds nine days later, Pope John Paul II, former Archbishop of Krakow, took possession of Polish soil like some temporal prince reclaiming his ancestral lands. From the high walls of the ancient fortress Jasna Gora, shrine of the Black Madonna, the pope led a million pilgrims, who dropped instantly to their knees at the wave of his hand, in consecrating Poland to the Virgin Mary, eternal "Queen of Poland."

But beyond demonstrating the church's social power in Poland, the pope's tour was an unambiguous declaration that the Vatican intends to be an active political factor in Eastern Europe. The Western press found the "human rights" pope a propaganda honanza, as his pontifical statements were blazoned daily across the front pages. The *Wall Street Journal* (7 June) was ecstatic: "Pope John Paul II has fulfilled all the worst fears of Poland's Communist leaders and sent tremors into the Kremlin as well," with his reaffirmation of the West's "moral authority." Repeatedly citing his concern for the faithful of the "forgotten nations," the Czechs, Yugoslavs, Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Russians, et al., the pope proclaimed: "Is it not the intention of the Holy Spirit that this Polish Pope—this Slav Pope—should at this precise moment manifest the spiritual unity of Christian Europe?" (*Time*, 18 June).

The pope's aggressive anti-Communist challenge comes at the "precise moment" that Western imperialism has stepped up its ideological offensive against the Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe, the expression of its counterrevolutionary appetite to reconquer the Soviet bloc for capitalist exploitation. As we pointed out when Cardinal Wojtyla was elected pope, "Jimmy Carter may figure he has a pope in his pocket, which can only increase the intensity of his bellicose anti-Soviet 'human rights' crusade" ("The President's Pope?" *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). For the Polish Stalinist regime the visit was highly embarrassing, sharply contrasting the spontaneous enthusiasm shown the pope with the sullen hostility and cynicism of large sections of the Polish people toward the bureaucracy. Party secretary Edward Gierk's nervous attempt to claim the



Pope's Auschwitz visit can't hide Holy See's silence as four million were slaughtered

papal tour as a victory and the usual burbling enthusiasm about the pope as a "man of peace" by the ever-hopeful American Communist Party are pathetic evasions of this uncomfortable fact.

This Polish pope is on an anti-Communist crusade. That the Vatican has no interest in fighting for the oppressed, for the poor, for "human rights" in capitalist countries was graphically proven by the pope's visit to Puebla, Mexico, in January. Here he warned Latin American priests to steer clear of support to revolutionary agitation against brutal dictatorships: "The mission of the Church is of a religious character, not social or political. Liberation, in the proper mission of the Church, cannot be reduced to the pure and simple economic, political or cultural dimension" (*Le Monde*, 30 January). Even when the cathedral steps run red with blood—as in San Salvador in May, when 23 people were massacred at the Metropolitan Cathedral by

General Romero's machine guns—the pope warns the people to keep quiet and not offend capitalist Catholic dictators.

But for Poland it's a different story—there the church sees no limits to its dominion. As he warned Gierk, the Catholic church intends to claim "the temporal dimension" of people's existence as its province; its mission is "to make man... more courageous, conscious of his rights and duties...." The church must have its "total place" in society, not just "freedom of religion." To the Polish bishops the pope preached a different message than in Mexico. In Poland, the state must be "subordinate to the full sovereignty of the nation"—i.e., to "Catholic Poland." Church-state "détente," he proclaimed, "flows from respect for the rights of the nation and for human rights."

The Vatican and Auschwitz

The pope wasted no opportunity to stake out the Holy See's claims to

Poland, waving his crucifix not only over the living but the dead. With breathtaking arrogance the Vatican even raised its white and yellow flag over the barbed wire of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Nazi death camp where four million, including two and a half million Jews, perished in gas chambers. The pope's mass there met with cheers from ostensible socialists and Western reporters alike. Most fulsome in its praise of John Paul II's "courageous affirmation of religious liberty and human rights for all members of God's human family" was the Zionist American Jewish Committee, whose national director sent the pope a glowing telegram of congratulations (*New York Post*, 8 June).

That the head of the Roman Catholic church could stride triumphantly under Auschwitz' iron gate with the Nazi slogan "Arbeit macht frei" and raise his crucifix over those slaughtered there—to this loud applause—is a vile insult to the dead. Is the history of the fanatical Eastern European Catholic fascist organizations—the Croatian Ustashi, the Romanian Iron Guard, the pogroms against Jews led by Polish Catholic reactionaries—so long forgotten? The clerical-fascist regime of the Catholic priest Tiso in Slovakia? The German Catholic church's support to Hitler? The Holy See's pact with Mussolini? Has it been forgotten that thousands upon thousands of Jews and socialists were slaughtered not only under the sign of the swastika, but also under the crucifix?

The bland indifference of Pope Pius XII to the extermination of the Jews—even under his very windows in Rome—is no secret, but scarcely a whisper of it broke through the enthusiasm of the Western press for their new hero. In 1964 Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* caused an international sensation with its sharp condemnation of the Vatican for washing its hands of the Jews' extermination. Hochhuth even admitted he had softened the real historic facts, as too horrible to be believed, but the historian Guenter Lewy in his book *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* spells out the searing record in detail. As early as 1933 the Holy See (Pope Pius XI at that time) received warning of Hitler's anti-Semitic goals, from a Jewish convert to Catholicism, Dr. Edith Stein (dragged out of her convent and gassed at Auschwitz nine years later), but refused to write the requested papal encyclical protesting the danger.

From 1941 on the Curia was fully informed on the progress of the Nazi extermination machine, but insisted on "impartiality." The papacy kept silent for over nine months in 1943 while the Nazis shipped over 1,000 Roman Jews to Auschwitz—many grabbed in the very shadow of the Vatican itself. Above all, because of its fear of communism, the church supported the Nazis and fervently hacked the crusade against godless Bolshevism. As Pius XII explained to the Berlin correspondent of *L'Osservatore Romano* why he wouldn't condemn the murder of the Jews: "Dear friend, do not forget that millions of Catholics serve in the German armies. Shall I bring them into conflicts of conscience?"

The Church in Poland

From Western propaganda one might think the entire Polish nation had been on its knees to the pope. It is certainly

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Pope tells Latin American poor to suffer in silence as San Salvador cathedral steps run red with blood of protesters against Catholic dictator.



American "normalization" of relations with the People's Republic of China marked the first major shift in global big power alignments since the onset of the Cold War. A Washington-Tokyo-Peking diplomatic alliance is now taking shape in East Asia, with parallel communiqués in late 1978 denouncing the common enemy of "hegemonism," i.e., the Soviet Union. The Chinese invasion of Vietnam in February, primarily motivated by China's appetites for regional hegemony, was undertaken with obvious U.S. complicity. The ominous implication is that the China of Mao's heirs is well on the way to becoming the spearhead of capitalism/imperialism's implacable drive against the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state.

China's Vietnam adventure also posed a crucial test for would-be revolutionary tendencies. Those who act as loudspeakers for the ruling bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the Forbidden City, of course, simply snapped to attention. But for claimants to the tradition and program of Trotskyism the challenge was more exacting: not only to define a position in the armed conflict, but also to explain the origins of the first major war between states resting on the collectivized property relations of proletarian rule. What was the relation of this confrontation to imperialism and Stalinism? And what does Peking's current reactionary alliance with the No. 1 imperialist power on earth tell us about the content of the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s?

For the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), the Vietnam-China war and the Vietnamese army's overthrow of the bloody Pol Pot regime in Cambodia exposed the profound differences among these false pretenders to Trotskyism on the key question of Stalinism—as well as their common capitulation to the "human rights" imperialists over defense of the USSR. While the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) put the blame for the Chinese invasion exclusively on Washington, the USec majority under Ernest Mandel at first hardly even mentioned imperialist hostility to Vietnam—and both denied that the Soviet Union was in any way threatened.

This has since reached the stage of a sharp public polemic, with Mandel (*Intercontinental Press*, 9 April) all but accusing the SWP leaders of abandoning Trotskyism for Shachtmanism on the "Russian question" (for terming Pol Pot's Cambodia capitalist), and the SWP retorting that USec statements on the China/Vietnam/Cambodia imbro-

gho were "fundamentally wrong," failed to "counter the imperialist propaganda campaign" and so on (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 June). Meanwhile, a USec-affiliated Chinese-language magazine in Hong Kong (*October Review*) failed to even demand that China withdraw its invasion force from Vietnamese territory. But the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) upheld the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism by immediately demanding, "China: Get Out of Vietnam Now! Don't Be a Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism!" and "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!" (See "Spartacist League Press Release," *BT* No. 226, 2 March 1979.)

