

## Ranks Rebel Against Sellout Sam

# Give 'Em Hell Miners!

**Elect Strike Committees!  
For a Joint Coal/Rail Strike!**

UNIONTOWN, Pennsylvania—On March 31, by a crushing majority, the coal miners said, "Shove it!"

They said it to B. R. Brown of Consolidation Coal, top negotiator for the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), who told miners they'd gain nothing by striking. They said it to union president Sam "I know my membership" Church, who boasted that his yellow dog deal would be ratified by 65 percent. And they said it to Ronald Reagan's anti-labor government, which gives the green light to skyrocketing oil prices with one hand while taking aim at black lung benefits with the other.

Standing once again in the forefront of the U.S. working class, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is on strike. In order to win, the miners will need all the guts and determination with which they fought the Great Coal Strike of 1977-78, and above all a militant leadership with a class-struggle program to defeat the hardlining companies and their government! The UMWA membership must take control of their union and call upon the rest of organized labor to join this vital battle. In particular, they should appeal to railroad workers, whose contracts are now up, to stop the flow of coal and wage a powerful joint coal/rail strike which could break the bosses' front.

The "no" vote was 2 to 1 overall out of almost 100,000 votes, and the margin was even greater in the UMWA's traditionally most militant regions. Ohio miners rejected the proposal by almost 3 to 1. In the Pittsburgh-area District 5, it was more than 5 to 1. In

southern West Virginia's District 17, the union's largest, the "no" vote was nearly 7 to 1. And in southwestern Pennsylvania's District 4, the rejection was higher still.

The contracts were burning well before the ballots were counted. At U.S. Steel's Robena mine near Greensboro, Pennsylvania, where Church had come to greet the hoot-owl shift, one was set afire in the bathhouse just minutes after the old agreement expired. In Charles-

ton, after a heated hour-and-a-half discussion on the first article, not one official had spoken in favor of the agreement. Many walked out. Finally a miner asked if any of the District 17 officials would vote for the contract. No one, not even district president Jack Perry, who sat at the bargaining table, dared to raise his hand. With that the crowd started throwing their copies at the stage. "The sky was full of contracts," one miner told *WV*. Bundles of

contracts went into the bonfire. The same scenes were repeated countless times across the coal fields the next day as angry rank and filers voted with their matchbooks.

### Sellout Means Non-Union Mines

The UMWA ranks overwhelmingly rejected Church's contract because it threatens the viability of the union. Opening wide the portals to non-union

*continued on page 8*



UPI

## Nazi Shoots Reagan

John Warnock Hinckley, Jr. was not dressed in his Nazi storm-trooper outfit as he waited outside the Washington Hilton on March 30. When Reagan came out, Hinckley stepped up to within ten feet of him and squeezed off six shots from a cheap .22 revolver. He hit Reagan in the chest, piercing the lung, wounded two security men and critically wounded White House press secretary James Brady. The Secret Service with their Uzi machine guns piled screaming onto Hinckley and dragged him off. Once again it was

Assassination Syndrome, U.S.A.

The ruling class worried about a loss at the helm. They worried that the assassination attempt would injure what they were advertising as new-found national unity and self-confidence. They worried whether it would help or hurt the attempt to wield the budget ax against the poor, the blacks and workers. Red-white-and-blue-blooded parents worried that their children could get nutty from having too much. The liberals worried about gun control. Nancy Reagan

worried about violent movies. Others mainly worried about how to get "in control."

With the assassination attempt, many blacks, leftists and labor militants worried too. But not about the health of the president. They worried about the potential for whipping up an active witchhunt. The ruling class breathed a sigh of relief that their John Wayne president was okay. But as blacks watched the TV coverage, they sighed, "Thank god, Hinckley's white." Jews sighed, "Thank god, he's a gentile." And leftists sighed, "Thank god, he's a fascist." He's a blond, blue-eyed Nazi nut, all-American son of a Christian oil millionaire. The Hinckleys, it turns out, are good friends with vice president George Bush.

For its part, the capitalist press has done its best to bury the fact that Hinckley is a Nazi. Only after 1,500 words in a *New York Times* article about the gunman in which his

*continued on page 11*



## Letter from H-Block

Last December the international Spartacist tendency mobilized in support of the Irish republican hunger strikers demanding the status of political prisoners in the notorious H-Blocks of Northern Ireland's Long Kesh prison camp. We are therefore pleased to publish a letter smuggled out of this hell-hole. The December 18 agreement which ended the hunger strike was not in our view a "resounding victory" in that it did not grant the strikers political status. Moreover, as our British comrades stated:

"...improvements in prison conditions and other 'concessions' from bloody imperialism can only be seen as a subordinate part of the struggle to mobilise the proletariat against British troops and for a workers solution in Ireland."

—"H Block Hell Goes On," Spartacist/Britain, February 1981

Now British imperialism has gone back on even the limited promises made last December. We call upon the labor and socialist movements and all believers in democratic rights to support the just demands of the H-Block prisoners.

11/3/81

A Chara Comrade,

We are sending you a letter smuggled out of the H-Blocks, Long Kesh prison camp, Ireland. As you are aware, a new Hunger Strike has commenced in the H-Blocks. This is because Britain has failed to implement the five demands, won through the last Hunger Strike, which ended on Dec. 18th 1980.

We hope you will read the letter, and if possible reproduce it in your paper, in order that the prisoners may gain their right and just demands.

Yours fraternally,  
Seán Halpenny  
Sec. Foreign Affairs Bureau  
Sinn Féin

To the Left Wing  
Comrades,

The successful conclusion to the hunger strike in the H-Blocks & Armagh Gaol on 18-12-80 brought a resounding victory for the socialist cause against Brit imperialism in Ireland. We the Republican socialist P.O.W.s at last, after enduring 4½ years of inhumanity & oppression in these citadels of hatred, won our right to political recognition.

This was forthcoming with the implementation of a

London,  
November  
1980:  
Spartacist  
League  
of Britain  
demonstrates  
to smash  
infamous  
H-Block  
prison.



solution contained in detailed documents forwarded by the Brit Gov to the hunger strikers on the aforesaid date. Within the framework of these documents the basis of an honourable & principled solution to all concerned was viable & strong commitments were guaranteed by the Brit Gov in regards to its implementation.

Unbelievably however, these commitments have not been fulfilled. Their expedient weapons of treachery & deceit were utilised merely as a ploy to nullify the mounting worldwide political pressure & to break our momentum, support & resistance in the hope of forcing us to accept criminal status.

By doing so, our endeavours to end these evils & oppression of the capitalist system by establishing an Irish Socialist Republic would be propagated as a criminal conspiracy. The real criminal aspect of the conflict in Ireland today are the occupying forces of Brit imperialism who have sapped & exploited the wealth & people of Ireland for 800 years. We the Republican socialist prisoners of war are the end product of that 800 years oppression.

The H-Block Control Units & Armagh Gaol are merely one grim aspect of Brit imperialism in Ireland. Here ends the cycle of a farcical judicial system solely employed by the Brit Gov to criminalise captured revolutionaries. This consists of special repressive legislation, intensive 7 day interrogations & no-jury political courts.

Political expediency rather than truth dictates policy & where Brit justice is concerned, this most certainly is the case. Their treacherous deceit leaves us no alternative but once again to use the ultimate weapon of hunger strike, upon which my comrades will re-embark on 1-3-81 [March 3]. We cannot nor will not allow ourselves or our ideals to be criminalised.

Socialist brothers, I appeal to you to help save the lives of my comrades by speaking out in condemnation of Brit imperialism in Ireland & support our just cause; for until we rid ourselves of the root cause of these evils, our ideals of an Irish Socialist Republic will remain an unfulfilled dream.

Yours sincerely,

[...]  
H Block [...]  
Long Kesh

### SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE FORUMS

## Smash H-Block! British Troops Out of Ireland Now!

Speaker: Alan Gilchrist,

Spartacist League/Britain Central Committee  
founding member of Workers Socialist League 1975-78

### DETROIT

Thursday, April 16, 12:30 pm  
Room 678, Student Center Building  
Wayne State University  
For more information: (313) 868-9095

### ANN ARBOR

Thursday, April 16, 7:30 pm  
Michigan Union Conference Room 5  
University of Michigan  
For more information: (313) 994-9313

### SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, April 23, 12:00 Noon  
SF State Student Union, B114  
For more information: (415) 863-6963

## Herman Company-Baits ILWU Militants

San Francisco, California  
March 20, 1981

Dear Editor:

The article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 276 on the ILWU Local 6 convention was excellent in its coverage and political conclusions but it does contain a minor factual error. Communist Party supporter and Rank and File Coalition member Vicky Mercado is not a business agent—she lost the election. Also, the headline, "Sellout Herman Redbaits ILWU Militants," is misleading. The executive officers had submitted a resolution that would ban all organized opposition but they withdrew it when it became apparent it would not pass. In an attempt to isolate

those who oppose the bureaucrats' policies, [International president Jimmy] Herman took the floor and company-baited, as the article correctly pointed out.

While both the Militant Caucus and the Rank and File Coalition were the targets of Herman's attack, Coalition members proved that they have programmatic agreement with the International and Local executive officers on essential issues, including the crucial strategic question of support to Democratic politicians. This "unity" was demonstrated in the discussion around our workers party resolution and the Coalition resolution on "an independent labor political party." CP supporter and Coalition member Joe Lindsay called for the two resolutions to be voted counterposed; [Local 6] President Eickman agreed.

The resolutions are indeed counterposed. The Militant Caucus resolution is anti-capitalist, calling for the unions to "...reject completely this treacherous policy of the union tops of endorsing and relying on the pro-business Democratic and Republican parties..." and to "...begin the necessary struggle to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government that will expropriate industry without compensation and organize a rational planned economy." The Coalition resolution called for support to Ron Dellums and other Democrats who take "progressive positions."

Eickman opposed our resolution, saying, "We have absolutely no way of convincing our members at this time that we should expropriate industry without compensation, so we are asking you to oppose that." He spoke for and voted for the Rank and File Coalition resolution, as he did on several other Coalition resolutions, from organizing to El Salvador. The Coalition sees no need to oppose the officers and their pro-company policies and has no program to challenge capitalism. But the Militant Caucus consistently fights to build a new leadership in the ILWU with a class-struggle program, a program of independent working-class political action.

Jackie Clark,  
Militant Caucus member

## Sojourner Truth a Cult?

Chicago, Illinois  
March 8, 1981

To the Editor:

The article on last month's debate between the Chicago Spartacist League and the Sojourner Truth Organization, "Trotskyism Exposes Anti-Soviet Blindspot" (*WV* No. 275), does a fine job of debunking the stale New Leftism and anti-communist "state capitalism" of the STO. This is true to the debate itself, in which the politically hapless STO went down to ignominious defeat.

There is an error, however, in the accompanying article, "What Is The Sojourner Truth Organization?", which refers to these washed-out New Lefties as "the Ignatin cult." While STO leader Noel Ignatin is indeed the father of the white-guilt, moralistic "theories" which characterize the STO, it is important to specify that this group is not a personality cult *per se*. The term "cult" better fits such increasingly bizarre organizations as Jerry Tung's Communist Workers Party, Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party or Peter Sollenberger's tiny Revolutionary Workers League, in which a much-glorified *lider máximo* functions as the sole fount of strategic wisdom and revolutionary will (see for example a proclamation by the Avakian group, published last year, to the effect that poster-sized photos of "the Chairman" definitely entice workers to buy their garbage rag). The *WV* article is otherwise entirely correct in describing the STO as an "idiosyncratic opportunist sect" derived from the degeneration of SDS's anti-working-class RYM II.

Comradely greetings,  
Nedy Sallier  
Chicago SL

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly  
of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

PRODUCTION: Orlene Kamlura (Manager), Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon,  
Mark Kellermann, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour,  
Marjorie Stenberg

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$3.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 278

10 April 1981



## How They Renounce Soviet Defensism

# SWP Slanders James P. Cannon

For the last seven years the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been pressing its "socialist" suit against the U.S. government for decades of secret police spying, harassment, burglaries, mail and phone "covers," and more. And for seven years SWP leaders have been swearing on stacks of bibles that the SWP has never done or advocated anything but the most "peaceful, legal, educational" activities. Before Judge Thomas Griesa and the civil libertarians they hope to attract to their "Watersuit," these reformists have denounced the actual content of the socialist revolution.

