

## A large crowd of protesters is gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial. The protesters are holding various banners and signs. Visible text on the signs includes "SPARTACIST", "SALVADORAN LEFT", "DEFENSE DE", "MILITARY VICTORY TO THE LEFT", and "MILITARY ANTI". The Lincoln Memorial is visible in the background.

*continued on page 6*



## May 3 Benefit Packs House

# El Salvador: A Program of Protest at the St. Marks Cinema

NEW YORK—"El Salvador: A Program of Protest" at the St. Marks Cinema April 30, a fundraiser for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, turned out to be the major building event in NYC last week for the May 3 march. There was a packed house of almost 500 and lines around the block for both performances Thursday night. More than \$900 was raised for the Contingent from ticket sales; collections from the audience and later

donations. Inside the theater, bus ticket sales moved briskly and scores of Contingent buttons reading "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" were sold.

The benefit was a double bill, featuring a slide show by Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador, followed by the film "Revolution or Death." For Janota, an eyewitness to the 1979 coup, the St. Marks event was the last point on his

East Coast/Midwest tour, which has taken him to five cities and college campuses from Ann Arbor to Oberlin to Brandeis and Harvard. His talk traced the history of oppression in El Salvador including the Indian revolts of the last century and the 1932 Communist-led uprising, brutally crushed by the predecessors of the same military butchers who rule today. Photos of the contested zones in northeastern Morazan and Chalatenango, scenes of "daily life"—such as the repressive forces' sweeps through the working class districts of Soyapango—brought the civil war raging in El Salvador into close focus.

And this audience took sides: they cheered for the left advances and hissed at scenes of the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, with the sandbags on the roof, uniformed Marine guards in flak jackets and pump-action shotguns at the ready. Slides of peasants massacred in hacienda takeovers illustrated why the agrarian reform is called "reform by death." He also showed a Mother's Day newspaper ad taken out by one of the guerrilla groups displaying a young woman with a child in one arm and an automatic rifle slung over the other shoulder. "The choices here are very clear," Janota commented. "If the bloodbath is going to stop, it will be when the upper class is defeated militarily in the field."

Janota also pointed out how the bourgeois politicians of the popular-front FDR coalition cannot liberate the masses, for its platform "does not promise to expropriate the coffee wealth which has been left virtually untouched by the agrarian reform; makes no mention of smashing the military officers corps, which is the reactionary reservoir in that country; makes no mention of greater control of the working place for the workers. And so while the FDR, in its attempt to 'broaden its appeal,' makes the cocktail circuit, the conditions in Salvador remain the same."

Following the slide show, the



WV Photo

"After the [January] demonstration the army mobilized, tanks came out into the streets... anyone who was left without a place to hide was considered a subversive and shot on the spot. This is the answer of the government to peaceful, the so-called peaceful road to change."

audience sang along with the old miners' strike song "Which Side Are You On?" Then came the movie "Revolution or Death" (see review in WV No. 279, 24 April) whose powerful images of gruesome butchery drove home the message, as Janota put it, that "only the military victory of the leftist insurgents can promise a new society for El Salvador."



WV Photo

Lines stretch around block at both shows of "Revolution or Death," benefit for Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

# Phone Militants Call for Leftist Victory in El Salvador

SAN FRANCISCO—Results were announced April 28 in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 mail-ballot election for nine delegates to the annual International Convention to be held this July in Boston. Three candidates of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC), Kathy Ikegami, Kat Burnham and Larry Ackerson, increased their vote totals over last year's elections but fell short of winning a delegate position. Ikegami placed twelfth in a field of 30 candidates with 302 votes, up from 190 last year, while Burnham and Ackerson got 187 and 181 respectively. In Los Angeles CWA Local 11502, the relatively new MAC candidates Barbara Britton, Manuel Delgadillo and Barry Janus received 227, 177 and 139 respectively. These are impressive results for a hardhitting political campaign in the face of the right-wing current in Reagan's America.

MAC didn't mince words about the tasks ahead: to defeat Reagan's war on the unions, the poor and minorities, and to oppose the U.S.' anti-Soviet war drive. MAC took a strong stand for international working-class solidarity, especially for victory to the workers and peasants in the civil war in El Salvador and breaking all CWA ties to the CIA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in Latin America. This was met with an enthusiastic response especially from a number of Salvadoran workers in the phone

company: one young worker in Plant agreed that the workers must win in El Salvador and declared, "I hope they get a lot of guns from the Cubans and the Russians!"

Following is the campaign leaflet issued by the Bay Area MAC.

\* \* \* \* \*

The upcoming CWA National Convention will be held at a time when our union faces very grave problems. The new Reagan administration has declared war on the unions, the poor, blacks and Latinos.

At home, Reagan promises union-busting, racism and mass unemployment. Abroad, he is gearing up for World War III with the Soviet Union. The steps along this road to thermonuclear holocaust are clear—first El Salvador, then Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland and finally the USSR.

Feeling that Reagan's election puts the wind in their sails, all sections of the U.S. capitalists are taking the offensive against the labor movement. The bankers and big executives at Ma Bell are going to be leading the charge against the CWA.

How is our union going to respond to this crisis? There are two roads to choose. One is that of CWA President Glenn Watts and the Local 9410 bureaucrats—Imerzel, Mallitt, McKenna & Co.—"grieve it and forget it"; lay down and play dead in the face of attacks by the company, the govern-

ment or the racist anti-labor thugs of the KKK or Nazis. All that Watts, Imerzel, Contreras and the rest of them have to offer is that our union should shovel millions of dollars to the capitalist Democratic Party to get someone like "right-to-work," Mr. Ethnic Purity Jimmy Carter back in office and beg him for crumbs.

The other road is MAC's—for class struggle—of our union, the labor movement and the working class fighting for our own interests. The Militant Action Caucus of Local 9410 is running three candidates for CWA Convention Delegates. If you want delegates—

- who will tell you the truth
- who know picket lines mean don't cross
- who will fight to make the CWA a union that defends its members
- who fight racial and sexual oppression and stand for labor/minority mass mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror
- who oppose Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive and stand for the military victory of the leftist Salvadoran insurgents against the right-wing junta

—VOTE MAC SLATE ONLY! We want the labor movement to have its own party, a workers party, that will fight for a workers government that will throw out the capitalists and establish a planned economy based on the needs of working people, not profit. ■

## FOR 1981 CWA CONVENTION DELEGATES ELECT

### ☒ KATHY IKEGAMI

- 6 years in Plant Dept.
- 3 years Steward



### ☒ LARRY ACKERSON

- 3 years in Plant Dept.
- Steward



### ☒ KAT BURNHAM

- 12 years in Plant Dept.
- Founding member of MAC



Send fighters, not fakers, to the convention. Get this union off its knees!!!

## VOTE MAC SLATE ONLY!

MAC candidates' campaign brochure.

WORKERS VANGUARD



## No Choice in USWA District 31 Elections

# Balanoff: The Wages of Reformism

CHICAGO—The election campaign for director of the Chicago-Gary District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) is in high gear. For eight years a stronghold of forces grouped around dissident bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, District 31 this year could well swing back to the camp of International president Lloyd McBride. McBride's man Jack Parton, the conservative president of Local 1014 of U.S. Steel's mammoth Gary Works, stands a good chance of unseating the incumbent, Sadlowski supporter Jim Balanoff.

When Sadlowski won district director in 1973, thousands of steel workers believed his "Fightback" slate represented a genuine opposition to the International's notorious no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). By 1976 the Fightback opposition controlled every major local in District 31 except for two. But at every crucial juncture the Sadlowskiites betrayed the membership. As a result the ENA remained intact until the companies scrapped it last year, and the bosses have utilized a decade of labor peace to soften up the union, attacking the jobs and living standards of its members.

The 1980 contract—which both Parton and Balanoff endorsed—provides a 3 percent wage increase, while inflation rages at 15 percent, and a rip-off of the May 1980 cost-of-living increase to pay pension benefits. Thousands of steel workers have been permanently laid off; District 31 alone has lost 20,000 members over the last five years as more and more plants close for good. A large number of the 18,000 names on file in Inland Steel's employment office are steel workers laid off at neighboring plants.

Confronting massive inflation, speed-up and unemployment, it is hardly surprising that increasing numbers of District 31 steel workers see the Sadlowskiites as identical to the gang they threw out eight years ago. One Inland worker who ran a couple of years ago for gricver on the Balanoff-supported Rank and File slate told a *WV* supporter that he might vote for Parton because "the Rank and File hasn't done shit." And significantly, Sadlowski's home local at U.S. Steel Southworks voted last month to make Parton its official nominee.

Meanwhile Parton and Balanoff are engaged in an endless mud-slinging campaign. Balanoff calls Parton a "Pittsburgh parrot" for McBride. Parton charges that Balanoff is divisive and a commie. Balanoff accuses Parton of racism over the firing of long-time black

Steel workers have heard Jim Balanoff's "fightback" talk for years. They've stopped listening.



WV Photo

union janitor Louise Sheffield when Local 1014 moved to its flashy new headquarters (named Lloyd McBride Hall) last fall. Parton retaliated by suing Balanoff for slander. But neither candidate has an answer to plant closings, anti-union attacks and the growing right-wing mobilization that the membership faces.

Whoever wins, Parton or Balanoff, the workers lose. A case in point was U.S. Steel's decision last year to close its American Bridge subsidiary in Gary. The company offered the workers an "alternative"—accept a wage freeze and cuts in COLA benefits. Three times the workers voted down this blackmail. District director Balanoff announced that he stood behind the USWA members. But when the company made good on its threat and shut the plant, Balanoff did nothing. So today Parton is claiming that Balanoff should have accepted the pay cut. Balanoff's defense, printed in his official campaign material, is that "the members were aware that many would receive better pensions...if the plant shut down than if it stayed open." So what kind of choice is this: a trade-union campaign where one guy campaigns on a platform of wage cuts—and his opponent argues that plant shutdowns aren't so bad!

With leadership like this, workers at Pullman Standard, whose Chicago plant is slated to close this July, have plenty to worry about. Balanoff's answer is to push for a bill sponsored by his sister-in-law, Democratic Illinois state representative Miriam Balanoff, that would provide for one-year notification before a plant is shut. And this is sold as a measure that will benefit steel workers! In any case the pro-capitalist Democratic and Republican parties will do nothing to help workers at the expense of corporate profits. Chrysler workers, subjected to pay cuts as well as plant closings and mounting layoffs, would have a few things to say about government bail-outs.