During the first critical week of the war, the iSt put itself on a campaign tooting, holding pickets in front of Peking's diplomatic offices and participating in demonstrations protesting the invasion. On February 24, the largest of these demonstrations in the U.S. was held outside the Chinese mission to the UN, attracting considerable media coverage. Our banner calling on China not to be a cat's paw for Jimmy Carter caught the attention of the country's most prominent newscaster, liberal Walter Cronkite, who baited the left in a radio commentary for its supposed inability to comprehend reality:

"It back in 1969 you had suggested that ten years hence China would mount an invasion of a communist Vietnam, while Washington clucked like a maiden aunt about the threat of small wars turning into bigger ones, if you had suggested such a thing then, company would have been uncomfortable in your presence. The idea would have clashed with everyone's stereotypes, and it would have been much too far from perceived reality even to have been funny."

—CBS Radio, 27 February

There was, however, one organization which did not accept "everyone's stereotypes" about the actual relation between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies. Back in 1969, at the very height of Maoist "radicalism," the Spartacist tendency projected

"At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the USSR's avowed policy of 'peaceful coexistence' while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China." [emphasis in original]

—Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League" (30 August 1969), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

This was not a fortuitous act of crystal-ball gazing, or just a quirky projection that accidentally turned out to be right. Rather it was derived from a scientific, Marxist understanding of the Sino-

Trotskyism and the Sino-Soviet Split



Soviet split that can be traced back to the earliest documents of our tendency. While Mandel and the SWP leaders were giving "critical support" to the supposedly more militant Chinese in the early 1960s, the forerunner of the SL/USec, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, pointed out that the rift was the product of conflicting Stalinist-nationalist regimes under differential pressure from imperialism.

We recognized from the first that Maoist "anti-revisionism" was, as we put it, "Khrushchevism under the gun"—a response to the then-greater hostility of the United States. The Sino-Soviet split originated in the late 1950s as the Kremlin attempted to police China for the sake of "peaceful coexistence" with Washington. The Soviets

reneged on their promise to help develop China's nuclear capacity. They maintained a loud silence when in the fall of 1958 John Foster Dulles threatened China over its shelling of the Taiwan Straits islands. And in 1960 they abruptly cut off all financial and technical aid, gravely damaging the Chinese economy.

But the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy's greatest crime against the Chinese revolution was its support to the bourgeois Nehru government in the Sino-Indian border conflicts of 1959-62. During the 1962 China-India war Moscow joined the imperialist chorus in condemning the Chinese side, and immediately after the war sent New Delhi modern military aircraft as a conspicuous act of solidarity. Thus it was the Soviet bureaucracy that first supported a capitalist government against its rivals in Peking. In that sense, Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) may claim to be paying off "debts." But revolutionary politics has nothing in common with the nationalist vendettas of the Stalinists.

If we now focus on the defense of the USSR against imperialism, it is not because Brezhnev & Co. are any more "socialist" or "internationalist" than their Maoist counterparts. Rather it is the objective economic/military capacity of the Soviet Union which makes it the major target of imperialist counterrevolution.

Fake Trotskyists Hail Chinese Stalinism

Decisive in the centrist degeneration of the once-revolutionary SWP was its uncritical support to the emerging Chinese Stalinist regime in the early 1960s. The SWP's embrace of Castroism was not an isolated error, but rather the cutting edge of a general turn to seeking substitutes for the proletarian vanguard party in petty-bourgeois



Chinese army maneuvers in Manchuria. China's alliance with U.S. Imperialism marks first major shift in big power alliances since the outset of the Cold war. The target: the Soviet Union.

bureaucratic formations (usually of a Stalinist or nationalist variety). Thus if the SWP found in Castro an "unconscious Trotskyist," it also discovered that Mao was "moving toward Trotskyism" (though he, too, didn't know it). While the SWP went all the way with Fidel, at this time it also went half way with Mao.

In particular, support to the Chinese Stalinist leadership against their Soviet counterparts was an important element in the political convergence of the Socialist Workers Party with the European Pabloite revisionists of the International Secretariat (I.S.), leading to their unification in the USec in 1963. "The leadership of the Communist Party of China has of course adopted a kind of ersatz of Trotskyist positions," wrote the SWP's Canadian followers in an introduction to a pamphlet edition of the document "Dynamics of World Revolution Today" from the founding congress of the United Secretariat. They also agreed with the charge by Kremlin ideologist Mikhail Suslov that Trotskyism was "the source of the political wisdom" of Mao & Co.

In April 1963, as the unification with the I.S. was underway, the SWP brought out a pamphlet on the Sino-Soviet split by its leading "theoretician," the Polonius of American Pabloism, William F. Warde. Warde presents the Maoists as moving toward revolutionary politics, albeit with certain Stalinist hangovers:

"How should the essence of the Chinese positions be appraised? The most important feature about them from the standpoint of revolutionary socialist politics is this. On most of the key issues of the international class struggle in dispute Peking is to the left of the Kremlin and takes more militant stands. The Chinese Communists have thereby moved closer to correct Leninist positions on these points, although have by no means arrived at a consistent Marxist world outlook."

—*Moscow vs. Peking: The Meaning of the Great Debate*

In general the SWP approached the Maoist regime as if it were a centrist party which had just broken to the left from Stalinism. In a separate article, Warde pedagogically lectures Mao, Chou & Co. that Khrushchev's policies derive from Stalinism and if they really want to become "consistent" Marxists they must understand this:

"So long as the Chinese Communists refuse to regard Khrushchev's 'revisionism' as the prolongation of Stalin's anti-Leninist bureaucratic nationalism under changed circumstances and in new forms, they will be unable to give an adequate Marxist explanation for the division or develop a correct policy for coping with it."

—*"New Judgment on the Sino-Soviet Rift," International Socialist Review, Summer 1963*

As if the Maoist regime was capable of breaking with bureaucratic national-

ism! Contrast this to the SWP's 1955 convention resolution, "The Third Chinese Revolution and Its Aftermath" (reprinted in *Education for Socialists* bulletin "The Chinese Revolution and Its Development"). The then-revolutionary SWP wrote:

"One thing is certain, there is no solution along the course of the Peking and Kremlin bureaucracies. Their narrow nationalist course, their coexistence line, brings them into conflict with the needs of the world socialist revolution, but it will not save them from imperialist assault."

Thus by the early 1960s the SWP had moved close to the line of the European Pabloites. With its long-standing orientation to the self-reform (or more precisely) self-revolutionization of the Stalinist bureaucracies, Michel Pablo's International Secretariat early on went hearing gifts to the Maoist regime. Among the first gifts were the heads of the Chinese Trotskyists, imprisoned by Peking in 1950-51; Pablo and his henchmen stalled efforts for an international campaign on their behalf and squelched a projected "open letter" to Mao denouncing the arrests and even murders (see "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries," *WT* No. 63, 28 February 1975).

However, by 1960 the Pabloist I.S. did finally get around to writing "An Open Letter to the Leadership and Members of the Chinese Communist Party," though hardly the one the Chinese Trotskyists would have wanted. It is an unintentionally humorous effort by a mouse to seduce an elephant:

"The International Secretariat of the Fourth International welcomes this discussion that you have reopened in the whole of the Communist movement, a discussion which is full of possibilities and prospects for the world revolution."

"The International Secretariat invites you to discuss openly and frankly, with no false addresses, without appealing to ideological terrorism, in a clear manner understandable by the whole of the communist movement. It invites you to open the road of discussion, of free expression of positions, to all communist militants, to all communist organizations, including the Yugoslav Communist League and the Fourth International."

—*Fourth International, Autumn 1960*

Pablo, Mandel et al. were wise not to try to distribute their "open letter" openly in China. What they would have gotten is a lot worse than "ideological terrorism."

Moscow/Peking and the Birth of the USec

As we noted earlier, "critical" political support to the Chinese Stalinist leaders against the Kremlin was one of the important bases of the unification of the Pabloite I.S. and the SWP in June 1963. The Sino-Soviet split was the subject of a separate resolution at the

USec's founding congress. The core of that resolution is the assertion that:

"The Chinese leaders, while displaying certain similar attitudes [as the Soviet bureaucrats]—notably in the case of Indonesia—express much more critical views about the national bourgeoisies, insisting on the leading role of the proletariat and the uninterrupted character of the revolution (which puts them in opposition to the Menshevik concepts of Stalin on revolution by stages and brings them close to the Trotskyist concept of permanent revolution). As a result, the Chinese in general have a tendency to support the most revolutionary movements in the underdeveloped countries...."