Now the case has finally come to trial, and the FBI has gone for the political jugular in the increasing Cold War atmosphere, saying that in the event of a U.S.-Soviet conflict the SWP would defend the USSR. "Who, us?" asks the SWP, admitting nothing of the sort. And they are telling the truth—the reformist present-day SWP is indeed what it wants the government to think it is: the left wing of the bourgeois political spectrum. The only lie is their slander of the earlier generation of American Trotskyists, seeking to portray SWP founder James P. Cannon as just another Jack Barnes who refuses to defend the Soviet Union. It is *our* tradition they are attacking. And we will not let this slander stand.

This repudiation of their own revolutionary past is being made in the course of the SWP's answer to an FBI affidavit filed in February by Special Agent Charles Mandigo. Mandigo, attempting to compile a list of "illegal" activities performed by SWP leaders past and present, put together a wildly inaccurate hodgepodge of charges, most of which amount to advocacy of Marxism or decades-old smears (e.g., charges Cannon might have tried to wreck a train in 1942!). But in denouncing Mandigo's scurrilous affidavit, the SWP has taken a big step toward making explicit what has long been implicit in their reformist politics: rejection of the fundamental Trotskyist principle of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack.

Mandigo wrote: "In 1950, Cannon stated that he believed that in the event of a world conflict, the SWP would support Russia against imperialist America" (*Militant*, 13 March). The SWP, in a footnote to this citation, rhetorically asked, "When and where did Cannon state such a belief? Is this paraphrase based on 'testimony' by an FBI informer or wiretapper? If from a



James P. Cannon addresses New York meeting protesting Smith Act convictions, 1941.

speech or article, where was it given or printed?" When Mandigo quoted former SWP leader Joseph Hansen as having said in 1951 that, "in the event of war between Russia and the United States, the SWP would be forced to fight on the side of Russia..." the SWP treated it as a slanderous joke. "What was the source of this statement?" another footnote asks. "Did it include any explanation about who or what was going to 'force' the SWP to take this position—the Soviet government? the Fourth International? sunspots?"

The SWP is clearly claiming (albeit in a devious footnoted fashion) that these alleged defensist positions are not only spurious, but that they never represented the views of Cannon and the SWP. The SWP implies that unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism is a position the FBI cannot find in Cannon's many writings on the subject and that only a lying wiretapper or clandestine informant could make such a slanderous allegation.

Yes, James P. Cannon is being slandered—but not by the FBI. In its single-minded campaign to convince Judge Griesa that they are peaceful, legal parlor pinks and no threat to the U.S. bourgeoisie, the SWP is trying to cover up its own past. But defense of the Soviet Union is part of the ABCs of Trotskyism, and wiretaps or link testimony are hardly necessary to establish Cannon's views on the subject. In a speech given during one of the key political fights of his career as a

revolutionary, the 1939-40 faction fight with the Max Shachtman-led anti-Soviet opposition in the SWP, Cannon clearly stated:

"Our motion calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. What does that mean? It simply means that we defend the Soviet Union and its nationalized property against external attacks of imperialist armies or against internal attempts at capitalist restoration, without putting as a prior condition the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy."

—"Speech on the Russian Question," *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*

And how did Cannon respond when he was dragged into court with 17 other SWP leaders in 1941 on Smith Act charges? Did he duck the defense of the Soviet Union? No. Facing jail, not merely a civil suit to get the government to cough up a lot of money and proclaim their respectability as is the SWP today, Cannon did exactly the opposite of Barnes & Co. He had SWP lawyer Albert Goldman specifically ask him during the trial proceedings about the party position on the defense of the Soviet Union. And Cannon answered:

"We are in favor of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist powers for the reason I just gave, because we consider it a progressive development, as a workers' state, that has nationalized industry and has eliminated private capitalism and landlordism. That is the reason we defend it."

—"Socialism on Trial"

It was for testimony like this that Cannon and his co-defendants spent a good part of World War II locked up in Sandstone Federal Prison. It wasn't "sunspots" that forced Cannon to uphold Trotskyism on the Russian question—it was revolutionary principle.

### SWP: Post-Watergate Reformists

In the early 1970s, in the wake of Watergate and U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, the secret police were temporarily thrown on the defensive by a series of public exposures of their crimes. The SWP imagined it would ride the wave of liberal sentiment following those exposures, cozying up to the radical milieu in the process. So for some years now, the SWP's anti-FBI suit has been a central preoccupation. Naturally, revolutionaries are all for exposure of the crimes of the FBI/CIA, and anything else which hampers their murderous dirty work. We are not opposed to using the courtroom for this purpose. Furthermore, it would be a good thing if the government were

forced to pay off for the damage done to SWP members. But to the SWP the "socialist Watersuit" is central to their civil-libertarian strategy for the Reagan years, a strategy which at bottom places confidence in the trustworthiness and reformability of the capitalist state.

The secret police cannot be exposed away. In Reagan's America this strategy of courtroom exposure is shown to be the liberal illusion it always was. The secret police are an indispensable instrument of the state. How repressive these forces are depends on the class struggle and not legalistic muckraking. In fact, in the present Cold War atmosphere, legislation passed under the influence of the post-Watergate exposures is being used as the basis for increased FBI/CIA dirty tricks. But the SWP believes that by playing the exposure game according to Griesa's bourgeois legal rules they can bring the whole secret police apparatus tumbling down. For these civil-libertarian reformists, the courtroom is the perfect place to win "the right to revolution." For them, these exposures *are* the revolution.

In 1974 the SWP turned over to Judge Griesa a list of names of expelled left oppositionists in order to prove that advocates of illegal violence had been purged from their ranks (see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WW* No. 59, 3 January 1975). "The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity," proclaimed SWP leader Barry Sheppard categorically in a statement to the court. Not even a Gandhi could claim to be so "peaceful, legal" and harmless! In 1978 the SWP agreed to allowing only their lawyers access to the files on 18 FBI finks and promised the judge not to violate his condition that the files remain confidential, thus making their own lawyers into government cover-up agents. While the SWP was crawling before these legal niceties, the government was lying through its teeth. On the basis of FBI-furnished documents, Judge Breitell assured the SWP that no informer had ever penetrated its National Committee (NC). Then last year former SWP NCer Ed Heisler admitted being a long-time FBI fink!

So what has been the result of this obsequious reformist legalism? Has the FBI been forced to change its spots? Will the socialist Watersuit wipe out the government's legal cover for spying on the left? Far from it. The verdict is not yet in, but already the indications are that the FBI may in fact win what it wants from this case. When Attorney General Bell was cited with contempt of court for refusing to release informer files, the charge was overturned on appeal and the doctrine of "informer privilege" became even more entrenched in legal precedent. When, last year, FBI spy and ex-SWP National Committee member Ed Heisler exposed his own role as an informer in the SWP, he admitted only to having been a source of information for the FBI, not a burglar or provocateur. As we observed at the time, "Heisler may even have been instructed to turn himself in. The 'perfect informer,' the human embodiment of the 'new FBI,' could be a government exhibit in the SWP 'Watersuit'" ("FBI Informer in the SWP," *WW* No. 268, 14 November 1980).

The FBI, in a concession to the post-Watergate mood of disapproval of "unnecessary" secret police harassment of Democrats and liberals, was prepared to "promise" not to burglarize homes and offices of non-"violent" dissidents,

*continued on page 8*

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

#### National Office

Box 1377, GPO  
New York, NY 10116  
(212) 732-7860

#### Ann Arbor

c/o SYL  
P.O. Box 8364  
Ann Arbor, MI 48107  
(313) 994-9313

#### Berkeley/Oakland

P.O. Box 935  
Oakland, CA 94604  
(415) 835-1535

#### Boston

Box 188, M.I.T. Station  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
(617) 492-3928

#### Chicago

Box 6441, Main P.O.  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 427-0003

#### Cleveland

Box 6765  
Cleveland, OH 44101  
(216) 621-5138

#### Detroit

Box 32717  
Detroit, MI 48232  
(313) 868-9095

#### Houston

Box 26474  
Houston, TX 77207

#### Los Angeles

Box 26282  
Edendale Station  
Los Angeles, CA 90026  
(213) 662-1564

#### Madison

c/o SYL  
Box 2074  
Madison, WI 53701  
(608) 255-2342

#### New York

Box 444  
Canal Street Station  
New York, NY 10013  
(212) 267-1025

#### San Francisco

Box 5712  
San Francisco, CA 94101  
(415) 863-6963

### TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

#### Toronto

Box 7198, Station A  
Toronto, Ontario  
(416) 593-4138

#### Vancouver

Box 26, Station A  
Vancouver, B.C.  
(604) 254-8875

#### Winnipeg

Box 3952, Station B  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
(204) 589-7214



# Polish Solidarity Confronted by Trotskyists in France

ADAPTED FROM *LE BOLCHÉVIK*  
SUPPLEMENT, APRIL 1981

PARIS, March 28—While Poland goes on "solving" one crisis after another, the underlying process set in motion last summer continues to deepen: the authority of the ruling bureaucracy is practically non-existent; centrifugal forces are at work in the PUWP, the Stalinist party; the influence of the church continues to grow; openly capitalist restorationist forces such as Rural Solidarity are raising their heads.

The crisis of leadership has never been so glaring. In the absence of a revolutionary communist (Trotskyist) party, the workers movement likely faces the prospect of bloody capitalist restoration under the leadership of clerical-nationalist reaction or the strengthening of Stalinist rule by Russian tanks.

At the same time the fake-Trotskyists of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] in the United Secretariat have rarely been more shamelessly tailist. At best they wait for the so-called "left wing" of the PUWP to create a revolutionary program by a process of immaculate conception; at worst they uncritically support all wings of the "opposition," even the bourgeois-nationalist KPN and Rural Solidarity (*Rouge* No. 960, 13-19 January, even defends "the guarantee of private ownership of the land" for the peasants who are the social base for capitalist restoration!)

Needless to say, the LCR has been the most enthusiastic builders of "solidarity with Solidarity," even to the extent of criticizing the "passivity" of FO [the Force Ouvrière union federation]! Comrades! Do you really want these pro-CIA social democrats to send more money into Poland? *Rouge* No. 959, (6-12 March) commendably exposed FO's support to the Salvadoran junta. Do you really think that the leaders of the AFL-CIO, the German trade unions

(who served as a funnel for CIA funds to Portugal in 1975) and FO are going to help the Polish workers?

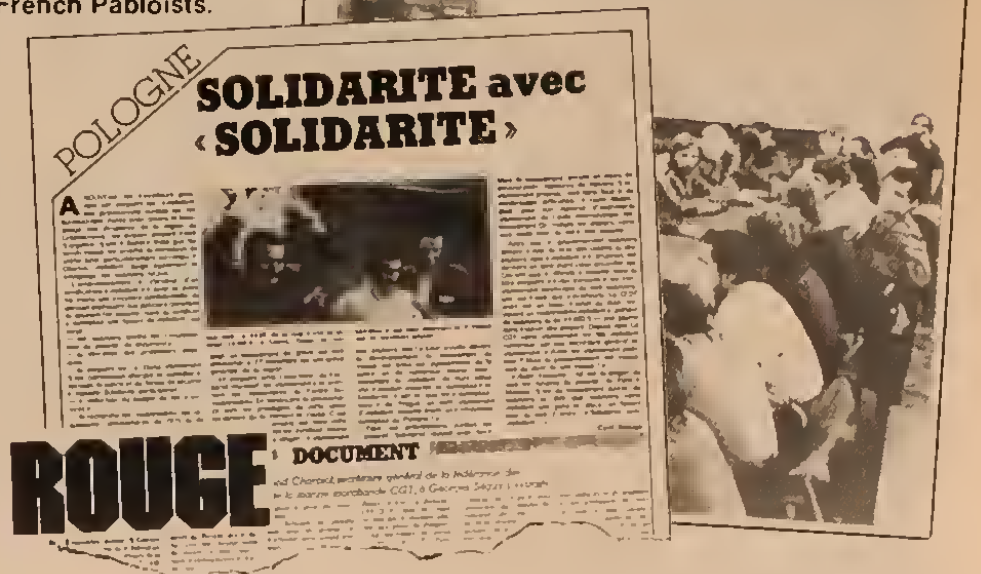
It's no accident that the leaders of Solidarity have elicited such "disinterested" financial support from the West. The social-democratic bureaucrats understand that the group around Lech Walesa see themselves as leading a Catholic-nationalist revolt against "Communism." This is especially clear from their fulsome support to Rural Solidarity. Trade unionists who want to serve the real class interest of the Polish workers must fight against strengthening the ties between these social-democratic agents of imperialism and the clerical-nationalist Solidarity leaders!

