

Reaganonomics Targets Social Security

War Budget Hit List: Blacks, Poor, Aged

"I will defend the integrity of the Social Security system and work to improve those programs which provide for the disadvantaged and those in need."

—Ronald Reagan,
24 October 1980

"We cannot postpone any longer the day of reckoning for Social Security."

—Secretary of Health and
Human Services Richard
Schweiker, 12 May 1981

It was 96 to 0. The first slap in the face for the John Wayne presidency. On May 20 the Senate voted a "sense of Congress" resolution stating that it would "not precipitously or unfairly penalize early retirees." Reagan had no trouble in adding \$25 billion to the military budget this year and he expects no trouble for a 1981-85 arms buildup three times greater than the Vietnam War buildup of the late 1960s. He had no trouble cutting back Medicaid for black ghetto youth or eliminating Social Security benefits for orphans in foster homes. But cutting back Social Security pensions is something else again.

Thirty-six million people benefit from these programs and have paid for them their whole working lives. And Reagan's savage proposal affects not only the old. Who is going to let their aged parents or grandparents eat dog food, freeze in

continued on page 10



Lurie/Black Star

Democrats and Republicans have billions for anti-Soviet militarism, austerity for working people.

Thai/Time

Reagan's Picks

What Next? Lt. Calley for Human Rights Adviser?

"What's good for the country is good for General Motors, and vice versa," said Eisenhower's Secretary of Defense hack in 1953. Charles E. Wilson was the president of General Motors, of course, but even the *Wall Street Journal* gently remonstrated at Wilson's letting the cat out of the bag. Today the *New York Times*, mouthpiece of the "enlightened" Ivy League bourgeoisie, has thrown up its editorial hands, recently (May 28) offering readers a "Foxes and Chicken Coops" game, to match up each

Reagan-appointee "fox" with the corresponding "chicken coop" agency.

It's easy to play. Take James G. Watt, who headed a group opposing Federal environmental legislation and supports private "development" of public lands—obviously he's Secretary of the Interior, in charge of most public lands. Thorne G. Auchter, a construction contractor known for opposing Federal enforcement of health and safety rules, is naturally to be in charge of the Occupational Health and Safety Administra-

tion (which just exempted construction contractors from a Federal job safety standard). Who's in charge of the Interstate Commerce Commission, including trucking regulations? It must be Reese H. Taylor Jr., a lawyer whose most prominent clients have been trucking companies in state regulatory proceedings. And how about the Forest Service? Well, it had to be John B. Crowell Jr., general counsel for the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, largest single buyer of timber from the national forests.

The new Secretary of Health and Human Services, Richard Schweiker, supports abolishing abortion and other "human services"—he wants to terminate Federal support of sex education programs and Medicaid-subsidized contraceptives for unmarried teenagers. And Reagan's nominee for Surgeon General, Dr. Everett Koop, fits right in: he's a Christian fundamentalist opposed to abortion. Of course he doesn't have any experience in public health. (His nomination was opposed by the American Public Health Association, the first time it has taken such a position in its 100-year history.)

That's the domestic crew: an endless parade of corporate plunderers and Christian soldiers against sin. Just in case you can't tell the program from the players, Energy Secretary James Edwards spelled it out: "We're on the verge of a counterrevolution now and I'm excited to be a part of it" (*Washington Post*, 28 May). On the foreign affairs side, things are even darker—the creatures Reagan wants there are the kind

continued on page 3

Gripes of Rothe

4/6/'81

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

The editors of the *600 Organizer* would like to take this opportunity to comment upon the misrepresentation of our newsletter and its stated positions by the *Workers Vanguard*, 27 March 1981.

The *600 Organizer* has been in existence about one year. We have published about one issue a month. Since its inception the *600 Organizer* has had three editors, with the exception of one month when only two individuals edited the newsletter. This is well known since the names of the editors are listed in our newsletter. We therefore feel it necessary to correct your implication that the *600 Organizer* is the work of one individual.

As regards your assertion of the "workerist" character of editors of the *600 Organizer*, it may be useful to consider some of the topics that the *600 Organizer* has commented upon:

We have opposed the CIA backed reactionary forces in Afghanistan.

We have consistently opposed protectionism and attempts to divide workers along national lines.

We have refuted red-baiting attacks, and pointed out the role of socialists and communists in building the UAW.

We have exposed and criticized the CIA involvement in supporting the reactionary regimes in the Middle East.

We have attempted historical analysis of the Klan/Nazi menace and have supported or participated in anti-Klan/Nazi demonstrations in the Detroit area.

We have consistently advocated the formation of a labor party, with UAW participation a key element.

We have supported the women and minorities in the UAW in the struggle for dignity on the job.

The *Workers Vanguard* has criticized us for calling on the International UAW to authorize a sit-down strike. You point out a successful sit-down at Chrysler's Jefferson plant in 1973 as an example.

There are two sides of a coin to consider here. What about the strikes which are isolated, besieged by goons organized by the International UAW and crushed? What about the set-up and fired militants and subsequent demoralization of the workers?

What about the wildcats of 1977 reported on by the *Workers Vanguard*? "...the main walkouts were largely spontaneous and poorly organized. Moreover they were almost universally followed by successful management reprisals." W.V. 29 July 1977. "...In addition to calling on the union (not wildcatters) to shut down the steaming sweatboxes, auto workers must demand the local right to strike without International sanction..." *ibid.* (emphasis in original) Also in 1977 you reported favorably on a leaflet issued by the Militant Solidarity Caucus of Local 906 UAW entitled "HEAT WAVE It's the Union Leadership's Job to Shut this Plant Down!" *ibid.*

These are certainly valid tactical considerations. It would not be beyond feasibility for several militants to be fired in the aftermath of an unsuccessful wildcat, left hanging out to dry on charges of "instigating an unauthorized work stoppage." Calling on the International to support any strike and not backstab us is the only reasonable policy under the present conditions.

It seems that your position of 1977 reflects more of a realistic analysis of events and less of a felt need to manufacture political criticism of those perceived as adversaries.

Fraternally,
Jim Rothe
Tim Selwa
Greg Tripodi
Editors of the *600 Organizer*

WV replies: Every organization has leaders, including and especially ones that claim to have none, and the *600 Organizer* is no exception. Defections from their editors and the addition of a new name does not change the fact that the *600 Organizer* is the creature of Jim Rothe. Apparently Rothe still carries hangovers from his New Left days when it was fashionable in SDS to pretend that "we're all rank-and-filers here" while self-appointed honchos ran things behind the scenes. But that doesn't exonerate him from responsibility.

On the other hand, it is possible that the term "workerist" does not do full justice to Rothe. A workerist chases rank-and-file moods; Rothe consistently kneels to the Fraser leadership. How about "labor reformist" or "aspiring bureaucrat" instead? It's not whether the *600 Organizer* has printed words about

various subjects, but what they do when it comes to militant action. They write, for instance, that "we have ... supported or participated in anti-Klan/Nazidemonstrations in the Detroit area." Where? When?

What about the important 10 November 1979 Kennedy Square demonstration to stop the KKK from marching in Detroit? This action, initiated by UAW Local 600 militants who later formed the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) and built by the Spartacist League, was the first major protest in a northern city against the bloody Klan/Nazi Greensboro massacre. Five hundred participated, mostly black, with over 100 from area factories. Where was Jim Rothe on November 10?

Rothe *opposed* the November 10 demonstration, calling instead on the Local 600 bureaucrats to organize a rally *after* the KKK was due to march and at *another location*. The UAW misleaders did not want to confront the Klan, and when the bureaucrats do nothing, Rothe does nothing. Now he is in a hloc with the so-called Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), whose mentors of the Ann Arbor cult/sect Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) led by one Peter Sollenberger (a/k/a Swineburger) dismissed the November 10 demo as a "fraud" and labeled black auto workers who attended it "downtown shoppers." Black workers at Rouge and Detroit-area minorities facing racist terror would have some choice words to say to these wreckers who tried to *sabotage* the first labor-centered anti-fascist mobilization in this country in decades.

In general, the *600 Organizer* ducks any issue where a hard class position might be unpopular. On Poland they offer this gem: "We support free and democratic trade unions in Poland like UAW president Doug Fraser" (*600 Organizer*, 6 October 1980). Rothe knows perfectly well of the CIA connections of the UAW and AFL-CIO international operations over the years. The real aim of Fraser and Kirkland is to make Poland "free" for capitalist exploitation again. And that is Rothe's policy.

And what about El Salvador. The Rouge Militant Caucus has called for leftist rebels to win the civil war. The *600 Organizer*—like *Doug Fraser*—calls only for "self-determination" of the Salvadoran people. And at a Spartacist League forum on El Salvador at Wayne State University on April 23, Jim Rothe remarked: "If you want to come out with a statement like 'military victory to left-wing insurgents' in an area of basically conservative politically, skilled tradesmen... I think you are setting yourselves up for permanent isolation and degeneration as other groups have done." So Rothe *admittedly* capitulates to the aristocracy of labor. But the RMC sent people from the Rouge to Washington May 3 to march for a left-wing victory against the bloody junta and collected more than \$500 in the plant.

The main point of Rothe & Co. in their letter is to defend themselves against our criticism that they oppose sit-down strikes at Ford Rouge, where there is an urgent necessity for *action now* against layoffs and plant closings. And they try to make it look like they are for calling on the union to take action while *Workers Vanguard* presumably calls for wildcats. So the letter quotes a 29 July 1977 *WV* article against us, in which we call for union action rather than isolated wildcats to shut down plants too hot to work in. It won't wash.

What we wrote in our recent article is that anyone who is waiting for the likes of Doug Fraser to authorize a sit-down strike has no intention of ever carrying it out. *Not a worker in Detroit* thinks that strikebreaker Fraser would *ever* carry out plant occupations against the companies—and that includes the likes of Rothe, who calls for it! First of all, our 1977 article explicitly says workers must demand the local right to strike "without International sanction," and nowhere did we condemn the heat wildcats. A weak July 1979 resolution by militants at the Rouge did call on the UAW International to organize a plant occupation at Dodge Main, but this demand for a sitdown at another plant was accompanied by efforts to mobilize the membership for militant union action. Rothe's gripes prove his real policy has been to *oppose* any action unless it is authorized by Solidarity House. The *600 Organizer* won't organize anything that doesn't have the okay of Doug Fraser!

Moreover, Rothe is now issuing joint leaflets with the CMDUAW, which argued that a special in-plant local meeting to organize union action to stop scheduled layoffs would only finger militants to management! A March 5 issue of the CMDUAW newsletter denounces the Rouge Militant Caucus' "gimmick version of a 'sitdown'" as "just a wildcat out of the blue." And as we noted in our 27 March article, "They even complained that 1,000 unionists occupying the plant would be an 'unauthorized strike'!" The Rothe et al. letter refers to the "successful sitdown" at Jefferson Assembly in 1973. But with their position, they would have opposed that strike!

Repeatedly, Rothe and the RWL/CMDUAW try to sound a little militant on paper while concocting a rationale for avoiding action that would confront the bureaucracy. They are "parliamentary cretinists" in the unions who believe that the *traitors* in the UAW leadership can be dragged into action by passive propaganda. But Fraser is now a direct agent of management, acting as a member of the board of directors of Chrysler and the other auto companies. Fraser & Co. are acting as *cops* against the membership, ripping up contracts and forcing takeaways down the members' throats. Why don't Rothe and his pals call on Iacocca or Henry Ford II to lead sitdowns—they'd have just about as much chance of success as calling on Fraser! And by the way, *the Flint sit-down strike*, the action which turned the UAW into a powerful industrial union, was not authorized by the International until *several days after it had broken out* under the leadership of socialist militants.

As for the sleazy Sollenberger bunch, an RWL-supported caucus actually took office in a UAW local once—clerical Local 2001 at the University of Michigan in the early '70s, until they made such a mess of it that the 3,000 members wrongly voted to decertify the union in 1976. In February 1977 the then RWG *scabbed* by crossing AFSCME Local 1583 picket lines in Ann Arbor; three years later they wrote a 3,000-word article defending this despicable action as principled! Now after hooking up with the CMDUAW, Rothe too says that observing picket lines is "moralistic." Not the RMC and the SL. We say picket lines mean don't cross.