When the bosses threaten to shut down, unions should respond by sitting down—and mobilizing their power nationally to hit the companies' most profitable operations as well! Militant plant occupations demanding unlimited unemployment benefits, full SUB guaranteed by the government and company-paid job retraining would arouse enormous enthusiasm in the working class and should aim at sparking industry-wide strikes to fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and jobs for all.

### Unleash the Strike Weapon

The gross collaboration of the USWA bureaucracy with the companies, from

support to ENA to joining in the chauvinist chorus for import limitations on foreign steel, has led steel workers to a dead end. USWA members can defend their interests only through mass, militant action and this means, first of all, reviving the strike weapon. Not since 1959 has the USWA waged a national strike! For all its hot air a few years ago about the need for the right to strike, the Sadlowski/Balanoff gang has been as reluctant to take on the companies as McBride & Co.

In the entire period since 1970, only the iron ore miners of the Mesabi Range struck against the ENA—and when they did, in August 1977, presenting a golden opportunity to bury ENA—the Fightback team sat on its rear while the iron miners went it alone for 120 days. And

petitions and donated thousands of dollars—both the International and district director Balanoff sat on the grievance for over a year, refusing to take the case to arbitration. Only when union officials from Balanoff's home local at Inland Steel threatened a public fight at a District conference did Balanoff give way.

Anwar's courageous stand that "picket lines mean don't cross" was borne out within weeks in the strike of two USWA locals against the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO). The company managed to get injunctions limiting the number of pickets, essentially making it impossible to stop scabbing. When the Balanoff leadership did nothing to challenge the injunctions, NIPSCO workers found themselves out on the bricks for a good eight months before they could get a compromise settlement.

### For a New, Militant Leadership

It has become abundantly clear that what comes first for Sadlowski/Balanoff as well as McBride/Parton are not the interests of steel workers, but enforcing ENA, the no-strike clause and court injunctions—and then preaching that the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party will grant what the bureaucrats won't fight for on the picket line. Steel workers fed up with mass layoffs, plant closings, company takeaways, routine scabbing when picket lines are set up and the victimization of militants like Anwar who won't cross such lines—must wage a fight to forge an alternative leadership. Time is running short. The bosses, who have run the domestic steel



WV Photo

Balanoff's home local, U.S. Steel Chicago Southworks. His District 31 has lost 20,000 members to layoffs over past five years.

when the basic steel contract expired once again in 1980 not only did the District 31 leadership capitulate to ENA, but it went so far as to endorse McBride's settlement. The agreement "answers our most glaring immediate needs. It's not a bad contract," Balanoff told the press (*Hammond Times*, 16 April 1980). Tell it to the thousands of Chicago-Indiana steel workers who have been on indefinite layoff for months!

In District 31, where there's a history of lots of militant talk but very little action, the case of Keith Anwar created considerable interest. Anwar, a worker at Inland Steel Company, was fired for refusing to cross a picket line of another USWA local at his plant. Although Anwar's fight to get his job back was endorsed at successive District 31 conferences in 1979 and 1980, backed by several locals and actively supported by over 1,500 steel workers who signed

industry into the ground, intend to make the workers pay several times over. Last year, when the companies dumped ENA they made it clear that they are no longer willing to pay the paltry 3 percent and COLA "guaranteed" by that agreement.

Just this month, Balanoff told the press that "every day [the corporations] mistreat people in the mills. They're not our enemies, but they're also not our pals" (*Daily Calumet*, 9 April). Indeed, for Balanoff, the bloodsucking steel companies are *not* the enemy. And the phony leftists that consistently supported him—from the Communist Party and its front group TUAD to the SWP, RSL, et al.—have learned nothing but want only to continue supporting such class collaboration. Only the Spartacist League has from the beginning exposed the Sadlowskiites as frauds and fought for a leadership based on a genuine

*continued on page 5*

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## French Elections 1978/1981: What Unity?

# Why the Union of the Left Fell Apart

When the French Communist Party (PCF) launched its general secretary Georges Marchais as candidate in the presidential election, proclaiming that "for the first time we are going over to the offensive and directly putting the question of voting Communist at the center of the battle," the bourgeois press once again accused the PCF of voluntarily retreating into the "ghetto" of Cold War isolation. The Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) responded to this unaccustomed combative tone from the Stalinists by declaring that if the PCF conducted a campaign independent of popular-front entanglements with the bourgeoisie, we could consider

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giving "savagely critical" electoral support to Marchais in April as a class-against-class vote. Since then the "Communist" Party has waged a virulent campaign "against ghettos" of a very different sort—a chauvinist attack on immigrants which makes the Marchais candidacy presently unsupportable by revolutionaries, and indeed by any class-conscious worker. But the bulk of the French "far left" had a very different approach: lining up with the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda barrage, they condemned the PCF as "anti-unity" for running an independent candidate at all.

What the pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) had to say was summed up in a front-page headline, "To beat Giscard: Désistement!" (*Rouge*, 17-23 October 1980). ["Désistement" is the practice of stepping down in the decisive second round of voting, in favor of the PCF or Socialist Party (PS) candidate who received most votes on the first round.] If the PS and PCF would agree in advance to cede to the "best-placed left candidate," they argued, "unity" could be achieved to oust the representatives of big capital from power. LCR perennial Krivine set the tone by presenting himself as the "désistement" candidate par excellence, and the theme was repeated week after week, culminating in the slogan "Against the right, there's one solution! Désistement! For a PC-PS Government!" (*Rouge*, 6-13 February). You can't help thinking back to the days when the "far leftists" of yesteryear chanted, "One solution: revolution!"

## Or, How the LCR and OCI Lick the Boots of Mitterrand...and the CIA



Before the break-up: Stalinist Marchais, social democrat Mitterrand and bourgeois Left Radical Fabre campaign for Union of the Left.

The reformist Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert opined that stepping down on the second round was not nearly enough. When the LCR proposed a propaganda bloc for "désistement," the OCI reasoned that the only truly consistent desisting position was to run no candidate at all. (They've got a point, Krivine, don't they?) And after that, the OCI kept up its role as waterboy for the PS by calling for a first-round vote for Mitterrand!

To listen to these pseudos, one would think that Trotskyism consisted of endless permutations of "unity": unite, united, unified, union, unitary. The OCI tries to dress it up with references to a "strategy" of the workers united front supposedly elaborated by the early Comintern. For Lenin and Trotsky the united front was a series of *tactics* to build an independent Bolshevik party; and the only genuine unity of the workers was that based on their historic class interests. But all the present-day "unity"-mongering means something else entirely. It is a thinly veiled call for reconstituting the popular-front Union of the Left, a class-collaborationist coalition which included the tiny bour-

geois Left Radical Movement (MRG) as a pledge that it would not transgress the limits of capitalist class rule. This was clearly shown at the time of the 1978 legislative elections, when both the LCR and OCI called for the victory of the Union of the Left:

- The OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (8-15 March 1978) headlined that "if the PCF leaders commit themselves today to *désister*," then the result would be: "March 12: PS/PCF Majority! March 19: Victory!" The "victory" of the bourgeois popular front, that is.
- The LCR's *Rouge* (15 March 1978) proclaimed, "Everywhere, mobilize in unity to defeat the right!"

Both LCR and OCI wept at the electoral defeat of the popular front! *Rouge* termed it "the price of division." *Lettre d'IO* blamed it all on "the PCF, guardian of the Fifth Republic." "The Union of the Left is dead, long live the Union of the Left" was their common program. Only the Ligue Trotskyiste de France put forward a policy of proletarian opposition to the bourgeois popular front. The LTF stated, "The *minimum condition* that workers must set in order to give electoral support to the PCF and PS is that they break with their bourgeois electoral partners and with the Common Program which provides the framework for this class-collaborationist alliance" (*Le Bolchévik*, March 1977). And a special LTF pre-election leaflet warned:

"By calling for a vote for the PCF/PS, these centrists call directly for the popular front to take power. But when the workers mobilize to insist that their demands be fulfilled by 'their' government, they will find the popular front blocking their path.... With cries of 'defeat the right' and 'Giscard out,' the LCR and OCI have adopted the excuses traditionally offered by the Stalinists to justify popular fronts."

### Behind the Break-Up of the Union of the Left

Already at the time of the initial breakdown of the Union of the Left in September 1977, in negotiations over "updating" the Common Program of capitalist reform, the two greats of French pseudo-Trotskyism had a virtually identical line calling for pasting back together the Humpty-Dumpty popular front. The OCI: "Enough of division! PCF-PS Unity!" And the

LCR: "Unity is what's needed." Krivine and friends tended to hold the Stalinists and social democrats equally responsible for the rupture. But the Lambertists went into Stalinophobic conniptions. One week later, *IO* thundered: "Marchais splits, Brezhnev approves," "At the root of the split campaign: the Kremlin's call to order" and "the hand of Moscow." Even Mitterrand didn't go this far with social-democratic demonology, merely coyly remarking on a "conjuncture of interests" between the PCF and the Kremlin.

While the OCI's histrionics are largely peculiar to it and the Meanyite AFL-CIO, its explanation of the collapse of the Union of the Left is the standard bourgeois/social-democratic account, which in a milder form is taken up by most of the "far left" and by "Eurocommunists" fleeing from the PCF. Everything is due to a supposed sudden about-face by the Communist Party, they say. Since this is a blatant Cold War myth, it is instructive to take a closer look at how the French popular front actually broke up. It tells a great deal about the remarkably short life of the Eurocommunist hoopla, and about the pronounced social-democratization of the pseudo-Trotskyist milieu in recent years. In particular, it underscores the decisive importance of the Russian question, which gave rise to Trotskyism some 50 years ago and which in large part determines where various forces stand on the political map today. And it sets the context in which the polemics and political battles of the upcoming presidential elections unfold.

A mainstream liberal politologue, Maurice Duverger, talks of the "neo-Stalinism" of the PCF, and compares its current stance to the early Cold War: "as in 1947, when the PCF locked itself in the ghetto..." (*Le Monde*, 6-7 November 1977). Of course, Thorez and his comrades hardly locked themselves up in the ghetto—they were put there by the hard anti-Soviet line of the imperialist bourgeoisie and international social democracy. Not that the Stalinists were to "blame" for the Cold War, as certain liberal historians today allege. The World War II "anti-fascist" alliance foundered on the fundamental contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state, on the bourgeoisie's natural appetite for bloody counterrevolution to recover for capitalist exploitation the vast territory "lost" in the October Revolution. But there is a definite parallel: just as the post-war tripartite "government of national union" fell apart as a by-product of the collapse of the Soviet-American alliance, the Union of the Left was in part a casualty of the decline of "détente" and the resurgence of imperialist anti-Sovietism in the '70s.