—*"The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Situation in the USSR and the Other Workers States," Fourth International, October-December 1963*

Not only politically capitulatory, such assertions are factually wrong. From the outset, the Peking Stalinists, like their Soviet counterparts, sought accommodation with their bourgeois

Sino-Soviet Dispute: New Stage in the Mortal Crisis of Stalinism," in *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 24, No. 21, June 1963

Precisely because the Mao regime's formal leftism vis-à-vis the Kremlin was but a reaction to the greater pressure of imperialism, it was reversible without even a major upheaval in the Chinese regime. In contrast to the USec resolution, the 1963 RT statement maintained that Peking's foreign policy was no less narrowly nationalistic than Moscow's, and just as class-collaborationist toward the few bourgeois-nationalist regimes friendly to China:

"The success of Mao Tse-tung and his followers in channeling and distorting into the form of a national-bureaucratic strait-jacket the socialist drives of the Chinese revolution testifies only to the thoroughly and consistently counter-revolutionary nature of the Maoist bureaucracy. The profoundly nationalist outlook of the Chinese Stalinist leaders is reflected in the nationalism of

Chou En-lai with Sukarno in Jakarta, 1965. Peking gave blessings to Indonesian Communists' suicidal subordination to military regime. The toll: half a million leftists murdered.



neighbors and, when the occasion permitted, with the imperialists directly. At the 1955 Bandung conference, Chou En-lai along with Nehru and Sukarno enshrined the five principles of "peaceful coexistence." And at the 1954 Geneva conference which ended the first Indochina war, Peking was if anything more conciliatory with imperialism than was the Kremlin. It was Chou who proposed that the Viet Minh forces withdraw from the kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia, and that these French neo-colonies be granted international recognition.

Unlike the Pabloists and their SWP recruits, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP refused to take the Maoists' polemics at face value. While centering its fight against the SWP's rampant liquidation of Trotskyism over Cuba, the RT also presented a lengthy resolution on the Sino-Soviet split for the SWP's national convention in the summer of 1963. The "radicalism" of Mao & Co., the RT resolution pointed out, was simply a rationalization for their own bureaucratic-nationalist interests:

"Only confused centrists could try to explain the Sino-Soviet dispute in terms of the indigestible 'ideological' apologia issued by the two sides and limit their conclusions to a judgment as to which of the positions is more or less 'correct,' is righter or leftier. The Marxist, proletarian, view starts with the recognition that the political groups symbolized by both Khrushchev and Mao are mortal and irreconcilable enemies of proletarian democracy, of socialism, and of the working class. Only on this basis can the real issues in their conflict be grasped...."

"The real issues in the Peking-Moscow clash are posed in terms of conflicting power-political and economic needs. These needs reflect the different origins of the two wings of the bureaucracy, and above all they reflect the different relationship of forces between each, imperialism, and the working class. The differential impact of American imperialism upon the Chinese and Russian states raises their antagonisms to the level of sharp struggles. The Maoist leadership must contend with an American policy quite unreconciled to the Peking regime and actively employing all available means to destroy it." [emphasis in original]

—Shane Mage, James Robertson and Geoffrey White, "The

their foreign policy....

"In their polemics against the Soviet leaders, the Chinese Stalinists have pointed out aspects of the counterrevolutionary Kremlin line, its conciliation to imperialism and open revision of basic Leninist concepts. In practice, of course, the Chinese have gone as far as the Soviets in supporting those anti-working-class national bourgeois regimes which are willing to take a pro-Chinese line in foreign policy (Algeria, Guinea, Ghana)."

—*Ibid.*

Mao's "Peaceful Road": Indonesia 1965

The class-collaborationist policy of the Maoists toward Sukarno's Indonesia was so blatant that even the USec had to acknowledge it in their 1963 resolution. However, these "reunited" renegades from Trotskyism dismissed Indonesia as an insignificant exception to Peking's generally "revolutionary" course. Yet no pro-Moscow Communist Party has ever been more integrated into a bourgeois government than was the Indonesian PKI under Sukarno. The 13 September 1963 *Peking Review* reprinted a speech by PKI leader D.N. Aidit in which he describes his party's program as in accord with that of the Sukarno regime:

"...national unity in Indonesia also finds expression in the form of the National Front under the chairmanship of President Sukarno.... The National Front has adopted a five-point programme as the guide for its activities. This five-point programme accords with the current tasks of the Communist Party of Indonesia."

Nor was the attitude of the PKI toward Sukarno to the right of Peking's own line. Indonesia was China's most important international ally at the time, and in early 1965 the two governments issued a joint declaration of principles affirming their eternal comradeship in "the struggle against imperialism":

"The frequent exchange of visits between the leaders of the two peoples have greatly enhanced their mutual understanding and trust. The two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism and defend peace in Asia and the world. Both parties were

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Keystone

Mao's verbal radicalism vis-à-vis Khrushchev masked qualitatively same Stalinist-nationalist outlook.

Iranian SWP...

(continued from page 2)

Poulson charged that the SL/ANZ opposition to the Islamic regime, which seeks to butcher his comrades, is "reactionary" and indistinguishable from that of the imperialists. Here the SWP reveals the real reason for liquidating its own defense rally—its overriding fear of being associated with the implacable opposition of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) to the mullahs.

On June 13, in another effort to put forward a non-sectarian defense of the HKS and Fedayeen, the Spartacist Club of LaTrobe University in Melbourne, Australia succeeded in getting two motions passed at a university students general meeting: 1) noting the vicious, reactionary character of the mullahs' assault on the democratic rights of women and calling for "workers' revolution to overthrow the theocratic Islamic republic of Ayatollah Khomeini;" and 2) calling for the Australian Union of Students (AUS) "to initiate a national campaign of demonstrations to demand 'Free the Endangered Militants of the Fedayeen and HKS!'" Incredibly, an SWP supporter attempted to sabotage these motions by claiming that there was not a quorum. When this attempt was defeated and a vote was taken, he refused to vote for either motion!

USec attitudes toward defense have varied from section to section. In France, for example, the meager (300 people) USec demonstration on June 14 did not disintegrate at the sight of a dozen supporters of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF, sympathizing section of the iSt), who marched in the demonstration without incident. However, when the Bay Area Spartacist League proposed to the local Socialist Workers Party a united-front demonstration demanding freedom for the arrested HKS militants, we were told by the San Francisco organizer: "Not interested." No reasons were given for this cowardly sectarianism. The SL-called demonstration will take place, nevertheless, at 4:30 p.m., Friday, June 22, outside the Iranian Consulate in downtown San Francisco (see box).

With their lives hanging in the balance, the HKS and Fedayeen militants desperately need the support of the international left and labor movement channeled into a class-based united-front defense campaign. The basis for such a campaign already exists. What still remains is to convince misguided defenders of these militants that the winning of their lives and freedom depends not on appealing to Khomeini but in building a militant defense against Khomeini's reactionary repression. We earnestly hope this is a lesson which will not have to be paid for in blood. ■

Sino-Soviet Split...

(continued from page 7)

proud of their comradeship-in-arms and held it in esteem."

—"China-Indonesia Joint Statement," *Peking Review*, 5 February 1965

Eight months after this was written, Peking's "comrades-in-arms"—the Indonesian officer corps, abetted by Muslim fanatics—massacred half a million Communists and leftist workers and peasants. The annihilation of the class-conscious elements of the Indonesian proletariat was a counterrevolutionary event of world-historic significance. It removed the possibility of social revolution in the most important country in Southeast Asia for at least a generation. Therefore, the great victory for imperialism in Indonesia in 1965 limited the effect of the Stalinist-led

social revolution in Indochina. The Indonesian counterrevolution contributed greatly to the willingness of U.S. imperialism to finally abandon Indochina, knowing that it was still dominant in Southeast Asia as a whole.

Yet the tragic outcome of Maoist class collaboration in Indonesia had no impact whatever on the Pahlavi tailists. The USec's "Eighth World Congress" held in December 1965, right after the Indonesian catastrophe, reaffirmed its position that Maoism was a break from Stalinism toward revolutionary politics.

"The Chinese Communist Party cannot be considered to have been a Stalinist party in the strict sense of the term; that is, subordinated since the twenties to the bureaucratic leadership of the Kremlin. The Mao leadership had its own personality, and its policies, although often marked in practice by compromises with the Moscow leadership which led to the greatest deviations, had a generally centrist character leaning toward the left...."