Scabbing, opposing sitdowns, tailing after Solidarity House—this is the course which the *600 Organizer* has chosen. Their latest gambit is an electoral lash-up known as the United Front Slate, whose Local presidential candidate Qasem withdrew reportedly because he didn't like being "used" by this lashup. Even though the UFS is now without a candidate for Rouge president in the upcoming elections, Rothe & Co. refuse to say who they will support. They oppose real class-struggle unionists but don't dare support Fraser/Rinaldi openly, so they hide by saying nothing. Such cowards will play no good role in the struggles to oust the labor lieutenants of capitalism and unleash the class-struggle power of organized labor. Real class-conscious militants will vote for Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois for Local 600 president and first vice president on June 9-11. And real class-struggle militants also know that the victory over the traitorous Frasers will take place not at the ballot box but on the picket lines, battle lines of the class struggle. ■

Anwar NLRB Case

Chicago, Illinois

25 May 1981

To the editor:

In the article in *WV* 281 (22 May) we made a mistatement of fact in the article on the case of Keith Anwar, the Inland Steel worker fired for respecting picket lines. Based on a leaflet by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, we wrote that the National Labor Relations Board "has issued a decision invalidating a previous arbitrator's ruling." Actually, the NLRB issued a *complaint* against the company for engaging in unfair labor practices in firing Keith. A hearing has been scheduled for this coming fall on the case.

Jon Brule

Midwest *WV* labor correspondent

WORKERS VANGUARD

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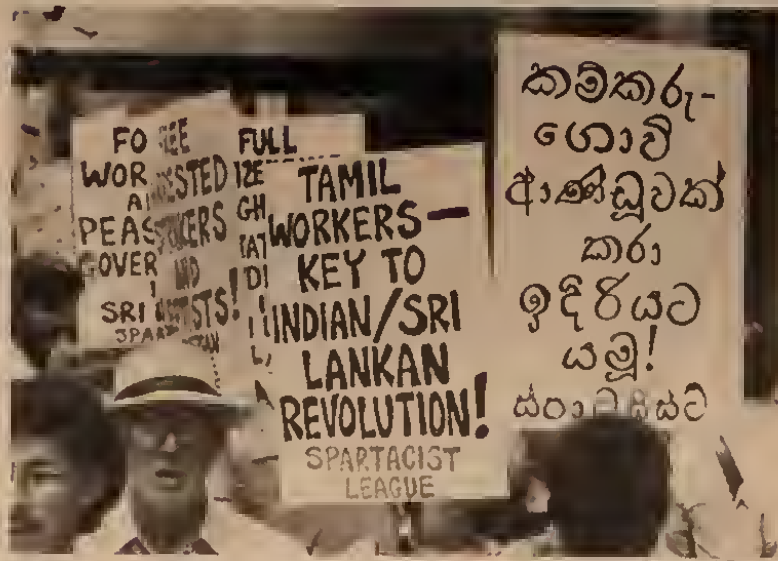
Stop Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka!

State-sponsored terror against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka's Northern Province has taken an ominous turn. Since late March at least 89 Tamil activists have "disappeared" as security forces resort to the terror methods of the Latin American death squads. Seized in raids by unidentified plainclothesmen, often with military escort, the Tamil victims include many university students and young leftists. The government denies that prisoners are being held, ignores writs of habeas corpus, refuses to release information about their whereabouts. There is good reason to fear that those seized may suffer the same fate as the Tamil youths found murdered by police during the 1979 state of emergency. International protests must be mounted against these acts of rightist terror!

The smell of repression hangs heavy in the streets of the northern city of Jaffna, patrolled by heavily armed troops and police. The pervasive discrimination against Tamils in language rights, education, employment and land ownership has intensified sharply since the 1977 Sinhala-chauvinist pogroms, in which over a hundred were killed and thousands forced to flee to destitution in the North. Even worse is the plight of the Tamils whose ancestors were imported a century ago to work the upland plantations. Exploited, impoverished, disenfranchised, they face deportation and starvation in India. Over 300,000 have been deported so far, and over a quarter of these have died of hunger and disease within the last five years.

Right-wing prime minister J.R. Jayewardene has increasingly resorted to strong-state measures in an effort to make Sri Lanka "safe" for capitalist investment and imperialist war bases. In exchange for U.S. aid and membership in the anti-Communist ASEAN alliance, he is offering tax-free exploitation in Colombo's Free Trade Zone and the strategic naval harbor of Trincomalee as an anti-Soviet military base for the U.S. Attacks on the Tamils foreshadow future repressive measures which will be taken against any threat to capitalist "stability," whether from militant trade unionists or opponents of imperialist military encroachment. Suppression of the Tamil minority is also aimed at

SL protests
Sri Lanka
government
repression of
general strike
at consulate
in New York
City, 29
August 1980.



WV Photo

fostering communalism and religious divisions to undercut potential united class struggle against widespread unemployment and the unchecked inflation which has trebled basic food prices.

Jayewardene no doubt also hopes to drive a wedge between his opponents, now in the process of crystallizing a new popular-front opposition. The bourgeois Tamil opposition party, the TULF, has entered into alliance with the virulently Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike and her reformist lapdogs of the LSSP—despite her record of murderous repression against the Tamils, as well as against the Sinhala youth in the 1971 JVP uprising. Other Tamil politicians are backing J.R.: his cabinet ministers include a TULF leader from the Eastern Province and S. Thondaman, head of the Tamil plantation workers union. Despite their rhetorical calls for a separate Tamil state of Eelam, the Tamil opposition politicians are loyal camp followers of the two leading parties of the Lankan bourgeoisie, parties which have openly vied to outdo one another in bloody repression of the Tamils. The largely Buddhist Sinhalese justify this vicious repression of the mainly Hindu Tamils by their own guilty fears of domination by India (where tens of millions of Tamils live).

The response of Tamil youth has been to turn increasingly to armed actions against their oppressors. Bank "confiscations," shootings of policemen and

bourgeois politicians have been attributed to Tamil nationalist groups. (The mayor of Jaffna killed in 1975 was so detested a figure that 35 Tamil youths confessed to his slaying!) But such actions are essentially futile, unable to pose any serious threat to the armed power of the capitalist state. And their program for a separate Eelam, if victorious, would mean abandoning the Tamils living outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces, especially the plantation workers, to the racist violence of Sinhala communalism.

The Tamil guerrillas find a fertile recruiting ground among the disaffected youth, denied jobs and education. Except for the 1,800 students at Jaffna University, Tamil students are being barred from universities throughout Sri Lanka. But during a recent student strike at Colombo University, demands were raised for admission of Tamil freshmen. This struggle, led by a supporter of the newly formed Spartacist League of Sri Lanka (formerly the Bolshevik Faction of the centrist Revolutionary Workers Party), was the first recent instance of Sinhala students championing Tamil rights, and points the way forward. Working-class unity against the common bourgeois enemy across communal lines, so vital for the future of the class struggle in Sri Lanka, can be forged only when Sinhala workers join their Tamil class brothers in the fight against the racist poison of Sinhala chauvinism and for the right of

self-determination for the Tamils. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* No. 240, 28 September 1979:

"The oppressed Tamil population will be able to achieve social liberation only through working-class revolution, led by a Trotskyist party which fuses together the conscious vanguard of all sectors of the proletariat. The critical significance of the Tamil question for Ceylonese revolutionaries is enhanced as well by the myriad ties which link the island to the Indian subcontinent on the other side of the narrow Palk Strait. A successful proletarian seizure of power in Sri Lanka could not long survive unless it sparked a more general South Asian revolutionary conflagration. And for the laboring masses of southern India, the program of Ceylonese revolutionaries toward the Tamil minority will be seen as a key test of their internationalist intentions."

Free the victims of anti-Tamil state terror! Cops and troops out of Jaffna! End discrimination against Tamils in education, employment and land! Equal status for the Tamil language! Full citizenship rights for the Tamil plantation workers! Stop the deportations—for the right to return of those already deported! Equal pay for women plantation workers! For the right of self-determination for the Tamils of the North and East! Not Sinhala vs. Tamil, but class against class! Down with the UNP government—No more popular fronts! For a revolutionary workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka! Not little capitalist Eelam but proletarian revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent!

Protest state terror against the Tamil minority! Join our picket line outside the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN at 630 3rd Ave. (between 40th and 41st St.) in New York City on Monday, June 8 at 4:30 p.m.!

PROTEST ANTI-TAMIL TERROR IN SRI LANKA!

PICKET LINE
Monday, June 8 4:30 pm
At the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN,
630 3rd Ave. (between 40th & 41st)
New York City

Reagan's Picks...

(continued from page 1)

that have to return to the soil of Langley, Virginia before dawn. The doors of the right-wing think tanks have opened wide, as retired spooks and their kindred spirits flock out into the Reagan world.

The United Nations ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, despite being a Democrat, has an impeccable pedigree. Her brother-in-law, Lyman Kirkpatrick, was both executive director and inspector general of the CIA before retiring into academia, while she herself has been a long-time *Commentary* fellow traveler, who first caught Reagan's eye with an article criticizing Carter's "human rights" policies in Latin America. Stating that the U.S. should be nicer to "moderate autocrats friendly to American interests" (*New York Times*, 12 January), she agrees wholeheartedly with the Reagan/Haig line that so long as dictators are anti-communist, they're just fine.

In this Orwellian world where "human rights" means rightist death squads, the top posts in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency have gone to opponents of the SALT II accords. For the U.S. to have a

"disarmament agency" is itself an obscene joke, given the bourgeoisie's massive, unprecedented military buildup. And in keeping with Newspeak "war is peace" policy, the two top officials named to head the agency are Eugene Rostow, Johnson-era Vietnam hawk, and Edward L. Rowny, a general who retired in order to publicly protest the last "disarmament" talks.

Reagan's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Ernest W. Lefever, however, has proved too much for even fellow Republicans to swallow. In 1979 Lefever told Congress that it "should remove from the statute books all clauses that establish a human rights standard or condition that must be met before our Government ransacks normal business with it." The man defends every torturing right-wing dictatorship around the world. In 1974, excusing torture by the Chilean military junta, Lefever said, "We must understand that normal level of policy abuse which goes on in that part of the world as a residual practice of the Iberian tradition." As for South Africa, opponents of apartheid are trapped in "confusion," he says, falsely trying to apply "mechanistic egalitarianism" to a country which ought to be "a full fledged partner in the struggle against Communist expansion" (*Fight the Right*, May 1981).

Lefever's been trying to stonewall, but

only managed to fan the flames of opposition by accusing liberal opponents of his confirmation of being "Communist inspired" and then denying it the next day (*New York Times*, 22 May). While this is standard New Right/Moral Majority talk, to say so in public—before even being confirmed—didn't demonstrate the type of tactical finesse a "human rights" adviser should have. Now even Republican Charles Percy is privately recommending with-

drawal of his nomination. But Reagan is standing firm behind his man, at least for the time being.

Lefever may be just too much, though, in which case they'll have to find another appropriate nominee. So who's next? Well, there's one who has all the necessary qualifications—including real experience in the field. Here's a Vietnam Vet who fought for that "noble cause" Reagan's so fond of. Will it be Lt. Calley for human rights? ■



AP

Human Rights nominee Ernest Lefever. Can My Lai war criminal Lt. Calley be far behind?



AP

Leftists Purged From British IMG

On May 16, sixteen members of the International Marxist Group, British section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," were summarily expelled from their organization. This mass political purge—the first ever in IMG history—was the leadership's response to the Communist Faction (CF) statement dated May 12 (see box). The official charges were that CF members were "members of a disloyal faction by virtue of the fact that they defend the statement of the Communist Faction dated 12.5.81" and that nine CF members were "members of a separate party, viz the iSt" (international Spartacist tendency). As we go to press, disciplinary action is being threatened against other IMG members who have dared to protest the witchhunt.

The Communist Faction grew out of a struggle at the IMG's February 1980 National Conference, where a long-time IMG cadre and former member of the IMG Control Commission opposed the IMG leadership's course toward Tony Cliff's group, which holds that the Soviet Union is "state-capitalist" and need not be defended against imperialism. The Communist Tendency was constituted by left-wing IMGers who opposed key elements of the IMG's rightward-moving centrism: e.g., its capitulation to anti-Soviet imperialist hysteria over Afghanistan; its tailism of Khomeini's clerical-reactionary, Persian-chauvinist regime in Iran; its

liquidation into a classless campaign of "anti-nukes" pacifism; its shameful burying of the call for British troops out of Ireland, as part of its cozying up to the Labour Party "lefts."

