

Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!

Dr. Strangelove's Cold War "Peace" Freeze



Rollo/Newsweek

When the leaders speak of peace
the common folk know
that war is coming.

When the leaders curse war
the mobilization order is already
written out.

—Bertolt Brecht

They say the biggest peace demonstration ever in New York will march by the UN Special Session on Disarmament on June 12. Many thousands, particularly young people, will no doubt come out with illusions that this action will be a blow against war. But this campaign for a nuclear "freeze" is the policy of the liberal Democrats who have only somewhat different plans for war against the Soviet Union. The major political actor and beneficiary of the freeze campaign is Teddy Kennedy, no less a Cold Warrior than his brother who brought you the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam. Remember certified Vietnam war criminals Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy, who dropped the equivalent of two Hiroshimas per week on the workers and peasants of Indochina? They're part of the campaign too. And it's not for peace.

There has certainly been a lot of talk about peace and disarmament. Not since Hitler harangued the world about the "tragedy of war" in the mid-1930s



has so much peace talk been shot from the citadels of imperialist power. The Dr. Strangeloves most likely to plunge humanity into the nuclear holocaust of World War III are waging a rhetorical pillow fight on how to prevent nuclear war. And Ronald Reagan, leading the most massive nuclear war buildup in history, says he is for "strategic reductions." To the June 12 protesters, he says, "I am with you."

Everyone from Ed Koch to Billy Graham, from the reformist left to Accountants for Disarmament, wants to take his stand against nuclear war. But why *now*? Why are hundreds of

thousands taking to the streets of New York City, singing and praying and marching for "survival" in 1982? Wasn't survival threatened last year? Two years ago? How about during the Cuban missile crisis? Is it, as psychologist Robert Jay Lifton says, that millions are at last being shaken out of that somnambulant condition he calls "psychic numbing?" Or that Americans are finally being roused from what *New Yorker* magazine's Jonathan Schell has described as the "unresponsiveness" that "has become a way of life" in the shadow of nuclear extermination? Surely people have cause for worry

when Reagan and Haig talk about "winning" a nuclear war, nuclear "demonstration shots" and "limited nuclear war." But who is now doing the shaking and rousing, and what precisely are so many people being roused to do?

The big New York rally has been assembled now because an opposition has recently developed within the American ruling class against the *particular* nuclear tactics of Ronald Reagan. Influential capitalist circles want to put the U.S. war arsenal on a sounder economic footing than the crackpot theories of Reaganomics. Stripped of its technical language and "peace" rhetoric, the line of the Kennedys and Bundys is: more bang for the buck, and more bucks for conventional warmaking. The "freeze" is now proposed as a non-binding Congressional resolution and the June 12 march is the Democratic liberals' extraparliamentary pressure for their alternative war program. Hundreds of thousands will march past the UN in what is a truly Orwellian "war is peace" movement. Whether they know it or not the freeze is marching to the drumbeat of Kennedy's war plans for 1984.

Anyone who thinks that the anti-Reaganite liberals are heading a peace campaign had better take a look at some

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Smash NATO's Anti-Soviet War Drive Through Proletarian Revolution!

THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!

See Page 6

Trouble in CP Ranks?

Gus Hall Ready for Teddy

Every day Reagan and his cronies launch a savage new attack targeting every sector of the population that doesn't happen to be on the board of directors of the *Fortune* 500. Anger is clearly growing against this gang of anti-Soviet warmongers, big business union busters and racists in the White House. But the question is how to mobilize this anger to bring Reagan down. The answer of the reformist Communist Party USA is to channel this anti-Reagan anger back into the Democratic Party of Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter, Mayatollah Koch and KKKluxer Tom Metzger. The CPUSA wants to ride the "anti-Reagan electoral wave" which they anticipate in the '82 congressional elections back into the party that paved the way for Reagan reaction.

At a December 1981 central committee meeting, CP general secretary Gus Hall heralded a "tactical shift" for the party. In a report to this gathering (subsequently reprinted under the title *What the Reds Say Today*) Hall laid down the electoral general line. Where a "Right-wing reactionary, racist Reaganite" is on the ballot, "if a bourgeois politician who is running against him/her is not 'evil,' we must give support, critical support or outright, wholehearted support—whatever is necessary—to achieve our overall goal." As for the CP running candidates in its own name, "We must be careful not to appear in any way to be dividing the unity against the Reagan forces." So anywhere anyone slightly to the left of a Reaganite is running, forget it.



Gus Hall stumps for the Democrats' party of anti-Sovietism, war, unemployment.

Apparently Hall has run into some resistance from the CP ranks over this "tactical shift" toward wholesale capitulation to the Democratic Party. At an "extraordinary conference" held in Milwaukee in late April, attended by 1,500 CP delegates and supporters Hall recognized in his main report that, "Some comrades have interpreted the tactical shift to mean that we give up the fight for Communist candidates or any participation of the Party in its own name." And Hall had to polemicize against those who had "drawn the wrong conclusion that for the time being we will

put the campaign for political independence in moth balls..." The general secretary had certainly not forgotten that in 1972 a chunk of his central committee had voted for McGovern instead of the party's own presidential candidate!

It's no wonder "some comrades" have trouble buying the "tactical shift." You just have to read the *Daily World*. A May 20 editorial titled "No Free Rides" complains that, "Last Friday only eight Senators voted against the Administration's \$180 billion military authorization bill." Among those absent and not voting were two of the CP's favorites, Democrats Edward Kennedy and Maryland senator Paul Sarbanes. Or how about Poland—where the hue and cry over the CIA-backed, reactionary Solidarność forces was loudest from "progressive" Democrats, many "State Department social democrats" like Ron Dellums, John Conyers and Gloria Steinem. Certainly many of the black youth who joined the CP's Young Workers Liberation League didn't do so just to pressure the party of Tom Metzger, Southern California KKK grand dragon and Democratic Party candidate for Congress in Orange County, to "ban the Klan."

But Hall is right about one thing—the CP's "tactical shift" is just that, a small adjustment in the CP's long-standing strategy of subordinating the working class politically to the bourgeoisie. Stalin's Popular Front, tying the workers to the "progressive" bourgeoisie, was launched in the U.S. with the 1936 presidential campaign, when CP leader Earl Browder ran a token candidacy while giving Roosevelt back-handed support by attacking only the Republicans. So in the period of militant strike

waves which built the CIO, the CP helped lead the union movement into the dead end of the Democratic Party. The reward was world imperialist war (in which the CP hailed the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki!), followed by vicious Cold War reaction and McCarthyite witchhunts, Taft-Hartley strike-breaking, all courtesy of the Democrats.

Despite the wishful thinking of Gus Hall (and Brezhnev), there is a bipartisan imperialist consensus to slash social programs in order to finance a massive arms buildup for war with the Soviet Union. This consensus was especially highlighted by the avid support of all wings of U.S. bourgeois opinion for the Polish anti-Communist "free trade union," Solidarność. When the Polish government moved against the counter-revolutionary threat last December, Teddy Kennedy denounced Reagan for not immediately responding with economic sanctions against Poland and the USSR. This is the same "progressive" that the Stalinists would like to put in the White House in 1984.

The CPUSA's one-sided "popular front" with the Democrats represents something more than its own opportunist appetites. It also expresses the CP's ties to the conservative, nationalistic bureaucracy which rules the Soviet Union. This parasitic caste governing from the Kremlin has long since abandoned international proletarian revolution (which indeed it fears more than imperialist militarism) for the illusion of "socialism in one country." Instead they seek deals with one or another sector of the imperialist bourgeoisie, in a hapless quest for some "peace-loving" wing of the American ruling class to support détente.