In the middle of the 1978 election campaign, the Socialists blamed the PCF's refusal to "disagree with the foreign policy of the Eastern bloc countries on any issue whatsoever," and Marchais' attacks on the "so-called 'Atlanticism' [pro-NATO line] of Socialist policy" as the cause for collapse of the Union of the Left negotiations in September 1977 (*Le Monde*, 1 February 1978). And in fact the first point of sharp discord between the Communist Party and the PS was over French nuclear policy and international alliances. The PCF, seeking as usual to pose as more patriotic than the bourgeoisie, had come out for de Gaulle's *force de frappe* [nuclear strike force] and an "all-sided" nuclear "defense" policy directed in particular at West Germany. In August Mitterrand denounced this as veiled



Julienne/Sygma

Portugal, 1975: CP offices wrecked by rightists. Portuguese revolutionary crisis drove European social democrats back into warring arms of U.S. imperialism.



# French Trotskyists Say: Giscard Never, Mitterrand No!

The following statement on the French presidential elections was published shortly after the first round in France's two-tiered voting system. The second round runoff between Gaullist incumbent Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Socialist Party candidate François Mitterrand will take place May 10. The statement by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, is excerpted and translated from *Le Bolchévique* No. 25, May 1981.

PARTS, April 29—After the first round of voting two points stand out: a possible victory for [Socialist Party candidate] Mitterrand and a defeat for the Communist Party (PCF). The Socialists assert that "the CP's defeat is the price of its divisive policies," and in the SP's wake follow the pseudo-revolutionaries of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire of Alain Krivine] and OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste] who, ever since the [1977-78] breakup of the Union of the Left, have accused the PCF of turning its back on "unity." In fact, the Communist Party is paying the bill for the renewal of the anti-Soviet Cold War (which turned not a few intellectuals, petty bourgeois and sundry Eurocommunists, frightened at being rejected by their bourgeoisie, away from it) and its Union of the Left line.

Marchais says that "the workers who have confidence in the party... thought they should cast a useful vote on the first round [by voting Mitterrand] to get rid of Giscard" (*L'Humanité*, 27 April). Who is at fault? The PCF was the best builder and propagandist of the Union of the Left, as it was of the other popular fronts in 1936 and 1944. Unfortunately workers who have confidence in the Communist Party believed them. And the PCF leadership is still calling to vote for Mitterrand in the name of the Union of the Left! Let's just hope that Communist militants and workers will refuse to vote for this apostle of anti-Sovietism and class collaboration!

At the beginning of Marchais' campaign, while violently criticizing his policies of French chauvinism and repressing struggles, we projected giving electoral support to the Stalinist bureaucrat Marchais, on the basis that he was running (if involuntarily and for tactical and conjunctural reasons) independently of any bourgeois ally. This could have been a class vote. But as we stated in the April issue of *Le Bolchévique* (No. 24):

"His disgusting campaign of racist provocations against immigrants gives a vote for Marchais a meaning which nothing else has superseded so far, namely [it has become] a referendum in favor of Vitry and [the CP's] chauvinist anti-immigrant line. We could understand why, given the absence of any other perspective, workers might want to vote for Marchais based on their disgust for Giscard and Mitterrand and/or their attachment to the state which emerged from the October Revolution. But unless something happens (especially linked to the question of the defense of the USSR) which could change the meaning of voting for Marchais between now and the elections (and still with the minimum condition that he be free from any popular-front link with the bourgeoisie) no revolutionist, no conscious worker, can give Marchais the slightest support, even the most violently critical."

## No to the Mitterrand/Gaullist Bloc!

"Vote Mitterrand, get rid of Giscard!" shouts the so-called "far left." "Yes, victory is within our reach," says the LCR in a leaflet put out the morning after the first round. Mitterrand's victory is supposed to be a victory of the workers?! What has Mitterrand promised which creates such enthusiasm in our leftists of yesteryear? To form a popular-frontist alliance with representatives of the bourgeoisie (Left Radicals, Gaullists, etc.). To reinforce the links of imperialist France with the Atlantic Alliance aimed at the USSR. To make the workers pay for the crisis of capitalism. It will be the popular front under the colors of Gaullism! Where in all that is there even a hint of the beginning of an alternative to Giscard for the working class?!

You need all the cynicism of the LCR leadership to write in the leaflet quoted above, "Once elected thanks to the votes of the workers, Mitterrand must be warned that he cannot govern with the representatives of the bosses." You have to be dreaming! But comrades of the LCR, you know that Mitterrand wants to govern with the right. And once elected, who will stop him? You? The workers? How? Mitterrand will not be a prisoner of the workers but of the Gaullists (not to mention the Royalists and Poujade, founder of the reactionary movement of small businessmen in the 1950s, who are calling for a vote to Mitterrand).

And a willing hostage! By seeking an alliance with the class enemy, he is telling the working class that he will take

Bourgeois autocrat Giscard (top) campaigns for austerity and militarism, while pro-NATO Socialist Mitterrand maneuvers for bloc with right.



Theremin/S. a-Liaison



Nogues/Sygma

no account of its demands and even that he will be an obstacle to its struggles. Remember 1937: The Blum Popular Front government did not hesitate to open fire on the workers, many of them members of its own party! And this incipient popular front is not even trying to entice the workers or pretend to be on the left. Even the American imperialists are prepared to "extend the hand to the socialists" if they can't do anything else. The *Washington Post* presents Mitterrand as "more favorable" than Giscard to "the anti-Soviet mood of the Reagan administration" (*Le Monde*, 29 April).

The LCR [claims] Mitterrand's victory will unleash a "dynamic" of struggles which will overwhelm the reformist bureaucrats. But if revolutionaries are to lead these struggles which temporarily escape the bureaucrats' control, they have to be an alternative to the reformists and their class-collaborationist policies. The LCR is not this alternative. Workers perceive it, and rightly so, as rebuilders of the

Union of the Left and as supporters of Mitterrand. Workers looking for a revolutionary alternative will turn only toward those who have no responsibility for the victory of the popular front, those who have from the beginning intransigently fought class collaboration.

The LCR talks a lot about struggles, but all it now believes in is the "unity" of the treacherous bureaucrats and Mitterrand's electoral victory. "If Mitterrand is not elected, we will have to take it for seven more years." Some revolutionaries, making the destiny of the proletariat dependent on a few votes! The only solution for the working class lies not in replacing Giscard by a popular front presided over by Mitterrand, but in its own battles and the capacity of the vanguard organization to organize them, against the reformists, to defend them against the bourgeoisie's attacks and to put forward a series of transitional demands leading to setting up its own power, the workers government. ■

neutralism and emphatically swore allegiance to NATO: "to leave the Atlantic Alliance without having any alliance in hand would be senseless" (*Le Monde*, 9 August 1977). As a U.S. National Defense University monograph noted, "In the PS-PCF interparty negotiations to update the defense platform of the 1972 Common Program, Mitterrand could just as well have been speaking for the government" (*The French Communist Party, Nuclear Weapons and National Defense: Issues of the 1978 Election Campaign*). Not only were the Socialists vigilant in defending NATO, the United States intervened emphatically in the middle of the election campaign to make clear it would not tolerate Communist Party presence in West European governments. In November 1977, General Alexander Haig, then NATO commander in Brussels, warned that the presence of Communists in the govern-

ment would "hamper the communication of top secret information and lead these governments to relegate the financing of military expenditures to the background" (*L'Humanité*, 30 November 1977).

In another unusual political intervention NATO secretary-general Joseph Luns threatened that if the Union of the Left came into office, the ministries of defense, foreign affairs and interior must be kept out of PCF hands. In January, the American embassy in Rome issued a highly publicized statement saying that the U.S. was "not favorable to Communists participating in the governments of Western Europe." And at the same moment, Jimmy Carter paid a rapid visit to Paris in which he went out of his way to hold an unprecedented tête-à-tête with Mitterrand and to describe the PS leader's actions as "beneficial." Such open American interference in West Europe-

an politics had not been seen in years—there was no doubt that the U.S. was issuing a *diktat*.

## Portugal 1975: The Imperialists Take Flight

It wasn't simply a CIA plot which kept the PCF out of the government and led to the breakup of the Union of the Left, of course. But it's a far cry from Moscow ordering Marchais to return to "the ghetto," or the PCF having a perverse desire to block a popular-front government, as many social democrats and pseudo-Trotskyists claim. Rather, the imperialist bourgeoisies in unison turned against popular-front "experiments" and this opposition was expressed via their transmission belts into the left. The first crisis of the Union of the Left, on September 14, 1977, came when the leader of the Left Radicals, Robert Fabre, walked out denouncing the PCF's call for expanded nationaliza-

tions. This was how such a tiny bourgeois formation, the MRG, acted—just as we had said—as a guarantor for capitalist interests in the left-wing coalition. Yet Krivine/Bensaïd's tailist appetites were so strong that even in the face of such dramatic proof, the LCR continued to deny that the Union of the Left was a popular front.

When the Socialist Party issued its own refusal/ultimatum a week later it was over the same issue of nationalizations. Before that the PS had refused to take a clear position on Communist ministers in a "left government." Its message: no need to fear a revolutionary danger from the PCF, Mitterrand is there. This right turn by the Socialists was not just, or even primarily, a domestic development. It was the outcome of a lengthy controversy inside

continued on page 10



# Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!

## May 3...

(continued from page 1)

of Trotsky's Fourth International.

While leftist guerrillas have been fighting for their lives and liberation of their people in the hills of El Salvador, their reformist cheerleaders in the United States have been squabbling for organizational control of the protests. Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF) would ace out the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which then stalked off in a huff. (The only



Sam Marcy, self-proclaimed counter-revolutionist.

SWP presence in Washington May 3 was some *Militant* salesman and a lit table for its "socialist Watersuit.") The Communist Party (CP) was initially upstaged by YAWF, but remained the main mobilizer of unionists and minorities through its myriad front groups and ties to the "progressive" union bureaucrats. But the crowd built during the day to unanticipated numbers as "no-nuke" kids and anti-Reagan liberals poured in from all over the East Coast and Midwest.