On May 9 the Tendency declared itself a Faction, announcing it would struggle within the IMG for a new leadership. A week later came the purge.

We reprint here an excerpted version of a leaflet distributed at an IMG public meeting held in London May 22.

On 16th May the International Marxist Group (IMG) Political Committee (PC) expelled the entire Communist Faction (CF) from the organisation. The reason? The CF refused to recant its political ideas.

The purge was prepared by a letter from the leadership. Its purpose was to lay the basis for a political trial. Our documents attack the leadership's denial in practice of revolutionary Marxism on key issues of the class struggle. [The IMG leadership] demanded that we now characterise the same leadership as "revolutionary Marxist" to prove our "loyalty." Such a declaration could only have amounted to a recantation. Serious communists form factions when they have become convinced that the defence of the revolutionary programme is at stake—the demand that factions should characterise the leadership as revolutionary before any

struggle takes place means only one thing: from now on the right to form factions has been eliminated in the IMG.

In *Intercontinental Press* [4 May 1981] there is an article by none other than Ernest Mandel—the historic leader of the United Secretariat [USec]. Mandel correctly states:

"More generally, we should not give a blank check of revolutionary virtue to anybody (including Bolsheviks and Trotskyists) as long as a victorious social revolution hasn't actually occurred under their leadership."

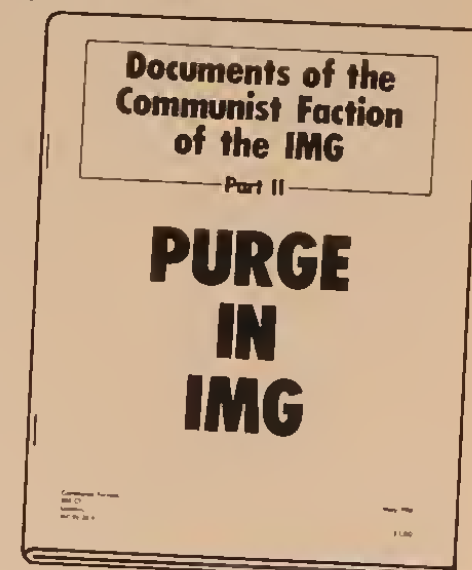
If Mandel had been present at the IMG PC meeting and had had the courage to defend this view he too would have been expelled.

At the PC meeting CF representatives found themselves confronted with the allegation, alongside the other "charges," that they were "members of the international Spartacist tendency." The [21 May 1981] *Socialist Challenge* attempts to discredit a sixteen-month-long political struggle inside the IMG as a "secret plot by the international Spartacist tendency to smash the IMG as a 'counterrevolutionary organisation'." The leadership has disappeared the political differences in dispute as readily as it suppressed the discussion which attempted to fight them out. Driven to a frenzy by the loss of senior cadre, the IMG responded with an outburst of pure Healyism, slandering the iSt as "a weapon designed solely to

smash up left-wing organisations. It has nothing to do with socialism or Trotskyism." This is an outrageous lie designed to draw the lines between its members and iSt comrades, and to set the conditions for bureaucratic exclusions and even physical attacks.

Nowhere has the IMG been characterised as "counterrevolutionary," either in our documents or in "contracts" for political collaboration
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Order Now!



\$3.00
Order from/pay to:
Communist Faction
BM CF, London, WC1N 3XX, England

To: Harney
From: [IMG] Executive Committee
Date: 1 May 1981

Dear comrade Harney,

The Political Committee of 16-17 May will be discussing the platform of the Communist Tendency including the document produced by the Communist Tendency on the question of disarmament. The Executive Committee asks two representatives of the Communist Tendency to attend this meeting....

In order to prepare this item the EC took a preliminary discussion. The Executive Committee asked me to write to you clarifying one point. In view of the characterisations made of the political line of the IMG the EC felt it necessary to ask you and your tendency's members what your characterisation of the Fourth International and its British section is. In particular we wish you to answer the question: do you consider the Fourth International and its British Section to be a revolutionary Marxist organisation?

We would require an answer to this question by Thursday 14 May, to discuss at the last EC before the Political Committee. A failure to answer by that time, or an ambiguous answer will be understood as a negative answer to the question.

The necessity for posing this question derives from the fact that the Communist Tendency has discussed the question and not decided that the IMG and FI is revolutionary Marxist. For example in your appeal for the formation of the Communist Tendency you said "It is time to firmly reassert the programmatic positions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International—positions on which the IMG is supposed to be based." (Appeal for the Formation of the Communist Tendency. Emphasis added).

...[The letter now cites two additional quotations where the opposi-

tionists had used the same formulation: the IMG "is supposed to" stand for something.]

Our constitution states that: "All members of the organisation are under an obligation to operate inside and outside the organisation in a responsible and disciplined and loyal manner, placing the collective needs and interests of the organisation before any individual or grouping."

Evidently a grouping or individual inside the organisation which is not sure whether the Fourth International and its British Section defends the programme of revolutionary Marxism will also be unsure as to whether indeed the interests of that grouping or individual should be subordinated to the interests of the organisation as a whole.

For this reason we insist on a reply to our question.

Revolutionary greetings,
Steve Cannon
(for Executive Committee)

To: Executive Committee
From: Communist Faction
Date: 12 May 1981

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Faction (formerly Tendency) has discussed comrade [Cannon]'s letter dated 1st May. You ask us to "unambiguously" affirm that the IMG and the USFI [USec] are revolutionary Marxist organisations. Such a self-confident affirmation would evidence a supreme arrogance which we prefer to leave to the leadership of the IMG and the USFI. The very terms in which you pose the question indicate a non-Marxist approach, the revolutionary character of any organisation is proven in the fire of the class struggle; you pose it as a theological credo to be established by fiat. The assertion that an organisation is revolutionary does not make it so,

as Trotsky had to relentlessly demonstrate in the 1930's when faced with various centrists who were only too happy to baptise each other "revolutionary"....

Take the Bolshevik party before 1917. Categorically to assert that the Bolsheviks were an authentically revolutionary organisation before actually making the revolution would not be prescience but sheer idiocy of the sort Lenin so frequently and scornfully dismissed. As Trotsky pointed out in *Lessons of October*, there was a wing of the Bolsheviks, and not the least of them, which flinched when it came to actually making the revolution. And if the question of whether the Bolshevik party was revolutionary Marxist was moot prior to 1917 what is one to say about it in 1924?...

To the question of whether the IMG and the USFI are revolutionary Marxist, we reply: we have yet to lead the working class to power. It is certain that there are thousands of comrades associated with the USFI who want to make a revolution. But are you not taking a good deal on yourselves to assert irrevocably that our organisation will not flinch when the test arises? Indeed, contrary to your deepest suspicions, we could not in all good conscience "unambiguously" assert that the Spartacists are revolutionary Marxist....

On a series of vital issues confronting the organisation today, the Communist Tendency demonstrated serious departures by the IMG leadership from the codification of revolutionary Marxist principles represented by the first four Congresses of the Communist International and the founding Congress of the Fourth International: most notably on Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, disarmament and the CND. And now there is the Labour Party and Ireland. From this evidence we necessarily conclude that while the IMG and USFI leader-

ships are, as we have repeatedly stated, supposed to stand on these principles, in relation to important questions they have not in practice done so....

For much of his political career, Lenin was active in an organisation about whose revolutionary character he had grave doubts. Those doubts and differences were resolved by political debate, and ultimately by the October revolution....

The leadership's demand that the Communist Faction give it a clean bill of revolutionary health is centrally an attempt to avoid political debate on the issues we have raised and to manufacture a pretext for expelling the Communist Faction from the IMG. We can only marvel that the leadership has finally noticed statements from the platform of the Communist Tendency which were in a document submitted five months ago.... Why don't you finally allow the membership to judge the validity of our positions by releasing the document you have been sitting on for so long?

The leadership...is witch-hunting members of the Communist Faction with Stalinist-style accusations of "factionalism," and demanding a "loyalty oath" as the implicit price for the circulation of our document.... While this behaviour is not in itself a decisive proof that the IMG and USFI are not revolutionary Marxist, it is highly suggestive that this is indeed the case....

No, we cannot unambiguously assert that the IMG/USFI is revolutionary Marxist. Nor can we unambiguously assert that there are no components of the IMG/USFI which are or can become revolutionary. This contradiction exists in real life and will only be resolved in the political struggle which your question is intended to cut short....

Revolutionary Marxist greetings,
Communist Faction

Mitterrand Victory in French Elections

No to NATO Popular Front!

ADAPTED FROM
LE BOLCHÉVIK NO. 26, JUNE 1981

PARIS, May 27—François Mitterrand's victory over Valéry Giscard d'Estaing provoked massive celebration across the country on the night of May 10. Tens of thousands at the Bastille chanting "We have won," singing of the Internationale, even red flags planted on factory gates. But the jubilation over the ousting of the hated Giscard tended to submerge the question of what exactly this victory of the "Left" will bring for the working class. The answer was clear even before the announcement of the "transitional government" and before the results of the June legislative elections: the Mitterrand government will be a government of Cold War and austerity, a popular front under the colors of Gaullism.

The Ligue Trotskyiste de France opposed a vote to Mitterrand on either the first or second round because we said he was a candidate of the popular front—the candidate of an alliance which ties the workers to their exploiters. The reactionaries pretended that Mitterrand would be a hostage of the PCF [Communist Party]. Nonsense! Mitterrand is the hostage of his Gaullist and radical partners. But Jobert and Faure will not only serve as demonstrations to the bourgeoisie that Mitterrand intends to "respect the Fifth Republic"; they will also serve as an alibi to appease the anger of the workers: "I cannot do more," Mitterrand will say, "I must preserve my alliance with the center." Thus Jobert and the other bourgeois notables will have veto power over the government's social program.

Twenty-three years of the Fifth Republic has been the legacy of the disastrous defeat suffered by the workers when the popular front was in power. In the '30s [Popular Front prime minister Léon] Blum didn't hesitate to send his cops against the workers (Clichy), and the ignominious collapse of his government ultimately opened the door to Marshal Pétain. The post-war popular front broke the workers' strikes and drowned the colonial revolt in blood. The "center-left" coalition of the '50s waged the dirty Algerian war, paving the way for De Gaulle's coup d'état. From Spain in 1936 to Chile in 1973 the popular front demobilizes the workers and disarms the fight against reaction in the name of empty promises of social reform.

If the working class doesn't intervene to stop it, it won't be any different this time. What does Mitterrand offer? An end to inflation? Prices will remain "free"—the SMIC [the minimum wage] we are told might increase by 10 percent. But Mitterrand's clique of technocrats warn that wage increases must not become the "locomotive" of inflation. The 35-hour week? Negotiations industry by industry and enterprise by enterprise, says Mitterrand—in any case the main thing is more productivity ("we," i.e., the bourgeoisie, must "catch up" to Japan). More jobs? Here the answer is "relaunch investment," i.e., fat subsidies to the capitalists. "Nationalize monopolies" with full compensation to the stockholders? That comes to 60 billion francs! A foreign policy of "peace"? The PS calls for building at least two more nuclear submarines and Mitterrand supports the American missiles in Europe. No wonder Reagan's not worried!



Francolon/Gamma



Oer Spiegel

French workers protest Giscard's austerity, but fake-socialist Mitterrand only means more of the same.

The leaders of the working class have demanded a sort of social truce for the new government until the legislative elections, giving the excuse that Mitterrand will have need of a parliamentary majority. But Mitterrand has already chosen his allies, and they are the same old bourgeois politicians that the working class has been fighting against for 25 years. What the misleaders of the working class—from the new president to [PCF leader Georges] Marchais and [CGT labor federation leader Georges] Séguin—fear most of all is that the working class will upset the sedate scenario and take matters into their own hands, striking to impose their demands on the popular-front government.

"But strikes will only aid the right!" scream the reformists and centrists as they zealously attempt to chloroform the workers with promises of parliamentary "change." No, it is class collaboration that "aids the right!" Each succeeding popular front, limited in advance to half-measures by its ties to the bourgeoisie, has proved incapable of overcoming the economic and social crises which confronted it. The impotence of the popular front drives the desperate petty-bourgeois masses into the arms of a Pétain or a De Gaulle or worse. It is only when the working class is a contender for power in its own name, when it shows that it is able to expropriate the bourgeoisie, that it can rally to its side the masses of the petty bourgeoisie.