"The differences between Stalinism and Maoism are involved in the Sino-Soviet conflict and are an important element for revolutionary Marxists in determining which side it is better to offer critical support in the interests of advancing the world revolution...."

—"The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Crisis of the International Communist Movement," *International Socialist Review*, Spring 1966

But while Mandel and the SWP were giving "critical support" to the authors of the policy which led to the Indonesian counterrevolution, the Spartacist League denounced the Maoists' bloody betrayal:

"The working people of Indonesia are now paying with their blood for the betrayal by the leadership of the 3,000,000-member, pro-Chinese Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), which must share guilt for the present violence. Workers and militants of all countries, particularly those who look to the CP of China for 'revolutionary' example and direction, cannot afford to ignore the warnings of this classic lesson...."

"Guided by the Mao government's 'bloc of four classes' doctrine and need for 'Peaceful Coexistence' with 'progressive, non-aligned' capitalist 'friends,' such as Indonesian President Sukarno (a former collaborator with colonialism), the PKI—largest Communist party in the capitalist world—has been helping administer Indonesian capitalism while suppressing the struggles of the Indonesian workers and keeping them wedded to Sukarno's police-state. Meanwhile the Chinese press has heaped continuous praise upon Sukarno...." [emphasis in original]

—"Indonesia: Lesson in Betrayal," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Gay Rage...

(continued from page 3)

SWP and CP paint Moscone and Milk as progressive martyrs cut down by reaction."

—"No Tears for Moscone," *BVP* No. 222, 5 January

The Twinkies Defense

How did Dan White get off so easy? After all, he was a confessed killer of two important government officials. It is of course latuons nonsense to assume that every right-wing bigot with a gun will be granted a license to shoot liberal mayors, even by people who share his backward social attitudes. To explain the courtroom decision sentencing White for voluntary manslaughter rather than first-degree double murder, there have been cries of collusion between ex-cop White and the DA's office. But the probable truth is more interesting (and no less disturbing).

The jury knew that White had slipped into the building through a side door, with a gun. They knew he was furious at Moscone because the mayor had promised to give him back the Supervisor's position he had resigned, then gave it to someone else. Yet they believed the defense's claim of "diminished capaci-

ty," a kind of temporary insanity plea. The defense claimed White was incapable of malice or premeditation. It claimed White's mind snapped at the moment of confrontation with Moscone and Milk. It claimed he went to pieces under financial and social pressure. According to the testimony of one psychiatric expert witness, White committed the crime as a result of "a major mood disturbance compounded by a biochemical reaction in the brain brought on by twinkies, cupeakes, and chocolate bars and cokes." California-haters have seized on this "twinkies made me do it" defense as another indication that the West Coast is a strange place where being a junk-food addict is a morbid symptom of deep depression leading to a form of temporary insanity.

But the real point is that the jury wanted to believe White's defense. They evidently saw him as a "regular guy" pushed beyond endurance. Why? The answer is a clue to the political life of San Francisco. Here was an apparent open-and-shut case of premeditated murder in a city evidently horrified by the deed. The prosecution routinely impaneled the kind of jury prosecutors like to address in murder trials; its questions to prospective jurors were the usual ones centered on attitudes toward the death penalty. The defense cleverly laid back and a pro-death penalty jury was selected. A jury with this social profile would usually side with the prosecution. But as New York's *Village Voice* observed (4 June), the jury "was composed of people very much like Dan White—people who have grown increasingly invisible in the city." The jurors, working-class and middle-class, were drawn from those areas of San Francisco that are seen as "the last bastion of family life."

A quarter of the jury lived near White's neighborhood and could identify with his claim that he could not live on his \$9,600 salary as an S.F. Supervisor. White was perhaps the only Supervisor to live on his city salary, as most of the rest were hot-shot lawyers, businessmen and real estate speculators. The defense explained that White and his wife had tried to start a small street vending business to supplement their income. The jury heard White's taped confession, where he complained of his frustration in dealing with the slick rich politicians who treated him with open contempt. Perhaps they identified with White's grievances against Moscone and Milk. What the jury shared with White was not simply "homophobia" but a fear, exploited by the reactionary White, that San Francisco has become unlivable for "just plain folks."

But this ex-cop turned Supervisor was not "just plain folks"; he was not some working-class guy driven into a crazy frenzy by some posh liberal snobs. Dan White was a dangerous reactionary politician. He exploited the fears, grievances and economic distress of San Francisco's ethnic Catholic lower classes for the politics of racist, anti-gay bigotry, just as Harvey Milk exploited homosexual oppression for the liberal-sophisticated lace of capitalist rule. On a small-time, local scale Dan White tapped the same economic frustrations (and the same anger at the hypocritical middle-class liberal moralizing of politicians like Moscone) that fueled George Wallace.

The New San Francisco

The Dan White verdict is grounded in more than simple Anita Bryant-type bigotry. Sections of San Francisco society are grabbed by a backlash against the rapid economic/social/cultural change the city has undergone since World War II, particularly over the last decade. Since the most visible component of that change to the "new San Francisco" is the development of a huge gay population, homosexuals are an obvious target for those who yearn for the "good old days."

In the "old days" San Francisco was a labor town, its population largely Catholic of Irish and Italian descent. It was not so long ago that San Franciscans said they came from such-and-such parish. But the city shifted dramatically to become the banking and commercial center of the Pacific Coast. Industry and the proletariat began to move out as high-powered corporate groups like the Bay Area Council developed expensive high-rise complexes. In the 1950s Latinos moved into the Irish and German Mission District.

Working-class residents have confronted a process some have termed "gentrification" of San Francisco. The most distinct section of this "gentry" is the largely middle-class gay community, with its liberal-chic sensibility, gay bars and baths, and real estate speculators who "upgrade" the neighborhood. Rents have been pushed up in many cases more than 300 percent as former tenants are squeezed out and head for the East Bay or Daly City. The Castro district, with its fancy hootiques, elegant restaurants and high rents, was an Irish working-class neighborhood only a decade ago. Many of the people pushed out of this area relocated in Visitation Valley, the district where Dan White was elected by a 2-to-1 margin on an anti-gay, anti-"sophisticates" platform (*Gay Community News*, 16 June).

The change in the economic and social character of San Francisco was reflected in the pattern of city government. Traditionally a labor town, the city was run by a version of that well-known class-collaborationist coalition of "New Deal" Democratic types with the support of the labor bureaucracy. Joseph Alioto was the last of the old-style mayors. Moscone inherited the labor bureaucrats' support, but he kicked them in the teeth during the 1976 craft workers strike.

The 1976 strike signaled a shift in the balance of political forces in the city. The building trades union ran head-on into a solid bloc of anti-labor opinion. The drive was led by a liberal-chic gang in the style of New York mayor John V. Lindsay. It was the Moscones and Milks, full of "progressive" rhetoric, who went after the trade unions with a new vengeance. And the huge, largely petty-bourgeois gay population (estimated at 125,000—nearly 30 percent of the electorate), well-organized in the Democratic Party, helped to tip the scales for Moscone's anti-labor mod-lib regime.

Go West, Young Gay Man

In San Francisco the sectoralist political strategy of "gay liberation" is played out for the benefit of the Democrats. The Milks act as political brokers for the huge bloc of gay votes; their wheeling and dealing in the upper reaches of bourgeois politics provide the illusion of "gay power." The gay leaders are an important part of the Democratic establishment, where they play a role similar to black Democrats. San Francisco probably defines the limits of "gay liberation" in capitalist America and is seen as a "liberated zone" in a "homophobic" country. In last year's "Gay Pride" march, an estimated 400,000 people marched. A favorite chant was "U.S. out of S.F. now!"

But the U.S. is not about to relinquish San Francisco. The city exists in bourgeois society with its reactionary ideology and institutions, its attacks on the democratic rights of the oppressed, its need to shore up the family. So even here, there is a noticeable siege mentality among gay people. And there is a special kind of desperation. The laddist escapism that characterizes so much of the decomposed New Left milieu has its most concentrated expression here. Castro Street is the end of the line. A homosexual who escapes the parochial puritanism of Sandusky and comes to San Francisco has nowhere to go from here.