The PAM/YAWF organizers sought to replay the role of the CP/SWP in the Vietnam antiwar movement—delivering young politically heterogeneous protesters to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. So their main job

was to get the thousands of protesters to the Pentagon so they could hear Bella Abzug, Paul O'Dwyer, Herbert Daughtry and John Conyers (a no-show). After themselves being subjected to sinister "violence"-baiting by social democrats from the SWP to Michael Harrington's DSOC, the Marcyites turned around and used the same sort of smear against the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, accusing the Spartacist League of being "provocative." When an independent on one PAM bus protested that he knew of no examples of SL provocation, the bus captains threatened to throw him off!

As for disruption, this was the monopoly of PAM on May 3. These waterboys for the Democrats used coercion to prevent marchers from exercising their democratic right to participate in the Anti-Imperialist rally. Like Fred Halstead's SWP goons in the '60s, the YAWF organizers understood that their job was to keep youth "uncontaminated" by communism, so they could be "clean for Gene" (or Bella or Teddy) at election time. These were the provocateurs and disrupters, and it's too bad that they didn't get a taste of their own medicine Sunday, for they could badly use a lesson in workers democracy.

At the assembly site near the Lincoln Memorial a speaker for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) made it clear that the protest was to be nothing but a pressure tactic, as he spoke of "a groundswell that has forced Reagan to reassess his Salvadoran policy." (Want to bet?) At the Pentagon the political bloc with Bella was explicit. The Democratic loser elaborated on the liberal slogan of "no more Vietnams": "If we learned anything from Vietnam, it's that the time to stop a war is before it begins." She also praised a court suit by 11 Democratic Congressmen against Reagan's arms to El Salvador, and urged the many thousands brought there by PAM/YAWF, CISPES, the CP and the rest to "visit electoral punishment" on the Republican admin-

istration. In other words: "Vote Democrat in '82." Only the Anti-Imperialist Contingent—chanting "Remember the Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know what side you're on"—drew a class line against the imperialist "doves."

### What About "Two, Three, Many Vietnams"?

Way back when, the Marcyites used to be super-Guevarists, chanting "Two, Three, Many Vietnams." Today one of the main slogans in the PAM/May 3 Coalition march was "No More Vietnams," reflecting the liberals' opposition to another *losing* imperialist war. Today they only carry slogans acceptable to Teddy Kennedy and the *New York Times*. And just in case there are some aging YAWFers around who fondly recall their New Left days, Sam Marcy recently produced an opus, "On Negotiated Settlement and the Right of Self-Determination" (*Workers World*, 17 April) arguing in effect that there is a democratic right to sell out the struggle. Thus Marcy has become a self-confessed *enemy* of revolution.

The Marcyites' appeal to the liberal Democrats is in harmony with that of the bourgeois politicians of the Salvadoran popular front, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), who faced with the murderous potential of American imperialism fearfully seek imperialist brokers for a deal with Reagan and his puppets. At the Pentagon May 3 FDR spokesman Arnaldo Ramos said the demonstration was part of "millions

of progressive and peace-loving people... who are demanding a just political settlement to the internal crisis of El Salvador," which would be "one step in the long and difficult climb to the summit of democracy and social justice in Central America." This is a program for a bloodbath.

El Salvador is a classic case of permanent revolution. The local bourgeoisie has proved itself over more than a century and a half to be implacable foes of even basic bourgeois-democratic demands. Attempts at compromise with the junta will only leave the murderous officer corps and oligarchy intact.

Speakers at the Anti-Imperialist rally stressed the theme that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. A *WV* reporter back from the coal fields stressed that the question of "which side are you on" is as crucial in the Appalachians as in Central America: El Salvador is Harlan writ large. While Democrats and reformists at the Pentagon were talking of pressuring Reagan with promises of deals and threats of "electoral punishment," the Anti-Imperialists were underlining the fundamental alternatives for the Salvadoran masses—"revolution or death, workers must rule."

And their voice was heard. Over 21,000 leaflets in English and Spanish were distributed in Washington May 3, and thousands more on the West Coast, calling for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists. Over 1,100 issues of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* were sold as well as pamphlets and hundreds of buttons. Nine Anti-Imperialist Contingent buses came to D.C., including a group of 24 that traveled 900 miles from Madison, Wisconsin. At Detroit's Ford River Rouge factory nearly \$500 was contributed to send a group to Washington. And ex-Peace Corpsman Tom Janota tirelessly got the message out in Midwestern and Eastern cities, ending up in a successful fundraiser in New York City.

May 3 may prove to be a pivotal event as were the early Vietnam antiwar protests of 1965-66: Then, also, the Spartacist League participated in the Revolutionary Contingent calling for an NLF victory in the Vietnamese civil war and as against the petty-bourgeois radicals of the day we fought for labor action against the war. Today the SL is far larger, with roots in the factories and an audience on campuses from coast to coast. And many of the thousands of



San Francisco: Anti-Imperialist Contingent chants "No Draft, Class War—U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

WV Photo





WV Photo

young protesters who walked miles to hear Bella and the Democrats will remember that the Spartacist League told the truth: "Defeat Reagan's Cold War, The Line Is Drawn in El Salvador!" ■

## San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—Upwards of 10,000 people marched here May 3 from the Federal Building to Dolores Park, demanding "U.S. Out of El Salvador!" The Anti-Imperialist Contingent of over 300 people which filled the streets with its chants of "Smash the Junta—Workers to Power!" was the only revolutionary contingent and the largest political tendency to march that day. From the moment its banners went up, the Contingent's energy and hard class stand on the side of the armed struggle of the Salvadoran insurgents were a pole of attraction to youth and working-class militants throughout the Bay Area.

In contrast to the New Leftovers dominating the rest of the mushy liberal crowd, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, organized by the Spartacist League, stood out for its youth and energy. Marching with it were students under the banners of University of California/Berkeley, UC Santa Cruz and San Francisco State. A busload of marchers came up from Los Angeles. A dozen high school students from Mendocino County joined the Contingent with their banner, "Our generation missed the last war, let's keep it that way."

The Contingent swelled along the line of march. Scores joined up, knowing in their guts there is nothing to negotiate with the kill-crazed Salvadoran junta butchers, that only the military victory of the leftist insurgents can build a future for the masses of this besieged land. Some 180 "Military Victory" and other Contingent placards were distributed to demonstrators. Some took them to other parts of the march—when the liberals kicked them out, they returned to march under the Contingent banners. The size and spirit flabbergasted the SL's reformist opponents in the area. "I didn't know there were that many Sparts in the world," one dismayed bystander cried.

The SF march was jointly organized by the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) and the May 3 Coalition, two reformist outfits dominated by Workers World Party and the Communist Party respectively, and representing between

them the spectrum of Bay Area Stalinist and social-democratic organizations. While politically indistinguishable in their refusal to take sides against their "own" bourgeoisie, the weeks before the march were dominated by squabbling between the two groups for organizational position.

That both coalitions were united in tailoring their demands to the interests of Democratic Party liberals was graphically demonstrated in the line of march. As the Anti-Imperialist Contingent filled the streets with its chants, the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club behind took up a chant of its own: "Stop Your Macho Chants Now!" They were especially incensed at the Contingent's chant, "Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, We Know Which Side You're On!" A rag-tag dozen of anti-communist anarchists plunked themselves down in front of the Contingent—correctly sniffing out the Bolsheviks as a target for their red-baiting ire. Their ox was really gored at the Contingent chant, "Cuba/USSR—Arms to El Salvador!"

Notably absent from the demonstration was the legal cretinist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alli-

# Leftist Rebels Must Win the War!

ance (SWP/YSA) which did not march, but sent a few *Militant* sellers to the rally site. When asked why there was no SWP contingent, YSA leader Bill Baker dismissed the 5,000 demonstrators as "a lot of jaded leftists." The CIA/fascist "Moonies" were expelled from the area: they obscenely hung a Latin guerrilla in effigy and were attacked, their banner and effigy ripped down.

After the long march, the crowd marching five abreast filed into Dolores Park. Here it divided, the reformists marching off to the right, the Anti-Imperialists turning left to their own rally site.

At the rally Diana Coleman, Spartacist-supported candidate in the 1980 elections for SF Board of Supervisors, noted that "The repression continues in El Salvador as it has for decades." She told of the 1932 insurrection of predominantly Indian coffee workers under the leadership of the Communist Party, and the 30,000 killed when the junta crushed that insurrection. "We want a workers revolution in El Salvador that will avenge the blood of the martyrs of 1932," she said.

The crowd cheered when Coleman said "We want the Soviet Union to send guns to El Salvador. We want them to send anti-aircraft guns so they can shoot those American helicopters out of the sky!" She concluded,

"As long as U.S. imperialism exists, they will continue to support every military dictatorship around the world, from El Salvador to Somoza in Nicaragua, to the shah of Iran, to Marcos in the Philippines, to the junta in Chile, to the junta in El Salvador. And they'll continue their drive against the Soviet Union. So we say we need a workers revolution in the United States. And we will see to it that the blood of El Salvador and the blood of a million

Vietnamese who were killed by U.S. imperialism will be avenged."

At the conclusion, while the liberals and preachers across the way were still droning on, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent enthusiastically adjourned to a well-attended party.

## Vancouver

VANCOUVER—As in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, a militant, spirited Anti-Imperialist Contingent demonstrated in Seattle, joining over 3,000 who paraded despite a drenching downpour. Thirty-five militants from Vancouver, Seattle and Portland marched to demand "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists." Scores more picked up the chants, "Smash the Junta—Workers to Power!" and "Leftist Rebels Must Win the War, Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!"

Several times during the march, PAM marshals limply asked the contingent to chant only the liberal slogans they had "authorized," but the Anti-Imperialist marchers refused to allow the politics of the liberals and their left hangers-on to monopolize the protest. Earlier in the week, PAM had unsuccessfully attempted to exclude from the demonstration all organizationally identified banners except their own.

While differing organizations insisted on the right to march under their own banners, the politics they marched under were practically indistinguishable, with the outstanding exception of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. The anti-draft coalition CARD, the "feminist-socialist" FSP and the "peaceful, legal" reformist SWP/YSA all carried as their main slogan, "No Draft, No War," with CARD and YSA adding "U.S. Out of El Salvador." To this liberal pacifism, the Anti-Imperialists countered, "No Draft, Class War, U.S. Out of El Salvador!"—a chant that was also taken up by other marchers.