The workers do not have to suffer the "austerity of the left" with clenched teeth, blackmailed by the prospect of the right's return to power. The road forward is the mobilization of the workers independent of, indeed against, the popular front. Illusions in Mitter-

rand's popular front stand in the way of even the most limited gains. Mitterrand should be thrown out—not by the reactionaries, but by a workers government.

Cold War Popular Front

The personnel of the Mitterrand government model 1981 speaks volumes about its social program. First of all there is Gaston Defferre, longtime Socialist mayor of Marseilles, a vicious anti-communist and hardened strike-breaker. No doubt his administration of this well-known crossroads of the underworld uniquely qualifies him for the ministry of the interior. Meanwhile the ministry of justice goes to a bourgeois politician—Maurice Faure. The "star" of this government is of course Jobert, an unregenerate Gaullist who was Pompidou's cabinet director when De Gaulle was president, before becoming Pompidou's minister of foreign affairs. As minister of commerce he can not only hobnob with the oil sheiks but insist on the necessary exploitation of the working class so that France can be "internationally competitive."

As for the rest, no matter which tendency of the PS they come from they all seem the same—a bunch of technocrats whose presence in an ostensibly working-class party might seem bizarre if it wasn't for the weakness of bourgeois liberalism in a class-polarized country like France. There is Jacques Delors who only joined the PS after being an economic adviser to Chaban-Delmas (Pompidou's prime minister from 1969 to 1972). Some credentials for a "socialist" minister of the economy. Then there is Claude Cheysson, an ex-PDG (cor-

poration president) who managed to be Giscard's representative to the Common Market in Brussels. As minister of foreign affairs he has been making the rounds in Washington reassuring the Reaganites of Mitterrand's genuine anti-Sovietism. And of course there is the renegade "leftist" Rocard and a host of ambitious young men who learned about the class struggle—from the bosses' side—at the ENA (École Nationale d'Administration). Pierre Mauroy [Mitterrand's new prime minister] we have saved for last since he is simply the "mirror" of the party, the perfect bureaucrat. That this team is dedicated to administering the capitalist crisis on the backs of the workers should come as no great surprise.

But it was not really on domestic issues that Mitterrand needed to give assurance to the bourgeoisie. This popular front takes office in the context of a new Cold War campaign orchestrated by American imperialism! Mitterrand cemented his bloc with the Gaullists on the basis of virulent anti-Sovietism. He proclaims his all-out support to pro-NATO "Atlanticism." Again and again he charged Giscard with being "soft" on the Russians and selling out the Poles and the Afghans—Giscard who supported Reagan in El Salvador and decreed an economic boycott of Cuba! Mitterrand's pre-election visit to China, his support to the American Pershing missiles in Europe, his support to the Common Market, the economic annex of NATO—all of this demonstrated clearly that Mitterrand was the perfect Cold War socialist.

Mitterrand is no less committed than was Giscard to building up the nuclear arsenal of French imperialism—against the Soviet Union. He declared himself in favor of a "modernization of French strategic and tactical forces" (*Le Monde*, 17 April). Although he may have tactical disagreements with Reagan, Mitterrand is prepared to do his share for the "Atlantic Alliance." The popular front always means "national unity"—hands off the bourgeois army, in fact often even a strengthening of that army in the name of "national defense." This time social-democratic anti-communism, Gaullist rhetoric and the international climate of Cold War combined to produce: a popular front under the flag of NATO!

How Low Will the PCF Stoop?

In the aftermath of the disastrous first round vote totals for the PCF, Marchais jumped on the Mitterrand bandwagon. Since May 10 the PCF has been pleading for Communist ministers as a self-declared part of the "new majority." Communist ministers in this government of austerity and Cold War? What happened to all those criticisms of Mitterrand's "right turn," to the criticism of the popular fronts of '36, '44 and '72 ("Three times is enough!")? The PCF's anti-Mitterrand campaign blew up in its face on April 26. Marchais had preached the virtues of popular frontist "unity" for more than a decade. The PCF/CGT had canceled demonstrations, broken strikes, betrayed every workers struggle, all in the name of electoral success for the Union of the Left. Was it any surprise that so many of the PCF ranks opted for the "useful vote" seduced by Mitterrand's chances of success?

This time it's extremely doubtful they'll get in the government at all. In its Cold War mood the bourgeoisie and its

continued on page 8

On January 22 of last year the streets of San Salvador echoed with the sound of 200,000 protesters marching in the biggest demonstration that the small Central American country of El Salvador has ever seen. Virtually the entire working class and poor population of the capital came in answer to a call issued by a newly-formed leftist alliance for a show of strength against the military junta.

They also came to commemorate another January 22, nearly half a century earlier, when the Indians and peasants of El Salvador rose up in the first Communist-led insurrection in the Americas. The 1932 revolt was crushed, with some 30,000 workers and peasants, most of them Indian farm laborers, butchered in the weeks that followed. Two-and-a-half percent of El Salvador's population disappeared practically overnight. Unions ceased to exist. The revolutionary movement was destroyed for years to come. This was *la matanza*, the massacre.

The bloodbath introduced 50 years of virtually unbroken military dictatorship in El Salvador. Today the spectre of 1932 still haunts the Salvadoran ruling class in the civil war raging through the country. And the response of the coffee barons and the junta colonels is the same as it was back then: 22 January 1980 left 100 workers, peasants and urban slum dwellers dead, massacred by the regime's military and paramilitary killers. For the military right "another '32" means a "peace of 100,000 dead."

But *la matanza* is not just a tragic memory for the Salvadoran left: they have taken the name of the leader of the 1932 uprising, Agustín Farabundo Martí, for their banner today. Despite the terrible vengeance exacted by the ruling class, 1932 also showed the tremendous power of the working masses, who rose up practically unarmed and virtually leaderless, yet seized a good deal of the country before the machine guns began their murderous work. Under conditions far less favorable than those which exist today, with a tiny working class and a weak revolutionary movement, the agricultural workers and peasants nonetheless frightened the ruling landlord-capitalists nearly to death.

For those who today preach a "political solution" in El Salvador, 1932 also has lessons. It was not in the revolt itself that 30,000 died. That was the punishment meted out by a terrified bourgeoisie *after* it had been assured its victory. If the Salvadoran oligarchs and their military butchers survive this challenge to their rule, they will once again take their revenge. Only military victory of the leftist rebels can prevent it. Only socialist revolution can ensure that it never happens again.

Farabundo Martí and 1932

The roots of the 1932 revolt are found in the spread of agricultural capitalism in El Salvador, enmeshing the country

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THE FIRST COMMUNIST-LED UPRISING IN THE AMERICAS EL SALVADOR 1932



LA MATANZA

30,000 workers and peasants were maaaacred after the 1932 uprising. Leader of the revolt Agustín Farabundo Martí (far right) with Nicaragua's Augustino Sandino.

in the world market, and in the collapse of that market in 1929 with the capitalist depression. The development of the great coffee estates threw thousands of Indians off their ancestral lands, destroying the communal agricultural system which had sustained them for centuries. But in the formation of a mass of agricultural wage workers and oppressed peasant *colonos*, the coffee barons formed a dangerous class enemy. When the depression hit and the coffee price plummeted, the Indian peasants found themselves literally starving for lack of land or work. It was a situation ripe for rebellion.

The leaders for that rebellion would be found in the ranks of the newly-founded Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) and the nascent labor movement dominated by the Communist-led Regional Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FRTS). Inspired by the Russian Revolution, a small group of radicals founded a Central American communist movement in 1925 and by 1930 the PCS was functioning within the country. Its most effective leader was Farabundo Martí, officially the general secretary of the Salvadoran chapter of Socorro Rojo, International Red Aid, the Communist-huilt workers defense league led in the U.S. in its early years by James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism.

The Communist International's connections with Central America were extremely tenuous. And Martí was not the sort to submit to the "Stalintern" bureaucracy. "In those days [circa 1925-27] Martí wore a red star on his lapel with a picture of Leon Trotsky on it. At this time, of course, Trotsky was in disgrace, but not yet anathema.... it would be wrong to think of this temperamental and passionate Salvadoran as a Stalinist" (Thomas Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932*). An internationalist, Martí was thrown out of Guatemala in 1925 for helping to found the Central American Socialist Party; in 1928 he was arrested in New York during a police raid on the CP's Anti-Imperialist League.

Martí fought in 1928-29 with Augusto Sandino in Nicaragua, serving as Sandino's personal secretary in the Liberal

general's guerrilla war against the U.S. Marines occupying Nicaragua. He then broke with Sandino, saying, "His banner was only the banner of independence, the banner of emancipation, and he did not pursue goals of social rebellion. I declare this categorically because more than once communist ideas have been attributed to General Sandino" (Mauricio de la Selva, "El Salvador: Tres Décadas de Lucha," *Cuadernos Americanos*, January-February 1962).

"Struggle Against the National Bourgeoisie!"

The political crisis of Salvadoran capitalism created by the coffee crash led Salvadoran president Pio Romero, whose government had been violently repressing the growing FRTS and Socorro Rojo, to call an election for president in 1931, open to all candidates. In this unprecedented proceeding, Arturo Araujo, a liberal would-be reformer, won. But times were not favorable for reform and Araujo's government began to bloodily repress a massive wave of rural strikes on the coffee *fincas* of the western highlands. The National Guard attacked student demonstrations. Meanwhile, the Com-

munist organizers were finding a ready audience for their revolutionary message. According to one PCS manifesto:

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

Araujo jailed Martí, who became a popular hero, winning his freedom by a hunger strike accompanied by mass demonstrations for his release. But the Communists' prospects were threatened when, in December 1931, a right-wing military coup brought General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez to power. Time seemed to be running out for the still weak and under-led PCS. The objective conditions for a Communist-led revolution were clearly apparent—but would there be a leadership capable of capitalizing on them? The weaknesses of the PCS were shown when a Communist-influenced student paper, *Estrella Roja*, published by Martí's disciples Alfonso Luna and Mario Zapata, greeted the Martínez coup, saying that "the blunders of Araujo



Today's Salvadoran guerrilla fighters know they face revolution or death.

Mattison/Gamma-Liaison

WORKERS VANGUARD

imposed on the military the moral obligation of overthrowing him."

Illusions in the military would soon be tragically demolished. Hoping to stave off the intensifying repression, the Communists sought to negotiate with Martínez. They were fobbed off on the defense minister, who refused to negotiate, telling them: "You have machetes; we have machine guns." Rumors began to fly that Martínez was planning to liquidate the leftist threat militarily. After municipal elections were held in early January in which the Communists were robbed of victory at the polls, the party leaders decided to gamble on a desperate attempt to overthrow the Martínez regime.

The Indian peasants, led by Communist-allied *caciques* (local tribal leaders), were in an insurrectionary fervor. Many army officers and troops were known to be sympathetic to the Communists. After intense debate Martí agreed with other PCS comrades that the time for an uprising was then or never. A surviving Communist leader, Miguel Mármol, relates that Martí accepted the idea "that the duty of the Party was to occupy its post as the vanguard at the head of the masses, in order to avoid the great, imminent danger, dishonorable for us, of an insurrection that would be uncontrolled, spontaneous or provoked by governmental action, in which the masses would be alone and without combat leadership" (Roque Dalton, *Miguel Mármol: los sucesos de 1932 en El Salvador*).

Matanza

Just about everything that could have gone wrong did go wrong. There were no guns, no real military plans. Martí and other leaders were arrested on the eve of the planned revolt, which was then put off for a second time. Finally it became such common knowledge that the date for it was published in San Salvador newspapers. PCS comrades and sympathizers in the army were disarmed, arrested or killed, while those troops who did revolt prematurely on the 19th were easily crushed. Support outside of the western highlands and a few cities was spotty at best. At the last minute a portion of the leadership got cold feet and tried to call off the rising, only to be overruled by a majority which, however, tried unsuccessfully to convert the call for insurrection into a call for a general strike.

In the end "zero hour" arrived at midnight on the 22nd and the peasants rose up and marched out to a heroic but doomed rebellion. Curiously, all of the northern portion of Central America was rocked that very night by the simultaneous eruption of four major volcanoes, including El Salvador's Izaleo crater. Thomas P. Anderson, the Amer-

ican historian of *la matanza*, writes in his valuable and interesting account that as the molten lava flowed down the slopes of Izaleo,

"in the glow of the burning mountain, a more ominous development was observed. Bands of Indians armed with machetes were making their way out of the ravines and tangled hills down into the towns of the area....