As Trotskyists we of course do not write off the Polish proletariat, consigning it to the camp of clerical-nationalist reaction. The central question is to *split* the new union movement politically, winning over the mass of workers from the Catholic-led forces. Key elements of a revolutionary program are the separation of church and state, promotion of agricultural collectivization, cancel the debts to the foreign bankers, fight nationalism/anti-Semitism, defense of the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc against Western imperialism, proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On the occasion of the visit to France by a delegation from Solidarity, the LCR, through its Solidarity with Solidarity Committee organized a meeting in Rouen on March 16. The meeting provided an unusual opportunity to show the potential impact of the revolutionary Marxist program on the Polish working class.

A comrade of the LTF exposed the real nature of the Solidarity leadership by posing a series of questions: why don't the statutes of Solidarity stand for socialism; what is Solidarity's position on the question of separation of church

**Solidarity with Solidarity: Tailing clerical nationalism from U.S. Cold War bureaucrats to French Pabloists.**



and state; why does Walesa confer with the pope, the greatest enemy of the Polish proletariat?

Solidarity representatives Sliwinski and Kieliszczuk replied that the Polish church is a people's church, which doesn't have the same reactionary history as in the West, and defended the pope as a true son of the Polish people. Sliwinski wound up his speech by charging that the LTF feels the church is dogmatic (!), whereupon a part of the audience, including many LCR members, were moved to hearty applause. Hard to believe! Indeed, the LCR showed opposition only to our organization and Trotskyist program. The only critical response to the glorifications of the church with which the Solidarity spokesmen replied to our intervention came not from the LCR fake-Trotskyists but from one member of the audience who pointed to the fundamentally reactionary role of the church.

In reality the church fully supported

all the bloody reactionary dictatorships of pre-war Eastern Europe—Pilsudski in Poland, Horthy in Hungary, etc. Moreover, the Polish church was responsible not only for anti-Semitic pogroms, but for the forced conversion and murder of thousands of Eastern Orthodox Ukrainians. And the leopard hasn't changed its spots!

Members of the LTF were able to discuss before the meeting with a young worker who was part of the Solidarity delegation. While opposing the ruling bureaucracy, he recognized the need to defend collectivized property and agreed that this point must be included in the program of independent unions. Conscious of the danger represented by the church, he liked our headline: "A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!" And given the pronounced nationalism which is pervasive in Poland, including among the workers, it is important that this militant came out for unity between the Soviet and Polish working classes.

This discussion indicates the existence within the Polish working class of elements conscious of their class interest, ready to struggle against both the Stalinist bureaucracy and the danger of capitalist restoration. And it confirms the validity of the Trotskyist program (this worker obviously never heard of Trotsky) as the axis for splitting the Polish unions between conscious socialists and apologists for capitalist restoration. The capitulationist policy which the LCR dares to carry out in the name of Trotskyism is therefore even more criminal.

For the LCR, cheering anything that moves, whatever Solidarity does is fine. The LCR's "solidarity" means covering over the fundamental class antagonisms between the pro-Catholic, pro-capitalist program of the Solidarity leadership and the interests of the working masses of Poland. Thus the LCR does its bit to cement Polish militants to reactionary nationalist leadership, helping to retard the development of a communist opposition in Poland. The program of revolutionary Trotskyism, which speaks to the real class needs of the proletariat, could win the allegiance of hundreds of thousands of working-class militants in Poland today. What is required is revolutionary intervention to *split* a class-conscious wing away from Pope Wojtyla and Lech Walesa and their social-democratic and centrist admirers and forge a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard in Poland. ■

## Brazilian Union Leader Sentenced Hands Off Lula!

On February 25 a military court sentenced Brazil's best-known labor leader Luis Inácio da Silva ("Lula") to three and one-half years in prison. Ten other trade-union leaders also received sentences ranging from two to three and one-half years. Lula was jailed for leading a six-week long metal workers' strike last spring in which militant workers demanded not only high wage increases but greater independence of the trade unions from the state apparatus.

The defendants and their lawyers boycotted the trial to protest its announcement only 48 hours beforehand and the strict repressive measures taken to smash any working-class protest. This "show trial" was nothing but a transparent attempt to hehead Brazil's trade-union opposition, which exists outside the structure of state control imposed on Brazilian labor by the Figueiredo dictatorship. The trial was also a blow directed by the generals against the recently founded Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers Party

[PT]). Despite the PT's moderate reformist program, the military fears that the popular Lula and his party could become a rallying point for explosive worker discontent.

An international campaign is being waged to protest this outrage. The *New York Times* (3 April) found the repression against Da Silva out of kilter with "the present policy of gradually returning the country to democratic institutions." Not at all. The Figueiredo dictatorship's policy of "abertura" (opening) was intended to provide a political escape valve by allowing limited parliamentary liberalization while still keeping the labor movement under strict control. But the workers saw through it. Now Figueiredo finds it necessary to turn once again to the old methods of blatant and undisguised repression. The Brazilian military dictatorship must not be allowed to get away with this crime! Release Lula and the other sentenced union leaders! For the right to strike with no reprisals!



Lula sentenced to three years for organizing a strike.



# B.C. Telephone Strikers Sold Out

VANCOUVER, April 5—After a dramatic five-day occupation of B.C. Telephone Co. offices in February and five weeks out on strike the 11,000-strong Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) returned to work March 23. Under intense pressure from the leadership of the B.C. Federation of Labour and TWU tops, phone workers voted to accept a contract that fell short of their already much-reduced demands. In a dangerous precedent-setting move, the deal left the fates of 24 fired militants in the hands of an arbitrator.

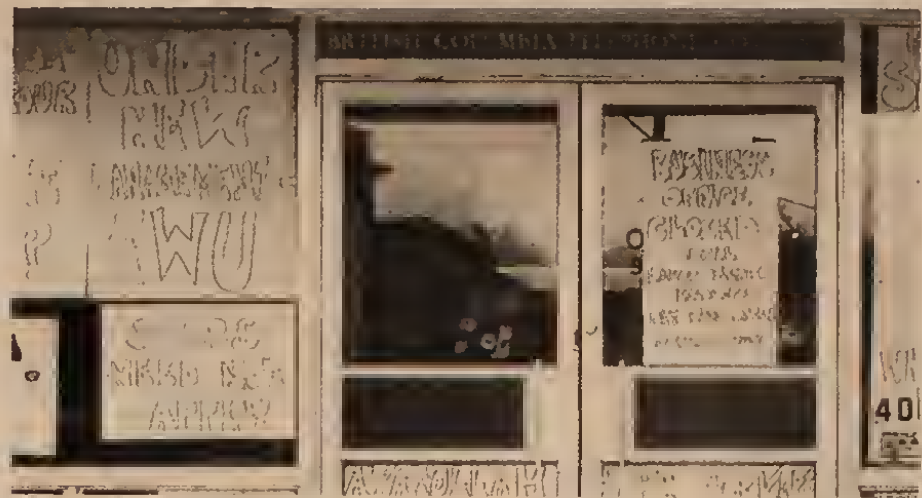
The stage was set in March for a Vancouver-centered, province-wide general strike to wipe out the results of the 1975 wage controls and to bust the strikebreaking drive spearheaded by B.C. Tel. But B.C. Fed president Jim Kinnaird struggled desperately to keep the battle within the bounds of pressure tactics and legalism. Trying to maintain control of a membership fed up and ready to fight, Kinnaird declared "industrial relations war" and staged a one-day regional general strike in Nanaimo, March 6. *Class war* was the last thing Kinnaird & Co. wanted, however, and the deal was struck to gut the phone workers' fight. Round One went to the bosses not because they defeated the unions but because the union brass gave it away.

The battle against the capitalist

offensive is far from over, though. Last week, 2,000 Insurance Corporation of B.C. unionists joined over 10,000 Vancouver-area municipal workers on the bricks, and firefighters throughout the Lower Mainland are prepared to strike April 13. Two thousand bus drivers are without a contract, and TWU members are far from satisfied. When B.C. Tel announced Friday that it was appealing the arbitrators' ruling to rehire the 24 unionists, TWUers in cities and towns across the province threatened to walk off the job in protest. If the courts overturn the decision "there would be no way to hold them back," said one TWU business agent.

The municipal workers, organized in the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and the Vancouver Municipal and Regional Employees Union (VMREU) have been on strike for over ten weeks now fighting the Greater Vancouver Regional District's takeaway demands and the employers' hardline refusal to grant wage parity between the mostly women inside workers and the mostly male outside workers. CUPE/VMREU have tried various attention-grabbing tactics, but victory depends on shutting down the dumps. Turn the scores of anti-picketing injunctions into garbage!

B.C. labor has the power to bring



Spartacist Canada

**B.C. workers' militant strike action in February showed the power of the working class. Only the treachery of the union leaders prevented a big victory—oust the bureaucrats!**

the employers to their knees, but the unions' leadership is unwilling to use it. Kinnaird & Co. haven't lifted a finger to help the municipal workers. The Sacred government is threatening to bust an all-out firemen's strike so Kinnaird is demanding that the union maintain "essential services." And the B.C. Fed leadership scrambled to help TWU president Bill Clark end the powerful occupations in the face of a court order. With their pressure tactics, legalist strategies and with their eyes always on the New Democratic Party's electoral chances, the

labor brass are an obstacle to victory. B.C. workers need a leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

Round Two is coming up: the groundwork is there for a Vancouver-wide shutdown, and there could be a long hot summer ahead as the key Pulp, Paper and Forestry Workers as well as thousands of miners will be up against B.C.'s major employers. The most militant English-speaking labor movement in North America can show the way forward with a decisive victory against the capitalists' strikebreaking offensive. Bust the union busters!

## Statement at New York SL Forum

# Gay Activist Alliance Hits Feminist Anti-Porn Crusade

While back-alley abortions are being forced on poor women by Reagan's reactionary budget axing, while homosexuals are facing everything from massive cop raids to murder by deranged anti-gay bigots—not to mention the Cold War terror by the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador—most feminists in this country have devoted themselves exclusively to a campaign against... pictures of naked ladies in *Penthouse*! The Spartacist League's recent series of forums around the country on this phenomenon have caused quite a stir (the *Guardian* refused to even print a paid ad for one), because of our forthright condemnation of this feminist anti-porn crusade as reactionary and dangerous. As comrade D.L. Reissner said in her New York City talk on March 27 at Columbia University: "It's a movement which puts feminists in an objective political bloc, no matter how much they may want to dissociate themselves from it, with the most conservative forces in society: the Bible-thumping book-burners, the anti-abortion, pro-death penalty right-to-lifers, the so-called Moral Majority and the FBI."

Campaigns to shut down "offensive" movies have been popular recently, like lesbian/gay protests against *Cruising* and *Windows*, Chinese demonstrations against Charlie Chan movies, and Latin/black anger against *Fort Apache*, *The Bronx*. The SL has warned that such attempts to insist Hollywood make "politically correct" movies, perhaps horrified from the J.V. Stalin school of censorship, lead straight to McCarthyism. They are an evasion of the need to attack the real enemy, the capitalist state

which enforces racial and sexual oppression and prejudice. But at least some people in this New Left milieu are beginning to have second thoughts on the anti-porn campaign, as the Reagan/Moral Majority's vicious assault on so-called "sexual deviants" comes down hard on them. The *Ms.* magazine crowd's crusade for clean living has made a lot of radical gay/lesbian groups uneasy, as they are the most exposed to the reactionary "save our children," pro-family moralism sweeping the country.

In this climate it is significant that a spokesman for the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA) came to the New York Spartacist League forum to express support for comrade Reissner's remarks: "I represent the Gay Activist Alliance of New York City. We had a discussion on this question, for this forum, at our meeting last night. Since you mentioned it in your talk I would like to take up also the question of the anti-*Cruising* demonstrations, because GAA initiated it. And I would have to report that at this point the leadership of the organization would basically agree that it was a diversion from what our real struggle should have been at that time."