The sharpest political confrontation centered on the pivotal question of the Soviet Union. The U.S. imperialists have targeted their nuclear missiles at Russia, while Reagan and Haig want to draw the line against communism in rivers of blood running through El Salvador. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent's most spirited chant was, "1, 2, 3, 4—U.S. Out of El Salvador! 5, 6, 7, 8—Defend the Soviet Workers State!" This slogan resounding up and down the line of march drove into a frenzy an unholy alliance of the Albania-loving Marxist-Leninist Party, the bizarre pro-"Gang of Four" Revolutionary Communist Party, the State Department Socialist Party and a rag-tag crew of self-proclaimed anarchists. When the MLP tried to spit out their anti-communist venom with the chant, "Smash Red Army in Afghanistan," they were completely drowned out by the Anti-Imperialists who proudly proclaimed, "Down with the Bride Price, Down with the Veil, Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" ■



AP photo of Anti-Imperialist Contingent flashed 'round the world.



# "The Line Is Drawn in El Salvador!"

## Speeches at D.C. Anti-Imperialist Contingent Rally

### Tom Janota

*The last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador. Janota was expelled from a Madison-area CISPES affiliate for criticizing the FDR popular front and endorsing an SL-initiated rally for military victory to left-wing rebels in El Salvador. He has just completed a Midwest/East Coast tour to build the May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent.*

I was in El Salvador last year at this time and saw what the reforms by this civilian-military junta mean. I was there in October of 1979, when the first actions of that junta were to crush workers strikes in San Bartolo, in Soyapango. Following the October 15 coup, I watched as workers in the working-class suburbs of San Salvador—Cuscatancingo, San Marcos, Mejicanos—as they rose up to extend the "revolution" and to make it real. I also saw what the reaction of the military was: they brought in the troops, they brought in the tanks and they massacred working people. This was the reform junta, so-called, this was the progressive colonels and their changes for El Salvador—nothing but a continuation of 50 years of military rule.

I was there in January of last year when on January 22, 1980 more than 200,000 leftists marched in the streets of El Salvador—a march stretching 70 blocks from the outskirts of the city into the center.

I was there in March of last year when the so-called land reform was called, the reform that is known in Salvador as the "reform by death." The agrarian reform was followed the next day by a state of siege that allowed the military to occupy the countryside—so that the countryside became already in March of last year a militarized zone. I watched as the peasants of Colima hacienda in Chalatenango organized themselves—took over the estate and said, "Alright, the agrarian reform has been called. Let's see if it applies to us." The government's answer came quickly: they were surrounded by tanks and blown away.

I watched in April of last year as the Frente Democrático Revolucionario was formed. Somehow they had to use the same leaders that had already been tried once before. So that Guillermo Ungo, the current president of the FDR, was also a member of the first junta—that first bloody junta that came to power by crushing workers strikes in the Free Trade Zone in San Bartolo. And the first president of the FDR, Alvarez Córdova, was also a member of that first junta, the first try at a coalition government.

Those events have led me to take a side in the civil war, just as my friends right now in El Salvador, my friends in Atiquizaya, my friends in Chalchuapa, my friends in Morazán, my friends in Soyapango—*must* take a side in the war. Just as they must confront the military, confront the so-called Duarte government, the facade for the military repressors. Just as they must take a side in the civil war, so must we all.

That's why I say there is no way, there is no way there is going to be a negotiated settlement made in Mexico City, a negotiated settlement in Stockholm, a negotiated settlement in Washington, D.C. Victory on the battlefield, victory in the factories of El Salvador, victory in the countryside of El Salvador for the leftist insurgents—that will be the change in El Salvador. That will bring the social revolution that that



Tom Janota: In El Salvador you have to take a side.

'country has so long needed.

There is a civil war in El Salvador. We here cannot stand idly by. We must take a side. Our brothers and sisters are already fighting and dying every day. Victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Long live the social revolution in El Salvador!

### Jan Norden

*Spartacist League Central Committee. Editor, Workers Vanguard.*

I'd like to appeal to the people who are leaving the PAM rally to come down to the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. This is the only rally which takes a side in the civil war in El Salvador. We have here the flag of the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, military organization of the Salvadoran leftists]. You won't see that flag in the other rally. You know why? The FMLN is the enemy of the American government. And they don't want to side with "the enemy." They just want the American government to have more intelligent policies. That's why they refuse to call for military victory.

Our flag, the Trotskyist flag with the hammer and sickle and four, is the flag under which the Russian Revolution was made, the October Revolution, which was the first and only time that the workers of the world had been able to take history into their hands. This flag flies at our demonstration as well. You won't find red flags at that other demonstration because they might offend Bella. They might offend John Conyers. They might offend Teddy Kennedy.

So their rally is in fact counterposed politically to ours because this is a rally to deal a defeat to imperialism and theirs is a rally to side with the Democratic doves of imperialism: the same people who were Democratic doves over Vietnam and who one year later were imperialist hawks over the Mideast.

So I ask you now: the American bastion of what it calls the "Free World" says it's fighting against an international terrorist conspiracy. Communism equals terrorism, say Reagan and Haig—that's General "Just-Call-McDouglas-MacArthur" Haig. And who are the terrorists?

Take El Salvador. Who are the killers who shot down four American nuns with American guns, as the slogan goes? Were those agents of Moscow? Their men from Havana? No. Even the FBI admits that it was the Salvadoran National Guard, the forces of law and order—bourgeois law and order, that is. They also gunned down the leaders of the left-wing opposition, even dissident landlords. They don't care. They even murdered CIA-connected land reform officials in the Hilton Hotel coffee shop.

And now they just murdered another Maryknoll missionary from Chicago—a courageous man who had just gotten out of an American jail for planting wheat in the Pentagon lawn. More often they try to intimidate the masses with random terror, shooting peasant women in cotton dresses and leaving their bodies alongside the dusty roads to serve as a lesson to all.

They make My Lai look like child's play. And why not? They've got Green Beret advisers who assassinated "Che" in Bolivia. They've got Huey helicopters, 105 mm bazookas, phosphorus bombs. They hired Cuban *gusano* marksmen to put Archbishop Romero between their cross hairs while he was celebrating mass. These are the terrorists. And they're terrorists made in USA.

At the Pentagon they have some Democrats and liberals saying that Yankee imperialism should have another policy—spend American dollars in America, self-determination for El Salvadorans, hands off. Well, we're for imperialist hands off, but we can see the reality—that there's a civil war going on and if the workers and peasants do not win it, the Salvadoran colonels will stage a bloodbath whether or not they are accompanied by American army advisers. We stand with the exploited and oppressed. We fight for our class to win, for workers revolution.

And we tell the truth to the masses. The truth is that El Salvador has become the focal point of American imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War. That's why we say that the defense of Cuha and the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador. It's the issue that the reformists want to duck and it's the issue that the liberals are opposed to, because they stand with Reagan four-square in that anti-Soviet Cold War. It was started by Carter.

Now, all of the "human rights" imperialists—excuse me, today it's the "anti-terrorist" imperialists—announced last year they were just helping freedom fighters in Afghanistan. Those "freedom fighters" sell young girls as chattel slaves. They shoot anyone trying to teach young girls how to read as communist subversives! And now, it's in the paper today, the U.S. is giving military aid to the "Kampuchean rebels." Well, who's that? That's Pol Pot, right? Two years ago Pol Pot was supposed to have carried out communist genocide—well, it was genocide all right, but it wasn't communism. But today he's a defender of the "Free World" for Reagan.

So they say, "No more Vietnams." How come you see a Vietnamese flag up here and they don't want to put a Vietnamese flag there. Because Vietnam to the liberals was a *losing* war. Well,

Vietnam to anybody who stands on the working-class side of the class line was a *winning* war. We called, in the last stages of that war, for "Viet Cong Take Saigon!" We were notorious in the antiwar movement because we said "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" That was the program of the Trotskyists.

They published a poll last week. Seventy percent of the American people are opposed to any U.S. involvement in El Salvador. And the reason is simple. If you've learned one thing from Vietnam, it's that the interests of the American working people and the interests of the masses in this country are counterposed to the interests of the government, which *has* to sow death and destruction around the world, because it is imperialist.

What really defeated the movement in the '70s was that everything was divided up into sectoralism. You had a movement for gays, you had a feminist movement, you had a movement for everybody. Even the workers could get their movement. Everybody could do their thing. It was called sectoralism, and it wasn't united because it didn't have the crucial element to unite all these elements, and that's the vanguard party.

The era of sectoralism is over. Reagan has killed it. And what's needed now is to struggle in this country as well, to unite all of those forces of the working class and the oppressed behind a struggle for proletarian power. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home.

So it's the Spartacist League that has said, you have to prepare for the Reagan



Don Alexander, SL Central Committee member.

years by fighting for the class line, whether it's in El Salvador, whether it's fighting to smash the Nazis, to defend black people from racist terror in this country, whether it's a question of defending democratic rights for homosexuals. We defend the class line and the democratic rights of all the oppressed. That is what it means to be a communist vanguard party.

That's why this demonstration exists today. If it were not for the Spartacist League, nobody would have come out for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. That is a great honor, that we have done that, and we intend to continue that movement. We're very proud of the fact that we've drawn several hundred here today. Because it is a promise for the future, and we intend to fulfill that promise.

*continued on page 11*



# Miners Heckle "Sellout Sam" at Pittsburgh Rally

PITTSBURGH, April 30—Over a thousand miners rallied in Point Park here today in response to a call from so-called "dissident" local officials of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). But miners who came expecting to hear a militant strategy found the "dissidents" were rallying around union president Sam Church, who spoke at the rally—and the miners did not like the fake "unity" one bit.

"Hey, Sam, how's that Wheeling feeling?" one miner heckled—a reference to Church's attempts to sell the first contract proposal in March. (When Church appeared at a radio station in Wheeling on March 27, the station was picketed by 150 miners who pounded on his car yelling, "Sellout, sellout, sellout.") Another miner summed up his feelings about Church in one word: "Scab!"

Church indicated his desire to settle for yet another sellout contract when he soft-pedaled criticism of B.R. Brown, the chief negotiator for the bosses' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), by asserting that Brown "is not in control of his actions" (!) but is merely being "held hostage by 'Big Oil'." AFL-CIO leaders in attendance gave their usual perfunctory pledges of support.

But what is needed is solidarity action—in particular, a joint coal/rail strike—to defeat the coal bosses' take-away demands, which threaten the union's existence. The UMWA must not only maintain pension funding and jurisdiction over coal jobs but must win back the health card lost in the 1978 strike and make real gains (right to strike, full COLA) if it is to carry off a successful organizing drive in the growing number of non-union mines.