"The revolt was no mere *jacquerie*, no sudden impulse on the part of Indian *campesinos*.... it has the distinction of being the first Latin American revolutionary movement in which men who were avowed international communists played a major part."

—Thomas P. Anderson,
*Matanza: El Salvador's
Communist Revolt of 1932*

At first the rebels swept all before them, seizing towns, looting shops and avenging themselves on a handful of largely deserving bourgeois victims. In all, outside of army casualties, only a couple of dozen lives were lost in the revolt itself. But when the machine guns began to speak, the sharpest machetes were no answer. U.S. and British warships waited off the coast, offering imperialist intervention. Martínez refused. It was not necessary, he said in a telegram: "Up to today, the fourth day of operations, 4,800 Communists have been liquidated."

Then the punitive massacre began. In the white terror that followed, hundreds were forced to dig their own graves and were then shot and buried. Thousands were left unburied—so many that for weeks no one in the region dared eat pork, either for fear that the hogs had fed on the bodies or that the meat itself was suspect. Peasant rebels were tossed in the air and caught on raised bayonets. The leaders were rounded up and hanged or shot. Martí's final words before the firing squad were "Long Live the International Red Aid!" Other leaders shouted "Long Live the Communist International!", even "Long Live Stalin!"

"Ultraleftism"

The Comintern's response to the revolt was not nearly as laudatory, however. The Stalinists and nationalists who today claim to speak in Martí's name may not even realize it, but the response of the Stalinized Comintern to the Salvadoran revolt was to *turn its back* on it, denouncing the PCS for "ultraleftism." "One of the chief lessons of the Salvadoran uprising is the great danger of putschist and 'left' sectarian tendencies against which we must wage the most energetic struggle" (*International Press Correspondence*, 17 March 1932). This backstabbing, anti-revolutionary verdict was bitterly contested by surviving PCS leader Miguel Mármol. Speaking years later to leftist poet Roque Dalton, he remarked:

"I don't believe that we should be labeled petty-bourgeois adventurers for having done it.... I believe that our

Leftist Guerrillas Say: Win the War in El Salvador!

SAN FRANCISCO—Alex Drehsler, a reporter for the *San Diego Union* and special correspondent for ABC News is one of the few North American bourgeois journalists, if not the only one, to have gone to an area under the control of left-wing rebels in El Salvador to get their story. A series based on his observations "behind the lines" of the guerrilla struggle was syndicated in several leading U.S. newspapers last March. On May 14, Drehsler gave a forum in Berkeley, "El Salvador: A First Hand Account," where the Spartacus Youth League drew a sharp class line with its call for a left-wing victory in the raging civil war.

The talk was sponsored by SAINTES (Students Against Intervention in El Salvador) which stands for negotiations toward a "political solution" with the oligarchy and military junta. However, despite SAINTES' best efforts to keep Spartacist speakers off the floor, they did not succeed. The speaker responded to an SYL question by reporting that many, if not most Salvadoran guerrilla fighters hold that only a victory on the battlefield by the leftist rebels will end the blood bath and genocidal junta terror in that beleaguered country.

Drehsler spoke about his stay in Chalatenango Province near the Honduran border, an area controlled by the guerrilla forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Drehsler stressed, as he has in his articles, the wide support of the population for the guerrillas and their hatred of the government.

He recounted how he asked some peasants about the junta's "land reform." A peasant took him to the top of a hill and showed him clouds of smoke rising in the distance: "That's the land reform—the government and ORDEN burning our fields." A guerrilla told Drehsler that the Salvadoran revolution would be more radical than the Nicaraguan revolution, which is "middle-class."

During the discussion, the SAINTES chairman's blatant refusal to recognize Spartacist speakers led one to send up a written question to Drehsler that read, "Given your description of the Rio Lempa massacre, don't you think the idea of reforming or negotiating with the armed forces is an illusion?" Drehsler replied that while the leadership of the FDR and FMLN seek some type of political settlement, the guerrillas in the field say, "There's no room for a negotiated settlement." He quoted one rebel who told an FDR leader, "You're sitting in town sipping your gin and tonic, talking about negotiations, but we're out here getting our asses blown off and we don't want any negotiations." A Spartacist speaker summed up at Drehsler's forum:

"You've done a real service by bringing out the guerrillas' story—what those people are fighting and dying for. People who are concerned with El Salvador must take a side in the civil war. On one side are the workers and peasants and on the other side are the landlords and capitalists with their army and death squads. The workers and peasants must win."

errors were rightist and not leftist... due to vacillations and delays, due to gross violations of the most elemental conspiratorial security measures, the insurrection was begun... when the government had already murdered all the Communist officers and soldiers in the bourgeois army, had captured or liquidated, or was about to liquidate, most of the members of the leadership of the party and the mass organizations."

—Dalton, Miguel Mármol

The early '30s did indeed witness supreme examples of ultraleftist betrayals by the Stalinists, most tragically in Germany, where the Communists following Moscow's "Third Period" line, fought the Socialists, not the Nazis, as the "main danger," thus paving the way for Hitler. But the 1932 Salvadoran revolt was not an ultraleft putsch. Rather, in the tradition of German Communist leader Eugen Levine and the short-lived Bavarian soviet republic of 1919, a weak party unable to manage a difficult and isolated revolutionary situation placed itself at the head of a doomed uprising rather than betray the masses who looked to it for leadership.

The Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton, a member until his death of the People's Revolutionary Army, wrote a poem called "Ultraleftists" in response to the Stalinist-reformist line. It includes the following stanza:

"Everything went very well until there appeared that ultraleftist called Farabundo Martí who headed an ultraleftist Salvadoran Communist Party in which a mass of ultraleftists were militants among them Feliciano Ama Timoteo Lúe Chico Sánchez Vicente Tadeo Alfonso Luna and Mario Zapata. They couldn't be ultraleftists through to the end because they didn't have the means

and were assassinated to the number of thirty thousand."

Today as in 1932 there are those who are quick to label revolutionary communists, Trotskyists, as "ultraleftists." This is now being done in Martí's name! The man whose party called for "bloody struggle against the national bourgeoisie" has been taken as a symbol by the leftist guerrilla leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) who, however, base their popular-front strategy precisely on an alliance with the "national" or "patriotic" capitalists. Today they call for a negotiated deal with the military descendants of Martínez the butcher. Martí, we suspect, would have found what *Workers Vanguard* wrote just before the FMLN's January general offensive more to his taste:

"But the Salvadoran masses have no choice—passivity has not stopped the escalating massacre. And if the working masses rise up in an all-round insurrection, from the coffee-growing hills of the west to the San Salvador slums and factories, they can defeat the white terror.... Military victory to the leftist insurgents!"

—WV No. 271, 2 January

Half a century after the heroic 1932 uprising and the horrific *matanza*, El Salvador is once again in the grip of revolt. The forces of the left today are stronger organizationally and militarily than were the young Communists of 1932. But as long as their leaders pursue the dangerous chimera of a "political settlement" with the blood-soaked junta terrorists they are politically stymied. What is necessary is for the leftist rebels to win the civil war, for a communist (Trotskyist) vanguard to lead a proletarian revolution in El Salvador which could spark eruptions by the worker and peasant masses throughout Central America. ■



WV Photo

Anti-imperialist Contingent marches in Washington, May 3 for military victory to leftist Insurgents in El Salvador.

ILWU Militants Fight Anti-Soviet Resolution

HONOLULU—At the 24th biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) held here April 27-May 2, the International leadership under president Jimmy Herman joined the bosses' anti-Soviet chorus with a resolution against USSR intervention in Poland. Parroting the Carter/Reagan war program of a "Russian threat," the officers' resolution "calls on the Soviet Union to refrain from intervention, an act which could only be interpreted as union busting, pure and simple." It was Herman's way of sending an oath of loyalty to the butchers in Washington. The fact that the only place a "Soviet intervention in Poland" exists is in State Department handouts doesn't bother these social-democratic Cold Warriors.

The now-retired founder of the ILWU, Harry Bridges, spoke out against the resolution, noting the very real possibility of capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, and urged postponing action until the union could send a team to Poland to "find out what is going on." Delegate Howard Keylor from ILWU Local 10 and a member of the Militant Caucus (MC) submitted a minority resolution which correctly noted that "the Reagan administration is seeking to exploit this situation [in Poland] in the most grossly provocative manner" and that "the only reason therefore, for the officers to come



Anti-Soviet ILWU president Jimmy Herman.

forward at this time with their statement on Poland is to try to look good to the U.S. government, thereby falling in line with Reagan's and Haig's Cold War drive." Keylor's resolution called on the union to take "no position on the internal situation in Poland at this time" (see accompanying box for Keylor's remarks on Poland). But not even union founder Bridges' admonitions about the



Militant Caucus delegate, Howard Keylor.

unsettled state of Poland could slow Herman in his rush to please the U.S. State Department.

While Stalinist fellow traveler Bridges and the social-democratically inclined Herman had their differences over Poland, they share the class-collaborationist program of support to the parties of U.S. imperialism. Anxious to preserve the union's disastrous

alliance with the Democratic Party, engineered by Bridges, Herman personally intervened in one committee with a 30-minute harangue to defeat all resolutions for an independent labor party, including the attempt of fake leftists (such as Communist Party supporters) to combine the labor party call with support to so-called "friend of labor" Democrats like Ron Dellums. Meanwhile in his convention speech Herman hypocritically bemoaned the "absence of a viable left"! Only MC delegate Keylor put forward a resolution correctly demanding:

"That the ILWU reject completely this class-collaborationist policy of endorsing and relying on the pro-business Democratic and Republican parties, and will begin the necessary struggle to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government that will expropriate industry without compensation and organize a rational planned economy."

The Militant Caucus struggle for labor—black defense guards to smash fascist terror also contrasted sharply with Herman's class collaboration, reflected in his reliance on the government to protect blacks and labor with so-called "anti-genocide legislation." When it came to El Salvador, the current hot spot in Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War drive, Herman opposed all proposals for action which would go beyond the hypocritical and impotent moral protests made by the outgoing Carter administration. Refusing to take a side in the civil war raging in that country, Herman called simply for a ratification of the International's formal boycott of military cargo for El Salvador.

In sharp contrast the Militant Caucus, which has a long history of fighting for and enforcing solidarity boycotts of military cargo bound for Chile, South Africa and other right-wing dictatorships—submitted a resolution which not only called for enforcement of and expansion of the military boycott but insisted that "only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a bloodbath. American labor must take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador win." The resolution firmly insisted, "If war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines the ILWU and all labor must be prepared to strike to stop U.S. intervention." Thus from Poland to the Democratic Party to El Salvador, the MC clearly emerged at the convention as the only defender of the ILWU against the bosses and the only voice of proletarian internationalism. ■

Keylor Speaks Against Cold War Poland Resolution

What is the purpose of this position of the officers? Our wise leadership tells us that it knows what is going to happen in Poland in six months. The internal situation is deeply unclear in Poland. Many contending forces are at work in Solidarity. These range from Marxist workers to clerical nationalists to the government and party bureaucracy itself. At this moment things are in a high boil. The outcome of the continuing differentiations in Solidarity are not at all clear. Until the situation is clear we should keep our hands off.

There have been some very clear situations in the past regarding Soviet military intervention: 1. In 1956 the Russians intervened militarily in Hungary to suppress a workers political revolution whose aim was to strength-

en the socialist foundations of that state by throwing out the repressive bureaucracy. Every class-conscious worker opposed that intervention. 2. There is another very clear situation in Afghanistan. There the Russian forces have intervened on the side of social progress against the reactionary mullahs who want to keep women in bondage and culture in the seventh century. Class-conscious workers should support this intervention. 3. And speaking of Russian intervention let's not forget the Vietnam War where Russian aid greatly assisted the Vietnam Revolution to victory over U.S. imperialist aggression.

So if the situation in Poland is so profoundly unclear and unresolved, why do the officers choose now to issue a statement on Poland? We all know

that Reagan, Haig, Weinberger and the rest of the U.S. government are conducting the most outrageous provocations, using mere speculations about the Polish situation to twist the knife and whip up world public opinion. They especially want to get the American labor movement to line up behind U.S. imperialism's renewed Cold War drive.