For youth, especially black youth, attracted to the Communist Party with the desire to fight Reagan reaction and Cold War II, we say, the Democratic Party is no "lesser evil." Don't be fooled: the Democrats are no less racist, no less anti-Communist, no less anti-Soviet warmongers than the Republicans.

The CP has now abandoned even the pretense of working-class independence to support the liberal wing of U.S. imperialist militarism—the Kennedys and McGeorge Bundys. Unable to mount any effective resistance to the Cold War offensive, the CP must simply retreat before it. Today it is only the Trotskyist Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League that carries the communist banner of defense of the Soviet Union and independent working-class mobilization against all wings of U.S. imperialism, against the war criminals of Dresden, Hiroshima, Bay of Pigs, Vietnam and El Salvador. ■



C. Pearson

Mindy Gianninoto

Fired Militant Wins Round Against AT&T

Surrounded by co-workers including several Communications Workers of America (CWA) shop stewards, Mindy Sankel Gianninoto holds aloft a check for \$1,500 in back unemployment compensation the phone company tried to keep her from getting. Mindy, an AT&T Long Lines technician and member of CWA Local 1150, was fired on February 2 for refusing to flunk on co-workers by "flagging" their errors for management.

AT&T boss Mike McGarvey called in a couple of gun-toting NYC cops, who cuffed Mindy's hands behind her back, marched her out in full view of the rest of the workers on her floor and booked her for "criminal trespass"! The phone company later dropped the charges in court,

but still refused to reinstate Gianninoto and even challenged her application for unemployment. This vindictive challenge fell through when the company failed to prove its charge of "misconduct" against Mindy.

Mindy has filed an unfair labor practices charge with the National Labor Relations Board. Her firing has also been included in an NLRB charge filed by CWA steward Ron Tyrce against McGarvey for imposing "oncruous discipline on [AT&T] employees because they engaged in activities on behalf of and supported Local 1150." The fired militant says the main task right now is to win Local 1150's grievance against her discharge. Reinstate Mindy Gianninoto with full back pay!

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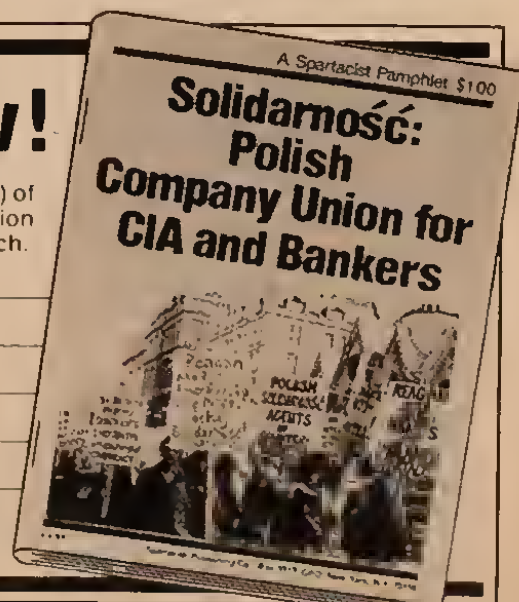
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Stop Them in Chicago, June 27!



Who Are These Nazis? What Do They Want to Destroy? Who Do They Want to Kill?

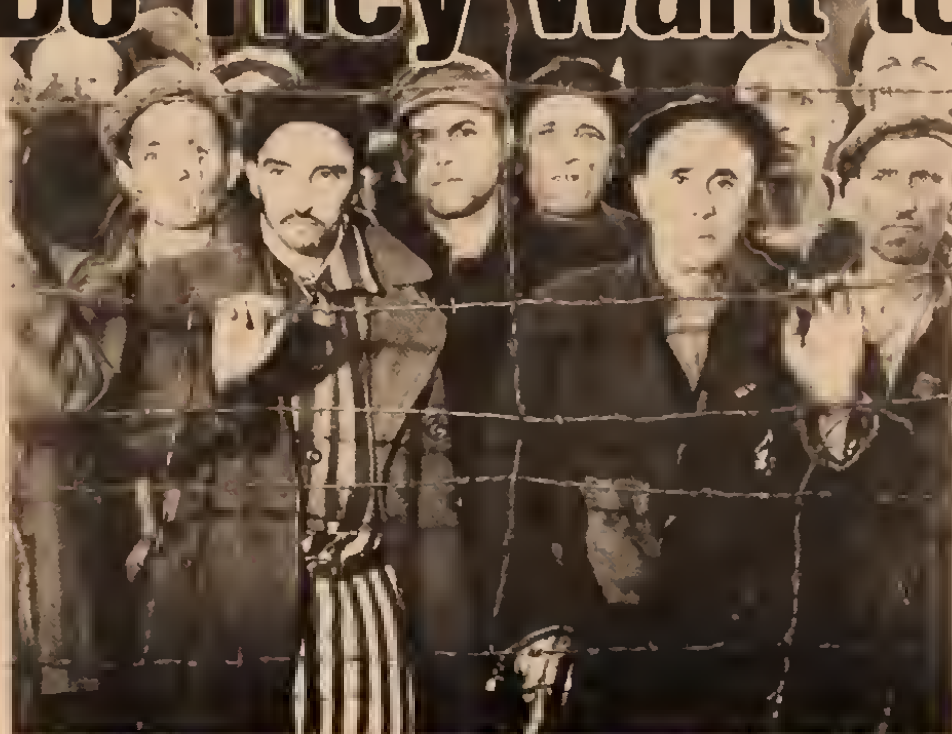
The Hitler-loving, goose-stepping, swastika-waving punks who call themselves the American Nazi Party are planning to march in Chicago on June 27. They figure to counterdemonstrate at a gay festival, because here and now homosexuals are the most vulnerable on their hit list. They don't want to start with the labor movement, Latinos, Jehovah's Witnesses, modern art or Slavs. And going after blacks gets real deadly fast. They're going after the group they see as the weakest, *as a beginning*. Stop them now!

Martin Niemöller, a German Lutheran churchman and WWI U-boat commander sent to a concentration camp by Hitler, said in 1945:

"First they came for the communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest. Then they came for the Jews, but since I was not a Jew I did not protest. Then they came for the Catholics, but since I was not a Catholic I did not protest. When they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

A lot of people thought in 1945 that the Nazis had been stopped for all time in their hideous crimes against humanity. But this kind of filth is continually thrown up by decaying capitalist society. Wherever human misery continues in society, there are going to be crazies who struggle to wipe out large masses of people on behalf of some ersatz "Master Race."

The Nazis' infamous "final solution" did not stop with the brutal genocide of



Margaret Bourke-White

six million Jews. They leveled Warsaw and massacred millions of Poles to carry out their program of "wiping out the Polish race." The sickening stench of human flesh that permeated Nazi death camps from one end of Europe to the other came not only from mountains of Jewish and Polish corpses, but also from millions of Russians, Czechs, Serbs, Croats, Greeks, Ukrainians, anti-Nazi Germans, gypsies, pacifists, conservatives, trade unionists, socialists and communists, homosexuals, Catholics, Protestants and dissenters of every kind.

For blacks—the central and immediate target of Nazi/Klan race-terrorists—a Nazi rally in Chicago is an especially ominous provocation. The Nazi program for blacks makes the apartheid butchers of South Africa look like benevolent liberals. The racist rulers of South Africa think blacks should be forcibly segregated and viciously exploited; the Nazis think they should be exterminated and canned for dogfood. Black Chicagoans had better turn out in the thousands to stop these organizers for racist genocide!

