



Salvadoran rebels on the offensive.

Bonner/NY Times

For Workers Revolution! Defend Cuba, USSR!

El Salvador Leftists Must Win the War!

A series of military successes for El Salvador's leftist rebels has shaken the bloody U.S.-backed military junta in that tiny Central American country, and prompted Secretary of State Alexander Haig to threaten "whatever is necessary"—including U.S. troops—to stop the guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). By turning the tide of the Salvadoran civil war in their favor, the guerrillas have put a kink in Haig and Reagan's plans to "draw the line" against Communism in Central America. So now Washington is escalating military aid to the bloodthirsty Salvadoran colonels, directly aiding Somozaist exile terrorists based in Honduras and stepping up preparations for naval action in the Caribbean aimed at Cuba. The administration's response has Democratic Party doves flapping their wings in fear of being drawn into "another Vietnam."

Reagan's problems with El Salvador, on the battlefield and the home front, came together on January 27. First came the front-page, eyewitness accounts in major U.S. newspapers of a horrendous massacre of women, children and old men by Green Beret-trained Salvadoran troops (see "'Human Rights' Massacres," *WV* No. 298, 5 February). Then came the news that an FMLN commando squad (perhaps with the aid of disaffected junta troops) had just blown up virtually the entire Salvadoran air force in a spectacular raid on the Ilopango air base.

One day later Reagan, provoking an intense liberal outcry, certified to Congress that the Salvadoran killer junta was "making progress" on human rights and proceeded to triple the

amount of military aid slated for El Salvador for the coming year and to almost double the amount of economic assistance. Under the guise of "replacing" the Huey helicopters destroyed on the 27th, the administration authorized sending not only more choppers but fighter-bombers, troop transports and spotter planes as well. Then last week there was another flap when the Cable News Network ran film showing U.S. "advisers" not authorized by Congress to be in the country carrying M-16s in a combat zone.

Parallels with Vietnam are evident. Even some of the personnel is the same. Here is Thomas Enders, now assistant secretary of state for Latin America but formerly Washington's spokesman in

Phnom Penh during the Indochina war, declaring that "the decisive battle for Central America is under way." "If after Nicaragua, El Salvador is captured by a violent minority, who in Central America would not live in fear?" says the former publicity man for Lon Nol (*New York Times*, 7 February). And who now runs El Salvador, if not a "violent minority"? Here is Alexander Haig, Nixon's White House chief of staff in the era of "Vietnamization" and now in control at State, blaming the guerrillas' success on "Cuban intervention." The general made it perfectly clear that "we have not ruled out anything" in the way of support to the junta. As White House press secretary Larry Speakes put it: "The President has said he has no plans

to send troops anywhere—and he has no plans...at the moment" (UPI, 4 February).

Old Vietnam hands recalled that in February of 1965 the Vietnamese NLF made a surprise attack on the U.S. air base at Pleiku—and that the incident was used as the excuse to launch massive bombing of North Vietnam. "We seek no wider war," LBJ pledged as he ordered the B-52s into the air. Reagan isn't even hithering to lie about his escalation. Over and over the administration has recited a list of "contingency plans" ranging from blockades of Nicaragua and/or Cuba to sending in the Marines. Reagan fan William Safire, a former Nixon/Agnew speech

continued on page 10

Der Spiegel



Salvadoran junta
has murdered
more than
30,000 in the
past two years.

SYL vs. Liberal Doves



Young panacrus

Endorsers of the march included the Central American Solidarity Association, assorted church groups, the People's Anti-War Mobilization, as

In support of these capitalist politicians the official goons tried repeatedly but unsuccessfully to silence the Anti-Imperialist Contingent which had taken its place near the head of the march. We met the imperialist speakers with chants: "Remember Bay of Pigs, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" And anyone at the Boston rally could see and hear what side the rally organizers were on.

Riot Cops Attack ILWU Strike in L.A.

One of the most prominent issues in the strike has been the racist treatment of the minority workers by the company at Hugo Neu Proler. It will take a class-struggle leadership to win the fight against discrimination and union busting. Mass picket lines, solidarity strikes, hot cargoing—all the class-struggle tactics which built the unions must be revived in order to defend them. Reagan's vicious busting of the PATCO air controllers set the climate for provocations like at HNP. ILWU militants must fight for labor action to bring Reagan down! ■

**WORKERS
VANGUARD**

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

No. 299 19 February 1982

Gow Wins in ILWU Local 10 Vote

WV Photo

Longshoremen Demand: Save Turkish Unionists!

The motion was raised by Stan Gow, recently reelected local executive board member and leader of the Militant Caucus in the ILWU. The motion read

In summarizing to *WV*, Gow commented: "While it's important that I've been elected to the Coast Caucus, and I'll use it to fight for the Militant Caucus program, I have no illusions that the fate of the ILWU is going to be settled in a Coast Caucus or an International convention. It's going to be decided on the battle lines of the class struggle." ■

"Fifty-two trade union leaders in Turkey are facing the death penalty right now for organizing, assembling, and demonstrating against anti-labor laws and against the murder of trade union leaders by fascist groups like the Grey Wolves. These trade union leaders are being tried by the military junta which overthrew a constitutionally elected government and banned all strikes and collective bargaining. ILWU Local 10 demands the immediate release of the 52 DISK unionists and all the victims of right-wing repression by the Turkish military junta. What is needed is a national labor boycott of U.S. military cargo to this Turkish junta. The Secretary-Treasurer will communicate this statement to all other longshore and clerk locals, the International, the I.L.A. the NMU and other International and local transport workers unions and as a press release to the media." ■

Our comrade Toni Randell died February 12 of cancer. A cadre of the Spartacist League for more than ten years, comrade Toni had been a member of the New York and Bay Area SL branches, a member of the Central Control Commission and a candidate member of the SL Central Committee. She was tragically only 38 years old at the time of her death.

We publish below the tribute read at comrade Toni's funeral. The poem is adapted from Bertolt Brecht. The paragraphs from Trotsky are from his "Testament" dated 27 February 1940 (*Writings of Leon Trotsky [1939-40]*).

An obituary will appear following the memorial meetings which will be held Saturday, February 27.

* * * * *

I need no gravestone, but
If you need one for me
I wish the inscription would
read:

She made suggestions.

We

Have acted on them.

Such an epitaph would

Honor us all.

We have come here today to honor Toni. Each of us will miss Toni in his own way, each will remember her in his own way. She was mother, daughter, wife, friend and comrade. Toni determined that she would spend her life as a communist. She lived and died a hard communist.

Toni Randell

8 November 1943—12 February 1982



For me, her strength, perseverance, kindness and very special sense of humor have been an inspiration during the years I have known her.

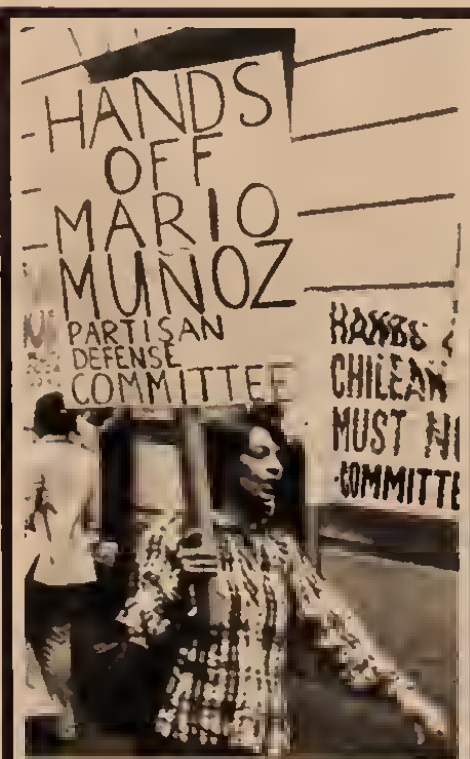
Our memories of Toni will continue to be an inspiration to us all, and especially to [Toni's daughter] Jessica, whom she loved so dearly.

In closing, I would like to read a testament written by Leon Trotsky during an illness in 1940. I know that Toni read these words often and in them found much comfort.

"For forty-three years of my conscious life I have remained a revolutionist; for forty-two of them I have fought under the banner of Marxism. If I had to begin all over again I would of course try to avoid this or that mistake, but the main course of my life would remain unchanged. I shall die a proletarian revolutionist, a Marxist, a dialectical materialist, and, consequently, an irreconcilable atheist. My faith in the communist future of mankind is not less ardent, indeed it is firmer today, than it was in the days of my youth.

"Natasha has just come up to the window from the courtyard and opened it wider so that the air may enter more freely into my room. I can see the bright green strip of grass beneath the wall, and the clear blue beautiful sky above the wall, and sunlight everywhere. Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full."

TONI RANDELL MEMORIAL MEETINGS



1976

SAN FRANCISCO

Holiday Inn
1500 Van Ness Avenue, at Pine Street
Gold Rush B Room
2:30 p.m.
Saturday, 27 February
(415) 835-1535

NEW YORK CITY

48 Warren Street
(one block south of Chambers Street)
Second floor
4:00 p.m.
Saturday, 27 February
(212) 732-7861



1980

Jail the Murderers of Ernest Lacy!

Milwaukee's Killer Cops Go Free

The Carter/Reagan rollback of even the minimal civil rights gains of the '60s has given the cue for racist murder—from the "unofficial" Klan/Nazi assault on labor/black organizers in Greensboro to the jailhouse hanging of black college football star Ron Settles in a Los Angeles suburb last July, and a cop killing of 22-year-old black youth Ernest Lacy in Milwaukee that same month. Despite massive protests over the Lacy murder, involving up to 10,000 people, Milwaukee city officials dragged out the legal investigations for nearly six months. Then the case was turned over to a judge who on January 30 dismissed the homicide charges against the three white cops involved, charging two of them with only "misconduct in public office." The third, who actually killed Ernest Lacy, was allowed to go scot-free! This racist provocation must be protested by a mobilization of Milwaukee labor and minorities!

Word that the killer cops would go free sparked a sit-in by some 20 black activists in the District Attorney's office beginning February 3. The group sat in for four days, calling for homicide charges to be brought against policeman Thomas Eliopul, and 500 angry protesters showed up at a church meeting Sunday, February 7 to plan further action. But to date the government has refused to take any action whatsoever against cop Eliopul. The March 3 hearing date for Eliopul's two accomplices, James Dekker and George Kalt, on charges of "misconduct" may be the focus of renewed protest.

In fact, the outrageous details of Lacy's death and the record of racist brutality by the three cops involved forced even some local labor officials to lodge a protest. Charges of an unprovoked attack on a black USWA (Steelworkers) official were still pending against the same three cops from the summer before. And one of the killers, James Dekker, has had at least five complaints of brutality lodged against him, including a charge of choking a black woman the night before Lacy's murder and an assault on a black man in a wheelchair the same night. These killer cops must be jailed, the racist police chief should be driven out and the cops disarmed!

On the night of July 9 the three cops, members of an elite all-white "tactical" squad, approached Lacy on the street about a reported rape (a charge of which the victim was posthumously cleared). As the police approached, the black

youth tried to run for his life. The three cops tackled Lacy, pinned him to the ground, yanked his handcuffed hands over his head from the back. According to Eliopul's own testimony at the inquest he applied pressure to Lacy's body "as hard as I could." An eyewitness reported seeing Lacy's body convulse violently then go limp. Thereupon his lifeless body was thrown into a police van. Forty-five minutes later paramedics arrived and pronounced Lacy "technically dead."