The only reason the officers have chosen to put forward this statement at this time is to try to look good to the U.S. government by getting behind Reagan & Co. on the question of a "Russian peril." This is a great disservice to the ILWU and a departure from the past. If the officers really want to struggle to help workers fighting for their lives let them do everything to mobilize the full power of the ILWU to stop every scrap of cargo going to the bloody junta butchers of the working class in El Salvador and do our best to insure military victory of the left-wing rebels.

French Elections...

(continued from page 5)

social-democratic lackeys have turned their hack on the Stalinist pleas. [PS leader Lionel] Jospin has explained that an electoral pact for the legislative election would not be possible unless the PCF renounced all criticisms of the PS in advance and if there was agreement on Afghanistan, Poland and the Euromissiles!—in short a complete break with Moscow. As we have pointed out the PS has insisted all along on the centrality of the Russian question, posing a break by the PCF with Moscow as the precondition for reconstituting the Union of the Left. Marchais and the PCF bureaucrats just keep groveling:

For a Revolutionary Opposition to the Popular Front

Here and there there were small pockets of PCF militants who refused to follow Marchais in voting for the ferociously anti-Soviet social democrat

Mitterrand. The sentiment in this milieu is perhaps expressed by the people influenced by the small left-Stalinist *Le Communiste* group. But loyalty to the Soviet Union, while highly honorable in the face of the current Cold War campaign, does not suffice as a program. Without a revolutionary program and with visceral hatred of the social democrats substituted for a genuine opposition to popular frontism, this group has set itself the utopian task of reforming the PCF.

When Marchais & Co. launched their campaign last fall, promising a "vote Communist battle" and voicing criticisms of previous popular-front experiences, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) projected giving highly critical electoral support to the PCF candidate. Marchais' subsequent disgusting campaign against immigrant workers, part of an overall line of French chauvinism, robbed his candidacy of any possibility of serving as a class-against-class vote. Nevertheless, class-struggle militants in the Communist Party must investigate the Trotskyist program and policies of the LTF, the only tendency which sought to put forward a proletarian

opposition to popular frontism in the presidential elections. Not a new Union of the Left or Vitry-style racist provocations but class struggle for a workers government! This is the Marxist answer to the betrayals of '36, '44 and '72.

But a Trotskyist alternative won't be found among the LCR, OCI or Lutte Ouvrière, whose feeble pretensions to stand for the interests of the proletariat were stripped bare by the election of Mitterrand. The fanatical anti-communist social democrats of the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste] backed Mitterrand on the first round and hailed his nationalization schemes as "the first steps to socialism"! Like the nationalization of Renault after the war? Today the OCI could be more accurately characterized as Bernsteinist than Kautskyist. They are really the fifth wheel on the PS cart. As for the centrists of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire], Alain Krivine declared at the Mutualité on May 4 that the LCR's previous general strike slogan should be withdrawn, at least until the legislative elections. It is not surprising that the LCR tells the proletariat to "wait." You can't defend

the interests of the workers and support the popular front at the same time.

Finally there are the popular demagogues of LO [Lutte Ouvrière] who by contrast to the LCR have been more critical of Mitterrand (if not always from the left!) But their criticisms shouldn't be taken too seriously: their election slogan was "Vote Mitterrand without illusions, but without reservations." Without a program and without a principled opposition to voting for popular fronts LO can only utter complete nonsense. The workers need their own government, one which will expropriate the bourgeoisie and crush the resistance of the class enemy. But expropriation of the banks and major industry will not come about through parliamentary maneuvers between the bureaucrats of the PCF and the PS. To call for a PCF-PS government today is just window-dressing for support to the popular front presently in power. It will take gigantic class struggles which can split the masses from the trade-union bureaucracy and the reformist parties, sweeping away the traitors and rallying the working class around a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership. ■

Coal Bosses in Retreat

Miners: Stay Out and Win Big!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Two months ago the bosses of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the sellout leadership of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) cooked up a contract proposal which would gut union gains won over decades of struggle. When miners shot down the *takeaway* pact, by margins of up to nine-to-one in key districts, labor and management bargainers just sat on their hands. Now, with coal stockpiles dwindling and profits down, they decided to have another go at it. This time let's give them *nothing* (or a little less) and see if that washes, said UMWA president Sam Church and BCOA chief Bobby Brown. They're hoping that after eight weeks without pay the membership's will to fight will break before the companies' hard-line front collapses.

"It's a step backward when we should be moving ahead," said a local official in District 17 (West Virginia) who summarized the new contract proposal in a nutshell. True, due to the determined strike waged by the ranks against the BCOA and their own misleaders, the bosses have made concessions on their "giveback" demands. But for the Mine Workers, even standing still will mean death to the union. Miners must regain the ground lost in the 1977-78 strike *and more* in order to organize the growing number of non-union miners. Don't stop now—you've got the bosses on the run! Win a fat contract when you have the advantage and it will lay the basis for successfully organizing the Western mines. The future of the UMWA is at stake!

Church is reportedly using red baiting and other arm-twisting pressure to get his contract passed, while "dissidents" in

the leadership are apparently capitulating left and right. The first bargaining council vote on the new deal approved it by 36-to-2, and then they made it unanimous. But the insulting hack-to-work bribe of \$150 per miner can't cover up the holes in this deal. For one it leaves unsettled the UMWA construction workers' contract. Despite clauses allegedly protecting union jobs, "It's going to hurt the ABC [Associated Bituminous Contractors] workers," one miner told *WV*.

Moreover, one of the big selling points in the proposal is a phony. The big business press has spilled the beans, admitting that pension funding from royalties will be evaded. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (1 June), one of the largest mine owners "recently established a subsidiary corporation beyond the reach of the UMW contract that will enable U.S. Steel to buy nonunion coal without paying the royalty"! And one life-and-death issue has simply been buried. When a *WV* reporter asked Church at a press conference here May 29 about the local right to strike over safety conditions, he replied that there never had been such a right (!) and "I don't even want to consider it." But as the *New York Times* (2 June) noted, "Many miners may not think well of Mr. Church's commitment to a no-strike contract."

The UMWA president is boasting that this pact is "probably the best that will be negotiated this year in any industry." If true, it would only be because labor fakers like Church have been surrendering to the bosses' offensive for so long that it looks good for a change when a strike simply beats back the takeaways. But the companies are only buying time, waiting for the

strength of the UMWA to be sapped by the declining percentage of union-mined coal (now well under 50 percent).

In the latest proposal, the BCOA retreated on its original union-busting demands: the provision for royalties to the union health and retirement fund for processing non-union coal has been restored; the proposed 45-day probationary period for new hires has been dropped, and contract language has reportedly been rewritten to retain UMWA jurisdiction over subcontracting at union mines. There are loopholes, however, since it would only prohibit leasing or contracting which "causes layoffs or deprives laid-off employees of work that is normally theirs," according to the UMWA press release. "The majority of construction... is going to be done by scab labor," one miner commented to *WV*. And the proposal would lengthen the contract to 40 months!

Yet coal miners can take credit for the BCOA retreat because they decided two-to-one to use their main weapon, the strike, rather than rely on Church's no-strike diploma. After holding on for more than eight weeks, and with no thanks to the UMWA tops, they have got wide sections of U.S. industry feeling the pinch. The coal companies are anxious to cash in on what they call an "exploding market" and some of the smaller operators have already declared their willingness to settle. "According to some coal executives, the cost of continuing the strike had begun to outweigh the costs of the union's demands," reported the *Wall Street Journal*. "Some mining companies may report record second quarter losses, while others fear the loss of markets to

nonunion operators."

The UMWA is fighting for its future! That means regaining what was lost by the sellout Miller/Church leadership in the bitter 110-day strike three years ago. In particular, the cradle-to-grave health care, which has been the calling card of every Mine Workers organizer for decades, as well as a lifesaver for miners and their families, must be restored. Also, mine workers still receive no indexed cost-of-living adjustments, while 25,000 coal miners remain on layoff without supplemental unemployment benefits or even severance pay. And although the hated Arbitration Review Board has been eliminated, its rulings are left standing as "precedents"—which would mean that "unauthorized" strikes are still considered illegal.

The United Mine Workers could lead the American working class in a powerful fight against the Reagan austerity drive (remember the miners' strikes during World War II!). The companies know this well, and with the selling price of coal rocketing by over 600 percent in the last decade, this no-gains/no-strike deal is a cheap way to call off the confrontation just when it is beginning to hurt them. And so far there has been only a hint of militancy. If the miners put their minds to it—shut down all non-striking pits, block the transportation of scab coal—and if the rest of organized labor refused to handle coal, it would quickly bring the bosses to their knees. A big "no" vote must be combined with a move to recall the treacherous misleaders so the UMWA can forge a class-struggle leadership capable of winning the fight. Vote no! Victory to the coal strike! ■

British IMG Purge...

(continued from page 4)

or, as far as we are aware, in any *ist* material. The politics of the IMG make it an obstacle to the proletarian revolution. Which side of the barricades sections of the organisation take when the decisive test comes cannot be predetermined, but the pursuit of Bennite reformism [Tony Benn heads the "lefts" in the British Labour Party] and Soviet-defeatist pacifism does not augur well for them.

The issue of political collaboration is a red herring. In the IMG today anything goes—except Bolshevism. The leadership itself has been busy collaborating with other organisations—to stifle the Trotskyist politics fought for by the Communist Faction. [Long-time IMG "star"] Tariq Ali exchanged correspondence with Alan Thornett [spokesman for the Workers Socialist League] in order to discuss how best to deal with the "Sparts" (though Thornett was never too successful).

At the 1980 National Conference the comrades who went on to form the Communist Faction had sought to assert the Trotskyist position of Soviet-defencism inside the organisation. In the aftermath of the imperialist outcry over Afghanistan we saw that the primary responsibility of communists was to stand firm against Cold War pressure and side with the Red Army in Afghanistan. But the IMG leadership, up to its neck in an attempt to regroup with the anti-Soviet Socialist Workers Party of

Tony Cliff, refused to take the discussion at the Conference. When the Communist Tendency submitted a document opposing the bankrupt line of building the pacifist Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), and argued that the IMG must counterpose to what Trotsky called "chatter about disarmament" the defence of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary proletarian struggle to disarm the bourgeoisie, the leadership sat on the Communist Tendency's document for five months.

IMG members today are being told that their future lies with "Socialist Challenge supporters" in the Labour Party. Ernest Mandel himself has come to town to use his showmanship and demagoguery to sell the new line to the IMG membership. After the orientation to the Cliffites, after the decision to build CND, this attempt to seize the main opportunity, entry into a mass reformist party, is being implemented with no formal discussion in the membership whatsoever. Already the line is made public in the pages of *Intercontinental Press*. This line means liquidation. When the leadership's political project is support to the "left" reformism of Tony Benn, then all talk of counterposing the IMG programme to the Labour Party "left" is a gigantic fraud. *The expulsion of the Communist Faction (and any other serious opposition to liquidation into the Labour Party) is the tribute offered for full membership in the Tony Benn supporters' club.*

But, so slow to move on discussion of the great political questions of the day, so incapable of confronting the programme of a principled left opposition,

the leadership seemed like a model of speed and vigour once it began its moves toward a purge. When a motion from the Hemel Hempstead branch condemned support for Benn's call for an alternative "defence strategy" for British imperialism, the leadership came down on the branch like a ton of bricks. When the efforts to bully the branch into retracting the motion failed, then the methods of frame-up were used. Comrade Lin Khalid, who had presented the resolution, was suspended from her full-time post at the IMG centre for the "crime" of talking to other IMG members about her political ideas on a demonstration in Manchester. Then, within days, came the letter demanding political recantation from the whole Communist Tendency.

The IMG PC's reason for the expulsion of 16 comrades was spelled out in an unsigned document which we received the day before the purge: "... the comrades must know full well that, in the last analysis, two programmes cannot exist within the framework of the same organisation." To be more precise, the IMG today has no room for the struggle for a revolutionary programme. It is true that in the ease of counterposed programmes, one must give way to the other—but for Leninists who see factional struggle as a reflection of the class struggle, this must be achieved through political combat aimed at defeating the ideas of their opponents. But that is the last thing the IMG leaders wanted.