Nazis are for the complete elimination of anything resembling a trade union. They would like to turn factories into unlimited hellholes of slave labor. It would be an outrage if these labor-hating terrorists get away with marching in Chicago.

It would be a fatal error to dismiss the American Nazi Party as a bunch of

loaded and pointed directly at *you*. Only a few weeks ago they demolished the home of a middle-aged Evanston couple and then phoned to say they plan to drive all the Jews out of Evanston and Skokie.

If they can score against the Jews in Evanston or the gays in Lincoln Park, then you're next on their list. Wherever they are, whoever they want to attack, stop them!

The Spartacist League (SL) knows the fascists *can* be stopped. Two years ago we participated in a largely Jewish demonstration that drove them out of Lovelace Park in Evanston. On March 20, 1982, an SL-initiated mobilization of over 2,000 students, trade unionists, blacks, gays, Jews stopped a Nazi recruiting rally in Ann Arbor, Michigan and ran them out of town.

Chicago is a union town! Chicago is a black city! In fact, Chicago is in its vast *majority* a city of decent people, heavily minority, whom the Nazis would love to annihilate. The labor movement has the social power to smash the Nazis. What's needed is the will to forge a labor/minority mobilization to bring out thousands of militant protesters to stop the Nazis.

The Nazis say they will show up in Lincoln Park at 2:30 p.m. on Sunday, June 27. We say these terrorists have no right to push their kill-crazy tactics anywhere. Stop them now! ■

lunatics who can be safely ignored. They do have mass support here and there among the desperate and backward. The Nazis and the Klan are terrorist vigilantes growing in the fertile soil of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive and the economic and social miseries inflicted on workers and minorities at home. The Nazis are a deadly serious threat right now.

These killers are not only dreaming of their death camps, they have their guns



Stubbs/Ann Arbor News

Ann Arbor, March 20: Spartacist League-initiated labor-centered mobilization drives Nazis out.

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Holding Out Against Tear Gas, Scabherding

Militant 7-Month Strike in Rhode Island

KINGSTON, Rhode Island—It has now been more than seven months since 1,600 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) hit the bricks against Brown & Sharpe, Rhode Island's largest industrial employer. Strikers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* at a mass picket line at the company's main plant here all agreed that what started in October as an attempt to eliminate seniority rights in job transfers has become an all-out drive to smash the union. Brown & Sharpe now demands preferential seniority for the hundreds of scabs it herds across the picket lines every day! The Machinists have faced an army of vicious state cops and company security guards, who have gassed and beaten picketers. They've endured murderous violence by goons, like the shooting of a 60-year-old striker from a passing car. The strikers have been vilified by the local media, which include among their guiding lights one Henry L. Sharpe, board member of the daily *Providence Journal Bulletin*—and B&S chief. But the IAM strikers are hanging tough against this onslaught by labor's enemies.

On May 24 more than 600 union members and their supporters massed along the main driveway into the Kingston plant. Picketers included Clothing Workers, 1199 hospital workers, AFSCME members and almost the entire membership of Teamsters Local 808, currently on



Cops spray gas at IAM strikers and supporters, 22 March.

UPI

strike against the P&W railroad. State cops in full riot gear stood ten feet apart to clear the way for scab cars. The workers knew what to expect from these armed thugs for capital: on March 22 they sprayed pepper gas in the faces of militants who sat down in the driveway to stop the scabs! This

time the troopers, gas canisters bulging noticeably from their orange rain gear, were greeted by the workers with cries of "Gestapo" and "Sieg Heil." When it was learned that several busloads of scabs were entering through an unpicketed gate, scores of outraged pickets dashed up to the

entrance and engaged the cops in a brief but vigorous battle to get at the strikebreakers. Unfortunately the scabs got in.

The B&S strike has been virtually ignored by the IAM International bureaucracy. "Eight months on strike, and we ain't even had nothing in the Machinists' magazine," bitterly complained one executive committee member of striking Local 1142. This striker would probably have preferred silence to what appeared in the June issue of *The Machinist*: a recommendation from IAM District 64 rep Robert Thayer that the membership accept "some 85 percent of the company demands to help them get the flexibility they said they needed"! It should come as no surprise that the IAM leadership under William Wimpinger is proving itself incapable of leading the B&S strike to victory. Last fall, "Wimpy" helped Reagan smash the air controllers strike by refusing to shut down the airports through solidarity strike action.

Now, rank-and-file Machinists are paying for *their leaders'* betrayals—at Brown & Sharpe, as well as at Northwest Airlines, where this time around it's IAM picket lines that are being crossed by unionized airline workers. A class-struggle leadership is needed that has the real authority to mobilize picket lines that no one crosses, each and every day of the strike. This leadership must have an anti-capitalist program that can unite all workers—employed and unemployed—in a militant fight against the bosses. Monthly mobilizations to let off steam are not the answer. Mass picketing to shut it down—for the duration—is what's needed to win this strike. Victory to the Brown & Sharpe strikers!

Drop Charges Against Michael Zinzun!

L.A. Cops' Racist Vendetta

LOS ANGELES—Everyone knows the L.A. cops are the worst. This is a cadre of racist killers and proud of it. With their helicopters, armored cars, high-powered weapons, they routinely run search-and-destroy missions in the ghettos in and around Los Angeles. Any black man or woman can die suddenly in the streets of this town, even in his own backyard...a victim of the killers in blue.

Last fall a black college football star, Ron Settles, was arrested for a minor traffic violation in the suburb of Signal Hill and found hanged in his cell. In March, black teaching assistant James Mincey also was arrested for a traffic violation, clubbed to the ground and choked to death by the cops. The next month L.A. county sheriff's deputies

gunned a 22-year-old black woman, Delois Young, nine months pregnant, right in front of her home, killing her unborn child. Young, who was hospitalized in serious condition, is now suing for \$10 million in damages.

The murderous racist mentality of the LAPD was laid bare by their chief, Daryl Gates, who recently "explained" that blacks died more often from the choke hold (12 of the 16 people killed by choke holds since 1975 were black) because they weren't "normal" people. The furor over this obscene racist justification for murder forced City Hall to impose a six-month "moratorium" on the choke hold. So the LAPD got itself a new weapon, the Taser, which shoots electrodes into people, producing excruciating pain and *totally disabling* the victim.

"Choke Hold" Gates and his fellow killers in blue have naturally provoked black outrage and protest. So the L.A.-area cops are now going after anybody who dares protest their enforcement of "law and order." A main target currently is Pasadena community activist Michael Zinzun, a former Black Panther well known for advocating civilian review boards and his campaigns against cop brutality. Zinzun is now the victim of a frameup which could put him in prison for 15 years.

The cops have been trying to get Zinzun for a long time. In 1975, thirty Pasadena cops made a late night raid on his "Pasadena Community Information Center," sending seven people to the hospital and then to jail. They tried to frame up Zinzun then for "inciting to riot," but the charges were finally dropped. Now they've dug up a 110-year-old, rarely used law which says it's

a felony to make verbal threats to "deter or prevent an executive officer from performing any duty imposed on (him) by law." As ACLU attorney Rees Lloyd, one of Zinzun's lawyers, said, "The implications of the use of this kind of law are fairly obvious. You can risk a felony prosecution anytime you utter words that the police don't like" (*Los Angeles Times*, 6 May).