Police chief Harold Breier, who is chief *for life* because of an archaic Wisconsin statute, immediately defended the murder as the use of "proper force." One week after the murder the usual "internal" police investigation/whitewash found no wrongdoing. But the Lacy case would not go away. It is typical of the daily cop murders of blacks in the U.S., which go unreported, or are buried in the news as another unfortunate "accident." But this one was hard to sweep under the rug because of the storm of protest demonstrations (unlike the Chicago case of Richard Ramey, who was beaten to death by cops for smoking a cigarette on a train in July 1980).

The first demonstration called by the Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy (CJEL), held July 20 on the eve of a Police and Fire Commission hearing to discuss suspending the three cops, drew 4,000 people to downtown Milwaukee to demand prosecution of the badge-toting killers. The second demonstration on July 30 drew 10,000, the largest gathering since the 1960s. A one-day boycott of downtown Milwaukee businesses on August 8 is reported to have reduced customer traffic by 30 percent. And a third demonstration that drew 1,000 protesters on August 15, a three-mile march through the black community, was subjected to unprecedented cop provocation. Riot gear-clad cops lined the parade route almost shoulder to shoulder, and widely hated chief Breier had the gall to get out of his police car and walk around the rally site!

The depth of anger was reflected in the fact that nominal support for the CJEL's protests came from several local unions including transit, an AFSCME local and several USWA locals. The CJEL includes the NAACP and a lash-up of various community activists and reformists, especially pro-Peking Maoists (CPML and RWH) as well as the forever "peaceful legal" SWP. But CJEL's reformist strategy, which relies not on the mobilization of organized



Ernest Lacy

labor and blacks but on pressuring the city administration with rallies and boycotts, backfired.

On October 14, after a month-long inquiry, the coroner's jury finally recommended that officers Dekker, Kalt and Eliopul be charged with homicide by reckless conduct. But such recommendations are not legally binding or required. The CJEL reports that in Milwaukee no criminal charges against killer cops have ever resulted from the findings of a coroner's inquest. On December 10 District Attorney E. Michael McCann asked a judge to drop the charges on a technicality, but according to CJEL spokesman Howard Fuller, the D.A. "promised" to reissue the charges by January 10. He didn't. So on January 11 Ernest Lacy's mother finally filed charges. And on January 30 a circuit judge dismissed the "reckless homicide" charges on the grounds that they were "not sufficiently supported," while cynically noting that "there was, no question, a tragic death!"

Actually this was a capitulation to police bonapartism demonstrated by the racist Milwaukee cop "strike" of last Christmas Eve. When two white cops were allegedly shot and killed by a fleeing black robbery suspect on December 23, black alderman Roy Nabors correctly noted that "the person could have suspected that the police were simply going to kill him.... I think anytime that a police officer approaches a person in the black community there is that state of panic." The cops responded to this comment by an elected official with a "walkout," essentially defending their "right" to murder in cold blood without fear of reprisal. Less than 24 hours later the show of force ended with a cop victory: the Common Council

voted not to discipline the "strikers" and sent a letter to the cops' association disclaiming Nabors' statement.

Breier (often called "Milwaukee Führer," according to *Newsweek*) and his killer cops are not just racists but strutting bonapartes who feel they have a license to run roughshod over the entire population. There was outrage last fall after the arrest of a white father of four who, driving home from the baseball game, stopped to take a leak behind a parked car. The cops beat him to a pulp, fracturing his cheekbone, ripping his eye out of the socket and sending him to the hospital at a cost to the victim of thousands of dollars. In another incident last year a female singer of the rock group the Plasmatics was arrested during a performance and later sexually assaulted and beaten by the cops—she has now filed suit.

The recent dropping of charges against the killers of Ernest Lacy was a surrender to rising cop bonapartism. Local black leaders like Alderman Nabors have been suggesting that the police department could be reformed by bringing it under control of the city council, and reformist papers like the CP's *Daily World* (22 January) have favored the idea. "Community control" of the bosses' cops has repeatedly proved to be a dangerous illusion. Milwaukee police "chief for life" Breier must be run out, but the dumping of one racist Bull Connor type will not fundamentally alter the pattern of cop brutality and murder directed against oppressed minorities.

Letting the Milwaukee killer cops go free and similar action in L.A. on January 14 ruling out prosecution of the police murderers of Ron Settles are a direct reflection of the climate of Reagan racism. The domestic side of the anti-Soviet Cold War is a frontal assault against labor and a green light for cop terror against blacks. Only the labor movement has the power to defeat the racists and it must act.

Milwaukee is a labor town, with unionized breweries, steel fabrication plants and a port. Not only demonstrations but *strike* action against police brutality would win more than a million petitions to the district attorney ever could. The labor bureaucrats would prefer to do nothing, but a new class-struggle leadership must champion the defense of the oppressed black population. Jail the killer cops! Drive out racist "chief for life" Breier! No guns for cops! For labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror! ■

Apartheid Regime Kills Unionist

Black/White Outrage in South Africa

In a rare display of black/white unity against apartheid terror and specifically in defense of black trade unions, thousands marched in Johannesburg on February 13 in front of the coffin of Neil Aggett, a labor organizer killed in security police detention. Aggett, who was white, gave up his medical practice to work for the largely non-white Food and Canning Workers' Union. He was arrested last November with 17 others under the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act. On February 5 Aggett was found hanged in his cell, according to police "a suicide." Everyone in South Africa

knows Aggett was murdered, yet the *New York Times* (14 February) ran as its headline, "Thousands Mourn a 'Martyr' in South Africa." With headlines like these, Pretoria's notorious secret police, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) has no need to buy a "respectable" U.S. newspaper when Sulzberger provides this service for apartheid racism.

Symbolized by three black and three white pall bearers, Aggett's funeral procession became the most important political demonstration against the apartheid state in years. Flags of the outlawed African National Congress



were openly displayed for the first time in a generation. Aggett's funeral marked an important breach in the white racist front. And Aggett gave his life seeking to organize the one

social force which can and will avenge his death—the black proletariat. Smash Apartheid—For a Black-Centered Workers and Peasants Government!

Hail Rosa Luxemburg!

Apologists for Solidarność counter-revolution gathered at a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "Militant" forum in Boston February 7 to discuss "What Are the Polish Workers Fighting For?" The SWP had no difficulty in expressing its solidarity with Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and with a Polish "dissident" from Harvard's "Solidarność-in-exile" community. They were all agreed in opposing the Leninist-Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) and in condemning the great Polish revolutionary internationalist Rosa Luxemburg.

Interestingly, the anti-Trotskyist SWP, social-democratic DSOC and Polish "dissident" all began by attacking the SL/SYL. "The Spartacist League notwithstanding," DSOCer Joe Schwartz denied that Polish Solidarność, the only union Ronald Reagan likes, is in favor of capitalist restoration. Polish "dissident" Marta Petrusiewicz remarked that "every time I talk to an American audience... there are people who suggest that Solidarity is influenced maybe totally by the church; there is suspicion that Solidarity is run by the CIA." "Ironie" SWPer Don Gurewitz referred to Petrusiewicz as one of the "ten million CIA agents who are fighting to restore capitalism in Poland."

A spokesman for the Spartacist League demonstrated that Solidarność' program indeed amounted to a call for counterrevolution: for private ownership of the land, a bourgeois parliament, a dominant role for the Catholic church in the government, and for turning the economy over to the IMF, the bankers cartel that has starved Chile. And she noted: "It's indicative of the national heroes they celebrate. If it's a movement for socialism, why not celebrate the greatest contribution Poland ever made

to Marxism, Rosa Luxemburg? But they don't because she was a Jew and a Marxist. They celebrate Jozef Pilsudski, a fascistic dictator."

The Spartacists' militant defense of Rosa Luxemburg, murdered in 1918 by the Social Democratic bloodhounds who strangled the German revolution, triggered an anti-communist chorus. Petrusiewicz claimed that "the problem with Rosa Luxemburg in Polish minds was that Rosa Luxemburg considered, and history proved her wrong, that the existence of the Polish national being was not an important problem for Polish workers."

SWPer Gurewitz agreed: "I felt that what Marta said about Rosa Luxemburg was very important." Reciting the litany of Polish nationalism, he erroneously placed Polish independence in 1920—when Marshal Pilsudski launched a war against the Soviet Red Army to prevent it from linking up with the German proletariat. About this he was silent. He concluded flatly, "Rosa Luxemburg was wrong."

DSOC's Schwartz even tried to claim Luxemburg for the cause of bourgeois parliamentarism by quoting her criticisms of some Bolshevik policies in *The Russian Revolution*. He failed to mention that even in this work, written in the isolation of the Kaiser's prison, Luxemburg hailed Lenin and Trotsky's October Revolution as "the salvation of the honor of international socialism."

The "State Department socialists" like DSOC and the SWP who today side with clerical-nationalism, social democracy, the international bankers and Ronald Reagan—i.e., with counterrevolution—in Poland, must make common cause with the fascistic Pilsudski. And they must bloc with the anti-communists and anti-Semites against Rosa Luxemburg. We stand with Trotsky, who wrote "Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg!" against Stalin's

Rosa Luxemburg: Poland's greatest contribution to the international workers movement.



Desch

slanders. And with Lenin who answered those who denigrated her by quoting an old Russian fable: "Eagles may at times fly lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles.... She was—and remains for us—an eagle."

While she was mistaken in her fight with Lenin on the question of Polish independence, Rosa Luxemburg was an internationalist and a powerful Marxist. But despite her misunderstanding of Soviet rule in revolutionary Russia and other errors, Lenin wrote, "she corrected most of these mistakes at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919" after she was released from prison. Above all, it was Rosa Luxemburg who led the fight against the reformists of the German social democracy. And for waging that battle, for struggling for a German revolution that would link hands across Poland with the Red Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, the Social Democrats had her killed. Rosa Luxemburg soared above her detractors. Lenin concluded:

"Since August 4, 1914 [the date the

Social Democrats voted to support their "own" bourgeoisie in World War I] German social democracy has been a stinking corpse—this statement will make Rosa Luxemburg's name famous in the history of the international working class movement. And, of course, in the backyard of the working class movement, among the dungheaps, hens like Paul Levi, Scheidemann, Kautsky and all that fraternity will cackle over the mistakes committed by a great communist. To every man his own."

—Lenin, "Notes of a Publicist," February 1922

Today with the intoxication of Solidarność wearing off under the cold shower of martial law, there is a crucial opportunity for a regroupment of class-conscious elements within the Polish proletariat and the creation of a Polish Trotskyist party. Our comrade summed up: "We seek to revive the tradition of Lenin and Luxemburg in Poland for revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian workers in a political revolution against Stalinism, not to bring back capitalism and imperialist exploitation aligned with Reagan and Haig." ■

Liberals Echo Reagan on Poland

Counterrevolution Day, Part II

The American liberal intelligentsia decided to put on its own version of Ronald Reagan's Counterrevolution Show over Poland at Town Hall in New York, February 6. Reagan's TV bomb, "Let Poland Be Poland" starring Boh Hope and Frank Sinatra, was universally derided as a dud. The Town Hall variant, staged by "Workers and Artists for Solidarity"—including the *Nation*, *New York Review of Books* literati, aging Village "progressives" and various trade-union out-bureaucrats—hlew up in its sponsors' faces.