"We applaud you in making this topic the centerpiece of your forum. A year ago we widely distributed a leaflet by six New York City lesbian leaders who thoroughly exposed, for the first time, the funding of the Women Against Pornography [Off-Track Betting, the Midtown Enforcement Agency (part of the NYC police department), \$10,000 from NY Theatre Owners and Producers]. When we, GAA, refused to support their Times Square demonstration, they accused us, publicly, of

running a series of kiddie porn rings. They were joined by NOW, the National Organization Against Women [laughter], who said they would also have to publicly break all relations with the Gay Activist Alliance because of our stance against the Women Against Pornography, because of our stance against all age-of-consent legislation, and because of our stance for the destruction of the nuclear family."

"We see the Women Against Pornography as basically a middle-class group, attempting to make the midtown area a profitable tourist attraction for the city government. What we have replied to all of these organizations is that what we stand for is revolution. We will join with workers and peasants in every country of the world to smash bourgeois repression and their morals."

The Gay Activist Alliance, a radical/New Left organization, has over the past several years had several internal fights over the question of "what strategy for gays?" leading to splits, some former leaders reverting to the Democratic Party liberal milieu, others joining the opportunist/"state-capitalist" Revolutionary Socialist League, which plunged into the moralistic anti-*Cruising* demonstrations with a vengeance. As a Spartacist spokesman from the audience pointed out at the March 27 Columbia forum, the questions facing the Gay Activist Alliance today confront many former New Left activists seeking a way to fight the reactionary tide:

"I was heartened by the Gay Activist Alliance spokesman, who talked as a spokesman from a sectoralist organization. Now, a sectoralist organization not

linked to a proletarian communist party, in leftward motion, comes into some very sharp contradictions internally. It cannot avoid the class question as it moves leftward. And it can't avoid the question of reform versus revolution. It can't live in a world of separate demands, because these demands are constantly running up against the capitalist state, and in particular the family. When organizations start to move left and they realize that the family is the root of women's oppression under capitalism, then they run into a question which can't be resolved in the democratic or reformist framework. And they run into the question of revolution."

"We came across an organization that was in this position, the Red Flag Union in Los Angeles, and they ran into it on the Russian question, because they were Maoists. They looked at China and saw that the family was still there and they asked, 'Where is the liberation, the sexual liberation, that we seek in this society that we have hitherto considered to be socialist?' And it was that which drove them to an understanding of the Trotskyist program, which alone can explain that contradiction. The question of communist revolution as it is posed concretely is the question of the party, a working-class party with a communist program."

As comrade Reissner said in her final summary, "We intend to do more than 'take back the night'." As proletarian revolutionaries we have a world to win, and a fighting program that can unite all the oppressed, transcending sectoralism, in common struggle for a socialist society. ■



U.S. HANDS OFF EL SALVADOR!  
STOP U.S. AID TO  
THE MURDEROUS JUNTA!  
MILITARY VICTORY TO  
THE LEFT-WING INSURGENTS!



Tom Janota

Young Spartacus

Tom Janota was the last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador. He returned to Madison, Wisconsin in mid-1980 where he became a spokesman for Community Action on Latin America (CALA). At a January 22 rally on El Salvador, Janota gave a speech on the history of the Central American country, warning against the class-collaborationist policy of popular-frontism (see box). The Salvadoran Frente Democrático Revolucionario, he pointed out, is led by bourgeois politicians who only months ago were members of the murderous junta. "We must not forget that these people also have the workers' blood on their hands," Janota declared. He was subsequently expelled from CALA, which now works exclusively through the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), for endorsing and speaking at a successful, 400-strong rally initiated by the Madison Spartacus Youth League on February 4. An excerpt from the following interview with Tom Janota, dealing with this cowardly expulsion and the political reasons for it, was published in Young Spartacus No. 90, April 1981.

**WV:** First of all, why don't you tell us why you were in El Salvador?

**Janota:** I was in El Salvador as a Peace Corps volunteer teaching high school ecology in the western part of the country, in a town called Ahuachapán, and working with the Ministry of Education developing curriculum materials in ecology. I started in 1978, and I was working at this school until the Peace Corps was pulled out in February 1980. I stayed in the country even after the Peace Corps left. Really, in February still there was doubt as to which way all of these events were going to go. For instance, the agrarian reform had not been called yet until March. So I was just very interested to see how things would develop and stayed on until late May.

**WV:** Could you tell us about what you saw of the repression in El Salvador?

**Janota:** The repression is a daily occurrence in El Salvador. This was as early as last year at this time. You could be walking down the street with your mind a thousand miles away, and pulling up alongside you would see first a group with a large-caliber machine gun mounted in the rear, followed by a

## Interview with Ex-Peace Corps Teacher Tom Janota

# Eyewitness to Betrayal in El Salvador

semi-truck with a couple of picnic benches back to back with soldiers wearing flack jackets and carrying these huge G-3s mounted in this truck. They're on patrol, maybe not going anywhere, really just passing by to terrorize the people as they're going. This is a daily occurrence. These patrols are always passing through the streets of San Salvador and the working-class suburbs. I remember I was in a grocery store one day, and all of a sudden across the street I could see through the windows that a National Guard detachment had pulled up and blocked off the intersection on both sides of this block and had their guards stationed at these various corners. Evidently they were looking for someone in the building on this block.

And then I would hear stories of night raids. The raids during the day, at least there's more witnesses around, they tend to be milder in comparison to the night raids, where there would be a knock at your door and you would be dragged out because you had been involved with a student group or had been involved with a union or a peasant association. You would be pulled out, shot on the spot, or maybe you would be pulled out and brought to police headquarters and tortured and then shot. You have cases of a teacher being decapitated and his head rolled into the classroom as a warning to the students that there will be no questioning of the government line, no subversive activities in this school. This really barbaric kind of activity is designed to terrorize the people so that even though they may not agree they're going to think twice about getting involved with these left groups.

They mean to literally decapitate, or certainly figuratively to wipe out whatever currents of protest are existing, more or less as they did in 1932 where there was an uprising of the Indians led by the Communists. During the uprising itself there were casualties on the government side of maybe a hundred, stretching it—not even that many, probably. Maybe a thousand Indians were killed during the uprising itself. In the aftermath there was a bloodbath of some 30,000 Indians killed and again strictly the Indians and strictly the males who the government felt were not to be trusted. They were "subversive" because they wanted to have their land back, for themselves and for the children. So the government already has that history of being willing to deal quite barbarically

with whatever opposition arises, and I think that's what's happening now in El Salvador. They're not going to stop at 12,000 dead but will kill as many people as is necessary in their eyes. This time you can expect that to go into the hundreds of thousands.

**WV:** Okay, so let's turn to the political side of it. You've said that reading Spartacist literature brought the lessons of popular frontism home to you—Chile, Spain, and so on. Could you tell us some about the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in El Salvador and how it came about? We know that the original leader of the FDR, Enrique Alvarez Córdova, of the 14 Families and the present leader, Guillermo Ungo, who is a vice president of the Socialist International, were members of what was called the "reform junta" installed by Carter in October 1979. And Ungo was also the running mate of Napoleón Duarte in 1972. What else can you tell us about the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in that period?

**Janota:** Surely. Well, after the coup on October 15, 1979, there was an initial euphoria because General Romero had been a hated figure among the masses, and even among some of the bourgeois politicians. There was great hope that there were finally going to be some changes made. And it was with that enthusiasm that the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats and even members of the Communist Party

entered the first cabinet of this popular-front coalition that was being formed. It included members of the left wing, also including some of the more "moderate" and even some fairly reactionary forces that had been associated with past military governments.

**WV:** Wasn't there a Communist Party minister of labor?

**Janota:** Yes, I believe a Sr. Gallegos, if I'm not mistaken. So there was this broad coalition of left to "moderate" groups. The problem was, though, that the power in this new government was really residing in the Ministry of Defense, with Colonel José García. And that was evident very quickly, as the security forces increased their repression after the coup, while on one side the government would be making promises for land reform and dialogue with the popular groups and looking into the matter of the *desaparecidos*, people who had disappeared—there were hundreds of these people, who had been arrested by the Romero government and were never heard from again. There were promises to investigate all of these things and to basically establish a new government and a new dialogue with the people. While those promises were being made, union people were being targeted for assassination, and also teachers, students, peasant leaders and so forth.

The Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats in the cabinet evidently were becoming a little bit impatient. At the same time that they wanted to make some changes, they found themselves on all sides being subverted by members of their own government. And then, of course, you have the whole question of promising reforms while the police forces, this many-tiered security apparatus, was going about systematically hunting down leaders of mass organizations for assassination. So it was a tremendously contradictory period from October '79 until January 1980, when there was finally a mass ultimatum from the cabinet either to bring the security forces under control or they would resign.

Initially, at least, right after the coup in October, there was a truce declared by most of the left-wing groups, saying they were going to wait and see, and there was going to be hope that this new arrangement would be successful.

**WV:** That's when they initiated the "reform by death," the so-called land reform?

**Janota:** Actually, that really started in October, but it accelerated markedly in March. Originally what happened was 500 of the largest estates in the country were occupied by the army. Under the reform program all estates over 12,050 acres were to be expropriated, and split up among the farm workers living on that estate. Cooperatives were to be formed then from the peasants living on



Aftermath of a m



El Salvador workers stage 24-hour strike against junta terror, March 1980.

Daily World





Montes/Gamma

Aftermath of a massacre in San Salvador: dozens shot down at funeral for Archbishop Romero.

the estates, and then these leaders would organize and it would become a more or less independent body. What happened at the same time, though, was the militarization of the countryside because the day after the agrarian reform was called, a state of siege was declared giving the military broad powers to intervene, basically at will. So this was a way to have a military presence in the countryside keeping a closer check on the peasant organizations that had been growing and had been causing problems in the countryside by their organizational activities.

Something else interesting was happening along with this reform, the subversion of the very government cooperatives that were being formed. Often times these very cooperative leaders would be the targets of assassination of either of the security forces. I've heard stories of security forces actually coming into the estate, a hacienda, and asking a peasant who are your leaders. And the leaders would come forward and they would be hauled off and shot or shot right on the spot. Sometimes it was the uniformed security forces themselves. Other times it would be the right-wing paramilitary troop called ORDEN meaning order in Spanish.

In many cases the security forces would just take off their uniforms and would be basically moonlighting as ORDEN members. So there's a very close working between this right-wing group ORDEN and the military. You hear so many times of how the army is trying to combat both the right and the left, but somehow I've never heard or never read in all my time in El Salvador of any case where an ORDEN member had been arrested let alone killed by the security forces. Basically ORDEN was allowed to operate freely throughout the countryside, and was widely feared. They could be in every small village and town, and they are the information-gathering organ of this old repressive machine that you have in El Salvador right now.

**WV:** What was the attitude of what you

would call far left towards reform?

**Janota:** Well, I'm talking again now about the groups that are more avowedly Marxist.

**WV:** Left of the CP.

**Janota:** Right. For instance the BPR, the People's Revolutionary Block, was the only far left group that was suspicious from the beginning about the government's intentions. So their tactic was to put pressure on the government to make the changes it was promising. And its tactic was to occupy buildings. For example, right after the coup, on October 24, members of the BPR occupied the ministry of economy and labor demanding wage increases for farm workers and factory workers, demanding the lowering of prices of basic goods and so forth. So the BPR tactic was to keep up pressure on the junta to make good on its promises basically.

Other left groups were, let's say, more innocent or something. For instance the ERP, the People's Revolutionary Army, declared a truce shortly after. Interestingly, the ERP and the FPL (the Popular Front for Liberation) both were involved in the uprisings in the working-class suburbs on the 15th of October, which were bloodily put down, as I talked about before. About two or three days after that, they declared a truce. The ERP said, maybe they do mean what they say, maybe changes will be made, and maybe there are some good people in the cabinet. So they said we're going to wait and see, and for the moment we're going to suspend military activities against the government.

So there was one line saying, well, we should wait and see, maybe there will be some changes, and then there were the skeptics, like the BPR, that didn't really believe the promises, but were willing to play along, basically, at the same time trying to keep up some pressure tactics. The truce broke down—it was becoming evident, as I was saying, in October already, as demonstrations were massacred again. There was a FAPU demonstration, for example, in the working-

class suburb Soyapango on October 22, that was ambushed and the marchers were shot.