The current frameup of Zinzun started February 13, when a dozen Pasadena cops charged onto the block where Zinzun lives, responding to a "man with a gun" report. No man was found, and the cops turned on people who had gathered and began harassing them, arresting and beating at least one man. Along with others there, Zinzun protested the cop brutality and urged onlookers to file charges against them. The police returned one week later to arrest him under the 1872 "felony 69" charges—which carry a penalty of up to 115 years in prison. The case is a vindictive frameup from beginning to end. It's vital that the Los Angeles-area labor movement and black community take up Zinzun's defense. Drop all the charges against Michael Zinzun now!

The labor movement is key to stopping racist cop terror. The police here are so particularly brutal and powerful precisely because of the weakness of organized labor in the Los Angeles area, and the bosses who want to keep L.A. a low-wage, open-shop town back their hired killers to the hilt. Liberal campaigns like Zinzun's for civilian review boards, citizen complaints and official investigations will not stop the cops' racist atrocities—the LAPD simply shredded some *four tons* of such complaints in 1976!

Nor will electing black Democrats. Pasadena mayor Loretta Glickman is a black liberal, and former black cop Tom Bradley has been L.A. mayor for the last nine years while the LAPD wantonly runs amok. In Los Angeles today opponents of cop terror must join in powerful action to mobilize thousands



Michael Zinzun

Zinzun Defense Fund

of blacks, Chicanos and the labor movement against racist terror and demand an end to the SWAT teams, the helicopter gunships, the whole LAPD arsenal of death. Jail the killer cops! Down with "Choke Hold" Gates!

Every fight against the killer cops and frame-up courts, against official state torture and terror—from choke holds to cattle prods to late-night hangings in jail cells—must also be a fight against the capitalist system which created and will ruthlessly employ until its hither end such monsters as "Choke Hold" Gates and his killer elite. ■

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Solidarność Reagan Hawk Declares War on Doves

TORONTO—Lech Walesa a front man for Reagan and the pope? Polish Solidarity an agency for pro-imperialist counterrevolution? The bulk of the left dismissed our charges out of hand in their desire to join in the popular anti-Soviet "solidarity with Solidarność" campaign. But a recent speech by Canadian Solidarność bureau chief, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, revealed once again the true face of this Polish company union for the CIA and bankers.

Addressing a meeting at the University of Toronto on March 20, Przetakiewicz concluded his speech with a broadside against the Western left and "peace" movement that made General Haig look like a cooling dove:

"I don't think they [Canadians] realize that the Soviet Union, which is based as a government, as a country, is based on aggression.... The last example we had was Afghanistan. Right now we have a great involvement of Soviet Union in Salvador, in other countries around Salvador, Nicaragua, too. And it is a naive opinion of Canadian people if they think that there is only American involvement there. There is a great involvement of Soviet Union trying to penetrate a very important piece of continent between North America and South America....

"I don't understand, for example, why so many German people—there was 300,000 Germans—demonstrate against America, against American arms in Western Europe. Without American umbrella Western Europe won't exist for a day."

In addition to railing against Western "naiveté" in the manner of tsar-lover Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, this paragon of the "free world" opined that in Poland today the situation, and particularly the

Solidarność representative Przetakiewicz (second from left) at Albert Shanker's headquarters in NYC, 24 September 1981: at home among "CIA socialists."



WV Photo

"moral situation," is "much worse than under Nazi occupation." The only thing missing was charges of Sandinista genocide against Miskito Indians and Soviet "yellow rain" in Laos.

Przetakiewicz is not just another little-known member of Solidarność or one of its umpteen thousand advisers who just happened to be visiting the West when the crackdown occurred in Poland last December. Przetakiewicz first came to public attention last fall as the man who headed Solidarność' first foreign office, appropriately located in the New York headquarters of rabid Cold Warrior Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers. The Spartacist League demonstrated against the Solidarność "press office," which appropriately was jointly sponsored by Bayard Rustin, spokesman for Freedom House, a CIA-associated liberal propaganda

outlet. Meanwhile "AFL-CIA" top Lane Kirkland and notorious CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown had been invited to Solidarność' Gdansk conference (see the Spartacist pamphlet, *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*).

Nor can it be argued that the reactionary Reaganite views Przetakiewicz expresses are not shared by the majority of Solidarity activists in Poland, that he doesn't really represent them. In the recent Solidarność protests in Gdansk, Warsaw and elsewhere, demonstrators ripped up and burned red flags, the symbol of social revolution ever since the French Revolution of 1789. From the time of the Baltic Coast general strike in August 1980 we have warned that the movement which became Solidarność was led by hardened anti-communist clerical-

Latest Claptrap BAYCLAP Rots Away

SAN FRANCISCO—Remember the San Mateo County Labor Party? Or the Labor Party Organizing Committee? Well, neither does anybody else. Now insiders say the Bay Area Committee for a Labor Party is heading for the same inglorious end.

BAYCLAP was where little-wig labor fakers could come and talk about a labor party, so long as it didn't cost them anything... especially their Democratic Party connections. People like Marge Clouser (CWA Local 9410 exec board) and Johnny Reimann (Carpenters Local 36 recording secretary) hung out there. To aficionados it was known as the John Henning Fan Club—after the California AFL-CIO leader (and former JFK appointee as U.S. ambassador to New Zealand) who occasionally talks about a "labor party"... between elections. BAYCLAP, you see, was set up in 1981.

But now it's election year again—and so the "left" masks come off. The whole anti-Reagan strategy of the labor bureaucracy is to herd workers back into the rotten hulk of the Democratic Party, and so five BAYCLAP steering committee members including Clouser and Chairman Reimann pushed a motion to disband at the April 16 meeting. And then the gang of five picked up their marbles and walked out.

A real rug-pulling for Steve Zeltzer, supporter of the so-called Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), who had promoted this Potemkin Village. Already our roving reporter heard that ex-BAYCLAPer Clouser raised a motion at the CWA exec to endorse the re-

election of Democratic congressman Phil Burton. Turns out BAYCLAP was just a Democratic Party front after all.

This was farce repeating itself: we remember back in '74 there was a meeting to form the San Mateo County Labor Party. S-M-CLAP collapsed at its first meeting when the plumbers union official who was kingpin insisted to his lefty supporters that his "labor party" must have an anti-red clause, and also that he wanted to support Republicans like Houston Flournoy. S-M-CLAP was the brainchild (?) of Earl Gilman, then supporter of the now-defunct Class Struggle League (CSL), and now of the about-to-be defunct Revolutionary Unity League which is joining the Revolutionary Workers Front, followers of Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno. Gilman had pushed his "labor party" even to the point of welcoming cops as part of the labor movement. After S-M-CLAP, the CSL died. But Gilman went on with Zeltzer to form the Labor Party Organizing Committee in 1977. LPOC disappeared in '78—election year again, remember?

Gilman and Zeltzer both were trained in the Healyite Workers League (WL) school of reformist labor partyism. The WL hailed the utterances of AFL-CIO walrus George Meany and former Steelworkers leader I.W. Abel for a "labor party" free of "pinkos," blacks and "women's libbers" who, said they, had "invaded" the Democratic Party in 1972. Hobnobbing with black-tie bureaucrats to form a "labor party" is the Healyite "method," and the "method" produces nothing but more bureaucrats

(like Clouser) for the Democratic Party.

Squeezed Lemon of the Year Award this time goes to the RWL, which had been promoting BAYCLAP as a showpiece of their "important" work in the labor movement. Always accommodating, Zeltzer even tried to set up an AFL-CIO conference on foreign policy, to which he "considered" inviting William Doherty, long-time head of the CIA "labor" front known as AIFLD (see "RWL Invite to CIA Agent," WV No. 304, 30 April). The bureaucrats can spot a lemon, and they squeezed for all it was worth.