The gay milieu's utopian illusions

were shaken by the Dan White verdict. The street battles that followed were a brief encounter with American social reality. The oppression of homosexuals, the class rule of the courts, the brutal hired guns in blue—it can happen here! Another gay Supervisor has taken Milk's place, but "gay power" illusions are threatened by a lurking suspicion that homosexuals can never be secure in this society. Reactionary demagogues are always ready to manipulate plebeian discontent and gays are ready-made scapegoats, walking targets for the periodic "moral uplift" crusades to strengthen the family against these times of crisis.

The limits of "gay power" are defined by the social organization of a petty-bourgeois ghetto as a political appendage of Democratic Party "constituency" politics. These politics prescribe setting one section of the oppressed against another. In San Francisco today, the votes of homosexuals are being used to fuel a vicious anti-labor drive in the name of "progressive" constituencies. The alliance of lifestyle radicalism, reformism and the Democrats can provide only token reforms which enrage "middle American" backwardness and touch off new waves of the same old backlash. The working class, armed with a vision of a truly free society, is the only social force which can defend all the oppressed and lay the basis for a new society through uprooting the material bases of social oppression. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 2)

FSLN. They are openly bourgeois nationalist in character, similar to liberal Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic, for example. In an interview last year *tercerista* leader Ortega said of differences with the other Sandinista factions: "There were those who wanted a more radical change to follow the fall of Somoza. Now we see that this is not possible for a number of geopolitical reasons, and our position now is for the imposition of... a government that joins together all those who fought against Somoza" (*Washington Post*, 16 October). The *tercerista* leadership is also closely united by familial ties to the richest anti-Somoza business circles. And where the GPP and Proletarian Tendency advocate the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage" revolution (first bourgeois democracy, "later" for socialism), the *terceristas* call for a "one-stage" political revolution to replace Somoza with a coalition of the different sectors of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

After the assassination of Pedro Chamorro in early 1978, the bourgeois opposition got together to form the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) which financed the work stoppages of January and September 1978. The Sandinista forces were represented in the FAO by the "Grupo de los Doce" (Group of Twelve), among whose number was Joaquin Cuadra Chamorro, a rich lawyer. His son, Joaquin Cuadra Lacayo, is a prominent *tercerista* commander (the Lacayo family, his mother's side, hoots Coke in Nicaragua). Others active in the FAO were Eduardo Chamorro Coronel, political secretary of the "legal opposition" Conservative Party; Alvaro Chamorro, acting presi-

dent of the Conservative Party and a cousin of Pedro (the murdered *La Prensa* publisher) and Eduardo; and Jaime Chamorro, brother of P.J. and business manager of *La Prensa*.

After Somoza's bloody annihilation of the September 1978 uprising and his hardline refusal to leave office or accept a plebiscite on his rule, the FAO disintegrated as an effective force. On the one hand, this dampened the State Department's interest in a "peaceful transition" to replace Somoza by a less hated capitalist politician. And as the radicalized masses threatened to break from the bourgeois leadership of the opposition, the previously uninfluential pro-Moscow Stalinists stepped into the breach by forming a popular-frontist coalition, the United People's Movement (MPU), which included also the two more radical FSLN factions. And in February the MPU brought together the Patriotic Front, embracing itself, the Twelve (i.e., the *terceristas*), dissidents from Somoza's Liberal Party and a number of other bourgeois oppositionists.

Will a Sandinista-ruled Nicaragua become a "second Cuba"? In the "reunited" FSLN the *terceristas*, who sparked the uprising in September and whose military commander, Eden Pastora led the dramatic capture of the national "legislature" a month earlier, clearly hold sway. None of the wings call for expropriation of Nicaraguan and foreign capitalists, and all three rely on sympathetic Caribbean bourgeois governments for military backing. Most importantly, no sector of this nationalist movement has called for an insurrection by the Nicaraguan masses; the current general strike is marked by total inactivity. However, this does not seal the fate of the anti-Somoza struggle, consigning it to a mere political revolution such as the overthrow of Venezuelan dictator Pérez Jiménez in 1958.

Another possible pattern is that of Santo Domingo in 1965, before the invasion of the U.S. Marines cut short the revolutionary possibilities. In that case a section of the officer corps sympathetic to former president Bosch rose up under the banner of "constitutionalism." While the rebellion was clearly bourgeois-led, we pointed out that the participation of "the working class and students, especially in the proletarian sectors of Santo Domingo... created a potentially revolutionary situation" (*Spartacist* No. 7, September-October 1966). Should revolutionary-minded workers and peasants in Nicaragua today transform the FSLN offensive into a mass insurrection, it could open the perspective for just the social revolution which all wings of the Sandinistas—not to mention the more "moderate" bourgeois opposition—have sought to avoid.

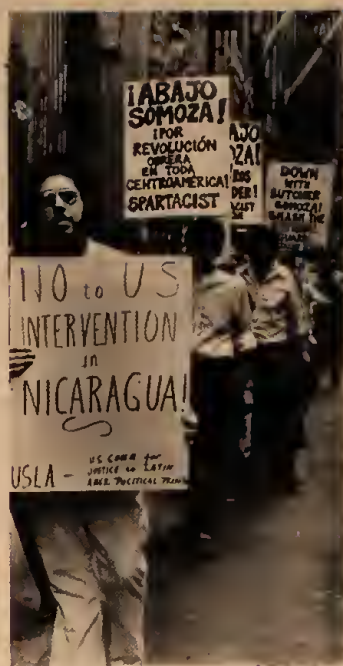
For a Trotskyist Party!

As we wrote last fall, at the height of the attempted uprising launched by the FSLN guerrillas:

"...it is necessary that revolutionaries put forward demands which exacerbate the fundamental class divisions and thus frustrate efforts to 'reform' the dictatorship or impose a bourgeois provisional government. Naturally Marxists would unite in action on the barricades with the populist petty-bourgeois FSLN and even with the bourgeois anti-Somoza opposition against the present bloody dictatorship. But we would at all costs fight for the political independence of the working class from all capitalist and pro-capitalist forces."

—"Nicaragua in Flames," *WV* No. 215, 22 September 1978

Our article included democratic demands such as for a revolutionary constituent assembly, for the smashing of the National Guard, for people's tribunals to punish the criminals of the Somoza regime and for a people's militia based on the workers and peasants organizations. In the framework of the Trotskyist program for permanent revolution we did not stop at



WV Photo

Anti-Somoza protest in NYC, June 9.

calls for even the most radical bourgeois democracy, but demanded radical agrarian revolution which would put an end to latifundia; expropriation of the properties of the Somoza family and its accomplices; and expropriation of industry and commerce, by a workers' and peasants government led by a Trotskyist party. Unlike the narrow nationalists of the FSLN "radicals," whose maximum program is "socialism in one banana republic," we advocated a Central American workers republic in a Socialist United States of Latin America.

In the last few years, along with the rise in anti-Somoza struggle there has been a radicalization among students and within sectors of the Sandinista movement itself, leading to the emergence of individuals and groups identifying themselves with Trotskyism. The most significant is the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR—affiliated with the "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel), which grew out of a group expelled from the Revolutionary Student Front (dominated by the FSLN). In the struggles of last year, the LMR's programmatic calls often placed it significantly to the left of all sectors of the Sandinistas—e.g., their demand that the working class take over leadership of the January work stoppage from the bourgeois opposition (see "Nicaragua: El movimiento de masas y la crisis de la dictadura," *Folleto Bandera Socialista* No. 53 [May 1978]).

Yet with the bypassing of the conservative bourgeois opposition in the September FSLN-sparked uprising, the Mandelites forgot about their calls for proletarian independence and began

calling "For a government of the poor, calling on the Sandinistas to take charge of the government..." The LMR's Mexican comrades were even more explicit, calling for "a government of the FSLN" (*Combate* [Sweden], January-February 1979). Such a program accepts not only the bourgeois limits of the Sandinista program, but also subordinates the masses to the bureaucratic control of a military formation that has consciously and consistently opposed a popular insurrection.

But even more alien to authentic Trotskyism was a recent article in the American SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (11 June) by Fausto Amador and Sara Santiago, entitled "Where is Nicaragua Going?" Amador is a former member of the FSLN whose brother, Carlos Fonseca, was murdered by Somoza's lackeys. Fausto is a deeply compromised individual who left the Sandinistas out of personal demoralization in 1969, returned to Nicaragua legally from Cuba through maneuvers by his father, a personal friend of Somoza, then gave an interview that was used as an anti-Sandinista diatribe by the pro-government press. Later he served as a Nicaraguan cultural attaché in Belgium where he was recruited to the USec (*Intercontinental Press*, 27 June 1977). In his latest contribution, Amador denounces the FSLN for its "voluntaristic and precipitate action... in September [which] could not have succeeded," and denounced Sandinista preparations for a new uprising as "a fatal course."