So the far left began to realize that things had not changed, that reform was coming out of one side of the government's mouth and on the other side were orders for persecution of anyone opposed to the government. By December of '79 the left was ending the truce as it

At the close of my speech I began also to address the question of the popular front, mentioning the fact that there had already been a popular front after the October coup in '79, and mentioning the fact that the current president of the FDR, Guillermo Ungo, was a member of that first junta, and that that junta came to power by crushing workers' strikes. In one of the working-class suburbs near where I lived, for instance, in the San Bartolo free-trade zone and Soyapango, a number of workers' occupations of factories were put to an end violently. As well, there were uprisings in working-class suburbs, in Cuscatancingo, San Marcos, Mejicanos, leading to the deaths of at least 40 people, and hundreds were wounded in these uprisings.

was becoming clear to most people that there had just been a change of colonels, a change of military men, but not a change in program. And on January 2nd, the cabinet resigned in protest at the repression that had continued to go on in the countryside, saying at the same time that they were still hopeful that some kind of civilian/military coalition might be formed and might make the necessary changes.

The far left groups, by this time, had decided there isn't going to be any civilian/military coalition that's going to make any change here, and so they began to hold talks to form some kind of federation. These groups were the BPR again, the UDN (a socialist party, I think they had broken off from the CP

earlier and were really a more radical party than the Communist Party), FAPU (which is a coalition of student and union groups), the LP-28 (that's the Popular Leagues of February 28th, which is a group formed pretty much from dissident Christian Democrats, formed in 1977). These groups, the BPR, the UDN, FAPU and LP-28, decided to make a coalition and for the inauguration of their Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses, or *Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas*, as it was called, they decided to hold a demonstration on the 22nd of January 1980. This was the 48th anniversary of the Communist-led uprising in 1932.

It was an incredible demonstration. There were upwards of 200,000—there were so many people it was hard even to estimate the numbers. The march stretched 70 blocks long, from the western edge of the city all of the way into the center, filling the street. The march was reaching the center of town as it was still leaving the origin, so this was an incredibly huge demonstration to inaugurate this far-left coalition, comprising just the "Marxist-Leninist" groups that I mentioned. As the head of the march was entering the center of town, it was ambushed. There were snipers in some government buildings at the center of town, the national palace, the communications in the center of town. The official death toll was 21 dead, and then there were supposedly some 70 wounded. It's really hard to say what the real toll was, because you had tens of thousands of people in the streets when the shooting started.

Of course the march was dispersed. I would say that the massacre of the 22nd of January last year marked the last large popular demonstration. There had been, of course, many massacres before the 22nd, and there were going to be a couple afterwards, as Archbishop Romero's funeral was to show—but I think that the 22nd marked the point at which the far left began to realize that the struggle wasn't going to be won by mobilizing these people to march unarmed into the center of the city. It was more and more clear that victory for the people was going to be through

I mentioned all of those things and mentioned the fact too of the past failures of the popular front in Chile and in Spain, closing my talk with the call for a workers revolution that would focus power on the workers and giving land to the peasants. There was quite an uproar caused by my first of all having addressed the popular-front issue in public, and then having said these things about Ungo. There was a member of the Chicago office of CISPES at the rally... and he talked to me afterwards at length about how I had smeared the leader of the FDR. I asked him, "How do you think Ungo could escape blame or escape responsibility for what happened during his own stay in office?"

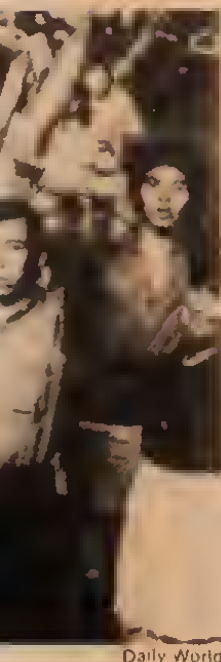
—From Young Spartacus  
No. 90, April 1981

armed struggle in the countryside and in the cities.

**WV:** I understand that the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats who are now in the FDR did not endorse or join the demonstration.

**Janota:** No. As I say, they were still in January hoping for some kind of compromise with the armed forces. Of course, after the cabinet resigned the Christian Democrats decided that they could make a deal with the military, even though some of their own members had resigned from the previous junta, saying that the power lay with the minister of defense. But there were also then a series of massacres and assassina-

continued on page 10



Daily World



# Cannon...

(continued from page 3)

but they are fighting tooth and nail for an openly sanctioned "right" to plant informers on the left. The verdict in the SWP case could easily turn out to be a victory for the Feds.

No matter what the outcome, the SWP will trumpet the case as a "victory." But by pushing the reformist illusion that the secret police of the capitalist state can be beaten in the bourgeois courts the SWP has already done a tremendous disservice to the left and workers movement. Having forsworn all illegal activity and all violence, not to mention such "trifles" as defense of the USSR against imperialism, the SWP has moved much further down the road of pure-and-simple social-democratic reformism.

It is a fundamental truth of Marxism that nothing short of a workers revolution will serve to abolish the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. It is simple common sense that in the Reagan years of heightened Cold War reaction the U.S. government will not be looking to cut back on the powers of its secret police. As virtually every commentator has noted, things have been moving in the opposite direction. If the SWP continues to play Pollyanna and insist that the tide of "post-Watergate morality" and the "Vietnam syndrome" are still running to the left it is only because such fictions are necessary to motivate their own membership and convince themselves that reformist political crimes pay.

The Watersuit plays the same role for the SWP today that its liberal antiwar work did in the mid-'60s: it is the main chance to become recognized as big-time social-democratic reformists. Just as their appetite to become the organizers of a liberal protest movement against the Vietnam War prompted the SWP to ditch their paper position for victory to the NLF (Viet Cong) in favor of single-issue mobilizations around slogans like "Bring Our Boys Home," the Watersuit has caused them to throw elementary Marxism and Trotskyism over the side in order to draw closer to the liberal civil-libertarian milieu they are currently appealing to.

The necessity to spell out for Judge Griesa just where they stand on the Soviet Union, violent revolution, etc. in order to press their suit has compelled the SWP leaders to come a little further out of the closet with their *real* positions. That Jack Barnes & Co. have been forced to more openly reject defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism makes clearer the distance separating them from Trotskyism. But it is downright despicable that in pledging allegiance to capitalist law and order they lie about James Cannon and drag his name through their mud in order to make the finest revolutionary workers' leader this country has yet produced appear more like the dirty reformists they are themselves. ■

## Corrections

The article, "Iranian Left and the Test of War" (WV No. 271, 2 January), reported that "on paper at least" the Iranian Stalinist-Maoist Peykar (Struggle) group "has taken a revolutionary defeatist position on the [Iran/Iraq] war," while Peykar supporters in West Germany were propagating the usual "defend the fatherland" line. We have learned from Frankfurt that the latter subsequently reprinted the official Peykar statement and now privately admit that their Iranian leadership had corrected the West German sympathizers' defensist line.

In our last issue (WV No. 277, 26 March) a caption on page 8 described a July 1979 Nicaragua demonstration in Los Angeles as "SL-initiated"; it was jointly sponsored by the SL and the Sandinistas for Socialism.

# Miners...

(continued from page 1)

coal production could destroy the UMWA. At first the news media praised Sellout Sam's deal as a "victory" for the union. Now they discover that miners object to surrendering royalties paid to the union's pension fund for the processing of non-BCOA-signatory coal. In addition to allowing the BCOA to bankrupt the retirement funds, Church made concessions which would have allowed the bosses to open their own non-union mines, sublease their properties to non-union companies, subcontract construction work in and around the mines to non-union firms, and buy unlimited amounts of non-union coal for processing through union tipples without any royalty payment to the union.

On wages, the companies were trying to buy miners' votes with a pact that *might* keep pace with inflation, since union strength would be gutted through the vicious takeaway clauses. What's more, while Church boasted that he had "won" the "abolition" of the hated Arbitration Review Board, a loophole provides that all prior decisions "shall continue to have precedential effect." And a "memorandum of understanding" called for a "study committee" to consider the "desirability of some type of review mechanism"—in other words a new ARB. On top of all this, Church conceded a first-ever 45-day probation period for new hires. This would have allowed the companies to weed out pro-union workers and would have exposed inexperienced workers to underground dangers with no union protection, while the union treasury would collect initiation fees and dues. This arrangement would hardly build UMWA loyalty among new hires—especially if they're laid off or fired before 45 days.

In rejecting this miserable contract, the UMWA ranks are facing a very tough strike. The BCOA and its customers have 20 million tons of coal on the ground—much of it already at the burning site—enough to last well into the summer. And BCOA negotiator Brown, who "has no plans to resume negotiations" (Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*, 2 April), made it crystal clear what his intentions are. The miners' vote, Brown said, "reflects a disturbing lack of bargaining discipline in the UMW which puts the integrity of the bargaining process in serious jeopardy." With Reagan's labor-hating administration in office, the coal operators are threatening to break the back of the oldest and most combative industrial union in the U.S. A lot is riding on the outcome of this strike, and not just for the UMWA. Defeat for the miners would open the door to an even bigger anti-union offensive across the U.S. So it's strike to win big, or else!

The experience of the bitter 110-day strike of 1977-78 is still fresh in the minds of UMWA members, but with the BCOA going after the lifeblood of their union the miners are not ones to run from a fight. On March 24 Kentucky state police arrested eight men after a

convoy of coal trucks was allegedly fired upon. A week later, 200 pickets descended upon a Mingo County mine in West Virginia; scabs' cars were reportedly stoned. Later that night an eastern Kentucky foreman's car was riddled with bullets as it crossed a picket line. On April 1 roving pickets shut down a scab mine in Norton, Virginia and three others were closed in West Virginia's Preston County. Police complained that strikers were "slipping back and forth" between Kentucky and West Virginia, making short, surprise stops at scab mines on both sides of the line. But such isolated guerrilla actions, though a necessary part of harassing the enemy, will not win the war for the UMWA.

## For a Joint Coal/Rail Strike!

As in the 1977-78 strike, the key to victory is in stopping the movement and burning of coal. Given the large stockpiles, the UMWA must call on the rest of labor to *hot cargo all coal!* The bosses are no doubt counting on getting coal from the non-union Western mines, as well as from various Eastern stockpiles, but *this coal moves largely by railroad* and can be stopped.

By coincidence, several railway unions, such as the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) and others, are negotiating new contracts for 500,000 rail workers in April. The railroad workers face many of the same profit-bloated oil, steel and utility companies as the miners do, and their jobs are threatened by Reagan's cutbacks in federal aid to railroads. A joint strike of coal and railway workers, each pledged not to go back until both are satisfied, could quickly bring the bosses to their knees and win what miners need—including restoration of "cradle-to-grave" medical coverage, fully funded pension coverage, a big wage boost with 100 percent COLA, unlimited right to strike, etc.

Joint union action is the way to win—but the companies know that too, so of course the capitalist government is prepared to step in with all kinds of anti-union laws. Reagan may attempt to use the Taft-Hartley law against the strikes just as Carter and the Democratic Party did in 1977-78. And rail unions have for decades been hamstrung by the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which puts all kinds of legal barriers in the way of strikes. A solid coal/rail strike could abolish these anti-strike laws for good!

Joint strike action is not far-fetched, either—in 1978 there was widespread sympathy among workers for the miners in the battle against the Taft-Hartley law. In the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), a class-struggle opposition group, the Militant Caucus, got an enthusiastic response to their call for "hot cargoing" coal. The do-nothing ILWU leadership even felt obliged to pass a motion for a 24-hour solidarity strike, and only last-minute stalling by the International (plus opposition from supporters of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party) managed to head off actual strike action. Similar fights by union militants for solidarity action took place in the Steelworkers, the National Maritime Union and many other unions across the country. The coal miners need not—and *must not*—stand alone!

## A Strike with an Anti-Strike Leadership?

"I don't like it any more than you do, brothers," UMWA president Church told a miners' rally in Beckley, West Virginia, moaning that he "had to accept" the takeaways because of a recent Supreme Court ruling against union restrictions on subcontracting. "We have to take it because the courts say it's the law." A miner snapped back, "Strike the Supreme Court!" Miners know better than Church: you can't mine coal with bayonets! Let Taft and Hartley mine the coal!