Last year, for instance, when solidarity strikes with PATCO to shut down the airports were urgently needed, RWL supporters opposed Spartacist League-supported demands to set the date for such action in the Bay Area. When AFL-CIO officials decided to have a protest demonstration at the airport, RWL supporters went along to help the officials restrain picketers from blocking the roadway. Now the RWL moldy rind is being tossed away.

This bunch sometimes tries to pass itself off as Trotskyist, especially when it's for international consumption. But Leon Trotsky was anything but a labor party fetishist. He wrote to American supporters in 1932: "I will never assume the responsibility to affirm abstractly and dogmatically that the creation of a labor party would be a 'progressive step' even in the United States, because I do not know under what circumstances, under what guidance, and for what purposes that party would be created." And after the rise of the CIO in 1938, when he advocated a labor party, Trotsky was explicit: "It would be absurd to say that we advocate a reformist party.... We say [to the workers], you cannot impose your will through a reformist party but only through a revolutionary party."

The key is *program*—a labor (workers) party worth its salt would

nationalists. Przetakiewicz, the most prominent Solidarność spokesman in the Western hemisphere, simply expresses this without any diplomatic subterfuge.

In the discussion period, stung by one of our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), Przetakiewicz reviled the Polish internationalist socialist Rosa Luxemburg and hailed fascistic dictator Marshal Pilsudski. He denounced Salvadoran guerrillas who "want to replace the American influence with Soviet influence." "The Soviet example of the state and society is much worse than the American one," he insisted repeatedly: "Look, we stand more for America than for the Soviet Union." He refused to defend the right to strike in Canada.

A member of the Canadian Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), associated with the American Socialist Workers Party, sat through Przetakiewicz' anti-Soviet diatribe and then got up... to solidarize with Solidarność! To be sure, the RWLer was a little embarrassed by Przetakiewicz' open solidarizing with Reagan's campaign to stop "Soviet imperialism" in Central America (a position placing him well to the right of the Second International). But when he tried to dissociate himself ever so diplomatically from this Polish apologist for white terror in El Salvador, Przetakiewicz just ranted on.

By contrast, speakers from the TLC denounced the reactionary Przetakiewicz and pointed out that "Reagan supports Solidarność because it's anti-Communist and he wants to use it to feed his anti-Soviet war drive." At the same time, we reassured that the Polish masses' current infatuation with "free world" imperialism will be overcome. Poland's deep and rich Marxist tradition, personified by Rosa Luxemburg, will be revived and its proletariat won to the Trotskyist program of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and of defense of the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. ■

fight for labor action to bring down Reagan, such as shutting down the airports during the PATCO strike. We fight for a workers party, like the Bolsheviks, based on a revolutionary program to expropriate the bourgeoisie and establish a workers government. That's the basis of class-struggle caucuses like the Militant Caucus in the ILWU and the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA.

But people like Zeltzer are always looking for a gimmick. BAYCLAP, S-M-CLAP, LPOC, the Shorter Work Week Committee ('78), the Alliance of the Rank and File ('78), Workers for a Strong Union ('79), Program for 1980 ('80)—who can remember all the schemes for quick success? We were going to suggest that Zeltzer call his next scam Bay Area Rank & File. But the BARF Coalition zoo already exists, and guess who's in there... pushing his Local 2 Committee for Workers Control ('82)? This time they have a name they can stick with. ■

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Ronald Reagan is coming to Europe to beat the war drums for anti-Sovietism and whip his NATO allies into line. The U.S. imperialist chief's talk of "winnable" nuclear war has millions of Europeans scared out of their wits. Hundreds of thousands have marched against the introduction of additional nuclear weapons into Europe. But these demonstrations have largely been aimed equally against Soviet nuclear weapons, without which Moscow and Leningrad would long ago have been reduced to glowing piles of rubble.

Reagan's June tour will be met with mass protest. But only victorious working-class struggle against American imperialism and against America's imperialist rivals can bring peace to this planet. The drive toward war is as inextricably rooted in the capitalist system as the drive to increase profit. The working-class misleaders who preach "Europacifism" and enforce reformist prostration before the mythical "national interest" serve only their own ruling classes. What is required is an international party whose program of defending past proletarian gains and struggling for their extension is the means to unite the workers of all lands against imperialism.

Capitalist America is the number one enemy of the world's working peoples. But "anti-Americanism" does not equal anti-imperialism. In the mouths of social-democrats and Stalinists, anti-American rhetoric only serves to amnesty one's own bourgeoisie. Opposition to U.S. policy in Central America is fully compatible with the social-democratic line of "political solution" to cheat the Salvadoran masses of victory and pave the way for more slaughter at the hands of the military. "Anti-Americanism" is supposed to cover complicity by the social-patriots of all stripes, the silence over German arms to the murderous Turkish junta, French neo-colonialism in Africa or Britain's military occupation of Northern Ireland. In Liebknecht's words, "the main enemy is at home!"

**Down with NATO and the Common Market!
Down with the Atlantic Alliance and the "Force de Frappe"!**

Both the Pentagon's scenario of defeating Russia in a nuclear war "limited" to the north European plain, mainly Germany, and the "Europacifist" notion of a "superpower" war fought entirely overhead with ICBMs are absurd. Naturally this talk has

The Road to Peace: Smash NATO's Anti-Soviet War Drive Through Proletarian Revolution!

Spartacist Britain



THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!

Statement of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency

terrified the German people. In contrast, since de Gaulle took France out of the NATO military structure, the French believe they will be immune when missiles start flying between the American-led alliance and the Warsaw Pact bloc. But there can be no "nuclear free zone." World War III will be a northern hemispheric holocaust at least.

The driving force toward World War III is anti-Sovietism. It has been, ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the dominant goal of imperialism to overturn this greatest victory for the international working class. Despite the USSR's Stalinist degeneration, the social gains of that revolution and their international extensions remain the property of the workers of the world. Those who do not defend these historic gains will never lead the victories of the future!

In World War II, 20 million Soviet workers and peasants died defeating the onslaught of German imperialism. America emerged the hegemonic imperialist victor, able to impose its terms on war-devastated Europe. The subsequent monetary treaty sanctifying dollar hegemony at Bretton Woods symbolized the so-called "American century." America's unquestioned leadership of the "free world" included wholesale splitting and wrecking of European unions in the aim of destroying Stalinist influence. This U.S.-orchestrated campaign was eagerly carried out by the social-democrats, who contributed the "democratic" rhetoric as well as laundering the CIA funds. Together the social-democrats and the CIA campaigned for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc as they wielded goons and gangsters against West European workers. Today's pro-Solidarność crusade, employing the same "captive nations" pitch and even some of the same personnel (like the American AFL-CIO's notorious Irving Brown), is

the fitting continuation of that unholy alliance between imperialist revanchism and the Second International.

But American imperialism finds itself today in a vastly weakened position economically. And the "Europacifist movement" is fueled not only by fear of Reagan/Haig's first-strike bellicosity but also by renescent European nationalism. Recognizing the U.S. as now only the quantitatively most powerful among rival imperialist powers, ambitious social-democratic politicians like Tony Benn and Erhard Eppler believe the future of their own capitalist states lies in greater distance from the U.S. They too are committed to getting East Europe "back" for capitalist exploitation. But they know how to profess "neutrality." Particularly in Germany the "peace" movement has revived the old Social-Democratic program for a "reunited neutral Germany," a thinly veiled call for capitalist restoration in East Germany.