Trying to put a left cover on the drive for capitalist restoration in Poland under the banners of Pilsudski and the Catholic church isn't easy, particularly since Reagan and Haig have already cornered the market on "solidarity with Solidarność." At Town Hall there was some talk about Reagan's "hypocrisy" from union reformists like Ed Sadlow-ski and Pete Camarata, and some bitter complaints by fired PATCO air controllers. They'd already had a taste of the "democracy" enjoyed by "free world" unions.

But Susan Sontag let the cat out of the bag with a bitter diatribe against communism which left part of the audience gasping. "Communism is fascism," she proclaimed, "the most successful variant of fascism—fascism

with a human face." Sontag may have earned herself a few free dinners at the Reagan White House, but the rest of the panel of lib-rad notables are merely paying the price in public embarrassment for their own hypocrisy.

The Side They're On

Reagan is being perfectly consistent in supporting Solidarność. So are Albert Shanker, Irving Brown and the AFL-CIO top brass, who under the cover of "free trade unions" rhetoric have acted time and again as conduits for CIA dirty work. They just make things a little uncomfortable now for people like Joanne Landy, Pete Seeger, etc., who find themselves on the same side of the harricades over Poland as Reagan, who's slashing liberal welfare programs right and left, hustling unions like PATCO, threatening a nuclear first strike, propping up the bloody Salvador junta, etc. But that's the side they're on.

In the standard genre of the "sadder but wiser" former anti-Establishment liberal, Sontag opined: "Imagine if you will, someone who read only the *Reader's Digest* between 1950 and 1970, and someone in the same period who read only the *Nation* or the *New Statesman*. Which reader would have been better informed about the realities of communism? Can it be that our

enemies were right? Certainly we were wrong." Among her sins the born-again Sontag listed trying "to distinguish among communisms. For example, we spoke of 'Stalinist tyranny' as if that were an aberration." And then came the Cold War liberals' refrain:

"The similarity between the present Polish government and the techniques used by the right-wing dictatorships in Chile, Argentina and elsewhere in South America are obvious."

The idea that the almost bloodless crackdown against pro-Western Solidarność was comparable to the bloody Santiago coup, in which whole sections of the working class were massacred (30,000 killed, tens of thousands arrested and tortured, hundreds of thousands of refugees), is monstrous. For Sontag, 20 million Soviet citizens died for nothing in World War II. But the audience of liberals and social democrats did not want to hear that they were basically in accord with Reagan/Haig. They did not want to recognize their own image in Sontag's mirror of a burnt-out ex-"progressive" turned *Reader's Digest* reactionary.

Social Democrats Murdered Rosa Luxemburg

A bit ruffled after this performance, moderator Ralph Schoenman tried to calm the crowd by reading a quote from

Rosa Luxemburg, who he noted "was murdered by counterrevolutionaries in Germany." A furious member of the audience shouted back, "By Social Democrats!" Indeed, Luxemburg's blood, and that of her comrades brutally slaughtered in the so-called Spartacus Uprising of 1919, is on the hands of Scheidemann and Noske, the hangmen of the German Revolution. And the social-democratic panel at Town Hall were still trying to lend a "socialist" cover to the most reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie over Poland.

Union huster Reagan hails Solidarność, Jewish labor leader Shanker sides with Pilsudskiite anti-Semites, "democratic socialists" support Radio Free Europe's man in Gdansk—all in an anti-Communist unholy alliance. Meanwhile the Warsaw bureaucrats, with their gross mismanagement and atrocities, can't mobilize the workers politically against Solidarność counterrevolution. And clerical-reactionaries, social democrats and Stalinists alike revile the greatest revolutionary Poland has produced, Rosa Luxemburg. Only the Trotskyists stand on the proletarian internationalism of Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Lenin who fought, as the Spartacists do today, for the communist unity of the Polish, German and Russian workers. ■

“We are living in a pre-war and not a post-war world,” declares Eugene V. Rostow. As Ronald Reagan’s director of “arms control” he should know, since he’s involved in planning the next one. His boss talks openly of a “limited exchange of nuclear weapons” in the Central European “theater,” while General Haig speculates about detonating a “demonstration” H-bomb over the Baltic to intimidate the Soviets. But it’s America’s NATO allies, not Brezhnev, who’ve been quaking in their boots. They’ve got good reason to worry. The Cold Warriors in Washington are carrying on like they could unleash World War III at any point, blockading Cuba, supporting an Israeli attack on Syria, encouraging South Africa to invade Angola or inciting China to try again to give a “bloody lesson” to Vietnam.

With U.S. imperialism provoking the Soviet Union on the four corners of the globe, Europeans feel the shadow of war



Europe in the name of anti-Soviet “neutrality” and “democracy.” This is especially the case in West Germany where they have revived the old Social Democratic program of a “reunified neutral Germany,” a thinly disguised call for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

Given the existing military balance of forces, social-democratic politicians like Willy Brandt and Tony Benn shy away from nuclear confrontation and instead seek to undermine the deformed workers states of Central and East Europe by encouraging *internal* counterrevolutionary forces such as erupted in Poland in and around Solidarność. In fact, support for bourgeois-democratic counterrevolution in Poland has been an important aspect of the Europacifist movement. Eppler proclaimed on October 10 in Bonn that “the Europeanization of Europe” takes place both on the Rhine and the Vistula. Despite its leftist overtones, the social-democratic-led “peace” movement reflects inter-

EUROPACIFISM AND GERMAN NATIONALISM

and fear it will be fought out mainly, if not exclusively, in their homelands. “Euroshima” and *Schlachtfeld Deutschland* (Battlefield Germany) are the spectres now haunting West Europe. In the past months over a million people have marched, from London to Rome, against NATO’s planned deployment of new so-called theater nuclear weapons. However, these protests were *not* directed against the anti-Soviet war drive as such. And their target was not just the Pentagon. European Nuclear Disarmament campaign leader E.P. Thompson has sought to popularize the slogan for an atom-free Europe “from Portugal to Poland.” More than anti-nuke pacifism, the dominant theme has been European-centered nationalism.

The anti-Euroshima protesters are by no means a radical fringe alienated from the silent majority. Polls show that over half of the British, Dutch and Belgian population are opposed to the introduction of Pershing II and Cruise missiles into West Europe. In West Germany opposition to the new NATO Euromissiles is running so strong in the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD) that chancellor Helmut Schmidt has threatened to resign if the party reneges on his pledge to install them. Despite this threat, a series of SPD state conferences have voted against deployment. If he sticks with Reagan, Schmidt may soon find himself at leisure to write his memoirs.

The controversial December 1979 NATO “two-track” decision (rearmament plus arms talks) had two purposes. First, the new generation of nuclear weapons are intended to enhance the imperialists’ *first strike* capability since they can reach Russia more quickly than American-based ICBMs and more accurately than submarine-launched missiles in European waters. Second, they are an integral part of the Pentagon’s strategy for a war against the Soviet Union to be fought entirely in Europe. It is the second factor, not the first, that has produced widespread opposition to the Pershings and Cruises. As West German Social Democrat Günter Gaus, a confidant of SPD chairman Willy Brandt, put it: “West Germany would become an American province in the meaning the term ‘province’ had in the Roman Empire.”



300,000 march in Bonn 10 October 1981 against new Euro-missiles. German Social Democrats exploit fear of Reagan’s war drive to push German imperialist ambitions.

This “nationalism of the left” set the dominant tone for the 300,000-strong anti-missiles protest in Bonn last October 10. Erhard Eppler, a member of the SPD leadership, railed against the “world powers” (as if West Germany wasn’t one) and noted, “Naturally it’s in American interests to threaten the centers of European Russia from European soil...” Former Berlin mayor, now Lutheran pastor Heinrich Alhertz, also an SPD “left,” introduced himself as a “German patriot.”

Europacifism and European Imperialism

Significantly, the first one to raise a hue and cry about the U.S. fighting a war with Russia limited to the European continent was not some pacifistic leftist like E.P. Thompson or social-democratic pastor like Alhertz, but Charles de Gaulle. A decade and a half

ago the French leader asked: “Will the U.S. risk Chicago to save Bonn?” He thought not. Today millions of Europeans are asking de Gaulle’s question the other way around: will the U.S. sacrifice Bonn in order to save Chicago? They fear the answer is yes. Reagan’s insane provocative coupled with NATO’s new theater nuclear weapons has generated a mass antiwar movement of youthful protesters who no doubt believe that if only they can get rid of nuclear weapons on their soil, they will be spared the fate of Euroshima.

However, the predominantly social-democratic leadership of the West European “peace” movement are not naive pacifists. These are experienced and ambitious reformist politicians who believe that the future of their own imperialist states lies in the direction of greater independence from the U.S. But their eye is also on reconquering East

imperialist conflicts of interest. This accounts for its nationalistic—anti-American and anti-Soviet—character.

New Face of German Nationalism

General Jaruzelski’s counter-coup against the counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarność exposed and widened the rift between German and American imperialism. While Reagan sought to make Poland the holy cause of the new anti-Soviet crusade, Bonn maintained an obdurate “moderation” over events in Warsaw. Schmidt’s first comment, while refusing to break off his visit with East German leader Honecker, was to regret that the crackdown in Poland had been “necessary.” And this time the chancellor was not out of step with the West German masses. The bourgeois media, especially outside the Federal Republic, kept asking: why did hundreds of thousands demonstrate against the U.S. missiles but so few hit the bricks for a “free Poland”? It’s not hard to figure out. Millions of Germans understand that Reagan is using Poland to fuel the anti-Soviet war drive to white heat. And they also understand that in a military confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact at this time, whatever the final outcome, Germany will be destroyed. Thus the politics of “détente” remain very much alive in the second most powerful NATO country.

But fear of Washington’s war-mongering is only part of the answer. While Reagan is planning how to win a nuclear war against Russia, Schmidt and the Frankfurt bankers are planning how to buy back Prussia and Saxony (East Germany) and get an option on the traditional German client states in East Europe. The economic symbol of West German *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy) is the projected multi-billion-dollar pipeline deal for Soviet gas, which Reagan has been unsuccessfully trying to scuttle. With a severe and prolonged recession at home and protectionist tendencies growing throughout the capitalist world, the impulse behind Bonn’s *Drang nach Osten* (push to the east) is very real. It’s no surprise that the chief spokesman for big business in the coalition government, Free Democratic finance minister Count Otto von Lambsdorff, argues that economic

sanctions against Poland and the USSR "don't make much sense" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 January).

Increasingly SPD spokesmen and their "far left" followers have expressed the revanchist appetites of German imperialism through a neo-nationalist rhetoric, as if the industrial powerhouse of capitalist Europe were some "Third World" colonial country. Meanwhile, Social Democratic think tanks have been churning out schemes for the reunification of Germany—needless to say, on a capitalist basis. Albertz has worked out a "four-stage plan" for the reunification of Germany, involving a pan-German economic "community" and withdrawal of all "occupation troops," which is reportedly circulating in top government circles. The Social Democrats project a reunified capitalist Germany that would dominate the European continent, reversing the outcome of World War II. As Schmidt told the Bundestag (parliament) a few years ago:

"Only the restoration of the spiritual cohesion of all Europe, only the restoration of the economic cohesion of all Europe—despite all its present oppressive forms and crises—offers a chance for future unity of our own German nation under a common roof."