To present this social-democratic cowardice and demoralization as having anything to do with Marxism is just about the worst thing the SWP/USec could do to besmirch the name of Trotskyism before the Central American masses. This friend of the SWP speaks in the language of senile Plekhanov, who complained that the Russian workers should not have "picked up the gun" in 1917. In their desire to maintain a semblance of capitalist "legality" and "order" following the overthrow of Somoza, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FSLN have insisted on limiting the armed struggle to their own units and thereby excluding the masses as active agents of the revolution. These are not the methods of proletarian revolution, which relies on the insurrectionary mobilization of the masses. But the answer is not to yearn for the orderly development of a legal trade-union movement, condemning all attempts to rise up against the bloody tyrant. When the decisive moments arrive, even if the battle is unleashed by opportunists and alien class forces, the advocates of permanent revolution must be at their posts.

Only the Trotskyists desire to take an anti-Somoza revolution through to the end—uprooting the dictatorship and the capitalist system off which it feeds, not only in Nicaragua but throughout the Americas. ■



Sandinista leader "Cero" waves to supporters from plane taking hostages to Panama in August 1978.

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Farm Workers Drag Scabs...

(continued from page 4)

instead. In fact, the battle of June 11 began as an officially called "day of solidarity" in which UFW members at ten non-struck ranches were called out for the first time to join the rest of the strikers for one day on the picket lines.

Later in the week UFW leaders were still leading more carefully controlled one-day solidarity walkouts at several other ranches where the union has members but has not won official recognition. While these actions are token and inadequate, they represent an act of desperation for the UFW bureaucracy, which has always regarded the strike weapon as anathema. Chavez & Co. prefer to depend entirely on moralistic appeals to their "friends" in the Democratic-controlled state legislature and governor's office.

The strike has also been undermined by Chavez' endless chauvinist appeals to the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS or "La Migra") to arrest and deport so-called "illegal aliens" who have been brought in from Mexico to scab. A spokesman for Chavez complained to the press in mid-May that the INS had not raided a single struck grower in the Salinas Valley, but had concentrated on non-struck fields, often involving union members. Chavez' chauvinist policy has only alienated the "undocumented" workers and pushed them toward the growers. The union ranks must fight instead for full citizenship rights for foreign workers and oppose the INS raids.

Only a week before the Salinas battle, Chavez was peddling his pacifist class collaboration at a June 3 meeting of Fremont United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364, where he came to appeal for financial support. In his speech the UFW leader expressed surprise that the growers responded with such violence—"We never expected murder!"—and re-emphasized his time-worn boycott strategy: "If five percent stop eating bananas, that will bring the growers to their knees!" These treacherous comments demonstrated that Chavez remains riveted to his class collaboration, and must be dumped by the Farm Workers ranks. But of the numerous self-proclaimed radicals and socialists in the meeting, only the UAW Militant Caucus dared to attack Chavez openly. The Militant Caucus distributed a leaflet criticizing his disastrous policies (see box), and also led a chant of "Huelga Si, Migra No!" while the opportunists sat in stony silence.

The UFW strike has reached a critical stage, threatening a defeat which might well break the back of the union unless the recent militant action is carried forward into a policy for victory. The

growers have clearly hardened their stance and are in no mood for negotiations. But the Chavez leadership has no stomach for a real class battle. The ranks must act by electing strike committees to carry out the urgent tasks. Shut down all the unionized lettuce fields and call for sympathy strikes elsewhere! Mobilize the thousands of UFW members and sympathizers for a real defense of the picket lines! Appeal to other unions (Teamsters, IWW, etc.) for help on the picket lines and to "hot cargo" all scab produce! Victory to the UFW!

Truckers Jam Interstates...

(continued from page 12)

protest against the gas rip-off. And in doing so they could unite a large section of the middle class behind organized labor in striking against the arrogant oil monopolies which are making the daily life of the nation's motorists intolerable.

A fighting socialist leadership of the unions would call for seizing the refineries and handing over the fuel; distributing it under the supervision of the labor movement, at vastly reduced prices so that everybody gets his fair share; removing the absurd 55 mile-per-hour speed limit, and expropriating Big Oil without a penny of "compensation" to these bloodsuckers!

"They're Killing Us!"

The independent owner-operators have been driven to the wall by the fuel crisis. In the Midwest the price per gallon of diesel fuel now ranges from 80 cents to \$1.25, up from 63 cents a gallon a year ago. The 8 June *Wall Street Journal* quoted a protesting driver in Dallas who spelled out the arithmetic of the squeeze: "Most of these trucks carry 150 gallons, so with fuel up 40 cents a gallon since December, that's an extra \$60 a fill-up. You fill up at least four times a week, so that's an extra \$240, or \$1,000 a month."

Unlike unionized fleet drivers the independent truckers (owner-operators) are not workers, but a middle-class stratum of the population which vacillates between the working class and the employers. Thus it is not surprising that the truckers' protests have mainly been a pressure tactic to achieve special treatment for themselves. Their most common demands have been for a surcharge on freight rates to reflect escalating fuel costs and a special allocation of diesel fuel such as farmers have received. At the same time they seized the opportunity to lash out over longstanding grievances, calling for an end to the interstate speed limit, and at least temporary relief from federal regulations restricting numerous freight categories to the chartered carriers.

Despite particularistic demands,

fundamentally the protests are directed against high fuel prices and the manipulated gas shortage. "We feel the oil companies are raping us and the American public," a trucker participating in a convoy blockade on I-94 outside Chicago told the press. "With extra stops for more expensive fuel, and the 55 mile-an-hour speed limit, we don't feel we can last financially. They're killing us." The labor movement has no interest in securing higher freight rates, which mainly benefit the big companies in any case; and given the contradictory position of owner-operators, it is possible their protests can be turned in a reactionary direction. In Chile, for example, the CIA mobilized independent truckers as part of its program of "destabilizing" the Allende government. But the current protests are clearly aimed against the highway robbery by the giant oil companies—supported by the Carter government—and deserve the militant support of labor.

"Cross a Picket Line? Certainly Not!"

On the night of June 3 a group of truckers seized the Union 76 Calumet Truck Stop in South Holland, Illinois, a suburb just south of Chicago. *Workers Vanguard* went out to talk to the protesters. A few hours after the action began some 200 trucks were blocking the large facility, the drivers either active participants in the seizure or trapped in the blockade. All were highly sympathetic to the protest, whether they were independent owner-operators, non-unionized fleet drivers, or a few stray Teamsters caught in the action. Most stayed because they considered it scabbing to run the blockade...some because it was dangerous to leave. One independent (also a Teamster) told *WV* he would not even consider leaving:

"It'd be like crossing a picket line. It's like if I pulled up to a factory and there was a picket line. Now would I cross that line? I certainly would not."

Twenty-four hours after the seizure began some 150 riot police from South Holland and adjacent towns arrived. By this time the action had become disorganized and confused. The original leader sneaked out earlier, after his "negotiations" with Union 76 came to naught. And while new leaders periodically emerged, they were without authority, program, strategy or even much in the way of militant tactics. When the cops arrived a simple show of force sufficed to dissolve the protest. A few days later, after officials changed the limit on diesel fuel to 50 gallons on the Indiana Toll Road, the drivers parked 300 trucks four abreast along a one-mile stretch near Gary in protest.

This leaderless, chaotic quality has characterized all of the truckers' protests across the country. Actions happen and unplan, such as the "cat and mouse" games the truckers play with the cops, appealing to the free-wheeling sentiments of the individualistic drivers. But to be successful, they need a coherent, militant leadership to lead a fight against big business. And that the owner-operators, desperately struggling to hold their heads above water financially and fiercely competitive with each other, cannot provide. Without the intervention of class-struggle militants to link the protest to the organized workers movement, and to direct it consciously against the capitalists and their government, the drivers' actions

will peter out without achieving lasting gains.

The present actions recall the truckers' protest in late 1973 and early 1974, when gas prices soared following the OPEC oil embargo and the drivers mounted work stoppages, blocked the truck stops and picketed the terminals. For the first time the finger was pointed at the real culprits, the oil majors who were using the OPEC boycott as an excuse to jack up their profits. The truckers' demands at that time were almost identical to today, centering on a fuel price rollback and calling for uniform interstate weight and size regulations.