Social-democrats like Benn or Willy Brandt would prefer to undermine the deformed workers states in East Europe by encouraging internal counterrevolutionary forces such as developed in Poland through Solidarność. The "Europeanization of Europe" takes place both on the Rhine and the Vistula, proclaimed Erhard Eppler last October, while Benn used a "disarmament" rally in London to incite Poles toward "independence" from Russia.

Stalinism is in no position to combat the imperialist-orchestrated mobilization for Solidarność, the company



WV Photo

SL/U.S. demonstrates against Polish Solidarność, company union of CIA and Western bankers.

union for the CIA and Western bankers, except by repression. After three decades of hideous economic bungling (including mortgaging the economy to the German hanks), bureaucratic inequality and heavy-handed suppression of political and cultural life, Stalinism has driven the Polish masses toward Wojtyla's Vatican, the Common Market and NATO. Trotskyist propaganda cells must be created among the historically socialist proletariat to combat the Polish masses' current infatuation with "free world" imperialism and restore the deep and rich Marxist tradition personified by Rosa Luxemburg.

Defend the Workers States Through Proletarian Political Revolution!

The crisis of Polish Stalinism illustrates once again that the Stalinist schema of "socialism in one country" feeds the most deadly enemies of socialism. The Pilsudskiite nationalism, anti-Semitism and clerical backwardness strengthened by the Polish Stalinist party found massive expression in the anti-socialist Solidarność, which threatened to overturn proletarian property in Poland and create an imperialist-oriented Polish state on the western border of the USSR. The re forging of anti-imperialist solidarity between the Russian and Polish workers demands proletarian political revolution led by Trotskyist parties against the Stalinist usurpers in Moscow and Warsaw.

Trotskyism, the internationalist program of authentic Leninism, stands counterposed to the suicidal "détente" illusions of Stalinist bureaucrats whose competing nationalist programs set the deformed workers states against one another in competition for imperialism's dubious favors. It was our Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism which enabled the Spartacist tendency in the aftermath of the 1965 Indonesian massacre to predict the emergence of an alliance between the Chinese Maoists and U.S. imperialism, an alliance tested in blood in Angola and most strikingly reaffirmed by the 1978 China/Vietnam conflict and the China/U.S. support to the mass-murder Pol Pot regime. Our program for the destruction of Stalinism by the revolutionary proletariat derives its force from our intransigent defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism worldwide, from Central America, where we insist that "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" to Afghanistan, where we hailed the Red Army's intervention

as leading to the liberation of the Afghan masses, particularly the women, from pre-feudal enslavement and backwardness.

Outside the deformed workers states as well, the nationalist perspective of the Stalinist parties stands flatly counterposed to the mobilization of the working masses against all imperialism. The growth of "Eurocommunist" currents signified further social-democratization of the Stalinist mass parties in hopes of participation in "People's Front" capi-

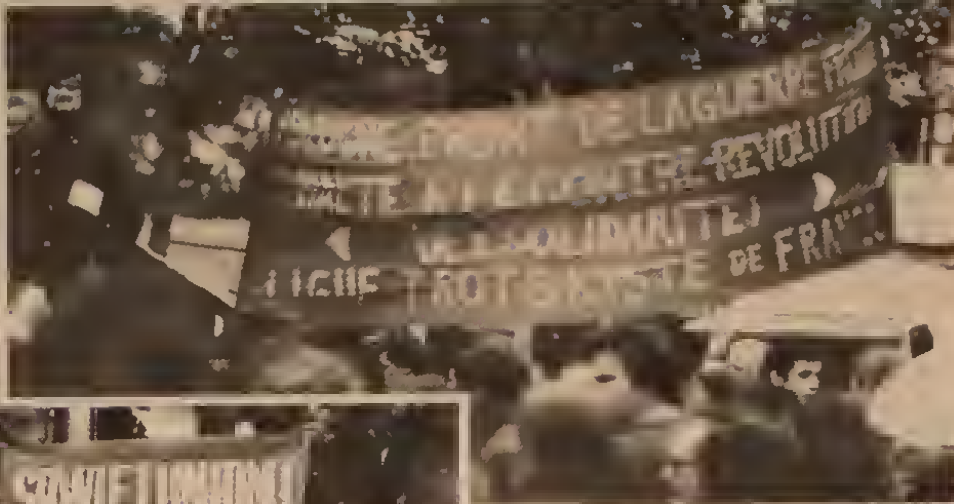


IST marches in Bonn against anti-Soviet offensive. Opposite page: Spartacist League/Britain protests Thatcher's bloody Falklands war.

talist governments. In Portugal in 1975, American imperialism assisted by European social-democracy underlined its refusal to tolerate governmental coalitions with Moscow-allied parties. But this has hardly muted the Stalinist sellouts' efforts to prove themselves "reliable" coalition partners by chauvinist displays, for example the French CP's support for the nuclear "force de frappe" pointed at Moscow or its 1981 anti-immigrant campaign kicked off by the CP's provocation at Vitry.

Not "Disarmament" But Class Struggle!

While Margaret Thatcher is a rabid Cold Warrior of Reaganite stripe, the Britain she rules is now a third-rate power. Its once mighty fleet is straining to prevent Argentina from holding the Falklands/Malvinas' 650,000 sheep and three million penguins. The decline of America as "world policeman" is aptly illustrated by Reagan's inability to force two of his important allies to put aside their differences in the interests of global anti-Soviet unity. The Argentine dictatorship undertook the adventure as a



Le Bolchévik international Spartacist tendency marches in Paris (above).

push Sandinista Nicaragua firmly onto the "Cuban road"—i.e., the destruction of capitalism in sheer self-defense. It's no accident that Mitterrand is joined in his "peace" initiative by the president of Mexico, who fears the spread of revolutionary struggle to the powerful Mexican working class and hopes to extend Mexico's own sphere of influence in competition with the U.S.

And rallying behind "political solution" are American capitalist politicians who fear another losing military adventure like Vietnam. Only a decade ago many thousands of radical youth throughout West Europe and America solidarized with the Indochinese revolution and with Che Guevara's slogan for "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!" But now virtually every "left" current has enlisted in the resurgent Cold War as proponents of new popular fronts from El Salvador, where the FDR's Guillermo Ungo already has the masses' blood on his hands, to the United States, where the Democratic Party of the Bay of Pigs and the Vietnam escalation is supposed to lead an "anti-Reagan peace movement."

For the United Socialist States of Europe!

West Germany, of late Washington's most loyal NATO ally, is today the most détente-minded. But behind the "peace-loving" image of Brandt/Schmidt's Ostpolitik stands the appetite to reverse the outcome of World War II and recreate a unified capitalist Germany as the dominant European power. With the growth of Polish Solidarność, West German imperialism could almost taste the prospect of capitalist restoration in East Germany. These appetites are further fueled by the Lutheran church-based agitation in East Germany which, based on the call for withdrawal of all "foreign" troops, would leave the East German deformed workers state defenseless before resurgent German imperialism.

Today, as in the 1920s, Germany is the key to Europe. The division of Germany into two states of counterposed class character symbolizes the inextricably linked tasks facing the European proletariat. Any attempt to deny the unity and centrality of the German proletariat (e.g., the French Stalinists' chauvinist "produce French" campaign) represents an attack on the socialist future of Europe. For revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution in East Europe!

Germany is the leader of Europe—for socialism or barbarism. The Common Market, which is supposed to prevent capitalist economic crisis, is in fact a mechanism for generalizing crises. For the German bourgeoisie it represents an attempt to do by pan-European bourgeois agreement what the German bourgeoisie has twice failed in trying on its own—

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"Peace" Freeze...