They never worried about the incompatibility of two programmes when Tariq Ali was allowed to use the pages of *Socialist Challenge* and public platforms like *New Statesman* to de-

clare that he "remained unrepentant" in his counterrevolutionary calls for Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. There was no compunction about two programmes when an attempt was made to "regroup" with the Cliffites. And of course *Socialist Challenge* (9 April 1981) came out for the programme of Tony Benn (who in turn now calls for UN troops to Ireland).

Once, the IMG boasted about its "democratic" character. It was even claimed that the proliferation of "tendencies"—in fact warring cliques—was evidence of a healthy internal life. But today you can only form a faction if you concede in advance not to call into question the revolutionary character of the leadership, i.e., not to form a faction!

Those comrades who remember the days when it was quite common for IMG leaders to characterise other supporters of the [USec]—like the U.S. Socialist Workers Party—as reformist must wonder what has happened. The IMG leadership will never tolerate serious left-wing opposition again. Just the day after the IMG expulsions, Communist Faction youth comrades were expelled from Revolution Youth. All pretence of "democracy" has been thrown aside.

Comrades! Protest the witchhunt! The slogan used by the leadership to cheer on Tony Benn must be turned against them by IMG members: *Let the left be heard!*

Harney
Khalid
Vanzler
for the Communist Faction
22 May 1981

War Budget...

(continued from page 1)

winter or be evicted from their homes if they can possibly help it? Reagan's ax will force millions of working people to cut their own living standards to help elderly parents and other relatives survive. So Reagan reaction has suffered its first setback over Social Security. He went too far, too fast.

Reagan Proposes, Wall Street Disposes

In the year before the November elections the inflation rate reached banana-republic levels, real wages plummeted 10 percent and the bottom fell out of the economy last spring. Small wonder Reagan could present himself, including to normally Democratic blue-collar workers, as a saviour of the economy. While he did not tone down his image as a true right winger, Reagan nonetheless dissociated himself from traditional conservative economic policies. Remembering that Goldwater's offhand remarks about making Social Security voluntary had cost him millions of votes in 1964, Reagan solemnly pledged not to touch existing entitlement programs. As for other non-military programs, he would only eliminate "waste and inefficiency" from the government sector. And he would "not use unemployment as a tool to fight inflation."

Just how was Reagan going to accomplish what no capitalist country has ever achieved and build up a nuclear arsenal capable of first-striking the Russians in the bargain? Through the new, miracle "supply-side economics." Cut taxes enough, they claimed, and this would stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and investment that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, even more. "Supply-side economics" was embodied in the famous Kemp-Roth tax bill which in its *original* form proposed to cut income taxes by 30 percent *without* any cutback in government expenditure. Campaigning for the Republican nomination last May, Reagan actually claimed he would pay for his MX missiles and Trident submarines with a tax *cut*: "We would use the increased revenues from the tax decrease to rebuild our defense capabilities" (*New York Times*, 18 May 1980)!

Whether or not Reagan believed this nonsense himself, no banker or corporate treasurer did. And as he came closer to government power, he began changing his tune. After the election the two leading "supply-siders" in Reagan's entourage, Jack Kemp and budget director-to-be David Stockman warned that without a "severe program" of cutbacks "financial market worries about a 'Reagan inflation' will be confirmed" (*New York Times*, 14 December 1980).

As soon as he was inaugurated, Reagan announced this "severe program" of government cutbacks—\$40 billion worth. As we wrote at the time these cuts were "concentrated with almost surgical precision on the poor." For example, they did not then touch Medicare, the basic federal health insurance for the aged, but did cut Medicaid, which covers welfare recipients, the disabled, etc. And in racist, capitalist America the poorest is the blackest. A *New York Times* (2 June) survey reports:

"Nearly one black in five receives assistance under Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the principal Federal-state welfare program. The budget of this program would be cut 11 percent under the Administration's plans. Thirty percent of blacks receive food stamps, a program that would be cut nearly 25 percent, and 25 percent are on Medicaid, which would be subject to a ceiling on expenditures. As many as 300,000 blacks hold jobs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act [CETA], jobs that would be abolished under the Reagan plan."

On the other hand, programs where blacks are underrepresented (Social Security, Medicare, veterans benefits) are only being scratched (proposed cuts of 6, 2 and 0 percent respectively).

Reagan's ax-the-poor budget had bipartisan support and went through Congress with scarcely a murmur of protest from the liberals. "We have undone 30 years of social legislation in three days," whimpered New York Democrat Daniel Moynihan (*New York Times*, 20 March).

If Reagan bulldozed the Democrats in Congress, his own masters on Wall Street were still not pleased with his performance. Two of the most respected economists on the Street, Henry Kaufman of Salomon Bros. and Sam Nakagama of Kidder, Peabody, predicted that the Reagan budgets would mean double-digit inflation for years to come. The nation's bankers voted no confidence in Reagan's fiscal policy and it's their vote that counts. They voted with their interest rates, which are now higher than under Carter. "Rightly or wrongly, the markets don't trust the Reagan budget cuts to do the job of curbing inflation," warned Wall Street analyst and Reagan adviser Alan Greenspan (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 May). *Business Week* (18 May) voiced this even more strongly:

"...the financial community remains deeply gloomy. This pessimism is rooted in the realization that the Treasury will have to borrow what could be record amounts this fall and winter to finance a large and growing budget deficit."

Reagan to Aged: Drop Dead

Reagan got the message. Cut back the tax cuts (Kemp-Roth is now as dead as a dodo) and add to the cutbacks. But from where? The poor can't pay all of the Pentagon's new bills. They're just too poor. Reagan could throw everyone off welfare and scarcely save enough money to buy a couple of Trident submarines. Social Security is far and away the largest item of government social expenditure, larger in the late 1970s than the military budget. Thus, as liberal economist Lester Thurow pointed out:

"The proposed military increase is so large that it cannot be fully paid for with cuts in civilian expenditure unless the president is willing to abolish major social programs like Social Security."

—"How to Wreck the Economy," *New York Review of Books*, 14 May

So on May 12 the Reagan administration announced "the biggest frontal attack on Social Security ever launched" as the head of the National Council of Senior Citizens rightly described it. Benefits for those retiring at 62 rather than 65 will be cut by *one-third* from an average of \$373 to \$249 a month. Benefits for everyone retiring in the next few years will be cut by an estimated 10 percent. Then there are the sneaky mean little cuts like postponing the cost-of-living adjustment by three months.

The 96 to 0 Senate rebuff does not mean that Congress will not cut Social Security benefits, or even that Reagan will not get much of what he wants. Reagan's Congressional opponents argue only that the proposed cuts are too much, at least for now. The House Select Committee on the Aged calculates that Reagan's cuts are twice what is necessary to keep the Social Security system solvent for the next 75 years!

Pensions for the aged should no more be governed by the solvency of the Social Security system than wage rates by the profitability of a given employer. The existing Social Security perpetuates the gross inequalities of American capitalism and benefits are already so low it is impossible to live on them alone. Labor and minorities must fight to replace this inherently discriminatory and utterly inadequate "insurance" system. Unemployment and SUB benefits, welfare and Social Security should be merged with the general federal

government budget and equalized at the highest level. And to provide jobs for all, ensuring that millions are not just thrown on the scrap heap when they are no longer profitable to the companies, it will take a planned economy that can only be brought about by socialist revolution.

Whatever deal Congress and Reagan work out over Social Security, the 96 to 0 Senate vote was a significant setback for the White House. The "honeymoon" period of Reagan reaction may be over. But the working people and poor will gain nothing if anti-Reaganism is simply channeled back into Democratic Party liberalism whose utter bankruptcy was the major reason for the Republican landslide last November. Around the slogans of "fight the cutbacks" and "fight the right," the reformists, notably the Communist Party, are trying to recreate the popular frontism of FDR's New Deal and LBJ's Great Society. Just remember, the 1930s depression was only ended with World War II while Johnson's Great Society was buried in the swamps of Vietnam. And Teddy Kennedy, whose answer to inflation/unemployment is state wage control, is no friend of the working class and black poor.

Break with the liberal Democrat/conservative Republican shell game! A *workers party* is needed to wage a real fight against starving the ghettos and the old, against wage-slashing inflation, against unemployment and economic ruin as well as against the imperialist militarism of *both parties* of American capitalism. It must be a political fight to mobilize the workers as a class, and behind them the black ghetto poor, for a workers government and socialist economic abundance. ■

Chicago Cops...

(continued from page 12)

was so disturbed at the police action against us that in the middle of the speeches, the chairman suddenly announced that the exclusion "was a decision made by the police.... They [the Anti-Imperialist Contingent] are not being prevented from joining this rally."

This was just a lying cover-up. For when a *WV* reporter asked rally coordinator and member of the May 30th Coalition steering committee Michael Ross to show good faith by requesting that police officers allow the Anti-Imperialist Contingent to join the rally, he flatly *refused* on the grounds that, "you raise slogans on the Soviet Union."

As the rally was breaking up Chicago SL organizer Gene Shubert, still behind the cordon of cops, addressed the participants. Most of them lingered to hear his appeal for class solidarity with the Salvadoran working masses.

"This contingent marched with the

workers and peasants of El Salvador. It is very clear that the May 30 Coalition is nothing but a popular-frontist coalition. The May 30 Coalition at home shows that it will use the same government that backs the junta in El Salvador to keep out leftists. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League stood by the banner of proletarian internationalism and we say—Defend Cuba, Defend Russia, U.S. Out of El Salvador! It should be clear today that people who want to kiss up to the Democratic Party will lick the boots of the bourgeoisie. We stand with our class brothers and sisters around the world. We fight with them for workers revolution throughout Central America. The Rio Grande is not a sacred border. It has started in El Salvador, let it finish in Chicago, Detroit and New York. Workers to power around the world! U.S. out of El Salvador!"

The May 30th Coalition organizers and CPers who tried to set us up had better understand that they are playing with fire. For by egging on the repressive forces of the capitalist state they have set up their own supporters to catch it next time. One cop was heard commenting that, "If this was another country, they'd *all* be dead." And not only the Chicago police are involved. Does anyone really think the Chicago Red Squad sent out 50 grumbling cops, including mounted cossacks, on a Saturday afternoon because the CP is embarrassed by our Soviet defensism?

The whole operation smells of the FBI. And the FBI is raring to go now that Reagan has bought its loyalty with the recent pardons of top officials and is unleashing the Bureau for a new Cold War. So there we have the popular front in America—and the CP's provocation plays straight into the hands of the FBI's putative operation against the communists of the Spartacist League. But the CP had better know that we will fight for democracy in the workers movement.

The politics behind the anti-communist exclusion on May 30 are to supplicate the Democratic Party for a more humane imperialist foreign policy and to slavishly tail the search for a "political solution" (read: betrayal) in El Salvador. That's why Ricardo Melara of the FDR spent a portion of his speech denouncing "those sections of the ultra-left" who are "trying to disturb this march of ours" and want to "give final judgment on our revolution"—meaning those who call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents and the crushing of the bloody junta!

Despite the vicious CP-police collaboration, anti-imperialist politics marched in Chicago on May 30. One hundred and seventy-one pieces of literature were sold and 50 rally participants signed up for more information on the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. That night seven youth who had marched with the Contingent applied for membership in the SYL. ■

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Hicks/ DuBois...

(continued from page 12)

Klan-hooded foremen paraded through DAP and Local 600 bureaucrats refused to take action, it was the RMC that led 1,000 workers to drive the racists out. When the Klan threatened to celebrate their Greensboro massacre here and Coleman Young threatened to arrest anti-Klan protesters, it was the RMC that built the 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square that made sure the KKK didn't ride in Detroit. While Rinaldi and the UAW International conspired with Ford to steal incentive pay and let the bosses close plants from Dodge Main to Michigan Casting, the Rouge Militant Caucus has been there—at the DAP, at Steel, at Flatrock—to fight for sitdown strikes to defend our jobs and paychecks.

The Rouge Militant Caucus doesn't wait until election time and proclaim "Vote for me and I'll set you free." We are running on our record of leading militant action to fight against Ford's assault on our union and the betrayals of the UAW International. If you want to vote for labor/black mobilizations against the Klan, for sitdown strikes against layoffs and if you want to smash this racist capitalist system...VOTE RMC, FRANK HICKS—PRESIDENT, CHARLES DUBOIS—FIRST VICE PRESIDENT.