The real danger to this strike is at the top—Sam Church & Co. All along Sellout Sam has been advertising the possibility of a "no-strike" contract year, even going so far as to suggest violating the principle of "no contract, no work." Then he came in with the BCOA's takeaway contract, announcing a "happy day." And all along he tried to scare the miners with gloomy talk about another long strike if they voted "no." Church is a defeatist, trying to repeat his role of 1977-78, when he ran the union for Arnold Miller, who was forced into hiding to avoid angry miners. Miller's tactic was to wait until the miners were exhausted, then hand them the bosses' contract. Church has been doing the same thing from the get go.

In an unusual provocation, the bosses of the BCOA have tried to intervene on Church's side. BCOA spokesman B.R. Brown taunted: "The majority of the miners voting apparently chose to listen to dissidents who were not involved in the bargaining process and who, for whatever reason, misrepresented the agreement and assured its defeat." By what right does this mouthpiece for the companies intervene in the UMWA, outrageously baiting the most militant members? Keep the bosses out of union affairs! And Church takes his cue from Brown. With the union president apparently in seclusion, spokesman Eldon Callen remarked, "There appears to have been a major conspiracy to defeat the contract in some of the districts with upcoming elections." Some conspiracy. It had nearly 70,000 participants, about two-thirds of the membership. Next thing you know, Reagan will be calling wildcatters terrorists because the pickets are forced to wear ski masks because of anti-strike rulings! Miners must stand together against this witchhunting of militants.

## Class-Struggle Leadership Needed

You can't win a strike if traitors at the top keep stabbing you in the back. Church is not the only one involved—the bargaining council voted 21-14 for the contract. The membership must demand an emergency Special International Convention as provided in the UMWA constitution to elect a new leadership and bargaining council which reflect the sentiments of the rank and file. Such a convention should also send an official UMWA delegation to appeal in person to the various railroad unions for a joint strike. At the same time, locals must elect strike committees to take charge of the strike; these committees must link up at emergency district meetings to ensure a militant and coordinated strike strategy and a new, elected bargaining council.

There have been too many "reformers" in the UMWA who have stood for nothing but opposition to the previous incumbents. One-time "dissidents" like Jack Perry and Tommy Gaston (presidents of Districts 17 and 23 respectively) were actually installed at the suggestion of the Labor Department in the last strike—and were instrumental in negotiating a defeat for the union. If you're up against the BCOA, the White House and Sellout Sam, you need a class-struggle program and leadership to win. And that means fighting politically as well. One miner at the UMWA's March 9 march on Washington carried a sign lamenting: "America, I'm sorry I voted for Reagan." But the miners' cause will not be served by putting back those phony "friends of labor," the Democratic Party of Jimmy "Taft-Hartley" Carter. UMWA militants must call for a break with *both* capitalist parties and for building a workers party, which would demand expropriation without compensation of the profiteering energy trusts and fight for a workers government. The bosses will fight this politically, and so must any union leadership that aims to win! ■

### Workers Vanguard Pamphlet

Here is the true story of the Great Coal Strike of 1978—from the miners' side of the barricades. Not just reporting but hard analysis...and a program for victory!

Price: \$1.50

### THE GREAT COAL STRIKE OF 1978

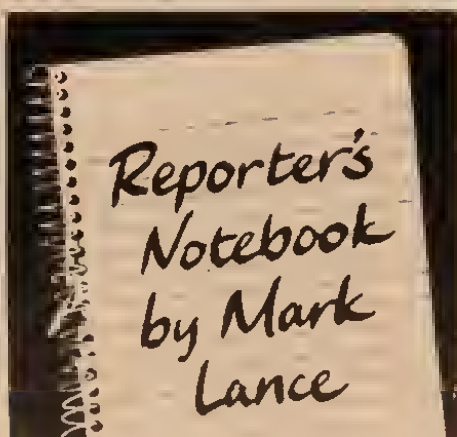
Order from/make checks payable to  
Spartacist Publishing Co  
PO Box 1377 GPO  
New York NY 10116



## Report from the Coal Fields

# They Voted With Their Matchbooks

When Sam Church arrived at the Pittsburgh airport March 26, the UMWA president was smiling. Church told reporters, "I'm not out to try to sell the contract because I think when you look at the overall package it's going to sell itself." But after being badgered by angry miners in six states during the next five days, "Sellout Sam" wasn't smiling any more. With four-fifths of the vote in, the reported count was 31,467 "yes" and a resounding 61,977 "no." The big business press couldn't



believe the vote. Workers Vanguard stood on the side of the union ranks: "Miners, Strike to Win Big!" was our headline. And strike they did, in spite of their backstabbing union leadership. During the ratification battle, WV reporter Mark Lance was on the scene in the Pennsylvania and West Virginia coalfields. Here are some pages from his Reporter's Notebook:

**Thursday, March 26, 11:30 p.m.:** At the U.S. Steel Corporation's Robena Mine near Greensboro, Pennsylvania.

Half an hour before the deadline, soot-covered, grim-faced miners began walking out of the elevator and into the bathhouse. Church came to this captive mine not far from the West Virginia line to drum up support from the hoot-owl shift. Plenty of miners were already on hand to confront the UMWA president when he arrived around 11:00. "You're not going to get everything you asked for in a contract," Church said. "Get us something!" a miner shot back. What about layoffs, fringe benefits, job assignments and sick days? "Take it back," one shouted. "I don't like it," a local official told me. "We sent 57 priorities down to the International from this local for the new wage agreement. We got one out of 57." A helman added, "They're going to cut back our work days. If they can go out and buy the coal cheaper from a scab mine they're going to do it. What's that \$3.30 over three years going to do for me if I'm working two days a week?"

**Friday, March 27:** On the road.

Church moved into Morgantown and Fairmont, West Virginia early today. This afternoon he was expected at Dille's Bottom, Ohio for a contract briefing of local officers from across District 6. According to one official, "They were waiting for him down there. Oh Christ, they had tomatoes, rotten eggs, all kinds of stuff. They already had signs all posted up on the road." Apparently Church was forewarned because he skipped Ohio altogether, and appeared only in Wheeling for a radio talk show. The station was picketed by 150 miners who pounded on his ear yelling "sellout, sellout!" Meanwhile in Uniontown, site of the recent labor-based anti-KKK rally, officials from all the locals in District 4 got their first close look at the contract. At the end of

a nearly eight-hour meeting a formal vote was taken on the contract. Not one local official would back it, not even "Fudge" Suba, who was on the negotiating team. In Charleston, District 17's local officers were even more incensed. Half the officials left the meeting early in disgust. Before departing they set bundles of contracts on fire on the steps of the Municipal Auditorium.

**Saturday, March 28:** Nemacolin, Pennsylvania.

Three hundred miners attended the Local 6290 (Jones & Laughlin Steel) contract briefing. Forty-five minutes after most of the ranks had left, an International representative strolled in, grinning like a Cheshire cat, and announced that he was there to promote the contract. A few miners wondered why Church's rep hadn't shown up on time, some five hours earlier. "My bulletproof vest is at the cleaners," Church's man pointed to the "economic package." "It stinks," was the immediate answer. His defense? "It's better than the one at Chrysler." Well, that's not saying much. In Logan, West Virginia, a militant center of opposition to Arnold Miller's 1978 sellout, the meetings were the same, only shorter. One local voted to go home on page two. Another wouldn't even listen to page one.

**Sunday, March 29:** Charleston, West Virginia.

Church's only "appearance" today was on WCHS radio, where he took calls from across the coal fields. The callers were civil but overwhelmingly opposed. Health benefit cutbacks, no COLA, inadequate safety: all came under attack. But the surrender to non-union coal was the most common target. Church repeatedly "explained" that many operators were either refusing to pay the royalties or were avoiding them by buying coal through surrogate companies. Thus, Church claimed, the UMWA wasn't giving up anything anyway, and no union jobs will be jeopardized. No? One caller asked, "Why did the BCOA want the non-signatory coal [royalties] out of the contract if they didn't have plans to run non-union coal through the preparation plants?" That one was never answered.

**Monday, March 30:** Charleston and Beckley, West Virginia.

Only about 75 miners from District 17 showed up at Charleston's Municipal Auditorium this morning, and those that came were not happy about the contract. As Church posed for photographers one miner yelled, "Smile, Sam. You're going to be crying tomorrow."



President of Robena, Pennsylvania local (left) votes with a cigarette lighter.



Miners head out for a bitter strike.

About 500 District 29 miners met in the Armory in Beckley this afternoon as the UMWA president wrapped up his stormy coal field tour. At the end of his presentation Church tacked on the BCOA's bribe for going back to work: no insurance payment would be missed for the days lost to the strike so far, and the April 1 holiday would be paid. No one was biting. The biggest ovation was reserved for the man who said, "You've asked us to take money for our union rights. I'm a union man and I'll die a union man and I'll not give up my union rights for \$200 a day."

**Tuesday, March 31:** Logan, West Virginia.

Today the miners voted, and the totals, phoned in to Washington, are beginning to filter back to the ranks. The "no" vote is overwhelming. Here in District 17 the count was 12,209 "no" against 1,812 "yes." Nationally the

count is 2 to 1 to strike. This afternoon 200 pickets shut down a scab mine in Mingo County. Miners know the BCOA has four months of coal on the ground and even the bitterly fought 110-day strike three years ago did not bring a victory. The question, "How are we going to win?" is on everyone's mind.

**Wednesday, April 1:** Masontown, Pennsylvania.

More than 500 miners and their families braved heavy rain to celebrate Mitchell Day in Masontown this morning. The Mine Workers' holiday marks the 83rd anniversary of winning the eight-hour day, a struggle which was led by John Mitchell, the first UMWA president. The parade included contingents from several UMWA locals marching with their insignias as well as fire trucks, floats, antique cars, scout troops and the like. Conspicuously absent, however, was scheduled keynote speaker Sam Church. A marcher's homemade sign read, "Sam sold our souls for a lump of scab coal." The celebration continued after the parade. There the talk was mainly of the strike ahead. "We've got to go on the offensive," a miner stated. "It means shutting every non-union mine in Kentucky. It means going to other unions."

As the strike slowly began to pick up steam, pickets struck scab mines in southern West Virginia again, an area which is certain to be a hot spot in this strike. Scab mines in Ohio and Harlan, Kentucky have been hit, too. Virginia governor John Dalton has already sent a large contingent of state troopers into the coal fields. But the UMWA leadership is singing the same tune as BCOA negotiator Brown. "There appears to have been a major conspiracy to defeat the contract in some of the districts with upcoming elections," said union spokesman Cullen. "I'm proud to be in that conspiracy of 70,000," a Logan militant told WV. ■



# Mayor Byrne's Racist Stunt

CHICAGO—Cabrini Green is Chicago's largest and most hellish ghetto public housing project. It is a place where 77 percent of the residents are single mothers receiving ADC (welfare), where families with no money and no hope are crammed into cell-like apartments and stacked in filthy high-rises with non-working elevators and unemptied garbage chutes. The people living there probably thought things couldn't get worse. They were wrong. They didn't reckon with "Crazy Jane" Byrne.

Most of the 14,000 residents of Cabrini Green can't even afford the \$25-\$100 per month rent. They have little hope for a decent job and are at the mercy of lumpen crime. During the last year violence in the project escalated sharply as two black gangs battled for control of the area's drug and prostitution trade. Warfare between the Black Gangster Disciples and the Cobra Stones (the latter an offshoot, several times removed, of the famous Blackstone Rangers) has been blamed for 11 murders at the project just since the beginning of 1981.

Enter Jane Byrne, mayor of Chicago. On March 21 Byrne announced that she herself was moving into the project, part-time, to end the violence and "study the lifestyle" there. It looked like merely a grotesque publicity stunt designed to counter the mayor's burgeoning unpopularity. But this is deeply racist America, and her "stunt" got very ugly, very fast.

First Mayor Byrne declared that 800 families were "harboring parolees who are gang members" and would be evicted from Cabrini Green. When evictions began it turned out that the victims were actually families behind on

the rent, tenants unpopular with building managers, residents whose impoverished relatives were "illegally" staying with them, or people whose children had been arrested for possession of marijuana.

On March 26 gangs of sheriff's deputies descended without warning to dump the furniture of the first 23 families outside in the mud. "They're just throwing people's things in the street like it's nothing," cried a watching neighbor. "They're treating people like they're dogs. I thought Mayor Byrne was coming here to make sure people were going to be treated right" (*Chicago Defender*, 28 March).