—quoted in Peter Brandt and Herbert Ammon, eds., *Die Linke und die nationale Frage* (1981)

To gain acceptance for the idea of a reunified capitalist Germany, Bonn must convince the Russians, the Poles, the French—and this is no easy task—that such a state at the fulcrum of Europe would not be a military threat to its neighbors, that it would act like a sort of giant Austria. In his essay on German patriotism Willy Brandt explained to his young followers, in case they don't appreciate the fact, that "there is also the question of a deep-seated mistrust, in the East and West, toward the Germany which twice in half a century has engulfed Europe in war." It is in the present interest of German imperialism to appear pacific, almost pacifistic. Therefore, the Social Democratic elders are willing to encourage to a certain degree the youthful anti-nuclear protesters.

The link between the "peace" movement and Social Democratic nationalism is personified by Peter Brandt, son of the SPD chief and an influential left-reformist intellectual. More explicitly than the SPD elders, Brandt the younger links reunification to the breakup of the Soviet bloc and creation of a German-dominated Central Europe:

"The permanent danger of intervention for a country like Poland results from the alliance structure imposed upon it. It would ease matters considerably if one succeeded in establishing a neutral zone in Central Europe."

And the first family of German Social Democracy has friends east of the Elbe. Reportedly Peter Brandt initiated an "Open Letter" to Brezhnev last November, signed by the foremost dissident in East Europe (the DDR), Robert Havemann, calling for "withdrawing all occupying troops from both parts of Germany." At about the same time Havemann gave an interview in which he reaffirmed that he considered the DDR "the better Germany" because private ownership of the means of production had been eliminated, but: "I am willing to accept reunification if it does not take place completely in accord with my wishes, if only some kind of bourgeois democracy with several parties, similar to Weimar democracy, would develop again" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 10 October 1981). That would amount to the restoration of capitalism in the DDR, which is also the strategic goal of Social Democratic "détente" policies.

Ostpolitik and German Imperialism

The West German bourgeoisie's belief that some day they can do a deal with

continued on page 8

"PEACE LOVING" EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM?

Medvedev Exposes E.P. Thompson's Anti-Sovietism



Roy Medvedev

L'Espresso



E.P. Thompson

Socialist Worker

During the past year hundreds of thousands of antiwar protesters have marched throughout West Europe. Among their slogans are the ironic British "No Annihilation without Representation" and the frankly pacifistic German "Ohne uns" (Leave us out of it). In Reagan's America the European "peace" movement is seen as a dangerous symptom of neutralism, its leaders denounced as Commie dupes if not direct Kremlin agents. In reality we are witnessing an upsurge of European nationalism, led by the social democrats and directed at both the United States and the Soviet Union. Stripped of its utopian and hysterical elements, the Europacifist vision is of a greater European "democratic" imperialist bloc stretching from the Thames to the Vistula.

The left-wing British historian Edward Thompson's article, "Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilization" (*New Left Review*, May-June 1980), is an influential statement of this new European pacifist current. From the title alone, a takeoff on Lenin's "Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism," it is clear that Thompson's ideological fire is directed against communists, who lay the war drive at the capitalists' doorstep. Thompson insists that the USSR, no less than U.S. imperialism, has "its own hawkish imperatives of ideology and strategy (Czechoslovakia, 1968; Afghanistan, 1980)." In fact, he claims that "it is the more dangerous in that it is unchallenged by democratic exposure." Thompson concludes with a call for a Euro-popular front against the "hawks" both East and West:

"Only an alliance which takes in churches, Eurocommunists, Labourists, East European dissidents (and not only 'dissidents'), Soviet citizens unmediated by Party structures, trade unionists, ecologists—only this can possibly muster the force and the internationalist élan to throw the cruise missiles and the SS-20s back."

Since he wrote this Europacifist manifesto, Thompson has sought to popularize the slogan, "A nuclear-free Europe from Portugal to Poland." Why Poland? Because the emergence of the anti-Communist and pro-Western Solidarność greatly whetted the appetite of the imperialist bourgeoisies and their social-democratic henchmen to "roll

back" the post-1945 Soviet sphere. Thus left-Labourite leader Tony Benn used the large London nuclear disarmament rally last October to hail Solidarność for having "the courage to stand up to the Kremlin." And after the December 13 crackdown in Poland, Thompson participated in a right-wing pro-Solidarność rally. This "peace" movement leader has no compunction about making common cause against the Soviet Union with people whose idea of a pacifist is Marshal Pilsudski.

Medvedev Dissents

Thompson would very much like to extend the movement for unilateral nuclear disarmament into the Soviet bloc, indeed into the USSR itself. One political figure in Russia to whom Thompson might look is Roy Medvedev. A man hard to classify politically, Medvedev straddles the border between liberal Stalinism and left social democracy. Unlike pro-Western "dissidents"

of the Sakharov stripe, who are egging on Washington in its anti-Soviet war drive (demanding economic sanctions against the USSR), Medvedev advocates "socialist democracy," sympathizes with the ideals of the Russian Revolution and champions East-West détente. Yet the November/December 1981 *New Left Review* contains a polemic against the Europacifist Thompson by Roy Medvedev and his brother Zhores (now in exile in Britain). Although the tone is mild, and they share basic political premises, their objections to Thompson's article are significant.

The Medvedevs strongly disagree with Thompson's position that the Soviet system is driven by the logic of "exterminism" and represents no less a threat to mankind than does American capitalist imperialism:

"Nevertheless, despite the more open character of American society, we will argue that the role of successive US administrations has been, and continues to be, more provocative and less predictable in the global interrelationship between East and West."

Moreover, on this question the Medvedevs insist that they are expressing the deeply held beliefs of the typical Soviet citizen:

"In particular, we think that the rank and file of Soviet society, including many of those who contest bureaucratic authority within it, would be unlikely to accept Thompson's argument—so central to his analysis of the dynamic of 'exterminism'—that responsibility for the current crisis can be divided equally between the USA and USSR."

—"The USSR and the Arms Race"

While the Medvedevs do not deal with Poland, here too the Soviet people turn a deaf ear to the siren calls of Western social democracy. Thompson's fervent support for the anti-Communist Solidarność would gain no more favorable hearing in Moscow and Leningrad than his call for Soviet unilateral nuclear disarmament. Western journalists all agree that the Soviet man in the street has no sympathy at all for the Polish "free trade union." For example, the *New York Times* (27 December 1981) reports from Moscow:

"An opinion often heard among Russians is that the Poles are insolent freeloaders draining Soviet resources; the declaration of martial law produced less popular sympathy for the Poles than concern that Russians might be drawn in."

The Medvedevs demonstrate absolutely convincingly that the development of Soviet nuclear weaponry has been a defensive response to the real threat of nuclear annihilation coming from the U.S. They remind historian

continued on page 8



Europacifism...

(continued from page 7)

the Kremlin to regain East Germany is by no means a utopian pipe dream. In 1952 in a last-minute attempt to deflect the Federal Republic from joining NATO, Stalin himself proposed a reunified, neutral *bourgeois-democratic* Germany. However, Christian Democratic chancellor Konrad Adenauer dismissed the Russian proposal as a ploy. The SPD at the time violently denounced Adenauer for throwing away the prospect of German national unity by not taking up the Soviet offer. These historic facts are well known in present-day Social Democratic circles.

Brandt's *Ostpolitik* of the early 1970s appeared to represent acceptance of the permanent division of the German nation. In reality it was a more subtle form of Bonn's revanchist ambitions toward the East. In place of Adenauer's shrill Dulles-era hellicosity ("the policy of strength"), the Social Democrats have sought to economically undermine and politically subvert the East European Stalinist-ruled states. According to Brandt's "two pillars theory," economic "bridge building" to the East was as important as political treaties in anchoring détente.

The SPD's *Ostpolitik* has a real material basis, or rather two bases. One is the interests and resources of German bankers and industrialists—and no one should believe that the expansionist dreams of the German ruling class have disappeared as a result of such a minor matter as losing two world wars. Secondly, the SPD was historically the national party in a country where the bourgeois parties had a narrow religious/regional constituency. Social Democratic sympathies persist in the DDR, where many see the SPD as a "democratic" alternative to their own Stalinist regime. This was shown by the ecstatic welcome Willy Brandt received when he visited Erfurt in 1970.

However, the real impact of a decade of *Ostpolitik* was felt not so much in East Germany as in Poland. A major cause of the Polish crisis, which brought the country to the edge of counterrevolution, was that the Stalinists ruinously mortgaged themselves to West German high finance. The Warsaw bureaucrats evidently thought they had a powerful friend at the Dresdner Bank. But Bonn's "soft" line toward the December 13 crackdown should not obscure the fact that the Social Democrats supported the anti-Communist Solidarność just as strongly (if less noisily) as the Reaganites did. If Bonn now resists Washington's calls for trade sanctions, diplomatic retaliation, etc., it is not simply out of narrow economic concerns. The German bourgeoisie understands that a return to the frigidity of the 1950s Cold War would weaken their influence throughout the Soviet sphere. For the SPD and the Dresdner Bank, they lost a battle in Poland but the war continues.

German Pacifism: Vanguard of Imperialist *Ostpolitik*

The headlines emphasize conflicts between the Bonn government and the anti-missile protesters: Schmidt's threats to resign, rock-throwing youths denouncing the "war chancellor." But fundamentally this is only a difference of emphasis *within* the social democracy. It was social democrats who presided over the October 10 antiwar demonstration and SPD organizations that are now voting against the Pershings. The various left groups have become the "best builders" of the nationalist-pacifist movement, which in turn is the vanguard of social-democratic *Ostpolitik*, i.e., of pro-détente resistance to Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. And as we have shown, the SPD's *Ostpolitik* is a reflection of the strategic interests of German imperialism. Today in West Germany there is a treacherous national front running from the Dresdner Bank

to Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt to the "peace" movement, including its left fringe.

With the SPD in power for the last decade and a half, and now facing a sharp economic downturn in a hostile international context, there has grown up a sizable left social-democratic fringe which functions essentially as an external pressure group on Schmidt & Co. Thus the pacifist movement (involving virtually the entire West German left) is centering its anti-missile protests on demonstrating outside the April SPD conference in Munich. In addition to SPD leaders Eppler and Albertz (and more distantly Willy Brandt), they look to such maverick social-democratic parliamentarians as Karl-Heinz Hansen and Manfred Copick, recently expelled from the Bundestag fraction. Various left groups have simply submerged themselves in this milieu, notably the GIM, German section of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat, which didn't even bother to raise its own organizational banners on October 10. Increasingly as they tail after the SPD "lefts," the face grows to fit the social-democratic mask.