(continued from page 1)

of the leading freezers, like Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy. As John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Defense and National Security Adviser, respectively, their phosphorous bombs, napalm and scorched-earth policies turned Vietnam and Laos into bombed-out moonscapes. Bundy and McNamara, together with George Kennan (author of the Cold War "containment" theory, now a détentenik) and Nixon's arms control negotiator Gerard Smith, made their pitch for the liberal opposition part of a call for a beefed-up conventional army. In an article in *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1982) written in consultation with Kennedy these warmongers declare that the present U.S. policy of "flexible response" isn't flexible enough. They call for a U.S. declaration of "no first use" of nuclear weapons in Europe—because they want a more powerful and usable conventional military to face Soviet tanks. Worried about the "political will" of the U.S.' allies, Bundy & Co. argue that a "no first use" policy "would draw new attention to the importance of maintaining and improving the specifically American forces in Europe." But any plans based on the idea that a U.S.-Soviet confrontation in Europe, i.e., World War III, would not involve nuclear weapons is at best a kind of militarist utopianism.

The frenzied nuclear buildup against the USSR, which has been carried out by both Republican and Democratic administrations, has one object: to overturn the gains of the October Revolution of 1917 and recover vast areas for exploitation by the imperialists. The Soviet Union, precisely because of these conquests, is the greatest

obstacle to the capitalists' drive for world domination. If it were not for its existence, the social revolutions which have overturned bourgeois rule in Vietnam and Cuba would already have been blown to smithereens, as John Kennedy threatened to do over the Cuban missile crisis and Nixon threatened more than once over Vietnam. Yet the Stalinist misleaders of these bureaucratically deformed workers states are always looking for a deal with the mythical "peace-loving imperialists" and willing to sell out revolution almost anywhere to get it. It is this attempt to peacefully coexist with the capitalists that is at the root of the détente illusions spread by the Stalinists. Thus the Trotskyist defense of the gains of the proletariat internationally means a struggle to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy with proletarian political revolution, instituting soviet democracy. Down with the Republican/Democratic Cold War drive! For unconditional defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack!

Popular Front Fallout

The official slogan of the rally is for a "freeze and reduction of all nuclear weapons and a transfer of military budgets to human needs." The role of the left on June 12 will be to add what weight the reformists have to building a phony "peace" parade for the Democrats. With talk of "broadening" the focus of the demonstration to include more butter vs. guns rhetoric and references to El Salvador, the CP and other "socialist" freezers will try to give a pinker tint to this red-white-and-blue rally. In exchange for a small piece of the official action, the reformists are once again helping to grease the skids toward war by certifying that a wing of the capitalist class is really for peace.

For the reformists, June 12 will be a dream come true, a really popular front of all "peace-loving" forces. There will

death agony. Only successful socialist revolution, not least in the United States itself, can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

In the organizing center of the imperialist war drive, the United States, the Spartacist tendency raises the call "For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!" Reagan's anti-Soviet war mobilization requires intensified attacks on American workers, the blacker and poorer the better. Reagan's union-busting of the air controllers' strike, the savage racist cuts in social welfare, the unemployment are turning sections of the American working people against the government. Last September 19, half a million workers marched on Washington to protest Reagan's anti-labor policies. Under the leadership of a revolutionary party, that anger can shatter U.S. imperialism from within.

In the U.S. as in Europe, anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Our tendency can build an international workers' leadership because we fight for international proletarian solidarity among American workers. Just as we fight for labor action against Reagan reaction and its fascist fringe, we work to mobilize concrete labor opposition to the AFL-CIO's counterrevolutionary initiatives from Latin America to East Europe. We struggle against the union bureaucracy's racist efforts to turn American workers' fears against Japanese auto workers or "illegal immigrants" fleeing poverty and terror in "free world" hellholes like Haiti. And we have led successful working-class mobilizations against the growing fascist menace from Detroit to Rouen.

The "far-lefts," like the reformists, despair utterly of revolutionary solutions, the only solutions. Terrified of real struggles, they line up with empty symbols of "anti-imperialism" like the

Nixon's Madman Theory

According to his chief of staff Bob Haldeman, Nixon explained during a walk on the beach how to make the nuclear threat stick:

"I call it the Madman Theory, Bob. I want to make the North Vietnamese believe I've reached the point where I just might do *anything* to stop the war. We'll just slip the word to them that, for God's sake, you know Nixon is obsessed about Communism. We can't restrain him when he's angry—and he has his hand on the nuclear button."

—Robert Haldeman,
The Ends of Power

be NYC's racist, union-busting mayor Ed Koch together with the man he sent his cossacks out to crush at Sydenham Hospital, Brooklyn black demagogue Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front. The Hubert Humphrey-style liberal witchhunters of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) will lie down with the Communist Party and its front groups. There will be the Progressive National Baptists, the National Gay Task Force, SANE and the Communist Workers Party, all together.

The basis for this new-found unity is not really new. June 12 will be a marshaling of the traditional constituencies of the Democratic Party, the kind of "unity" that rolls around every four years when union bureaucrats, black preachers and reformist leftists get out to hustle votes for the party of the "lesser evil." Even without Kennedy on the speakers' list, the affair will have the unmistakable purpose of a Teddy-for-president rally.

The freeze campaign and rally was consciously cooked up to appeal to conservative middle-class Americans of the sort who do not usually march in protest demonstrations. The main-

seizure by the Argentinian "Murder Incorporated" regime of the Falklands/Malvinas. Increasingly, they turn their frustration and fury against the revolutionists of the international Spartacist tendency, which dares to take a side in the Cold War hot spots like Poland or where the Cold War is hottest: Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents—Defense of the USSR, Cuba begins in Central America! Mitterrand/Schmidt's treacherous program of "political solution" is not a naive proposal for the Salvadoran fighters to commit suicide, but a conscious policy to appease Reagan so he won't blow up the world, this time. But those "far left"-pimps-for-the-reformists who flinch before Reagan's blackmail then have no option except to become his irregular cops against the colonial masses of the world, and, not least, against the working people at home. The exploited and oppressed masses of this planet will never go along

stream churches and the Mobilization for Survival initially planned the protest and deliberately limited the demands to "End the arms race" and "Shift the budget to fund human needs." In particular, El Salvador was not mentioned. As Mark Roberts of the eco-freak Greenpeace organization explained, "A significant issue was trying to attract middle America. I think it's fair to say that if anything is going to happen on disarmament, this rally can't be too left.... I personally would like to see more right-wing and conservative groups involved" (*Village Voice*, 20 April).

If the peacenik preachers and anti-Communist liberals would just as soon not be rubbing shoulders with the radical menagerie on the endorsers' list, they nevertheless found the services of these leftists as go-fers and marshals useful. The Kennedy Democrats didn't want or need the left to lobby Congress or pass resolutions in New England town meetings, but mass street protests in NYC are another matter.

The left got a piece of the action all right, but not without some preliminary battles over organizational turf which for a while split the June 12 mobilizers into two hostile camps. At one point the church groups, pacifists and CP fronts formed a "June 12 Rally Committee" while the black nationalists and leftists around Daughtry formed a "Third World and Progressive People's Coalition" and both filed competing rally permits with the city. The infighting was bitter. *Voice* cartoonist Jules Feiffer, for example, penned a blatantly racist and red-baiting strip labeling anyone who wanted to step beyond a single-issue "freeze" program as FBI/CIA disrupters. There was race-baiting and red-baiting all around.