We demanded then as we do now that the Teamsters union (IBT) take the lead in the protests and use them to reopen its own contract talks on the Master Freight Agreement. But even though over-the-road IBT drivers have taken a wage cut of up to 20 percent as a result of the speed limits, and the recent wage settlement doesn't even keep up with galloping inflation due to pressure from the same Carter government, IBT chief Fitzsimmons hasn't lifted a finger to solidarize with the protesting independents.

We pointed out in 1974 that except for a small handful, the owner-operator truckers will never be able to make a decent life for themselves, being forced to keep up a backbreaking pace of work to make ends meet, as long as they are small fish in the capitalist sea dominated by big business. We called on the Teamsters to appeal to the "independent" truckers to link up to the power of the labor movement by organizing themselves in tandem with the unions. This is already the case, for example, with a large percentage of the steel haulers.

Meanwhile the oil company tanks are overflowing with crude, petroleum imports are up sharply and the refineries are plodding along at 80-85 percent of capacity as the companies try to further jack up the price of gas. Even Carter's energy secretary James Schlesinger criticized the oil majors at a June 14 press conference for holding back production. Although Schlesinger demagogically threatened to take crude petroleum from companies that were stockpiling it and turn it over to those who were ready to refine it, he has no intention of doing so.

But the labor movement could provide an answer. We demand that the oil companies' books be opened to union inspection, so we can see what their profits are and what they're holding back. If the companies refuse to release their stocks, the OCAW (the oil workers union) should just turn on the refineries while the Teamsters line up the tankers to haul the stuff out to where it's needed. Above all, we demand the expropriation of Big Oil without compensation.

The total complicity of the Carter government with the energy trusts in their conspiracy to drive up prices has been demonstrated over and over with the Democratic administration's moves to decontrol oil prices. It's obviously absurd to place any reliance on this party of big business to undertake an attack on the "holy" rights of private property. That is why labor must break with the Democrats and build its own party, to fight for a workers government that will put these parasites out of business for good.

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Papal Pilgrimage...

(continued from page 5)

true that Poland, partly for historic reasons, is the most Catholic of any Soviet bloc state. But there have been repeated protests and uprisings by the proletariat of East Europe against the Stalinist bureaucracies—East Berlin 1953, Hungary 1956, and in Poland demonstrations and strikes in 1956, 1970, 1976—none of which sought the restoration of the Vatican's power, but which represented independent proletarian struggle in the context of upholding the gains of the social revolutions in those countries.

While any secular regime in Poland, including even a revolutionary socialist regime firmly rooted in soviet democracy, would have to confront the entrenched power of the Catholic church, it is the policies of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy which have allowed the religious hierarchy to maintain and strengthen its base in Poland. The Gierk regime, heavily in debt to Western creditors, has attempted to resolve Poland's economic crisis through holding down the urban proletariat's wages and raising food prices, in order to appease the agricultural petty bourgeoisie, much of whose produce is intended for export. It is these peasant smallholders, who still own some 80 percent of the land and are often quite wealthy by East European standards, who form the main social base of the Roman Catholic church and a bastion for potential capitalist restoration. Given this significant social base, the regime has maintained a policy of wary cooperation and concessions to the Catholic hierarchy.

Naturally one expects the pope to go around pontificating for the Holy Roman church—but what was particularly ominous about the pope's tour was that the church has by no means forgotten its historic role as defender of "Catholic Poland," and intends ultimately to reconquer it. Only the creation of the Polish deformed workers state after World War II broke the church's dominant position in alliance with the nobility and landed gentry. At the pope's farewell mass in Krakow this not-so-ancient glory was flaunted: a huge red flag with the white eagle and crown, symbol of the Polish monarchy, hung directly before the altar, and as John Paul II mounted its steps, balloons flew up bearing an anchor-shaped "P.W."—"Polska Walczaca," the insignia of the anti-Communist forces in World War II (*New York Times*, 11 June).

The church's only concern for the Polish working class is to regain its hold over them. Much was made of the pope's preaching to miners from the working-class district of Nowa Huta, but at every key point when the Polish workers have risen up for their own demands and fights, the church has opposed them, throwing its weight into support of the regime's repression. In 1976 Polish workers held mass demonstrations and strikes to protest sharp food price increases decreed by the government, but the Catholic church, while joining in the universally popular call for the release of arrested workers, endorsed Gierk's austerity measures and called on the masses to make "sacrifices." In 1970 when workers revolted in the Baltic coast port cities, the Catholic church called on them to go back to work.

Stalinism and the Vatican

To draw the conclusion from this history that the Stalinist regime and the Catholic hierarchy have fundamentally common interests would be dangerously shortsighted for Marxists. Yet this is

Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

week when company spokesman Harwood Rydholm bluntly informed members of the City Council, "As far as changing the corporation's position on this issue, I'm afraid there's no chance whatsoever." And as it became more evident that the UAW International will not lift a finger to stop the layoffs, local bureaucrats and their lackeys on the left have begun squabbling over who should be laid off. Reportedly, officials at Dodge Main Local 3 have demanded that laid-off workers at Hamtramck be permitted to bump workers at Dodge Truck with less seniority. On the other side of the coin, the ill-named "Justice Caucus" of Dodge Truck Local 140 decided it was only fair that "voluntary" inverse seniority be instituted—that is, that older, more senior workers be laid off first!

In the midst of all this defeatism and buck passing from Solidarity House, several militants at Dodge Truck have issued a call for a *real* fight against the layoffs, one which would unite all auto workers instead of squabbling over who gets the ax. Their leaflet, issued to build for the June 10 Local 140 meeting, posed the question sharply: "The next few weeks may be the last that many of us work for Chrysler, or it may be the beginning of a fight alongside our brothers at Dodge Main to challenge the 'right' of Chrysler to throw us into the street." And it continued:

"Instead of mapping out a strategy to win, the International told the Dodge Main workers to write their congressman! They want us to go down on our knees to the strike-breaking Democratic Party—which invoked the slave labor Taft-Hartley law against the coal miners and railroad workers. When this union was organized the UAW did not say 'GM won't recognize our union, so we must write to our congressman.' NO! The UAW brought GM and Chrysler to their knees with its most powerful weapon—the sitdown strike! Chrysler workers were part of that proud tradition—there were sitdowns at Dodge Main and Dodge Truck to force Chrysler to recognize the union. As recently as 1973 Jefferson Avenue workers won their demands by occupying the plant. The sitdown is effective against massive layoffs because it hits the bosses where they live—their private property which they say gives them the 'right' to throw us out of work."

just what the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) does. One would think from reading the *Militant* (22 June) editorial on the pope's tour that Edward Gierk never had a better friend than Pope John Paul II. According to them, the imperialists, the Stalinists and the Vatican are just one big happy family: "The capitalists... reap enormous propaganda gains from being able to portray the church—that bastion of reaction and repression—as a defender of popular freedom.... At the same time, they appreciate the church's services in helping to stabilize the Stalinist regime against the workers." The Stalinists let the pope into Poland because "they need the Polish Catholic Church," says the *Militant*.

Gierk needs this pope like he needs a hole in the head. The Stalinists are unable to wipe out the church's influence and forced to concede to it, but they surely don't like it very much. Why does the SWP insist on their identity? Above all, it seeks to deny that there can be any conflict between imperialism and the Stalinist regimes of the deformed workers states, in order to avoid the basic Trotskyist duty of defending these states against American imperialism's growing onslaught. Particularly, the SWP denies that the U.S. "human rights" offensive, of which the pope is an integral part, has any connection with counterrevolutionary imperialist designs because it wants to act as a left pressure group on Carter, posing as the most "consistent" defender of (sup-

The Dodge Truck militants also put forward a resolution at the union meeting calling for sitdowns to demand no layoffs, unlimited unemployment benefits and recall rights, and full SUB funds guaranteed by the government.

Unfortunately, this resolution (which was supported by a number of Dodge Truck workers) was tabled, due in no

Ford Workers Call For Sitdowns to Save Dodge Main

The following resolution in solidarity with Detroit Chrysler workers was passed June 19 by the day-shift meeting of the Maintenance and Construction Unit of Local 600 at the Ford River Rouge plant.