So-called "dissidents" like District 17 (southern West Virginia) president Jack Perry and District 6 (Ohio) president Ed Bell clearly have no alternative strategy, and Bell actually tried to quash miners' militancy at the rally. "Don't break us up, don't split us up," Bell appealed to the miners in his three-minute speech. District 17 vice-president Cecil Roberts spent his speech calling for a false unity around the leadership and uttered no criticism.

The dissidents had been pushing the illusory and dangerous idea of settling

with "independent" companies (outside of BCOA) and reducing the strike to concentrate on the giant Consolidation Coal Co., whose head, B.R. Brown, also speaks for the BCOA. The rally organizers went so far as to allow a speaker from one of the independent companies! But even Perry admitted to a UPI reporter recently that such a deal was not probable because "it only takes seven large [BCOA] coal companies to control a majority of the tonnage."

## Coal, Rail: Strike Together!

The strike was strengthened when 2,000 UMWA hard-coal miners in Pennsylvania voted to strike May 1 for their own contracts, which are normally

In late April there were incidents of snipers firing on scab coal trucks in Kentucky, where independent truckers are seeking to unionize. In Raleigh County, West Virginia miners began gathering in front of Philpott Coal Company offices on April 23 when they heard the company might try to process scab coal. Company guards fired shots. Eventually the company president, the mine superintendent and five guards were escorted out of the offices and out of state by the local sheriff and UMWA officials!

The favorable response by railroad workers in respecting UMWA picket lines makes clear the potential for a joint coal/rail strike, key to victory. (Con-

teams with high-powered rifles and .357 magnums.

Joint strike action is urgently needed to smash the injunctions, stop the government attacks and bring the bosses to their knees. But the key to all this is to forge a class-struggle leadership with the program and determination to lead the struggle to victory. And for all the militant and imaginative tactics, the "dissident" UMWA local officials stumble over the crucial question of leadership. Thus after the bitter 1977-78 strike, when Miller was virtually run out of the coal fields, the only effect on the International was to put in "Sellout Sam" Church.

David "Blue" Lamm, editor of the *Coalfield Defender* and member of UMWA Local 633, whose pickets shut down the rail yards in Hinton, has been touring the country raising money from unions in steel, garment and elsewhere for the West Virginia UMWA Strike Committee. Speaking at a showing of "Harlan County" in New York on April 30, Lamm correctly noted that it is imperative to "move outside of the legal restraints of the labor laws" like Taft-Hartley to "defend our class."

This is certainly a step forward, but Lamm falls down on the critical question of Church and the International. When a *WV* reporter commented that Church has clearly been repudiated by the ranks and should be recalled along with the bargaining council, Lamm commented that recall would be "a foolish thing to do" because it wastes energy, and the ranks should just "ignore the International" right now. Thus Lamm would leave the union crippled at the top, as in the 1977-78 strike, which was lost by Miller's (and Church's!) conscious sabotage.

At the UMWA's rally in Washington on March 9, Lamm showed his true colors by trying to feed off the right-wing atmosphere with the assurance that his paper was "not a communist paper." Indeed it isn't!

Already over a month on strike, the miners cannot hold on alone forever, and a defeat would be disastrous for the entire working class. Strike committees must be formed not only to spread the strike but to dump the discredited sellout leadership. Railroad workers: strike now! For a joint coal/rail strike! Victory to the UMWA! ■

## 20,000 Rail Workers Protest Reagan Cuts

Some 20,000 railroad workers from 21 unions demonstrated in Washington, D.C. April 29 against Reagan's proposed cuts in federal aid to Amtrak and Conrail. (So many Conrail workers were absent from work that day that there was a 20 percent cut in rail service.) The administration's cuts threaten to eliminate 72,000 rail jobs. Although contracts for thousands of rail workers expired in April, conservative craft union officials are afraid to defy the anti-strike Railway Labor Act of 1926. With 160,000 coal miners already on strike, there is an urgent need for a joint coal/rail strike! Railroad workers—strike now!



negotiated separately. In the coal fields, strike battles have flared up since talks broke down again two weeks ago. In Virginia, where 240 state troopers are trying to keep the mines open for the bosses, 23 miners were arrested on May 1 for allegedly pelting two police cars with stones on Route 606. And in Kentucky 200 state troopers with police planes were placed on alert against the strike.

tracts for thousands of rail workers expired in April, but no strike has been called.) On April 2 and 3 miners from District 29 in southern West Virginia picketed the train yards in Hinton. For 36 hours trains were stopped by railroad workers, until federal marshals came in with an injunction. On April 12 and 13 railroad workers stopped trains for 24 hours in Williamson, West Virginia until pickets were removed by SWAT

## USWA Elections...

(continued from page 3)

militant program to sweep out all the pro-company hacks from union office.

As early as the 1974 District 31 elections, we warned:

"The Sadlowski story has been played out many times before: an 'honest' union official breaks with the incumbent team, leading a 'rank-and-file revolt' to 'clean up the union.' Once elected the 'maverick' is miraculously tamed, and things go on much as before."

—"Ed Sadlowski: Out-Bureaucrat on the Make," *WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974

This, of course, is exactly what happened. But it didn't stop virtually the entire left, except for the Spartacist League, from lionizing the phony "steel rebel" with his cheap "progressive" rhetoric and no action to fight for the urgent needs of steel workers. About the only other group to oppose both Sadlowski and McBride, the Maoist October League (now the crisis-racked CP-ML), has since renounced this unaccustomed militant posture as "ul-

traleft" (see article this issue). Certainly for people who now stand with U.S. imperialism against Vietnam and Afghanistan, opposition to a sellout social-democratic labor faker is out of character. They, along with other reformist "best builders" of the Sadlowski/Balanoff campaigns like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, simply want to climb aboard the bureaucratic gravy train rather than build a class-struggle opposition that can lead steel workers to victory over the bosses and their government.

Steel workers were presented with a class-struggle program for their union when Sam Hunt and Millie Leonard ran last July for election as delegates to the 1980 convention from Local 1010 at Inland Steel. In the local, which is Balanoff's strongest base and the home base of the Rank and File Caucus, these militants racked up over 800 votes each on a program which included full support to the Keith Anwar picket line case and the right to honor picket lines, plant occupations to stop shutdowns, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to end layoffs, no government interference in the union movement, labor/black defense against fascist terror, a workers

party to fight for a workers government, and opposition to both chauvinist protectionism and the reactionary anti-Soviet war drive.

It is a program like this, not the tweedledum-tweedledec Parton-Bala-

noff contest, which poses a real choice for steel workers, that gives them a chance to beat back the escalating attacks of the steel companies and the capitalist government. It is the only program that can win. ■

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# Union of the Left...

(continued from page 5)

the Socialist International over cooperation with West European Communist Parties. On one side were the northern social democrats (particularly Helmut Schmidt's West German SPD), hardliners against any form of CP alliance; on the other were their Mediterranean colleagues who saw popular fronts as a means of "moderating" Communist Party influence in a more left-wing context. This led to a clash between Mitterrand and Schmidt at a Second International conference in Helsingor, Denmark in January 1976. In particular, the West German chancellor stressed the "threat" to NATO and the Common Market from "any kind of cooperation" with the Communists.

Mitterrand defended the Union of the Left and held a conference of southern European social democrats in Paris a week later to endorse his position. Yet one month later the "southern front" had been broken, as both Mário Soares of the Portuguese Socialists (PS) and Felipe González of the Spanish PSOE announced in Vienna that no alliance with the Communists was possible. "Mr. Soares was categorical: his party cannot collaborate with the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), principally because of the latter's Stalinist positions," reported *Le Monde* (14 February 1976). And in mid-March European SP leaders gathered in Porto for a meeting where Soares got the endorsement for his absolute refusal of any alliance with Alvaro Cunhal's PCP. This rejection was all the more significant as throughout this period the PS and PCP had a comfortable majority in the Portuguese parliament and Cunhal was calling for a "left government." Instead, Soares preferred an unstable PS minority government that eventually opened the way for right-wing forces as revolutionary fervor died down.

Now how did this turnaround of the social democrats come about? There was indeed a conspiracy, but it is hardly the one alleged by the OCI et al. Prior to the Helsingor meeting, the United States went all-out "urging West European Socialist parties to reject feelers of cooperation by the Italian and French Communists":

"Socialists and Social Democrats in Bonn, Paris and Stockholm say that the ambassadors called on them on orders from Dr. Kissinger. "The gist of their message, according to several sources, was that despite increasing signs of independence among the French and Italian Communist parties, communism had not essentially changed its aims and the Socialists would be making a fatal mistake in believing that communism was less dangerous than before.... "They haven't heard talk like this since the days of John Foster Dulles," one American official said. "The American lobbying was intensive and widespread. In Paris, Ambassador



French Communist Party (PCF) pushes chauvinist anti-immigrant campaign and economic protectionism.

Kenneth Rush told Claude Estier and Gilles Martinet of the Socialist Party that the United States would 'not tolerate' participation by the Communists in any French government, they said." —*New York Times*, 5 February 1976

As for the famous "Solidarity Committee for Democracy and Social Progress in Portugal" which called the Porto meeting, this was a device whereby the CIA channeled several million dollars monthly to the Portuguese Socialists through Schmidt's SPD. Felipe González' party, also, lived in good part on massive doses of D-marks during the crucial period following the death of Franco. To complete the picture, there have been numerous reports of heavy SPD financing of the PS campaign in the 1978 French legislative elections. And there is no doubt that if any of these parties had been in a coalition with a Communist Party, their subsidies would have been cut off down to the last pfennig.

Let's be clear: heavy bourgeois political pressures, threats from Washington, dollars and D-marks played an important role in keeping southern European Communist parties out of governmental participation during the period 1975-78. The imperialists said no and the social democrats danced to their tune. But, again, it was not simply a conspiracy. Even as such operations go it was not on the scale of the American intervention to get the CPs thrown out of the French and Italian governments in 1947-48. And the European bourgeoisies and SPs were more than willing. Portugal was a real watershed, as they watched with anguish the revolutionary ferment on the banks of the Tage, where Cunhal's PCP was under tremendous pressure from centrist forces on its own left flank. The bourgeoisie wanted iron-clad guarantees of the "Communists'" undivided loyalties. But while the PCF tops talked of Eurocommunism, even

dropping references to the dictatorship of the proletariat from the party program, they refused to join the imperialist/social-democratic wolf cries over the supposed danger of a "Prague coup" in Lisbon led by the Stalinist Cunhal. The bourgeoisie demanded guarantees that Marchais was not prepared to give because he wasn't sure what he was getting in return.