Then there are the Mao-remnants, such as the Volksfront (People's Front) coalition, still presenting themselves as the best fatherland defenders, who call for a "neutral Germany." "Federal republic out of NATO" and "withdrawal of all foreign/NATO troops" from West Germany. But there is also a spectrum of reformist groups with Maoist origins which purports to be against *Vaterlandsverteidigung* (defense of the fatherland). The Bund West-deutscher Kommunisten (BWK) calls for West Germany out of NATO and a neutral federal republic, but opposes the call for reunification since that would only "pave the way for West German nationalism." *Ostpolitik* equals "blackmail of the DDR," says the BWK. Instead they are for recognition of East Germany and the old Stalinist hobbyhorse of a "democratic peace treaty."

The Kommunistischer Bund (KB) likewise opposes German reunification, which they can only conceive of on a capitalist basis, and generalizes pacifist illusions with calls for an "atom-free zone in Europe" and "dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact." The latest entry into the left-social-democratic scene has been the Marxistische Gruppe (MG), whose forte is petty-bourgeois "refusal" ("Reagan and Schmidt—We're not going along with it!"). On the other hand, while a myriad of anti-Communists were demonstrating against Soviet leader Brezhnev's visit to Bonn last November, the MG organized a counterdemonstration with the slogan "Brezhnev, what are you doing here? NATO is planning a war against you!" Yet nowhere do the MGs defend the Soviet Union against the imperialist war drive. In reality, they are simply radical defenders of détente.

No matter how much they try to strike a "left" posture, these groups—and particularly the "broader" MG—are defined by their position as an integral part of the nationalist, social-democratic-led "peace" movement. They are the kept opposition of Eppler and Brandt. And it could not be

otherwise for these ex-Maoists who still have not confronted their anti-Marxist and fundamentally counterrevolutionary position on the crucial *Russian question*. In Germany especially—which is divided between two counterposed social systems, between a capitalist and a bureaucratically deformed workers state—it is not possible to fight imperialism without *defending* the DDR and the Soviet bloc against NATO attacks *and* the more subtle economic and political undermining by West Germany's *Ostpolitik*. Nowhere is this more sharply demonstrated than over Poland today.

The Polish question, the German question and the Russian question are all inextricably hound up together. A victory by counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Poland would have immediately posed the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis (and very quickly a nuclear World War III, for that matter). So where does the West German left stand on Poland? The GIM, naturally, is for unconditional "solidarity with Solidarność," even criticizing the imperialist West German government for not doing enough to aid Lech Walesa and his friends. The MGs, in their usual nebulous academic commentary, criticize NATO support to Solidarność but also criticize Jaruzelski's crackdown. Meanwhile, the KB criticizes Solidarność leaders for pandering to anti-Communism, notes the bourgeois ideological domination of the movement...but opposes the crackdown in the name of Polish national sovereignty! So the KB maintains that national sovereignty stands higher than defense of the proletarian dictatorship. Applied to the German question, this is the same methodology as the Havemann letter. While socialism may be preferred, at bottom it means *critical support to counterrevolutionary reunification*.

The Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), section of the international Spartacist tendency, has consistently fought for defense of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution. "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!" were the TLD slogans on October 10. When General Haig visited the wall and spoke at the front-line city West Berlin the month before, we proclaimed, "Defense of the USSR Begins in Berlin!" And on Poland the TLD said forthrightly, "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" And because the Trotskyists have remained firm in our Soviet defensism, which includes calling for political revolution to oust Stalinist bureaucrats who undermine that defense with their détente illusions, we are the only ones with a program for *revolutionary reunification of Germany* through socialist revolution in the capitalist Federal Republic and proletarian political revolution in the DDR.

For German revolutionaries anti-imperialism means opposition to nationalist revanchism in social-democratic colors. The anti-Marxist leftists either line up with Schmidt's imperialist *Ostpolitik* offensive to undermine the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states, particularly via the nationalist "peace" movement, or they oppose reunification, leaving the German national question to the Schmidts and Strausses. What would the BWK/KB/MG have said to the East German workers who rose up against Ulbricht on 17 June 1953—no unity with the West German proletariat? The Trotskyists alone have a program to mobilize the German proletariat in a struggle which is crucial to forging a Socialist United States of Europe. As we wrote at the time of the post-Afghanistan Cold War offensive unleashed by Washington (*WV* No. 262, 8 August 1980):

"Today working people in West Germany see themselves as potential helpless victims of the 'superpower' conflict. Yet the powerful German proletariat holds its fate in its own hands. The economic strength of both

West and East Germany is such that a revolutionary reunification would mark an end to the postwar division of Europe and an end to the global polarization between Russian Stalinism and American imperialism. A proletarian revolution in West Germany could reach across the Berlin Wall to spark the political revolution in East Germany and likewise lead to political revolution in the Soviet Union as well as the overthrow of capitalism in the rest of West Europe. Far more than in France, Britain or Italy, for example, West German workers have the power to determine the future of the planet." ■

Medvedev...

(continued from page 7)

Thompson which country first used nuclear weapons, and why:

"Soviet analysts—corroborated by not a few eminent Western historians—have generally viewed the American decision to destroy Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atomic bombs in August 1945, at a moment when the surrender of Japan was already imminent, as a demonstration of force primarily designed to intimidate the USSR at this juncture."

The Medvedevs point out that after World War II:

"Despite the absence of a single other nuclear power in the world, the United States accelerated the development of its nuclear arsenal and the fleet of special bombers which allowed it to strike anywhere in the USSR."

Nor is the U.S. nuclear threat to the Soviet Union a matter of ancient history. Thompson's Russian critics point out that during the past decade the Pentagon has persistently sought technological breakthroughs to give it a qualitative superiority over the USSR, from the multiple-warhead MIRVs to the new Cruise missiles. As for the Reagan administration, the Medvedevs only understate the obvious: "It is rejection of the prospect of *parity* with the USSR that motivates US policy in the present period." Reagan ran for president on a platform of nuclear "superiority" over the Russians, i.e., regaining first-strike capability, and plans to spend \$1.5 trillion to achieve this.

At one level the Medvedevs' polemic devastates Thompson's position; at the deeper level it does not. Thompson and other Europacifists could possibly concede the empirical argument, that the U.S. has consistently taken the lead in the arms race, without this changing their basic program. They would still demand Soviet unilateral nuclear disarmament. For the decisive question is *not* which side is the aggressor in the Cold War, but which side are you on.

The conflict between the U.S. and USSR is not a matter of national great-power rivalry, nor is it a result of American political "immaturity," as the Medvedevs argue. It is a conflict of social systems. Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, when 14 imperialist countries intervened militarily to crush the nascent Soviet power, the capitalist world has sought to exterminate the Soviet Union. And ever since 1917 social democrats, using pacifistic and democratic slogans, have supported imperialism against the USSR. As Trotskyists, we defend the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc against imperialism. Social democrat Thompson is on the other side, while the Medvedevs try to straddle the fence.

Europacifism and European imperialism

The Medvedevs, who themselves have a foot or two in the social-democratic camp, seek to explain Thompson's views by arguing that he identifies the West European attitude toward the USSR with the American. A central theme of their article is that the West European ruling circles are basically pacific and accept the postwar European order, while the trigger-happy

Spartacist League Forum

Cold Warriors Weep
for Solidarność

Counterrevolution in Poland Checked

Speaker: Sam Price
SL Central Committee

Saturday, Feb. 20, 7:00 p.m.

Western Federal Savings Bank
Rear door
1700 North Vermont Ave
(at Hollywood Blvd.)
For more information: (213) 662-1564

LOS ANGELES

cowboys in Washington are something else again. While Roy Medvedev is hostile to the Brezhnev regime and Stalinist hardliners, ideologically he is still linked to Khrushchevite bureaucratic liberalizers. Here he reflects the growing sense of Russia's rulers that nothing can be done with the madmen now running the White House and Pentagon. The only hope is to split their European allies from the American warmongers.

According to the Medvedevs, Britain, France, Germany have always accepted Russia, whether under tsars or commissars, as a part of "the traditional European state system." American anti-Soviet aggressiveness is explained as a peculiarity of the U.S.' relatively recent emergence as a world power. The Medvedevs present America as an *enfant terrible*, an infantile power on the world scene, and "whereas West Europeans tend to accept the USSR as a legitimate state, ... Americans still often see Russia as the fount of world revolution and left-wing 'subversion'." Hence, despite their differences with Thompson, the Medvedevs enthusiastically applaud the new European "peace" movement and call on West Europe to dissociate itself from American militarism:

"If, therefore, the United States continues its drift towards the reactionary right and super-militarization, it seems probable that Western Europe will move correspondingly to the left and towards disengagement from confrontation.... The peace movements in Europe are already a powerful pressure for moderation: it is they who can halt the prospect of a new dangerous round in the arms race, threatening to all mankind."

The Medvedevs treat West Europe as a single entity, ignoring conflicts of interests of the various national bourgeoisies. Yet even a superficial glance at West Europe's capitals exposes the Medvedevs' rosy picture of a peace-loving society. Britain's Margaret Thatcher is an anti-Soviet fanatic in the Reagan mold. Fortunately, she governs a capitalist state so decrepit it is no longer a first-rate, or even a second-rate power. As an anti-Communist Cold Warrior, French president François Mitterrand is a Margaret Thatcher in social-democratic dress. Moreover, France is engaged in a nuclear arms buildup proportionally comparable to Reagan's. If his *force de frappe* (strike force) is less threatening to the USSR than the Pentagon's arsenal, it is not because French imperialism is benign but because it lacks the economic/military resources of the U.S.

West Germany at least superficially conforms to the Medvedevs' dichotomy between a détente-minded Europe and a militaristic America. Millions of Germans are justifiably scared to death of Reagan's anti-Soviet provocations, while the social-democratic/liberal government wants to maintain the politics of *Entspannung* (relaxation of tensions). Yet Bonn's post-1970 *Ostpolitik* represents a long-term strategy to penetrate and undermine East Europe economically while encouraging liberal and nationalistic trends to disintegrate the Soviet bloc. West German social democracy thus supported Solidarność goals, in fact aided Walesa & Co. financially via the DGB union federation, only Schmidt and Brandt believed the Polish hotheads pushed things too far too fast. Behind Bonn's present "soft line" toward the Soviet bloc stands a dangerous revanchist imperialism.

The gains of the October Revolution cannot be defended, nor the imperialists' drive toward nuclear holocaust stopped, by restoring "the traditional European state system"—a détente version of the Congress of Vienna— independent of the United States. Only a Socialist United States of Europe, achieved through socialist revolution in the capitalist West and proletarian political revolution in the East, can save mankind from the threatening catastrophe. ■

Picket Line...

(continued from page 12)

letter, he won a grievance to have the discipline withdrawn.

Local 1010 was confronted with the issue of labor solidarity when the small USWA Local 8180 went on strike against Apex Steel and Supply in May 1979. Apex leases a section of Inland's property, where it bales scrap steel to be used in Inland's furnaces. Once again, Anwar refused to cross the picket lines and argued for Local 1010 to lead its members in shutting down the plant. Inland fired Anwar on May 18. In a leaflet appealing for support, Anwar wrote:

"The strike and respect for picket lines are powerful and precious weapons in the hands of labor. ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement—which banned strikes even after contract expiration] and the years of no-strike pledges have tied this union's hands behind its back. Now Inland is trying to wipe out any vestige of labor solidarity. This attack must be repulsed."