Resolved:

- (1) that this unit of UAW Local 600 calls on the International Union to organize a plant occupation/sitdown strike at Dodge Main and other plants slated for closing to save the plants and stop the layoffs;
- (2) that the sitdown demands include the fight for a government-guaranteed SUB fund and unlimited unemployment benefits and recall rights;
- (3) that the International mobilize all UAW locals and other area unions in mass labor defense of such plant occupations;
- (4) that this motion be published in *Ford Facts* and distributed to all Detroit UAW locals and regional offices and sent to the local media.

small measure to the gang of phony leftists who showed that they, along with the bureaucracy, have abandoned the fighting traditions that built the UAW. A member of the Justice Caucus, whose newsletter ironically carries the caption "Spirit of '37," spoke against sitdowns, claiming that workers would find it too hot in the plants in the summer! Communist Labor Party supporters, comfortably ensconced in the in-power Local 140 bureaucratic caucus, brazenly accused the militants of being company provocateurs, claiming that Chrysler would welcome such

a strike. The groveling Maoists of the Communist Party (M-L), denounced sitdowns as "crazy" and "a bitter pill to swallow," while a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party counseled that militants should fight for more "realistic" motions. For this junior labor lackey no doubt Chrysler's breadlines are a more "realistic" alternative than occupying the plants to stop the layoffs!

Instead, the fake leftists channeled membership anger into support for a demonstration endorsed by the reformist Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC), called around the slogans of COLA on pensions and a shorter workweek. However, this demonstration is scheduled for July, after Chrysler guts Dodge Main and Dodge Truck! In fact, neither the ABC Coalition nor its bloc partners, UAW house oppositionists Hank Oginsky and Frank Runnels, even call for a strike around the contract! Oginsky and Runnels, in particular, openly lobby Democratic Party politicians in a futile effort to pass laws limiting the workweek.

This attempt to pressure Democratic Party politicians is the same fundamental strategy pursued by the UAW International, the first major union to endorse Carter's wage controls. But it is no accident that the same Democratic Party politicians supported by the UAW, from Carter to Coleman Young, are also the favorites of auto magnates like the Fords. The bosses know well that this big-business party stands fully behind their right to make a profit and will not lift a finger to halt the layoffs.

The great gains of the 1930s were won precisely by defying both the bosses and Democratic Party governors who attempted to break the organizing strikes with cops and the National Guard. If auto workers are to defend their jobs and living standards, it will only be by forging an authoritative class-struggle leadership that repudiates the labor fakers like Fraser and their alliance with the bosses' parties. What is needed is a workers party to defend militant struggles such as the sitdown strikes which are urgently needed today, and to take the lead in fighting to replace the whole boom-bust capitalist system which condemns auto workers to the endless cycle of speed-up and layoffs. For sitdowns to save Dodge Main and stop Chrysler layoffs! ■

posedly classless) democracy in the Sino-Soviet states.

Marxists have never sought to forcibly root out religious beliefs—unlike the oh-so-democratic Catholic church. But against the reactionary attempts of the religious hierarchies—from the Holy See to Khomeini's Islamic dictatorship to the Israeli theocracy—to hold down the oppressed, communists have fought relentlessly. As we wrote in "The President's Pope?":

"The victorious Bolsheviks in Russia gutted the temporal power of the Orthodox church by expropriating its gigantic estates worked by knout-driven serfs. While carrying on some anti-religious agitation, their fundamental task was to eliminate the hideous poverty and rural isolation which were the basis for the hold of religious obscurantism on the masses. The measures which began to free women from the oppressive limits of the family thereby undercut another of the principal sources of active religious participation. "But with the triumph of Stalin, all this was reversed. The family was reinforced, collectivization was carried out in a brutally bureaucratic manner, and during World War II Stalin directly built up the authority of the Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox church in order to tap nationalist sentiment in the 'Great Fatherland War.'"

The reformists and Stalinists have once again miserably confirmed their inability to defend the working class against the imperialists' onslaught,

which today uses the Vatican as an anti-communist spearhead in East Europe. Only the Trotskyist program of political revolution against the capitulationist Stalinist bureaucracies can defend the social/economic conquests of the degenerated/deformed workers states against their mortal enemies. And it is only Trotskyism today which upholds the Marxist, communist program of international socialist revolution which will sweep from the face of the earth once and for all the "holy alliance" of reaction. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD



Demand More Fuel, Lower Prices

Truckers Jam the Interstates

The gas crisis has infuriated not just the American motorist, waiting on the lengthy lines week after week and occasionally driven to outbursts of frenzy in the mad scramble to get the last drop. The fuel shortage and astronomical price gouging have also hit owner-operator truckers with a vengeance, and in the last two weeks they've done something about it. Congregating in the service plazas that are their only social centers, "independent" drivers were steaming and, pretty soon, as their anger rose the first truck stop fell, surrounded by scores of 40-ton tractor-trailers.

Soon the protests swept out onto the interstate highways, the lifelines which carry the vast hulk of the country's long-

distance freight. Using their CB radios for communication, a few drivers would slow down to a crawl and quickly huge traffic jams of several hundred trucks blocked the road. Soon after came the horde of state cops, swarming around them like flies, their red lights flashing. It was like a scene straight out of the movie *Convoy*.

Within a week a truckers association was reporting more than 300 major truck stops across the country were closed. Protesting drivers had virtually shut off freight traffic along the southern route west of Dallas. And all along I-80, from the Golden Gate to George Washington Bridge, irate truckers were jamming the fuel pumps with their

stalled rigs, protesting the soaring cost and shortage of diesel fuel.

The truckers' methods were effective—drivers who tried to run the blockade were yanked out of their cabs, their tires slashed or worse. In Rapid City, South Dakota one driver had his truck impounded and his load of hogs let out on the road. And in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, after a trucker's wife riding shotgun in her husband's cab was critically wounded by sniper fire, the National Guard was called up to escort trucks trying to break the blockades.

At press time some 75,000 trucks, roughly 60 percent of the national total of non-fleet, long-haul interstate trucks, were reportedly involved in the shut-

downs. The government, clearly worried about the prospect of the country's main freight arteries being closed off by the truckers' tourniquet squeeze, was attempting to buy them off by authorizing a 5.6 percent surcharge for owner-operators. But with inflation running at 14 percent and diesel fuel prices up 30 to 100 percent since the beginning of the year, this amounts to a slap in the face.

The Carter administration clearly thinks it can weather the crisis, and given the leaderless nature of the truckers' protest it may be right. But a class-struggle leadership of the unions would seize this tremendous opportunity and use it to ignite a nationwide

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Sit Down Against Chrysler Layoffs!

DETROIT—As D-Day approaches for the mass "indefinite" layoffs threatening thousands of Detroit-area Chrysler workers and the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy still sits on its hands, several militants at Dodge Truck last week issued a call for the kind of fighting union action necessary to meet the employers' attack. Sit down to save Dodge Main and stop the Chrysler layoffs, was the message of their resolution which posed a challenge not only to UAW Solidarity House but to would-be militants as well.

One half the entire 7,000-man work force at Dodge Truck is scheduled to be first under the ax as Chrysler plans to shut down the second shift indefinitely at the end of June. And if the company has its way, in early July another 1,000 workers at Hamtramck Assembly will walk out of the antiquated eight-story factory for the last time. The remaining 4,000 workers there will be fired a year later when the plant is scrapped. The impact of the massive layoffs on Detroit will be devastating at Chrysler, the city's largest employer, and with auto/truck sales plummeting GM and Ford workers are already wondering "who's next?"



Hamtramck workers rally: "Save Dodge Main!"

But it doesn't have to be this way—with the strongest industrial union in the U.S., auto workers have the power to bring the companies to their knees and stop the layoffs cold.

The city "fathers" are crowing about

their efforts at downtown redevelopment due to the new Ren Cen office complex, but if the bottom drops out of auto, Detroit is going down the tubes. Workers here vividly remember the 1974-75 depression days when whole

shifts were laid off at virtually every auto, rubber and parts plant in the city. Unemployment lines extended for two blocks and more, one fifth of all city workers were slashed from the payroll, violent crime increased as ghetto youth unemployment reached astronomical proportions. Yet Chrysler workers could mobilize the more than one quarter of a million UAW workers in the Detroit area by demanding militant plant occupations to stop the mass layoffs, and back them up by shutting down every last Chrysler facility in the city! If Chrysler says it cannot afford to operate its plants, then militants must demand that they be expropriated without compensation! While Solidarity House goes hat in hand to beg from the company and Mayor Coleman Young to no avail, it was the sitdown strikes which built the union in the 1930s and they can stop the decimation of the Detroit workforce today!

As for Doug Fraser and the leadership of the UAW, they have already signaled their capitulation. Its ludicrous hopes of "persuading" Chrysler to keep Dodge Main open were dashed last

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