## Eurocommunism with its Back to the Wall

As we have pointed out, Eurocommunism is a transitory stage in the social-democratization of the Stalinist parties. As reformists for almost half a century (ever since they allowed Hitlerite fascism to march to power unhindered), the Stalinists have definitively passed over to the side of the bourgeois order against proletarian revolution. But their primary loyalties were originally to the Kremlin bureaucracy, and when the Soviet Union came under attack from imperialism they were capable of withdrawing into a besieged fortress condition. Trotsky pointed out that over the years Stalin's nationalist policy of "socialism in one country" would lead to the breakdown of the Comintern, as Communist parties outside the USSR increasingly swear fealty to their "own" bourgeoisies. But to be accepted as "normal" governmental partners like the British Labour Party or the SPD, and not just as a last resort to stave off the imminent threat of revolution (as in the case of the mid-'30s and post-WWII popular fronts), then the Stalinists would have to fulfill the imperialists' demand that they break totally with Moscow. This is what they required of the PCF.

But the reformists want guarantees as well. In spite of all their parliamentary deputies, mayors, municipal councillors and an annual budget of 80 million francs [more than U.S. \$20 million], Marchais and his bureaucratic colleagues at Place Colonel Fabien occasionally wonder what would happen to them in a crisis. Their fears were expressed at the PCF conference which nominated Marchais for president, as party leaders noted that "three times," in 1936, 1947 and 1972, "the PCF-PS union, although born in enthusiasm, came to a bad end." And just look at the fate of Mr. Eurocommunism himself, Spanish PCE leader Santiago Carrillo, who threw caution to the wind and came out 100 percent for king and country. What does he get? Kidnapped by the Guardia Civil, and next time perhaps a successful coup d'état that would drive his party deep underground.

So when the imperialists and social democrats began pulling back from popular-front "experiments," Marchais & Co. responded by cooling off their own Eurocommunist flirtations. In December 1979, the PCF launched a mini-campaign against the American

missiles targeted against the Soviet working masses. In January 1980 Marchais condemned imperialist interference in Afghanistan and came out for the Soviet intervention there. (In contrast, the treacherous PCI of Enrico Berlinguer and Carrillo's PCE joined in the imperialist chorus against the Soviet Union.) This is taken by the bourgeois press as the point where the PCF parted ways with Eurocommunism. These are also the issues which the Socialist leaders seize upon in the present electoral campaign to declare that a new Union of the Left is impossible. On the TV program "Cards on the table" Mitterrand spoke of a "kind of wish-for return to the ghetto in which they [the Communists] have again shut themselves up"; asked about the possibility of PCF ministers in the government, the PS candidate replied: "...as long as they remain aligned with foreign positions on matters as serious as Afghanistan, it does not seem to me reasonable to think...there would be Communist ministers" (*Le Monde*, 18 March).

So the Communist Party can legitimately talk of blackmail by the bourgeois and the PS—but by now (three times is enough?) even without the guidance of the Trotskyist program, the most vulgar empiricist could figure out that this is a political constant. Question: what then is the PCF's alternative? Answer: it hasn't any. It would sign up for a new popular front tomorrow if the international political climate changed. In his report at the party's nominating convention, Marchais' lieutenant Charles Fiterman reaffirmed: "Our line ... is to seek the union of all the popular forces, the union of the left" (*L'Humanité*, 13 October 1980). For the PCF leaders created the Union of the Left not for the conquest of power by the working class, but rather as a means to hold in check the combative energies shown in May 1968. Their complaint is that only they aren't given sufficient influence. The Ligue Trotskyste de France is the sole tendency that openly proclaims the Marxist lessons of history: that the popular front is a roadblock to revolution. That is why we raised the possibility of critical support to the PCF candidate when he was forced to run independently of a popular front.

The LCR and OCI, though they lay claim to the mantle of Trotskyism and have many times our forces, are calling not for a break from the popular front but for its reconstitution under the guise of "PS-PCF unity." Moreover, their de facto rejection of the Trotskyist position on the Russian question—political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy, as an integral part of our unconditional defense of the conquests of the October Revolution—leads the LCR and OCI to draw fundamentally false lessons from the break-up of the Union of the Left and to present a pro-imperialist program in the present election. Blaming the "hand of Moscow" for the collapse of the French popular front, they propagate imperialist myths, acting as waterboys for Mitterrand. And on Afghanistan the positions of the Eurotrotskyists followed in the wake of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, while the reformists of the OCI go even further, calling for the export of Islamic counterrevolution to the USSR itself!

In France today, "unity" has become the codeword for pro-imperialist anti-Sovietism and reconstituting the defunct popular front. We agree with what Lenin wrote on unity in April 1914: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism." Militants of the Communist Party, demand a real break from the bourgeoisie—not poisonous French chauvinism but genuine proletarian internationalism! Not a new Union of the Left but a new 1968 that goes all the way! ■

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# Speeches...

(continued from page 8)

## Don Alexander

*Spartacist League Central Committee. A longtime antiwar activist and fighter for the rights of black people, in 1979 he was one of the organizers of the Detroit November 10 rally which stopped the KKK from marching in the Motor City.*

When "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher came to the United States a couple of months ago and had a chat with Reagan they concluded one thing, that they long for nothing more than to have this world rid of communism, leftism. And of course, in El Salvador that's precisely where it is beginning, their anti-Soviet Cold War drive. That's where the blood of the working people is running right now, and we're the only ones that want to avenge the blood of El Salvador. So that this Anti-Imperialist Contingent today—we built this contingent because we understand the necessity of taking a side in the civil war going on in El Salvador.

In fact, the organizers of this other rally were really organizing a pro-imperialist contingent, because they refuse to take a side. They actually aid and abet in committing enormous crimes of betrayal against the worker and peasant masses in El Salvador. And in doing so they echo the bourgeois liberal critics like Ted Kennedy, who simply want to cut off military aid to El Salvador and not cut off economic aid which keeps that junta alive, which keeps it afloat. So for example, some of the groups represented here, like the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and the Youth Against War and Fascism, they say let's take some of the military aid that's going to El Salvador and use it for the investigation of the racist child killings going on in Atlanta. They tell black people in the North to put faith in this racist capitalist state, its cops, its court, its Congress, its politicians. They tell us to look to that racist dog Reagan to fight for our rights, to fight the Klan terrorists.

And what is very important, when we talk about the independent mobilization of blacks and workers in this country, we're talking about a strategy that actually works. So in Detroit when the Klan threatened to march in celebration of the Greensboro massacre, it was only the Spartacist League that mobilized labor and blacks in this city. We mobilized over 500—black auto workers and black youth and socialists—to stop the Klan from marching in downtown Detroit. Now of course we were facing Coleman Young's administration, who threatened to arrest us, but we had faith that the working class could be mobilized. We based our strategy upon that. So labor militants in the Ford River Rouge plant and the Spartacist League stopped the Klan from celebrating that massacre.

## Derek Hirst

*For the past two years elected chairman and political spokesman for the Gay Activist Alliance. The New York-based GAA, founded as an outcome of the 1969 Stonewall protests against cop repression of homosexuals, is perhaps the best-known gay rights organization in the country. Historically, GAA was known as a single-issue gay rights organization, but it has recently been undergoing political change and now defines itself as a revolutionary propaganda organization. Formerly, Hirst was managing editor of the Torch, newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League.*

GAA calls for military victory of the leftists in El Salvador, to make a clear anti-imperialist statement. To all issues raised in El Salvador, and in our daily work, the resolution is *permanent* revolution. However, a large concentration of those slaughtered in El Salvador by the Christian Democratic junta and

across the globe by imperialist might are youth.

El Salvador inherits the issue of freedom of youth. To GAA this means the destruction of the nuclear family—replacing it with the freedom to create, rather than submitting it to the dictate to procreate. In this country youth, and all of us, are under attack by sub-minimum wage legislation, the draft, the family protection act, age-of-consent legislation, attacks on abortion rights, and on and on. The economic and emotional deprivation this causes gay and lesbian youth demands the strongest possible response. GAA has responded actively to each and every one of these issues.

We are here, not only to voice the support of working-class homosexuals for the leftist military victory in El Salvador, we are also here to help to build a revolution in this country. To all male homosexuals and lesbians: it is not a question of protest, it is a question of power.

## Frank Hicks

*A spokesman for the Rouge Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group at UAW Local 600, the largest local union in the country. Hicks and other militants mobilized Rouge workers to run two KKK-hooded foremen out of the plant in October 1979. A month later the militants joined with the SL to organize the November 10 anti-Klan rally, the first labor-centered anti-fascist rally in decades.*

We have a side in El Salvador. We must do everything in our power to guarantee that the workers and peasants of that country win, and win big! For us in the labor movement that means fighting to hot-cargo military goods to El Salvador. For the UAW, that means political strikes against Reagan if he sends in the Marines. But the hacks in Solidarity House in the UAW International, they're calling for the so-called political solution in El Salvador. They want to leave the army and the right-wing death squads intact, to kill and kill again, and that's the bitter truth. They don't want the brothers and sisters in El Salvador to win any more than they want us to win against Ford, against General Motors, against Chrysler.

Listen, brothers, the working class in Detroit is getting ground into dust. We need some class struggle at home, we need it real bad. We need sit-down strikes against plant closings and mass layoffs. But all we get from the labor bureaucracy in this country is a bunch of "Buy American" crap. This only fuels Reagan's patriotic fever, his anti-Soviet war drive. That's his real target in El Salvador—Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union.

But for working people: listen, and listen good! There are *not* 300,000 auto workers laid off in Russia! And the Klan damn well doesn't ride in Moscow! Sure, they need to get rid of their bureaucrats like Brezhnev, just like we need to get rid of the bureaucrats in our unions, like Fraser and Kirkland. But we had better know that if we don't stop Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, we're gonna be in real trouble. Because those guys will push the button. And this patriotic fever—watch out! Reagan's so-called safety net is being re woven into nothing but a lynch rope for minorities in this country.

So brothers and sisters, we're gonna make some hard fights in this country, against the Klan and the Nazis, with labor/black mobilizations like November 10 in Detroit, and like ANCAN in San Francisco. We're gonna take a side in El Salvador that calls for the workers to come to power. Nothing less is what they need. And likewise in this country, we're gonna make a fight for a workers party that will build actions like this Anti-Imperialist Contingent. So to those of you who broke through the Democratic Party lines up there: brothers and sisters, time is running short. I got one question: which side are you on? ■

# "Butcher Thatcher—Blood on Your Hands"

MAY 5—Bitter protest against the killing of Bobby Sands began to explode this afternoon. In New York City over 5,000 picketed the British Consulate for hours. An effigy of Margaret Thatcher, draped in the British flag, was set afire to chants of "Burn the bitch!" A sign read "Bobby Sands, MP: Latest Victim of Pox Britannica" while bagpipes and drums accompanied a coffin.