The campaign to reinstate Keith Anwar generated significant support in the USWA's District 31, centered in Chicago-Gary. This backing was critical in getting Anwar's grievance through arbitration and in winning the favorable decision from Judge Pacht. USWA and other union locals adopted resolutions of support and made financial contributions or "passed the hat." Rank and file steel workers signed and circulated petitions, helped distribute informational leaflets and kept pressure on the union leaders to vigorously pursue the case. Local 1010 had an official union rally to "defend the right to honor picket lines" in October 1979. President Bill Andrews and several other Local 1010 officials came to Anwar's grievance arbitration hearing in September 1980 to show support for the case. The union's side in that hearing was presented by the chairman of the local's grievance committee.

Despite this hacking, Inland's lawyers argued at a trial before Judge Pacht last November that the USWA had voluntarily given up its right to respect picket lines. Honoring picket lines is "protected activity" under the National Labor Relations Act. Inland's assertion that the union had waived this protection by

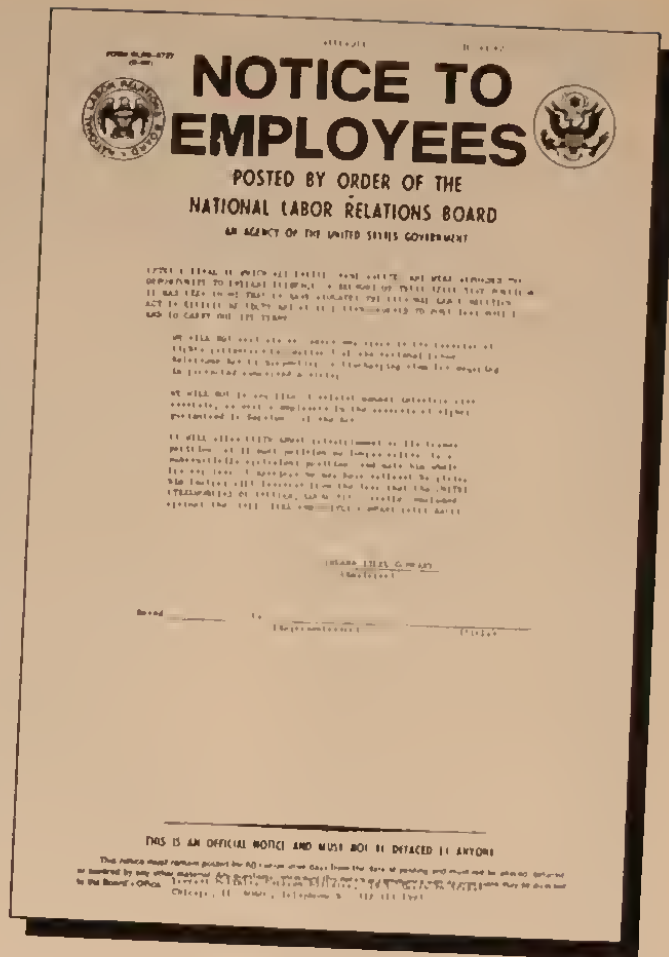
Inland Steel intends to drag the Anwar case through the courts to prevent its 18,000 steel workers from honoring picket lines. Inland has a small army of lawyers and vast profits at its disposal. The Keith Anwar Defense Committee has debts already running over \$3,000. Send a generous contribution to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680.

negotiating a no-strike clause in its contract with the company had been accepted by the "impartial" arbitrator who upheld the firing. The judge rejected Inland's contention and overturned the arbitrator's pro-company award. She referred to USWA support for Anwar as evidence that the union had not intentionally "waived" its picket line rights. In particular, she mentioned a resolution passed at the 1979 District 31 Conference, "which referred to the discipline imposed upon Anwar and members of other locals who had engaged in sympathetic strikes and pledged to use 'all available resources to reverse these attacks by defending all union members victimized for honoring picket lines....'"

While all legal avenues must be used to defend workers' rights; every union member should know that the bosses' labor laws are not neutral. Legislation like the National Labor Relations Act wasn't written in the interests of workers

but rather to channel their grievances into arbitration instead of strikes. Those "peaceful" paths are often dead-ends for the workers. According to Judge Pacht's ruling, Inland broke the law. Yet after almost three years, Anwar is still outside the plant, where they want him to remain through the time-consuming and costly appeals in Reagan's courts.

The reformists sign no-strike agreements and rely on "neutral" judges and arbitrators. But no-strike deals have left steel workers defenseless against the current avalanche of layoffs. The mounting takeways against auto workers show where the no-struggle strategy of the reformists leads. Labor victories can only be ensured through militant struggle: on the picket lines, through plant seizures, by hot-cargoing struck goods, etc. The Anwar picket line case is more than a simple issue of workers' rights. It is part of the fight to bring back the weapons of working-class struggle which huilt the labor movement. ■



Chicago Defender

Judge's ruling upholds workers' right to honor picket lines

An administrative law judge has ruled that a steelworker who was fired for refusing to cross picket lines should be reinstated with back pay. Keith Anwar, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1010, was discharged by the Inland Steel Company in May, 1979, when he honored picket lines of another USWA local at the giant East Chicago, Indiana plant.

The ruling, by Judge Arline Pacht of the National Labor Relations Board, upsets an arbitrator's award which upheld the firing after a grievance filed on Anwar's behalf by Local 1010. "This

Judge Pacht noted that there were several examples of Local 1010 members respecting picket lines. One witness at a hearing before the judge in Chicago last November 16/17 was James Te-well, a former officer of Bricklayers Local 6, which represents Inland's masons. Judge Pacht cited Te-well's testimony that during bricklayer's strikes in 1972 and 1978, "several members of Local 1010 supported them by refusing to cross their picket line. In fact, in 1978, one such sympathetic striker was Anwar."

The judge also referred to Anwar as evidence that the union had not intentionally "waived" its picket line rights. Inland's assertion that the union had waived this protection by

engaged and the resource lacks I member picket line of 1010's r to honor 1979.

Anwar "We've and it's the way 'mount' rights," moves "picket crime p prison," the Hea His union control people, gent to cessful conviction, the system

Supporters of labor's rights are

Sympathy strike is OK in no-strike pact: judge

By James Warren

A union member can engage in a sympathy walkout despite a no-strike clause in his own contract, a federal administrative law judge has ruled here.

Judge Arline Pacht's ruling overturns the decision of an arbitrator and supports a Chicago steel worker who was fired two years ago by Inland Steel Co.

The steel worker, Keith Anwar, was fired after refusing to cross picket lines set up against an independent contractor operating

on the site of Inland's giant East Chicago Ind. facility.

Anwar, 29, was a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1010, which has a no-strike contract with Inland. The pickets he encountered were members of another steelworker local and employees of Apex Baler.

As Pacht recounted, a subsequent arbitration presented the issue squarely: "Did Anwar's honoring a stranger's local's picket line violate the no-strike provision of the collective bargaining agreement between Inland Steel and Local 1010?"

The arbitrator ruled it did and affirmed the discharge. The National Labor Relations Board, however, decided to take the case before Pacht.

Pacht did not exclude the possibility that sympathy strikes, too, can be banned. She ruled that such a waiver can be found where there is evidence that the parties have "at a minimum discussed the question."

But for Inland and the steelworkers union, she said, the record is barren of any evidence such talks took place over their 45-year collective bargaining relationship.

Pacht ordered Inland to offer Anwar reinstatement and reimbursement for loss of wages.

Sun-Times

Inland Firing Overturned

By MARK POTOK
Times Business Labor Writer

CHICAGO — In a harshly worded decision, a judge has overturned the firing of an Inland Steel Co. worker who refused to cross a picket line.

Administrative Law Judge Arline Pacht, acting on an appeal by Keith Anwar of a National Labor Relations Board arbitrator's decision, ordered Inland to reinstate the former millwright's apprentice with full back pay or ask a federal appellate panel to rehear the case by Feb. 22.

Inland officials reached Monday declined comment on details of the case, but said they intended to appeal.

Pacht labeled the arbitrator's finding that Inland was within its rights "repugnant" to established labor law, and she scored the company for failing

to back up many of its legal claims.

Anwar, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1010, refused to cross picket lines thrown up near Inland's Indiana Harbor Works by a fellow local in May 1979. He was suspended at first and later fired for that refusal.

The picket line had been established by USWA Local 8180, which represented 37 Apex Steel and Supply Co. employees who were working inside the giant East Chicago plant. The workers struck Apex May 1 after their contract expired.

In her 18-page decision, Pacht lambasted the arbitrator's decision. "A review plainly shows that he did not analyze the submitted cases (supporting Anwar's position) or apply the reasoning set forth in them."

Instead, the arbitrator wrongly backed Inland's opinion that a no-strike provision in their labor contract prohibited so-called "sympathy strikes," the judge wrote. Only contract language that specifically excluded such action could have provided a defense for Inland, she said.

Ironically, Pacht found that Anwar's action did not constitute a "secondary boycott" under labor law because Local 8180 never asked Inland workers to respect their picket lines. Such a request could have been an illegal attempt to embroil an uninvolved firm in a labor dispute not of its own making.

Pacht also took Inland to task for its contention — introduced for the first time before her, but never before the arbitrator — that the Local 8180 picket line was illegal.

The steelmaker had claimed the picket line was "unreasonably distant" from the plant where Apex compresses Inland's scrap steel into bales. Secondary boycott provisions of labor law forbid such job actions.

But, Pacht wrote, "the record plainly shows that on numerous past occasions, (Inland's) security guards permitted and even encouraged pickets to situate themselves at the very sites which it now condemns."

Anwar, whose case has prompted at least one demonstration near Inland, said he expects Inland to appeal the case.

Nevertheless, he said, "This decision is an important step forward in the fight for labor solidarity. Trade unions can survive without picket lines that no one crosses."

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

writer, suggested mining Havana harbor (*New York Times*, 12 February). The latest leak to the press reveals a plan approved by the National Security Council for the CIA to train "a series of paramilitary hit teams for military, political and intelligence purposes" in Central America (*New York Post*, 15 February).

El Salvador is the cockpit of Cold War II. Burning with frustration at their inability to provoke an anti-Soviet uprising in Poland, the Reaganites are desperate to claim a victory over "international Communism." Liberals and reformists talk about a "political solution" in El Salvador. But neither the U.S. imperialists nor their junta puppets, who have butchered more than 30,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants in the past two years, are about to negotiate anything. And the Salvadoran masses don't need negotiations with their torturers and murderers, they need a revolution to smash the bloody junta and their oligarch masters.

Against all the reformists who place their faith in the Teddy Kennedy imperialist Democrats, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) alone fight for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador, for workers revolution throughout Central America. We say you must face the Reagan/Haig anti-Soviet war drive head-on, in order to defeat the imperialists. Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!

Leftist Insurgents Advance on the Battlefield

The Democratic Party liberals (i.e., the political descendants of JFK, who got the U.S. into Indochina) have been having a field day comparing Reagan's escalation with the U.S.' ill-starred Vietnam debacle. "This country is being led into a quagmire," said Representative Gerry Studds of Massachusetts. "The only difference this time is that no one is going to accuse the current leadership of being either the best or the brightest" (*Boston Globe*, 3 February). He's got a point there, no doubt about it, but the liberals who fear another Vietnam in El Salvador do so for the same reason they wanted the U.S. out of Vietnam after the Tet offensive: they think U.S. imperialism is going to get into a war it can't win and they want to cut the losses.