Byrne's next move was a blitzkrieg dawn raid by an army of policemen who kicked in apartment doors in a search for "illegal gang weapons" and "squatters." The gangs, of course, had been tipped off and a search turned up two daggers, some drug paraphernalia and a stray dog trapped in an empty apartment. (As a black alderman remarked, "A search of the Chicago City Council would yield more than that.") But Mayor Byrne rewarded her army of 150 police thugs with a \$50 bonus anyway.

Now, in South African-style harassment, residents are routinely intimidated and frisked while going about their daily business. Dozens have been arrested on loitering charges simply for gawking at the swarming policemen (this in a project where police would not go under any circumstance even one month ago). To top it off, Byrne has hired Major General Michael Healy, recently retired head of the Green Berets, to run security at Cabrini Green and show them what life in a strategic hamlet is really like. (*Apoca-*

*lyse Now*: "I love the smell of napalm in the morning...")

What's behind this sudden fury over a ghetto housing project which was left to fester for decades? Byrne certainly needed the publicity gimmick to assuage black anger over her recent appointment of two anti-busing white racists to replace two blacks on the School Board. But underlying the mayor's conception is the notion of "self help," which blames the residents for the miserable poverty in which they are forced to live their lives. Beyond that, Cabrini Green is just in the "wrong" part of Chicago. It's right on the edge of the "Gold Coast," where the city's bourgeoisie and wealthy professionals live. It's only ten blocks from the mayor's real residence, a luxury lake-front high-rise—so close she was able to watch her Gestapo-style "weapons search" from the comfort of home through a pair of binoculars!

The impoverished all-black housing project makes for problems in gerrymandering school districts and brings down property values. "It blocks the westward expansion of Old Town," said the *Chicago Tribune* (2 April). Now Byrne talks about "dedensifying" Cabrini Green by freezing rentals of the 250 vacant apartments, busting down the walls to double the size of each unit (and incidentally throwing half the residents out) and perhaps even converting the buildings to condominiums! If none of this works the city may well simply level the project and sell off the land.

The violence at Cabrini Green also makes a handy issue to further Byrne's crusade for handgun "control" in the city. Who is this crusade really aimed at? The gangs will always get their guns—on the black market or from their friends on the police force. Byrne wants

to prevent the victims from defending themselves from the terror of the criminals and the cops, the sanctioned killers of the racist, capitalist state.

Some black Chicagoans still welcome Byrne's move on the grounds that anything is an improvement. Of course the cops are going to protect Jane Byrne. But as soon as she leaves, all the fear and violence will start all over again. With no jobs and no future, many black ghetto youth steal and victimize to survive. The bourgeoisie's "answer" to ghetto crime is just more racist repression. Only socialist revolution can eliminate the want and oppression which breeds lumpenization.

Where will the hundreds of evicted families go? When you're thrown out of Cabrini Green, the last dumping ground for the people society forgot, there's no place left. The only result of the mayor's racist stunts, and all the liberal "gentrification" schemes is to throw more people out on the streets and create more slums. Forcibly segregated at the bottom of American society, last-hired, first-fired and ghettoized, the worsening conditions of the oppressed black masses are deeply rooted in this racist capitalist system.

Ghetto crime is real—but to eliminate it you have to eliminate the conditions which breed it. Socialists demand an end to segregated housing with high-quality low-income housing projects spread throughout Chicago and the surrounding lily-white suburbs. Part of the struggle for socialist revolution is the recruitment of minorities in the ghetto into union-run training programs and the fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss in pay. Stop the evictions and harassment at Cabrini Green! ■

## Eyewitness to Betrayal...

(continued from page 7)

tions in February and March, which led to even further defections from these "moderate" groups. For instance, the Christian Democratic party split in March, after a series of assassinations of key Christian Democratic leaders. Part of the party, the Popular Tendency, split taking with them a couple of ministers. In March you have the assassination of the Christian Democratic solicitor-general; the assassination of one of the UDN leaders and his wife, a Danish citizen; the assassination of the founder of FAPU; the assassination of eleven high school students who were holding a meeting in San Miguel in their high school rooms, surrounded by tanks and heavy implements and just blown out of the classroom; and then, of course, the

March 24 assassination of Romero.

So finally, in April of 1980, these dissident Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats represented by Ungo, and some of the other more "moderate" groups, decided to make a coalition with this Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses that had already been formed, and this new coalition was to be called the Frente Democrático Revolucionario, the FDR.

**WV:** I have two final questions. Firstly, how would you think that the workers and peasants are beginning to feel about the leaders of the FDR, insofar as there can be any evidence that military victory is being treated as an illusory ideal. And also how are they beginning to feel in regard to the Nicaraguans and the Soviets?

**Janota:** Of course, the Sandinistas made a big impression in Salvador. And it was evident to most working people that they had much in common with the Sandinistas, that they were kind of brothers in revolution. So there was widespread support for what was happening in Nicaragua. And also the realization that similar conditions existed in Salvador and that a similar solution was going to be called for. I think now you have the Salvadorans seeing that it's coming up to a question of either defeating the military and the oligarchy militarily, or basically giving up the whole hope of change. I think people realize now that there won't be a compromise, there won't be a deal that will work in Salvador because the situation is so polarized right now.

Talking about last year, I think that most of the popular support is with these left-wing groups—the BPR, the LP-28, FAPU. I think there is a suspicion of the bourgeois leaders like Ungo and so forth who have kind of tacked themselves on to this movement belatedly. I think, they can very well see that Ungo represents another class. So

you have a case where the leadership of the FDR really is, I would say, out of touch with the realities of the working-class person or the peasant in Salvador. They are the ones who want to see some change in their lives, their daily lives. And during the first coalition cabinet they already had a chance to see what Ungo and the others could do. And they have proven themselves unable to control the military.

So I think there's probably a skepticism about what the FDR is going to be able to do for the average working person. For instance, if the rebels were victorious there would almost certainly be another conflict within the FDR itself as the more radical members, basically the guerrillas, saying, "Well, we fought for certain basic structural changes, and we must have them." And so far, the leadership of the FDR keep hedging around making these basic and far-reaching changes in the social structure. There are divisions now, and I think that if they were victorious, those divisions would even be more serious.

**WV:** Which is precisely why the leaders of the FDR prefer not to be victorious. And I think one important point is that you yourself did not understand the pattern of the FDR until you actually began to read *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*.

**Janota:** Right. As I was saying, probably up until November of last year I was the FDR supporter feeling that well, this was a broad coalition of opposition groups that perhaps had some chance of marshaling international public opinion in favor of the revolution. And also in unifying the left opposition. As I've read more and as I've looked closer at the FDR platform, for example, and have read more about popular front experiments in the past, I've been seeing that the average working person—their interests are not in this kind of arrangement in a popular front coalition,

because their interest will always be subverted to the interest of the capitalist class as long as this popular front insists on placating the capitalist interests.

There's a great deal of turmoil in Salvador and there has been for the last couple of years. There have been movements, occupations of estates, occupations of factories. The peasants want to have land and the workers want to have greater control of the working place. These are basic desires of the people. If the FDR were to come to power, they would have to find a way to bring these movements under control because they aren't willing to allow them a free rein. I think there would be again the possibility of even the FDR cracking down on its own former supporters among the working class and peasantry. They aren't willing to carry out the basic changes of the socialist revolution that must be made there.

**WV:** Thank you very much, Tom. ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

24 issues—\$3  
Introductory offer (6 issues) \$1  
International rates: 24 issues—\$12 airmail/  
\$3 seamail  
6 introductory issues—\$3 airmail

—includes Spartacist

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable/mail to:  
Spartacist Publishing Co.  
Box 1377 GPO  
New York, NY 10116

### Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

#### Bay Area

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

#### Chicago

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

#### New York City

Tues. 6:00-9:00 p.m. Sat. 12:00-4:00 p.m.  
41 Warren St. (one block below  
Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

#### Trotskyist League of Canada

#### Toronto

Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
299 Queen St. W. Suite 502  
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138



# Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

membership in the high school Spanish Club and Rodeo Club are duly noted, does the reader learn that he is a Hitler lover. Instead, the press has focused on Hinckley's fantasized relationship and obsession with movie actress Jodie Foster, whose fame rests with her portrayal of the 12-year-old prostitute in Martin Scorsese's film, *Taxi Driver*.

Except for his wealthy family background, Hinckley doesn't seem much different from many of the creeps who organize race terror, burning crosses in New England, paintings swastikas on synagogues in Los Angeles, lynching in Alabama. Hinckley is called an "ex-Nazi." Why "ex"? He seems to have gone around to various places and groups looking for fascist terrorist action. Harold Covington, Führer of the North Carolina-based Nazi group—the one involved in the Greensboro massacre—admitted that Hinckley was one of his brownshirts for about a year.

Michael Allen, the Chicago Nazi, "disowns" Hinckley with the statement that "the Nazis have nothing against Ronald Reagan. We like most of what he's doing" (*Guardian*, 8 April). Allen remembers Hinckley going to St. Louis to take part in an armed provocation there celebrating George Lincoln Rockwell's birthday. The Nazis were run out by several thousand anti-Nazi demonstrators. "He liked being a storm trooper," remembered Allen. But according to Allen, the other Nazis thought Hinckley might be an undercover agent for the government so they expelled him in 1979.

Despite the fact that Hinckley is a Nazi, the ruling class is trying to get what it can from the assassination attempt. First and foremost, there is the cry for "law and order." Strom Thurmond interrupted his campaign for repeal of the Voting Rights Act to demand that presidential assassination be made a capital crime. The U.S. already has a *lèse majesté* law for presidents. The maniacal Squeaky Fromme, who only pointed a gun at Gerald Ford, and deranged "mom" Sara Jane Moore are spending their

lives in prison. Now there are calls to unleash the FBI/CIA (when were the secret police ever "leashed"?). In these Cold War days, when "terrorism" has replaced "human rights" as the code word for the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive, they will no doubt rack their brains looking for a "Russian Connection." But this time they've got a certifiable fascist terrorist on their hands. Nevertheless the targets of the secret police tomorrow will be the same as yesterday: the left, militants, blacks and workers.

Consider the case of John Hinckley and the Secret Service. Hinckley was arrested and fined in Nashville in 1979 for weapons' possession, carrying three guns when President Carter was in town. This didn't get Hinckley onto the Secret Service's list of the top 400 potential presidential assassins, however. Nor did he appear on the bigger S.S. computer list of 25,000 names. Who is on that list if Nazi killers are not? When Jimmy Carter wanted an appreciative audience for his "let 'em walk" energy speech at the CWA convention in Detroit in 1979, the Secret Service grabbed elected union convention delegate Jane Margolis and dragged her off the floor. The Secret Service was later forced to make a written apology and cash award for this blatant political censorship.

For Reagan and the Republicans, the shooting produced a wave of sympathy they hope to translate into support for the budget cuts. The timing is fortuitous as Reagan's popularity had plunged to the lowest-ever for a newly elected president. Meanwhile, the liberals are spinning nauseating variations on the theme of Violent America. After each assassination attempt, the gun control lobby blames so-called easy access to handguns for violence. This campaign will never stop types like Hinckley and all the other criminals from obtaining weapons. Gun control aims at an absolute monopoly of the means of violence in the hands of the capitalist state, while making it a crime for the citizenry to defend itself.

And now with staggering hypocrisy the U.S. government preaches against assassination. These are the same men

who admit trying to assassinate Castro no less than eight times! They embrace political terrorism except when it's directed at the office of their "elected monarch." U.S. imperialism—which bombed Vietnam into a moonscape of death and destruction, organized personal torture and terror of tens of thousands and today backs every right-wing torture regime from South Korea to South Africa to El Salvador—cries for a world without violence. But when the U.S. rulers promise to reduce

shouting match, mainly over the issue of who would be in charge" (*Wall Street Journal*, 2 May). In the flare-up, readying nuclear missiles and programming SAC bombers for "go" became a game of one-downmanship for the Reagan team. It was a game that Haig lost again. By early evening it was announced that on military matters Weinberger outranked Haig.

The Haig performance of naked power hunger on the day of the assassination attempt came on the heels of his



Nazi provocation in St. Louis, March 1978: Hinckley and the Hitler-lovers were run off the streets.

violence, this only means more killer cops and more secret police with even fewer civilian checks.