With Fraser, Rinaldi, Dorosh: UAW Means "U Ain't Working"

There is a class line between workers and bosses and those who cross it are traitors! Fraser traded the jobs and COLA of Chrysler workers so he can sit on the Board of Directors with Iacocca. Under Doug Fraser, the UAW has come to mean "U Ain't Working."

Rinaldi says, "Remember the past"—Dorosh's past, that is. But who can forget the betrayals of either of these pro-company misleaders? It was Dorosh who negotiated the "cap" on COLA in 1967 and gave Ford millions of dollars of our money. And just like Rinaldi in the 1976 strike, Dorosh let hundreds of scabs into the plant while we were on the picket lines. In 1973, it was Dorosh who held the contract vote again and again until he got the "yes" vote Ford wanted.

But no one is going to forget the last seven years either. Rinaldi is Dorosh's graduated apprentice—and he learned the sellout trade well. Everyone knows you never give up anything without a fight, but it was Rinaldi who proposed a 20 percent cut in incentive pay after a year of secret negotiations with the company. These sellout artists do everything in their power to pit Rouge seniority against the Flatrock seniority, skilled against production and even

auto workers from Ohio, Michigan and Canada against each other. When 700 MCC [Michigan Casting Center] workers came to the March unit meeting, it was Rinaldi's goons who threw out Rouge Militant Caucus members fighting for sitdown strikes to save 5,300 MCC jobs. Ask Flatrock workers "Who likes Mike?" He told 700 angry workers that "Long after you're gone, I'll still be here."

The Rinaldi and Dorosh "teams" got theirs and that's all they care about. So while they argue about who ripped off what and when, and drag the bosses' courts into our union elections, our jobs and our rights go to hell.

Smash Racism!

From Warwick Street to Southfield, every week brings another instance of racist terror against blacks in Detroit. Black workers at Rouge can't even go up North to hunt or fish or camp with their kids without being prepared to defend themselves. In a largely black and labor town, with 300,000 auto workers alone it is criminal that the Nazi and Klan scum dare to show their faces, that the schools and housing are segregated here. This is testimony to the treachery of the labor fakers and black Democratic Party misleaders. The enormous social power of the UAW must be unleashed to turn our union into a real weapon in defense of integration, open the road to genuine equality, and thereby pave the way for a united class struggle of black and white workers to end capitalist oppression once and for all.

The open shop South is kept intact by the Jim Crow status quo. The fight for jobs for all must be taken up side by side with the fight against the discrimination that condemns blacks, Arabs and other minorities to the worst and lowest paying jobs, or no jobs at all. We must use our union's power to answer the cry of the working class and ghetto youth to fight for jobs for all at the expense of the bosses' profits—a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. We fight for the aggressive recruitment of minorities and women to the skilled trades, junk the discriminatory lottery and test and open up more skilled trades on a first-come, first-served basis. Fill all promotional jobs by seniority.

Smash Protectionism! Fight the Bosses!

The Fraser, Rinaldi, Dorosh gang use their racist "Buy American" campaign and call for import quotas to try and sell us the idea that we should protect Ford's profits while the bosses lay us off, close the plants, and hit those "lucky" enough to have a job with speedup and ten hours a day in the Assembly plant. And if you buy the anti-Japanese crap, you buy the concessions. Solidarity House is big on screaming about "foreigners stealing our jobs," but the real "foreigners" are the profit-hungry jerks in the Glass House [Ford World Headquarters]. You had better believe the UAW hacks' patriotic fever is dangerous. It backs up Reagan's war-mongering and helps the bosses and the Klan/Nazi thugs go after workers and minorities—just look at the anti-black riots during the last two World Wars. With Reagan racism, his so-called "safety net" for the poor is being re-woven into a lynch rope.

Fight Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

A civil war is raging in El Salvador between workers and peasants on one side and Reagan's butchers in the junta on the other. Union halls are bombed and destroyed. More than 18,000 workers and peasants have been murdered by the junta's right-wing death squads. The labor movement in America must do everything in its power to help the workers in El Salvador win.

But what is Fraser telling working people in El Salvador? He wants them to sit down and negotiate with the bloody junta and seek a solution which will leave the plantations the same and the right-wing death squads intact to kill again. He doesn't want workers there to win against their bosses any more than he wants us to win against Ford.

The Rouge Militant Caucus takes a side in El Salvador. We stand for the military victory of the left-wing insur-



Laid-off auto workers in Detroit search the "help wanted" ads of the Houston Chronicle.

gents and we organized Rouge workers to march for this in Washington. If Reagan sends in the Marines, the UAW must be prepared to strike against it.

Reagan's real target, the real reason for his war-mongering is to go after Cuba and the Soviet Union. Reagan wants to destroy the Soviet Union just like he wants to bust our union, because the Russian Revolution was the biggest victory working people ever had. The Russian workers kicked out their capitalists and organized a planned economy. Sure, Russian workers need to get rid of their bureaucrats, just like we need to dump Fraser and Rinaldi and Dorosh. But there aren't half a million auto workers laid off in the Soviet Union and the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow! We should defend the Soviet Union just like we defend our union from the company. We don't want Reagan's mass layoffs, inflation and sub-minimum wage put on Russian workers, and we don't want it here.

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Reagan's in the White House and the labor fakers are pushing the Democrats again. They must think we have short memories. It was "ethnic purity" Carter who paved the way for Reagan. And Reagan's war drive is Round Two against Cuba. It was the "friend of labor" Democrats who ran the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Vietnam War.

Detroit is the best example of what happens when labor and the black movement sells its soul to the Democratic Party. Coleman Young tried to stop the 500-strong labor/black rally against the Klan in Kennedy Square. It was Coleman Young's cops that protected the Nazi-scum while they recruited for their racist terror at a headquarters less than a mile from our local hall. And the coalition of black Democrats and labor bureaucrats who run this town for Ford, General Motors and Chrysler are mortgaging the city to the banks while they slash city services and ram pay cuts and layoffs down the throat of city workers.

Enough! Unchain the UAW! We need a workers party to fight for a workers

government that will end this racist, capitalist system once and for all.

Dump the Bureaucrats! Build the Rouge Militant Caucus!

Rinaldi has been working hand-in-hand with the traitors in Solidarity House for years. Dorosh did it when he was Local 600 president, and he's been doing it as International Rep. The same is true of both candidates running "independent" of these slates: if you don't have a class-struggle program to counterpose to Fraser & Co., you end up being their accomplices.

Also running is the United Front Slate, a rag-tag bunch put together by the Local 600 Organizer and the misnamed Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW). If you haven't heard of them before, it's not surprising. They are the Cheech and Chong version of the Rinaldi-Dorosh slates. Here for the elections, up in smoke tomorrow! On paper they make all kinds of promises. But what you will never find in their literature is their record. If they're for stopping racism and fighting for jobs, what have they done about it the last three years? They sure don't mention the fight to drive out the Klan-hooded foremen or the demonstration in Kennedy Square. Not surprising, because at the time the CMDUAW put out leaflets calling the mobilization against the foremen a "diversion" and spit on Rouge workers by calling the Kennedy Square demonstrators "accidental passersby, downtown shopping or just hanging out." Some of these characters follow the head honcho of a weird cult-sect based out at the University of Michigan that crosses picket lines of striking workers.

If these opportunists have anything in common, it's that they won't fight for anything until Fraser, Rinaldi & Co. give it their stamp of approval beforehand. They call for sitdown strikes "authorized by the International." The only thing Solidarity House will do about sitdowns is try to smash them, like Doug Fraser when he organized a 1,000-man goon squad against the Mack Avenue plant occupation. Robert Robins, the United Front Slate's candidate for First VP, says his door will always be open, but he shut the door on Flatrock workers when he gooned for Rinaldi against Brother DuBois at the MCC demonstration at the Glass House.

Fraser is Henry Ford's lieutenant, Rinaldi and Dorosh are his second-in-command and the United Fraud wants to be sergeant-at-arms. The only candidates that deserve your vote are Hicks and DuBois. Unlike the opportunists only interested in your votes, we tell you the truth. An election campaign in itself won't get us what we need. That will happen only when we beat the company on the picket lines and the UAW flying squads send the racists packing. To do this, we're going to need a solid core of militants to break the stranglehold of Doug Fraser & Co. over the UAW. We need more than your vote. Join the Rouge Militant Caucus! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Rouge Militants Say: Sitdowns for Jobs! Stop Fraser's Giveaways!

Fight Layoffs and Racist Terror! Vote Hicks/DuBois!

Local elections are being held throughout the United Auto Workers (UAW) this month, and an important fight is being waged at Local 600, Ford's giant River Rouge complex, the largest UAW local in the country. The Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) is running Frank Hicks for Local president and Charles DuBois for first vice president on a class-struggle program. UAW president Doug Fraser's Solidarity House gang is represented by two contending bureaucrats, incumbent Mike Rinaldi and former Local 600 president Walter Dorosh. We reprint below the main election leaflet issued by the Rouge Militant Caucus.

The unions and black people in this city are being ripped to hell. Twenty percent of our brothers and sisters in Detroit are without jobs—triple that for black youth. The plants are devastated by layoffs and plant closings. In the Rouge alone there were 35,000 jobs in 1973, and only 20,000 today. Ford Motor Company wants to close Michigan Casting and Frame—and then what? Our contract is being ripped to shreds, first at Chrysler and now here at Steel. Sensing their chance with Reagan

and Haig in power, the Klan and Nazis are on the rampage, lynching blacks down South and bombing the homes of blacks in Detroit. The cops get away scot-free shooting and killing a laid-off DAP [Dearborn Assembly Plant] brother for supposedly stealing steaks! Reagan's tearing up Social Security, screwing working people and gearing up his anti-Soviet war drive. He's out to make sure the American capitalists can exploit the world and use us as cannon fodder to do it.

Three more years of this and how many Local 600 members will even be around next election? We've had enough! It's time to fight. The traitors at Solidarity House and their henchmen in Local 600 have brokered and approved every sellout deal. They have not lifted a finger to smash the racist threat. Throw them out!

We are not powerless. It was UAW militants who broke the back of the open shop, spearheaded the organizing of the CIO, and chased out Henry Ford's fascist Black Legion through sitdown strikes and flying squads. That's what the Rouge Militant Caucus stands for...IN ACTION: when the

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Frank Hicks (left) and Charles DuBois call for military victory to El Salvadoran leftists, May 3 in Washington: Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home.

At Chicago El Salvador Protest

Stalinists Set Cops on Anti-Imperialist Contingent



WV Photo

CHICAGO, May 30—In a simple provocation, supporters of the reformist Communist Party (CP), social democrats and assorted left and liberal hangers-on today called out the racist Chicago police, the murderers of Black Panther Fred Hampton and the brutal attackers of antiwar protesters in 1968, against 150 marchers of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. And the cops were glad to oblige. A solid line of mounted cossacks forced the Anti-Imperialist Contingent to stay on the other side of the street from the May 30th Coalition's El Salvador protest rally.

Run from behind the scenes by the CP, the May 30th Coalition seeks a bloc with Democratic Party liberals. Combating the imperialist "doves" as well as Reagan, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent marched under the banners of "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents" and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador." Organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), the 150-strong Contingent including student activists from Madison, Champaign-Urbana and other campuses as well as militant members of the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, National Maritime Union and Communications Workers.

When the Contingent arrived at the assembly point, we learned that the May 30th Coalition organizers had "warned" the cops that there would be "trouble" and made a deal with them to cordon us off under police guard behind the march. At one point this

cordon included two police cars with blinking lights. The cops even prevented *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* salesmen from distributing to the Coalition marchers.

It was a clear attempt to set us up for a police provocation. Coalition marshals yelled, "You are not part of the demonstration." When the Anti-Imperialist Contingent attempted to enter the march, Coalition marshals and cops together formed a human chain to block the way! Prominent in this chain were CP supporters and also members of the soft Stalinist "Trend." The final logic of Stalinist class-collaboration was there for everyone to see.

At the main rally site, after trying to force the Anti-Imperialist Contingent onto a corner occupied by a counter-demonstration of anti-communist Moonies, a phalanx of cops including mounted police isolated the Contingent across the street from the May 30th Coalition rally. (Of course, the Moonies had no problem with the cops when several later crossed the street to disrupt the rally.)

Many participants at the rally were visibly upset by the naked use of police terror against the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. The Shahtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League and Maoist Communist Workers Party protested to WV. A spokesman for the latter said: "It's very bad. We're against any political exclusion. We're going to argue about it." The crowd

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