In fact, U.S.-backed forces in El Salvador *are* losing on the battlefields. The territory controlled by the FMLN continues to expand. The junta's troops control only the ground they stand on. And increasingly, they are standing still, protecting major cities, power transmitters, dams and other targets while the left-wing guerrillas roam at will. On February 1, taking advantage of the fact that the junta troops were temporarily grounded after the air base raid, FMLN forces launched a coordinated attack on cities and towns from one end of the

country to the other. Two towns on the northern border, Corinto and Nueva Trinidad, were seized from their army garrisons. The provincial capital of San Francisco Gotera was surrounded and cut off. Usulután, El Salvador's fourth-largest city, was besieged for a week. The army relief column, from the elite and usually helicopter-borne Atlacatl Brigade, was ambushed on the road and was later seen hoofing the 65 miles back to the capital.

Meanwhile, "free elections" are to be held next month in El Salvador, complete with observers from Pinochet's Chile to make sure they're fair (!). These elections are so free that the opposition could run only as an elaborate form of suicide. The nature of this farce is perhaps best indicated by the fact that the leader of the group highly likely to displace president José Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats as the leading party in the new "Constituent Assembly" is ex-Major Roberto D'Aubuisson. D'Aubuisson is a fascist would-be dictator, the head of a network of paramilitary death squads and author of the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. He was twice caught trying to overthrow the current junta, was accused of trying to assassinate the former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador and was even expelled from the U.S. as an undesirable alien for threatening U.S. diplomats.

The past few years of intense bloodletting in El Salvador have created a layer of kill-crazy rightist fanatics whose full-time occupation is kidnapping, torture, rape and murder. Anyone who thinks there can be a "political solution" with these mad dogs has only to look at neighboring Nicaragua. There the victorious Sandinistas released hundreds of proven National Guard killers in order to impress the Americans with their "generosity" and "pluralism." The result is that many of these ex-Somoza thugs are now blowing up airliners and staging murderous terror raids over the border from bases in Honduras.

Political Solution?

Anyone who believed Haig's tales of Cuban-armed terrorists run amok in El Salvador would be surprised to find that the Salvadoran opposition coalition, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a popular front uniting left-wing guerrillas with small bourgeois liberal and petty-bourgeois parties, does not call for a "socialist" government. In fact the FDR and its FMLN guerrilla component say they do not want to win a military victory over the junta. Instead they appeal for negotiations leading to a "political solution" and the formation of a broad "democratic" government in which the FMLN would be integrated into a purged capitalist army.

The leader of the most left-wing of the FMLN's five factions, Salvador Cayetano Carpio of the FPL (People's Liberation Forces), recently demonstrated his sweet reasonableness and willingness to "compromise" in an article printed by the *New York Times* (9 February). Carpio indicated that "...there is room [in a future government] for everybody's contribution, from large businessmen to small farmers and merchants—for anyone who supports the independent development of the country, opposes fascism, and wants democracy. We don't believe that this broad program has anything to do with Socialism or a Socialist government." It certainly doesn't.

This craven appeal to imperialist opinion was supplemented by an open letter to Reagan signed by Carpio and his fellow FMLN commanders on January 18. "The Salvadoran people," they wrote, "which so greatly admire the progressive and democratic vocation of the United States, cannot understand why you are determined to support a genocidal government." "What we have said," they continued, "leads us to respectfully request that you change

your policy toward El Salvador."

These words could only be written by people who never expect them to get back to Central America, which has suffered U.S. aggression 40 times in the past 126 years. And this is not just some "clever" ploy to fool the gullible imperialists. The FDR-FMLN leaders are willing to pay far more than lip service to their pledge to preserve private property, the army officer corps and ties to the "progressive and democratic" U.S. of A. They are prepared to give away at the bargaining table what the blood of the Salvadoran workers and peasants has been shed to win.

Just what this commitment to a "political solution" really means was made clear by the FDR's representative in Washington, Rubén Zamora. Zamora, who heads a breakaway faction of Duarte's Christian Democrats, was formerly a professor at the Jesuit university in San Salvador. Now he prowls the halls of Congress on behalf of the FDR, presenting the image of a moderate politician forced by unhappy circumstance to cohabit with unsavory Marxist elements. As *Newsweek* (15 February) put it, his pitch is that "a negotiated settlement offers the only way of keeping the guerrillas from winning the war in El Salvador outright."

Join us, he bids Duarte, and stay in power: "If the left achieves a military victory, the CD [Christian Democratic party] is out, a party defeated in war." But in a negotiated settlement, he implies, there is room for this criminal consort of the junta colonels. As his horrible example of the dangers of a leftist military triumph, Zamora holds up Nicaragua:

"For me [the example of Nicaragua] is one reason for supporting a political settlement.... A military victory of [the rebels] will find the U.S. completely hostile. We would have an immediate counter-revolution in Guatemala even if the U.S. would come to accept it. And the people in the business community and the professions would get out. Under these circumstances, what are the chances of pluralism?"

—*Newsweek* (15 February)

Military Victory and Workers Revolution

This is one point on which Marxist revolutionaries and FDR popular-front politicians can agree. Military victory for the leftist insurgents *would* make "pluralism," i.e., continued capitalist rule, difficult to preserve. For this reason Zamora, who has everything to lose if the FMLN wins on the battlefield, is the perfect advocate of a "political solution." For this reason the Spartacist League is the strongest advocate of a military victory. The Salvadoran civil war, despite the FDR's attempts to portray it as a struggle for self-determination and capitalist "democracy," grows out of the irreconcilable class antagonisms between the masses of impoverished Salvadoran workers and poor peasants and the handful of capitalist landlords and their army. The

defeat of the junta's armed forces would quickly pose the possibility of overturning capitalist rule. It would almost inevitably regionalize the conflict, drawing in the Guatemalan and Honduran dictatorships and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. The U.S. would frantically try to stop the establishment of a "new Cuba" in Central America.

From the beginning of the protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador the Spartacist League has demonstrated under the slogans "Military victory to leftist insurgents" and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador." The liberals and reformists who have organized the marches and protests in the U.S. have done their level best to keep out communist politics for fear of antagonizing their liberal allies. At the Pentagon last May Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) tried to physically prevent marchers from attending the rally held by the Spartacist League-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent. In June the Marcyites attacked an SL protest against their class collaboration with boards and bottles, trying to draw the line against revolution in blood. In subsequent demonstrations around the country the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Communist Party (CP), Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and others have called the capitalist police in to exclude the Trotskyists. But they have not been able to keep our program of permanent revolution from being heard. Frequently the SL/SYL are the biggest organized contingent at El Salvador protests, and many independents have picked up our signs for military victory.

Many of the organizers of the reformist rallies once marched under Viet Cong flags and chanted Che Guevara's slogan: "Create two, three, many Vietnams!" Today they chant "No more Vietnams" and call the cops to exclude communists. But Vietnam was a victory over imperialism and its puppets! Not because the Vietnamese Stalinists were able to engage in negotiations with Henry Kissinger, but because the negotiations led to nothing. Instead of getting a "political solution," the North Vietnamese army took Saigon and expropriated the South Vietnamese capitalists. Despite the Stalinist deformation of the Vietnamese workers state, that victory was a tremendous blow against U.S. imperialism and a tremendous triumph for the world working class. During the Vietnam years we fought for military victory to the NLF/DRV and called for labor strikes against the war—as today we fight for labor action to smash the imperialist war drive, including a union boycott of military goods to El Salvador.

The reformists rely on Congressional liberals to stop Reagan's war plans. They pin their hopes on a court suit alleging that Reagan is violating the War Powers Act by intervening without Congressional approval, on sermons from Catholic bishops, on legislation requiring Reagan to swear that the Duarte regime is cleaning up its act. Revolutionaries look instead to the power of the insurgent masses to overthrow the bloody-handed junta butchers.

Reagan and Haig are not mere hypocrites who can be shamed into backing down in El Salvador with a few pious phrases. El Salvador is the front line in the Cold War today. Frustrated at their inability to promote successful counterrevolution in Poland, the Reagan regime hopes to strike a blow, by proxy at least, against Cuba and the USSR in Central America. There is only one way to stop the seemingly endless bloodshed unleashed by these international war criminals and their genocidal lackeys. There is only one "political solution" for the exploited and oppressed Salvadoran working people: Military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador! For workers revolution! ■

Spartacist League Forum

Butcher Junta on the Run El Salvador Leftists Must Win the War!

Our "Political Solution"— Workers Revolution!

Spaaker: Barbara Francis
Friday, February 26, 8:00 p.m.
Columbia University,
(Broadway & 116th)
Hamilton Hall, Rm. 602
\$2.00 Donation
For more information: (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

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

Mindy Gianninoto Fought for the Union, CWA Must Fight for Her!

She Wouldn't Fink for Ma Bell

NEW YORK—The fight to defend phone worker militant Mindy Sankel Gianninoto is mounting as Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1150 scheduled a special union meeting Thursday, February 18 to discuss action against her firing by AT&T. Local 1150 president Chet Macey was forced to call the special meeting by over 300 angry phone workers, who signed a petition protesting the "outrage that management fired Mindy Sankel Gianninoto on Feb. 2, 1982 for refusing to fink on her co-workers and had the police arrest her on criminal trespass charges." Following a union directive, Mindy refused to discuss the issue with management. Now the union's got to stand by her!

The phone company had New York cops take Gianninoto out in handcuffs because she refused to "flag" errors on other technicians' job tickets. The bosses use such fink work to divide and conquer the workforce. In fact, the day after Mindy's firing, the company used the kind of information she refused to provide in order to discharge another worker for "unsatisfactory performance." Gianninoto told *Workers Vanguard*:

"This is a basic union principle. You never cross a picket line and you don't have finks in the union. But the CWA has let the company force union members to do this kind of work. The union has to put a stop to this! If the CWA allows finking, it comes down to whether we're going to have a union or not."



NYC, February 2: AT&T has phone militant dragged out and arrested by city cops.

Outraged CWA members immediately began to mobilize support for Gianninoto. At first Macey refused to call a special meeting, even though the firing was a direct attack on the union. On instructions from union officials, Mindy had declined to talk to management about her refusal to do the fink job because she had seven grievances filed over the bosses' last attempt to make her rat on her co-workers (see "'I Don't Fink on Fellow Workers!'" *Workers Vanguard* No. 291, 23 October 1981). So when supervisor Mike McGarvey "terminated" her for "refusing a man-

agement directive," AT&T was telling the union: "Drop dead!"

AT&T has dropped the trespass charges against Mindy, rank and file phone workers have now won the battle for a special meeting. However, the Local 1150 leadership *continues to permit CWA members to do the fink work!* With a leadership like this, it's no wonder the CWA has never won a national strike against Ma Bell! CWA members must demand that the union put a stop to its members helping AT&T keep phone workers under its thumb. For an immediate CWA ban on

fink work!