## "Control C'est Moi"

Perhaps the most interesting note in the entire assassination business is that it was not Ronald Reagan but Alexander Haig who was brought to political center stage. Over Reagan's wounded body, the secretary-on-horseback made a reach for power that scared nearly everybody. In the tradition of "responsible" bourgeois journalism (the kind of responsibility that kept them from printing stories about preparations for the Bay of Pigs for months), the *New York Times* is trying to play it down, referring coyly to the secretary "misspeaking himself." But the *Wall Street Journal*, whose big business readers have an interest in knowing what's really going on, gave a detailed account of the stormy confrontations behind the scenes.

Shortly after 4 p.m. while Reagan was on the operating table and George Bush was flying in from Texas, Haig rushed to the White House. Without consulting anybody he stood before reporters and the peak TV audience looking like no one so much as General James Mattoon Scott from the movie *Seven Days in May* and announced: "I am in control." Reaching into his fantasy life a little he positioned himself as third in the line of presidential succession. Not so fast, general. First of all, the president wasn't dying. Secondly, Bush was in a plane with a sophisticated communications apparatus. And, as even high school civics students know, Haig is not third in line to succeed the president (the Speaker of the House and President Pro Tem of the Senate come before him).

While on camera, Haig assured the public that no military "alert" was on or even "contemplated." He then went to the Situation Room, where he directed Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to make military posture conform to his surprise statement. Cap the Knife, however, informed Haig that military "alert" measures had already been taken. According to "some accounts" of the situation in the Situation Room, Haig and Weinberger broke out into "a

crisis over the "crisis" management team. He lost that battle to George Bush and the White House staff. Since inauguration day, Haig, who was advertised as a tough bureaucratic infighter, has shown himself to be brittle and not very smart. In response to the choice of Bush for "crisis manager," the Captain Queeg at State reputedly threatened to quit eight or nine times, blaming everybody in sight without benefit of ball bearings. Slapped down by Reagan and the Meeses, Haig has demonstrated that he does not have himself in control. Such men are extremely dangerous.

The real problem Haig poses for Reagan is not one of policy. There is bipartisan consensus on the anti-Soviet war drive. Haig is scary because he expresses openly what Reagan likes to hide behind a style of boardroom humor: an undisguised desire to run the world, an unbridled ideological zeal that is too primitive for public credibility. For instance, Haig recently alibied the military junta in El Salvador, whose troops raped and murdered four American missionaries, claiming the nuns were probably running roadblocks, presumably trying to run down innocent right-wing murderers.

On the day that a Nazi took a shot at the president, amid the calls for "law and order," and the moaning over "senseless violence," the U.S. public got a glimpse of the political personality of the men who are driving toward the greatest mass violence in history—World War III. ■

# Build Anti-Imperialist Contingent...

(continued from page 12)

fight to defeat it, between class collaboration and class struggle. Genuine anti-imperialist militants must be for Salvadoran left-wing rebels getting as many guns as they can, wherever they can, certainly, if they can, from the treacherous and reluctant Soviet bloc. Revolutionaries say: No popular-front illusions—Break with the bourgeoisie! The only way to sweep out the murderous generals and their death squads is through workers revolution.

This is the program for victory in Central America. Yet so desperate are the reformists to avoid any mention of revolution that some of them have

resorted to physical violence in a vain attempt to silence the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League. In Los Angeles, they even phoned up their mailing list with the lie that an SL/SYL-initiated demonstration protesting U.S. deportation of Salvadoran refugees, the first ever in the country, had been "canceled." But we will not let such criminal provocations stand in the way of protesting U.S. imperialism's Cold War drive.

May 3 is D-Day. Unless we mobilize in a militant Anti-Imperialist Contingent, the politics that will be heard will be those of the Teddy Kennedys and their cheerleaders. We call upon all those who want to smash the bloody terror of the U.S.-backed Salvadoran junta to march with us on May 3, in Washington and San Francisco, demanding "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!"

March with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent! ■



Ungo, center, fronts for junta butchers in 1979—now he heads FDR popular front.

## SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE VIDEO TAPE SHOWING

### Fighting Fascism Through Labor/Black Mobilizations

Monday, April 13, 7:00 pm  
Boston University  
SED (School of Education) 1770  
Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League  
through the BU Free School  
For more information call (617) 492-3928

**BOSTON**



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!

# Build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, May 3!

A bloody civil war is raging in El Salvador. Nicaragua is threatened with counterrevolutionary invasion. Reagan has proclaimed Central America the front line of his anti-Soviet Cold War. Which side are you on?

The U.S. sends Huey helicopters and Green Beret "advisers" to prop up the junta, threatens military blockade of Cuba, rattles nuclear missiles over Poland. But seeking to placate imperialist liberals like Kennedy, reformist organizers of El Salvador protests refuse to side with the Salvadoran rebels.

A militant protest is needed NOW against the imperialist war drive! The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are calling for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march on May 3 in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco for the demands: Stop all aid, military and economic, to the Salvadoran junta! U.S./OAS hands off Central America! Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!

Ronald Reagan and General Haig have a side. They back the murderous junta and anti-communist death squads

who slaughtered more than 12,000 Salvadorans last year. Haig even excuses the murder of four American nuns in order to justify U.S. support to a gang of blood-crazed despots. All in the service of the imperialist crusade against "Soviet terrorism." Reagan and Haig stand by their butchers.

We must take a side, too. It is not enough to demand no American intervention. Self-determination, the liberals' slogan, is not the issue. We want the leftist insurgents to win the civil war, to defeat the military junta and its imperialist godfathers. Anti-imperialist militants must back to the hilt the struggle of the Salvadoran workers and peasants against their oppressors.

Reagan/Haig have targeted Central America for a "showdown" in their anti-Soviet war drive. The U.S. imperialists have their own hit list: from Nicaragua and Afghanistan to Cuba, Poland, the USSR. Their ultimate aim is to reverse the gains of the October Revolution, posing the threat of irradiated barbarism in a nuclear World War III.

### Lessons of Vietnam

There's a lot of talk of a "new Vietnam" in Central America. This

phrase means different things to different people. For Reagan, imperialism's dirty war in Southeast Asia was a "noble cause." He wants to get even for the humiliating defeat inflicted by the Indochinese (and the Soviets) by drowning the Central American masses in blood.

For the liberals, Vietnam was above all a *losing* imperialist war, and they're afraid of going under with another tinpot dictatorship. Their program: the same phony CIA land reform that was called "pacification" in Indochina. In El Salvador it's called "reform by death." Don't forget: the liberals brought you the Bay of Pigs and the Gulf of Tonkin!

The reformists see a "new Vietnam" as the excuse for reviving their coalition with the Democratic "doves." Yesterday, Gene McCarthy and Vance Hartke. Today, Teddy Kennedy and Carter's ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White. The reformists climbed aboard the handwagon of bourgeois defeatism over Vietnam. But you don't get bourgeois defeatism unless the bourgeoisie is getting defeated!

They claim that the popular front of "peace" Democrats and pacifist leftists "won" in Indochina. No. Everything that was won in Vietnam was won on the battlefield. When the U.S. army was forced to withdraw in 1973 the "anti-war" movement simply collapsed. It took two more years of bloody fighting against the American-backed Thieu dictatorship before the NLF/DRV could take Saigon—with no help from their rad-lib "friends."

In Vietnam the reformists called for "negotiations now" and "bring our boys home." Revolutionaries proclaimed, "All Indochina Must Go Communist," and said that *our* boys over there were the heroic fighters in the Viet Cong. We called for labor political strikes against the war and for a workers party—this was how to mobilize the power of the American proletariat which could stop the imperialists in their tracks.

Then as now, liberal "peace" crawls

are futile attempts to pressure imperialism into more "realistic" policies. But the Yankee tiger won't change its stripes. What's needed is hundreds and thousands marching for military victory to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador and the labor movement using its power to stop the Pentagon warmongers and State Department MacArthurs. For labor boycotts of all military goods to the junta! The real lesson of Vietnam is that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

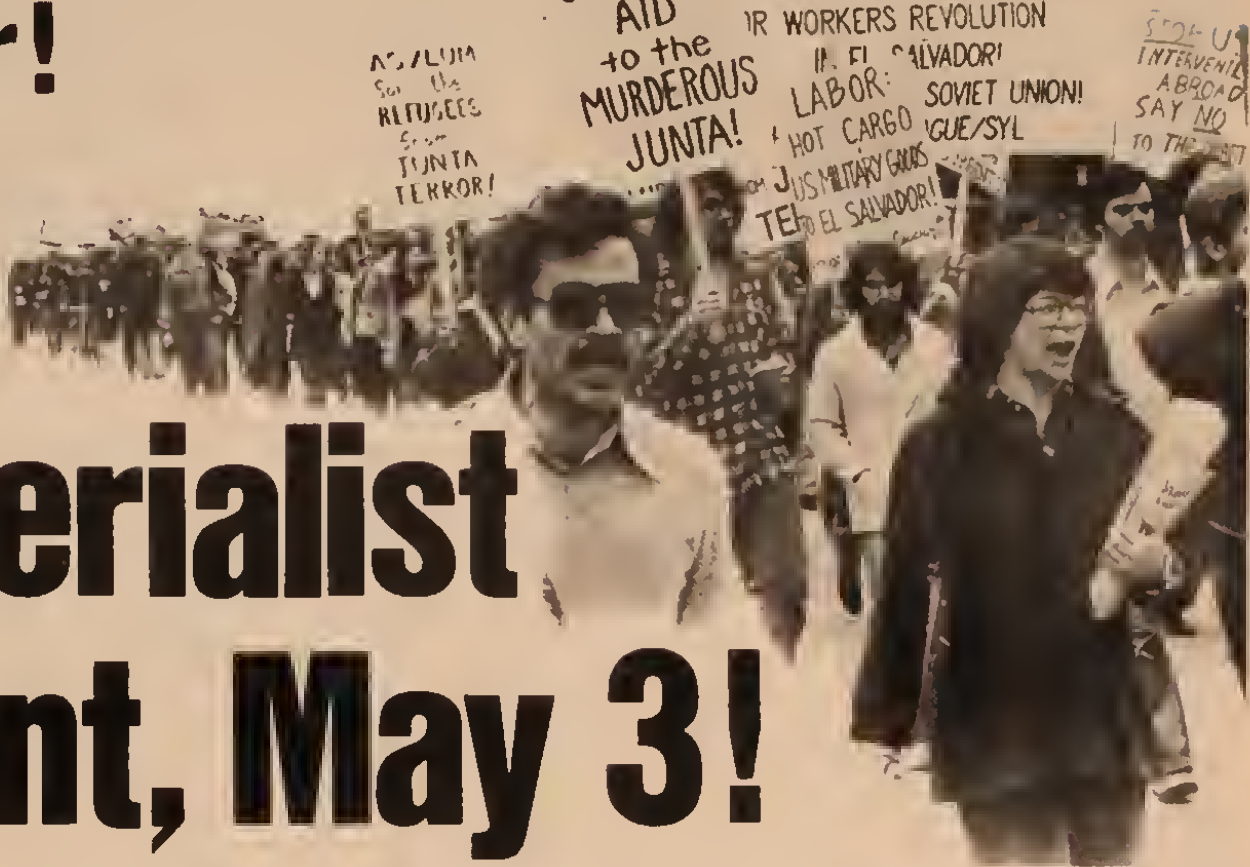
### Why an Anti-Imperialist Contingent?

The May 3 march on Washington called by the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) and May 3 Coalition *refuses to take a side* in the Salvadoran civil war and carefully avoids even mentioning the word "imperialism." Instead, with classic reformist "hutter not guns" rhetoric they call for nothing but a change in U.S. priorities. The central slogan of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), one of the main organizers of the May 3 rally, is "self-determination." So if the junta slaughters thousands by itself, it's no concern of these reformists and liberals!

The program of PAM and CISPES is the program of the imperialist liberals. They support a Congressional bill cutting off *military* aid to the junta, but not the far larger "economic" aid which keeps the bankrupt regime afloat. They talk only of "self-determination" so they can make a political bloc with Teddy Kennedy, who denounces military support "from Communist and other radical states to the insurgent forces." They call for a "political solution" in El Salvador, which means appealing to the imperialist soft cops to broker a deal with the junta murderers.

There is a fundamental political contradiction within the El Salvador protests between those who want to pressure imperialism and those who

*continued on page 11*



Young Spartacus

### Interview

## Eyewitness to Betrayal in El Salvador

PAGE SIX