But the big Irish politicians weren't at the biggest NYC Irish demonstration in ten years, even though Irish nationalist organizers had brought the American flag and appealed to "Mr. President" Reagan who calls the IRA just a bunch of crazy terrorists—and probably Soviet-backed, to boot. The Tip O'Neills and Pat Moynihans sure put aside their Irish blarney awfully fast. Thatcher's bloody policies have the full support of the American bourgeoisie, and the hack politicians know it—all their talk of "moderation" means: don't fight back!

The Spartacist League was at the protests, the only socialist organization with a large, militant contingent. Our chants like "Smash H-Block! Butcher Thatcher Must Go!" were picked up by many demonstrators. The organizers graciously brought Spartacist representative Kevin Quinn onto their flatbed truck to address the rally. Quinn insisted, "The ignominious murder of Bobby Sands must be avenged! We stand here in solidarity with the Irish workers, and say that H-Block must be smashed! We stand for unity of the Irish working class: not Green against Orange, but class against class. Only revolutionary unity of the Irish workers, linked up to the British working class, will free the Irish and all the people of the British Isles."



New York, May 5: "Smash H-Block!"

In London itself, heart of decaying, vicious British imperialism, most of the so-called British "left" abstained from protesting Thatcher. But at the Trafalgar Square rally the Spartacist League of Britain stood out as the most militant contingent among the largely Irish protesters. The contingent's chants—"Smash Britain's torture camps! Troops out now!" "Tories, Labour have blood on their hands, bloody butchers of Bobby Sands!" won wide support.

In the next days, reformist politicians will weep about the "terrible tragedy"; Thatcher/Reagan will continue to slaughter rebels against imperialism as "terrorists," to be shot or starved. And we will continue our fight to *avenge* Bobby Sands, through united working-class struggle to crush the imperialists and their torture-prisons once and for all!

## Sands...

(continued from page 12)

the Republicans' fight for cross-class Catholic unity—a capitalist united Ireland? What sort of future does a capitalist Ireland hold that is worth dying for? Looking south, a fellow Republican faces the death sentence in Charles Haughey's Republic right now. The economy is floundering and unemployment and inflation are especially desperate in the deliberate absence of state benefits. With elections impending Haughey has only the "Irish unity" card to play in his bid to dodge the issue of the economy. But even here Haughey and other Irish bourgeois politicians are deliberately coy and evasive faced with the explosive H-block issue.

## Workers Revolution Against British Imperialism

If the Republican solution offers no solution to the plight of the Catholic masses it is not for lack of courage but for lack of a political perspective to focus a death blow against their imperialist oppressors. But the so-called "revolutionaries" in Britain don't even have that courage. They scrambled after the handful of liberals and "left" Labourites who wanted a vague "commitment to withdrawal" only in order to better "defeat the gunmen." They dropped campaigning for "Troops Out Now!" What is needed in Britain as in Ireland is a perspective of *class* mobilisation against imperialism and for a proletarian socialist solution.

A militant Spartacist League contingent marching behind a banner reading "Smash Britain's Torture Camps, Troops Out Now!" fought for such a perspective against the Labour traitors

and fake-lefts at a May Day demonstration called by the Birmingham trade-union movement on May 4. To the labour movement we say: Black [boycott] all military transport to Northern Ireland! Demand troops out now! Throw out your misleaders who uphold imperialist repression in Ireland just as they betray your own struggles at home.

Bobby Sands must not simply become another addition to the long list of martyrs for Irish freedom. He will only be avenged and British imperialism defeated when the united Irish working class puts an end to the rule of capitalism, Orange and Green. An Irish revolutionary vanguard must be forged to lead the fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## British Troops Out!

# Thatcher Kills Bobby Sands

### Workers Unite to Smash British Imperialism!

LONDON, May 5—IRA prisoner Bobby Sands died last night of starvation in the Maze Prison. The death-watch continues for three other Republican prisoners on hunger strike for political status, who wait behind Sands in a grisly queue. With arrogance and even relish Margaret Thatcher faced the prospect of their deaths and raced in British imperialism's repressive forces to crush the inevitable response of mass anger and outrage. The loyal Labour opposition backs her to the hilt: "No concessions! Defeat the terrorists!" they say in a disgusting display of imperialist bipartisanship.

Meanwhile the British Army shoots down and kills unarmed H-block protesters in the streets of Belfast and Derry, and dozens of protest leaders are arrested in Gestapo-style dawn raids. The hatred for the army of occupation grows. While Labour traitors join the chorus of support for "our boys" in Northern Ireland, we say: Get the Armed Imperialist Butchers Out Now! For the Immediate Unconditional Withdrawal of the British Army! Smash the Imperialist Torture Camps!

In Belfast and Derry the population, Catholic and Protestant, prepares for an explosion and a bloody showdown. The Protestant paramilitary Ulster Defence Association held a show of strength on the Shankill Road. Irish Republican



Belfast, April 26—Mass rally supports IRA prisoners' hunger strike for political status.

UPI

garet Thatcher has condemned Bobby Sands and his comrades to a slow and painful death.

### Years of Myth-Making Out the Window

When the voters of Fermanagh in South Tyrone elected Sands their MP in a by-election on April 9, the government's long propaganda campaign to "prove" the IRA were isolated fanatics was demolished forever. As a *Guardian* (11 April) editorial put it, "Years of myth-making go out of the window with the election of Bobby Sands." This was a sweeping well-nigh unanimous vote by the Catholic community against imperialist oppression.

The full pressure of imperialist opinion and scare-mongering has been unleashed on the voters of this border constituency and tested in the straight contest between Sands and Protestant Unionist leader Harry West. Imperialism's labour lieutenants pitched in to do their bit as well. In an unprecedented polling day appeal from Westminster, Labour spokesman on Northern Ireland Don Concannon told voters that "a vote for Mr Sands is a vote of approval for the perpetrators of the La Mon massacre, Warren Point, the murder of Lord Mountbatten and all the other senseless murders that have taken place in Northern Ireland over the years."

Yet in his fortieth day without food Bobby Sands was elected a member of the imperial mother of parliaments on an 87 percent turnout. There was an outcry from the gentlemen of Westminster, who engage in polite debates about policies of mass deprivation and bloody repression, about having this "criminal" seated among them. Eventually the MPs decided not to expel Sands from their sovereign body in the expectation he would soon be dead anyway. Less than a score of Labour "lefts" could even be heard to murmur that the government might consider negotiating ("imaginatively") with Sands. Left hero Tony Benn graciously hinted that "someone" (someone else, that is) should propose feeding Sands at Westminster. Of

meeting his demands not a word was heard from Benn or anyone else.

Meanwhile Bobby Sands was also the target of more subtle "humanitarian concern" by emissaries from Dublin, Rome, Brussels and almost everywhere else to put pressure on him, not the murderous Thatcher, to concede. Snivelling pro-imperialist reformists like Belfast MP Gerry Fitt and the former Officials (now "Sinn Fein the Workers Party") condemned the desperate hunger strike as "violent," while others simply whined their "peace" message. But there can be no peace so long as Britain lords it over Northern Ireland.

There is real tragedy in the death of this man with the courage to die in protest against oppression. The imperialists claim he is a criminal, but Bobby Sands' dignity and determination have made him an honourable symbol for the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland in the struggle against the obscene British presence. He is an IRA officer who would not ask his men to do what he would not do himself. Sands and his fellow hunger strikers simply demand that Republican prisoners should not be treated as criminals. They are right. Free the Hunger Strikers! Free All Victims of Imperialist Repression in Ireland!

Bobby Sands' only "crime" is that he fought against oppression. He was moved to join the Provisional IRA after his family was driven out of their predominantly Protestant neighbourhood and he was threatened out of his job at gunpoint. He has spent only six months out of prison in the past eight years. Some old handguns were found in his home in 1972. This earned him five years in the Maze. Six months after his release in 1976 he was stopped in a car with three others and the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] found one revolver in the vehicle. Each of the four received 14 years.

Contrast the British troops armed to the teeth, killing with impunity. On Easter Sunday an army Land Rover ploughed into a group of protesting children in Derry at 50-60 miles an hour.

Two young boys were killed and the vehicle was reversed over the broken dead body of one. The army commander "regretted" this "traffic accident." Fourteen years for possessing a handgun if you are in the IRA, "regret" over a "traffic accident" for cold-blooded murder if you are in the army. Such are British imperialism's scales of justice.

But the other tragedy of Bobby Sands is the sad fact that his death, however honourable his intentions, will not further the cause of ending oppression in Northern Ireland. And the reason is political. The bankruptcy of the Republican strategy was shown with the defeat of the last hunger strike, whose "humanitarian" focus and emphasis on a recognition from notables in foreign capitals did nothing to stop the manoeuvring and arrogant refusal of elementary rights by Britain. The whole strategy of pressuring imperialism, whether by civil libertarianism or by the bomb, offers no road forward. And with the situation in the North about to boil over, it is undoubtedly the Catholics who will be on the receiving end of stepped-up repression from the British imperialist army, police and Loyalist paramilitary terror gangs.

The IRA may well be the only force defending no-go areas and Catholic communities from Paisleyite atrocities and imperialist rampage. But it is in the very nature of Republicanism that as and when the conflict deepens, polarising along the lines of the early 1970s and worse, their nationalism will lead to an exacerbation of reactionary sectarian violence on both sides. Republican nationalism directs its acts of terror not only against imperialist targets like Earl Mountbatten and the British army of occupation but is also capable of such indefensible atrocities as the killing of thirteen innocent Protestants in the La Mon firebombing of early 1978. Class unity can and must be forged against sectarian terror as well as against imperialist rampage through the struggle for integrated workers militias.

And what about the political goal of

*continued on page 11*



Martyred Irish Republican Bobby Sands.

citizens' defence committees prepare contingency plans in Catholic West Belfast. Households are stocked up on bread, bottled gas, tinned goods, powdered milk.

The army's Spearhead Battalion stands ready for dispatch across the water to the Six Counties and all police leave has been cancelled. Her Majesty's government provides a steady stream of war propaganda: "IRA Plans to Burn Belfast" read one *Daily Express* headline. And all the while Westminster arrogantly refuses to accede to the Republican prisoners' eminently just, even minimal, demand for political status. With autocratic disdain, Mar-