Gianninoto's courageous stand for the ABCs of trade unionism has posed the basic choices facing phone workers. The CWA arose out of *company unions* ("employee associations") AT&T established to thwart real unionization in the 1920s. With AT&T now trying to "white-collarize" its workforce to compete in the non-union computer business, CWA members must once again choose between virtual company unionism based on finking, or fighting for a real union that defends all its members. Local 1150 members who want to fight for the union are mobilizing for the special meeting to get Local 1150 to take a stand for Gianninoto and against doing fink work. *One hundred twenty* CWA members have already signed a flyer with the call, "All out! Come to the special union meeting." These workers recognize what is at stake:

"Mindy has taken a pro-union stand in favor of a most basic right: the right not to rat on our fellow workers and the right not to live in fear of other people ratting on us. Would you feel safer working next to Mindy or someone who 'does it and grieves it'? The company's 'fink-or-be-fired' policy demands a union response: we must not allow them to get away with this or all of us will find our jobs in jeopardy.... If we allow this to happen we will have no union at all. We must act together now to win Mindy's job back. She stood up for the union; we must back her all the way. Reinstatement with full back pay! Drop the charges!" ■

Fraser...

(continued from page 12)

needed. Reprinted below is the RMC's leaflet, "For a Two-Day Sitdown Strike!", dated 9 February.

If we don't fight now, Ford Motor Company is going to bleed us dry, just like the Chrysler workers. Company man Fraser wants us to hand over our COLA [cost-of-living allowance], our medical benefits, our PPH [paid personal holidays] and paid vacation time from this hellhole. And for what: a phony "job security" program that recognizes the company's right to lay off every worker with less than 15 years seniority: that's half the workforce! If this goes through, the only thing left in the plants will be robots and old men, working harder for less pay and no union defense.

Recall the Ford UAW Council and end all negotiations! We have the power to break up Ford/Fraser's blackmail

now. The Rouge Militant Caucus calls for organizing a two-day sitdown strike in the Rouge. Sitdowns are the weapon that built the UAW: use it now! Big stockpiles and low sales can weaken a regular strike but not a sitdown. With the strikers on the inside occupying the plant and management and their strike-breakers on the outside, we've got control. We can give Ford its pink slip.

The Rouge plant is central to Ford's operation. Without it, the company grinds to a halt. With a well organized, mass sitdown strike here, for even a limited duration of two days, WE CAN SQUEEZE CONCESSIONS OUT OF THEM! (1) no pay cuts, no benefit cuts (2) unlimited unemployment compensation at union wages with full cost-of-living protection for every laid off auto worker, pensioner, single mother with children—financed by the federal government! Screw Reagan's anti-Soviet war budget! Fight for the hundreds of thousands of poor and unemployed, mainly black residents of Detroit, who built this town and who have been

thrown on the scrapheap by Reagan and the bosses!

If Henry Ford claims he can't pay us, then let him get help from his friend in the White House. The government's got the money. Reagan spends our tax dollars to finance segregated schools, with hundreds of billions more for the Pentagon. We get nothing, because we're a union town and a black town. Reagan and the capitalists would just as soon see half of us unemployed, the unions busted and the town turned over to the Klan and Nazi race terrorists.

Screw Reagan, Ford and Fraser. It's the working class in industrial areas like this that creates the wealth in this country. Without us, the economy doesn't run. If Rouge workers take the lead, we can trigger similar sitdown strikes throughout the auto towns of southern Michigan, from Detroit to Pontiac to Flint. We can make the bosses pay and take a big step in packing the racist, union-busting Reagan back to his ranch, for good.

Every worker has the right to a job. A two-day sitdown strike can turn things around and put us on the offensive against the bosses and their concessions drive. We can link up with GM, Chrysler and other workers to fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week at no cut in pay. We need a workers government to run a planned economy to put us all back to work at decent wages.

If we don't fight, we're guaranteed to lose. The Rouge Militant Caucus call for a two-day sitdown is the only serious program to fight the company. The Local 600 tops, headed by Mike Rinaldi, support Fraser's concessions. There are a few unit chairmen who claim to oppose concessions. But talk is cheap. What are they doing to put into action a fight against Fraser's giveaways and Ford's layoffs? The bureaucrats tell us to wait and get shafted until we can vote in the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party, the party of Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter and Mr. Concessions

and Chrysler director, Doug Fraser.

Rick Martin in COBF [Coke Oven and Blast Furnace division of Local 600], Al Gardner of Tool and Die and ISTC [Independent Skilled Trades Council], the United Front Caucus (UFC) and CMDUAW [Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW] are mumbling about a one-day UAW or "national" work stoppage. This is a lot of hot air. These fakers all call on the UAW International to carry out their "strike" proposals. Is anyone serious enough to believe that Doug Fraser will turn around and lead a strike against his own concessions? Gardner, Martin, the UFC and CMDUAW are just playing games, to cover up the fact that they are *opposed* to Rouge workers organizing a sitdown strike, the only weapon that can win.

Remember Flint! In the midst of the depression our brothers and sisters took over the plants and brought GM to its knees. We must do it again. Fight to carry out the program of the Rouge Militant Caucus! It's sitdowns or souplines: we have nothing to lose. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

Amherst

c/o SYL
P.O. Box 176
Amherst, MA 01004
(413) 546-9906

Ann Arbor

c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland

P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston

Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Champaign

c/o SYL
P.O. Box 2009
Champaign, IL 61820
(217) 356-1180

Chicago

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

Cleveland

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

Detroit

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

Houston

Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles

Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 662-1564

Madison

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

New York

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

San Francisco

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver

Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

24 issues—\$5
Introductory offer (10 issues) \$2
International rates 24 issues—\$20 airmail/
\$5 seamount
10 introductory issues—\$3 airmail
—includes *Spartacist*

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

Auto Workers: Vote It Down and Sit Down!

Fraser's Billion Dollar Betrayal

DETROIT, February 16—Ford workers must throw Doug Fraser's \$1 billion giveaway deal back in his face! A cool billion taken from the workers and put into company profits. That's \$10,000 from every single Ford worker!

Cost-of-living protection, paid holidays, a uniform nationwide contract—these were hard-won gains that took decades to get. Now with one stroke of the pen, United Auto Workers (UAW) chief Fraser wants to sign it all back to the bosses. In return for these concessions, Ford promises to: not shut down any plants—unless it's profitable to do so; "lend" \$70 million to the SUB fund—enough for only about four weeks of payments; and "guarantee" an income for laid-off high seniority workers—at an unlivable one-half pay, and only so long as the paltry \$45 million fund for this purpose lasts! Ford's promises are crap. This deal will mean *more* layoffs! And for the first time in 40 years the UAW would face the companies with totally different contracts and expiration dates. The future of the union and the Detroit working class is at stake! *Vote it down!*

It's not enough just to vote down the billion dollar betrayal. Remember '73! From recounts and re-votes to goon squads, Fraser's gang has experience ramming through a sellout. And he's determined to finish the historic betrayal begun at Chrysler. Already a quarter



UAW top Fraser joins hands with Ford's Donald Petersen (right) to bludgeon auto workers.

million auto workers are out of a job—and most of them will never see the inside of an auto plant again says Fraser. Chrysler was used to club Ford workers; next Ford will be a club against GM workers. Already General Motors is using plant shutdowns to weaken the

stiff opposition that stopped the giveaway negotiations in January: the Fremont and Southgate plants in California will be shut down indefinitely, GM announced this week.

But the kept opposition in the UAW is doing nothing to mobilize the ranks to

fight Fraser's betrayal. To bust the giveaway drive auto workers must use the power that built the UAW. Now, before they take all your power away by putting you out on the street! What's called for is dramatic action to spark a class-wide fight for jobs and against giveaways. A wave of two-day sit-down demonstrations occupying the plants and centered in the giant River Rouge plant—the heart of Ford's empire—would lead millions of angry workers, black and white, to action. It would be a powerful blow at the auto bosses' "sacred" private ownership rights that could put an immediate stop to all concession talks.

The money's there—it's just going into Reagan's trillion dollar war drive against the Soviet Union. And while he's trying to "roll back" Communism from El Salvador to Poland, they're rolling back union gains and black rights at home. This is a Reagan contract and Fraser is the enforcer. Fifty years ago the bosses spent millions to hire strikebreakers. Now Solidarity House is doing the job for them, on union dues money! Union-buster Reagan must be brought down through militant labor action! And to do it, we've got to oust his lieutenants like Fraser who hlock the way.

The Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) of UAW Local 600 has issued a call for the kind of class-struggle action that's

continued on page 11

NLRB Judge Upholds Picket Line Militant

CHICAGO—A steel worker who was fired for refusing to cross picket lines must be reinstated with back pay, according to a recent ruling by a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) judge Keith Anwar, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1010, was discharged by the Inland Steel Company in May 1979 when he honored picket lines of another USWA local at the giant East Chicago, Indiana plant. The determination by judge Arline Pachl terms the firing an "unfair labor practice" and orders Inland to post an official "notice to employees" that says, "WE WILL NOT restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act..." (see illustration, p. 9).

Anwar told *Workers Vanguard*, "We can be sure Inland will drag us back into court with its army of lawyers. The company has made it clear it won't spare any expense to prevent its 18,000 steel workers from honoring picket lines." Inland has until February 22 to file objections to Judge Pachl's ruling with

the Labor Board in Washington, D.C. Otherwise it will have to give Anwar his job back and post the NLRB notices.

The picket line is an essential weapon of workers struggle. The fight to defend this weapon is especially critical at Inland, where Local 1010 members work alongside members of at least 15 other unions. The steel bosses rely on "divide and conquer" tactics to keep these unions down and profits up. They hate real labor solidarity, as in 1978 when striking Inland bricklayers mass picketed to halt construction of a new coke plant. That's one battle Inland lost, because hundreds of carpenters, electricians, boilermakers, laborers, iron workers and others understood that *picket lines mean don't cross*.

The Inland bricklayers' victory came on the heels of a 110-day coal miners' strike. In 1978 the miners showed that the powerful traditions of working-class solidarity—honoring picket lines and refusing to handle struck products—could beat back even the strikebreaker in the White House, Jimmy Carter, and his Taft-Hartley injunctions. In con-



The picket line Anwar didn't cross. Inland bricklayers go out in 1978. WV Photo

trast, Reagan was able to smash the air traffic controllers' strike because key unions like the Machinists stabbed PATCO in the back by refusing to shut down the airports. Defense of the trade-union movement requires a fight for picket lines that no one crosses. That's why all labor must support the Anwar case.

"Inland has unlimited resources to fight a case like this," stated Anwar. "To get justice a worker must rely on contributions from labor organizations, trade unionists and others concerned for workers rights." The Keith Anwar Defense Committee is already over \$3,000 in debt and is appealing for financial support to continue the fight.

Before he was fired, Anwar was already well known in Local 1010 for his principled stand on honoring picket lines. Throughout the 1978 Bricklayers Local 6 strike, he refused to scab and fought to get the USWA to respect the lines. After Anwar presented a picket line resolution at a USWA District 31 Conference in Chicago, in the midst of the strike, the bricklayers mass distributed copies of the resolution to Inland steel workers. Anwar and other USWA members joined the strikers in mass picketing that forced Inland to capitulate to the union's demands. When the company attempted to discipline Anwar for this activity by issuing him a warning

continued on page 9