In the end the differences were papered over. Daughtry and other "minority representatives" were put on the speakers list. Every group circulated

Main Enemy Is at Home...

(continued from page 7)

unite Europe under German leadership. This program is utopian, not merely because of what Willy Brandt termed "deep-seated mistrust, in the East and West, toward the Germany which twice in half a century has engulfed Europe in war." Imperialist competition between rival national bourgeoisies is inherent in decadent capitalism. Only the workers of the world, who in Marx's words "have no country," can establish an equitable and harmonious international division of labor based on socialization of the means of production. The alternatives are nuclear barbarism or revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a socialist united states of Europe.

Reforge the Fourth International!

On the eve of World War II, Leon Trotsky wrote: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership." Today an even greater catastrophe than that war hangs over our heads. International social-democracy, long ago passed over to direct service to imperialism within the workers movement, calls the tune for Stalinism and for the wretched "far-left" as well. The reformists stake everything on dissuading Reagan from his program of nuclear first-strike by backing "enlightened" pro-imperialist politicians who think they can find smarter, cheaper, safer ways than playing nuclear "cowboys and Indians" with Reagan/Haig to "roll back" Communism in the deformed workers states and keep the "third world" masses down. But there will be no new, "rational" leadership for a brutal, irrational social system confronting its

with the "realistic" counsels of these reformist gentlemen, who want them not to rock Reagan's boat. There *will* be struggles; the point is to forge a leadership capable of *winning* them.

This is the task to which the international Spartacist tendency is dedicated. The social-patriots who want to "reform" imperialism, as well as their "far-left" lackeys who showed they can't tell a revolutionary leadership from the ayatollah Khomeini, must be exposed and swept aside in the fight to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

18 May 1982

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its own set of demands. Salvadoran FDR leader Guillermo Ungo would speak, but the war in El Salvador was not officially raised. (In any case, the fake lefts call for Kennedy's program of a "negotiated settlement" in El Salvador in order to head off revolution. The same people who today are red-baited by the "peace movement" liberals call the cops to suppress the revolutionaries of the Spartacist League and its program for military victory to the leftist insurgents in the Salvadoran civil war.)

Organizationally the social-democratic Cold Warriors of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) appeared to be in the driver's seat, when you add up their liberal front groups and the giveback bureaucrats speaking for "labor" (IAM's Winpisinger, UAW's Fraser). Harrington is ready to do for Teddy what he did for JFK in the '60s (when he braintusted the "war on poverty"), but this time with something more than a moribund social-democratic organization to do the donkey work for the Democrats.

Left in Bourgeoisie's Anti-Soviet Freezer

The reformists, including the Moscow-servile Communist Party (CP), are toeing the anti-Soviet line of the bourgeois "freeze" proponents. And not for the first time. Only a few months ago virtually the entire left (with the shame-faced exception of the CP) expressed its anti-Soviet fervor in a bloc with Reagan in denouncing the suppression of Solidarność plans for counter-revolution in Poland. But the Polish anti-communists have bitten hard on the hand offered them by Western leftists. Solidarność exiles are among the most vocal, extreme advocates of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, and therefore attack the "peace" movement in the strongest language. As one Dutch anti-nuclear spokesman explained, "They tell us: 'You should be embracing Reagan's policy and cheering. It is the only way to deal with the Soviets'" (*New York Times*, 3 June). These Solidarność heroes of the "peace movement," who in Poland are for Pilsudskiite nationalism in the West are indistinguishable from the old "captive nations" emigrés holed up at Radio Free Europe!

The Communist Party, taking its cue as always from Brezhnev, jumped into the June 12 mobilization with both feet, with the *Daily World* praising Billy Graham, Ann Landers and anyone else on the freeze bandwagon. Here the CP is deeply involved in an aggressively "bilateralist" movement which has gone out of its way to demand that the Soviet Union give up nuclear weapons needed to protect it from the Reagan/Haig/Weinberger and Kennedy warmongers. Moreover, on June 14, civil disobedience squads plan sit-ins to "blockade the bombmakers" at, among other sites, the Soviet UN Mission. (And Daniel Ellsberg, who well knows what the Pentagon has in store for the Russian masses, lets off balloons in the Leningrad harbor demanding that the Soviets disarm.)

Other left backers of the June 12 action claim to stand to the left of the CP. Rudely elbowed out of the way in the turf fight for the role of "best builder" of June 12, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has adopted a slightly critical "Third World" tone, even calling for Grenada (!) to get the bomb:

"...we should support the right of Cuba, Nicaragua, of Grenada and of the liberation fighters in El Salvador to obtain whatever weapons they need to defend themselves against imperialist aggression. And that includes nuclear weapons."

—*Militant*, 4 June

In the real world, of course, it is the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons that stand between U.S. imperialism and total world domination. And here the SWP is foursquare for Soviet disarmament.

Imperialist gang of four (from front: Gerald Smith, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, [in back] George Kennan).



Gordon/NY Times

ment. In 1977 party leader Joseph Hansen wrote in the *Militant* that, "Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament," while a few years ago top honcho Jack Barnes called on the USSR to unilaterally "destroy a big part of its nuclear arsenal."

The SWP's problems, a sharp loss of members and influence, are political. In the late '60s, the SWP grew rapidly and exercised a certain organizational control over the popular-frontist antiwar movement. Today, starry-eyed over "socialist Grenada," Libya and North Korea, these disoriented anti-Trotskyists seem trapped in a reformist Twilight Zone. Despite this anti-Sovietism, the SWP can't compete with the bigger, less idiosyncratic reformists of Harrington's DSA and the CP. And even the mild, radical Third World posture of the SWP is met with hostility in this hard liberal anti-communist milieu: at one recent Greenwich Village "town meeting" of peace freezers, a hapless SWPer was booed down when he tried to invoke the "good old days" of the Vietnam protests.

Cold War Bomb

The left press, from the *Guardian* to the social democrats, is taking credit for Reagan's peace talk, his START initiative, his agreement to talk with the Russians on June 29. But while they were claiming victories for peace, the government's real plans were released by the Defense Department in an official 126-page "guidance" document outlining U.S. military strategy for the next five years to wage "protracted nuclear war" against the Soviet Union and "prevail" (*New York Times*, 30 May).

Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger's plan underlines a first-strike strategy aimed not only at the Soviet Union but at Cuba, Vietnam and the other deformed workers states as well. In Eastern Europe it calls for "special operations" of guerrillas, sabotage and terrorism. The dangerous China card is waved again in a plan for continued military cooperation against the Soviet Union. Carter's Rapid Deployment Force in the Persian Gulf is to be beefed up and no longer needs the fig leaf of being "invited in." In a further provocative intensification of Carter's Presidential Order 59, the document details the nuclear war strategy called "decapitation," which targets the political and military leadership of the Soviet Union.

Reagan and Weinberger's "guidance" document is only the latest in a series of confirmations of the U.S. strategy of first-strike nuclear attack against the USSR. Nor should this surprise anyone. U.S. Cold War policy has always been fundamentally a first-strike policy, and was most effective before the Soviets got the bomb themselves in 1949. According to the Brookings Institution, the U.S. threatened in earnest to use nuclear weapons 19 times between 1949 and 1975, along with the hundreds of "conventional" interventions, threats and intimidating shows of force.

Throughout the post-WWII period the "arms race" has been an exclusively American story, with the Soviets con-

stantly trying to catch up while the U.S. seeks to retain superiority. The U.S. was first with the H-bomb, first with multiple warheads, first in advanced guidance systems for the Cruise missile. But by all accounts the Soviets reached what is called "rough equivalence" or "parity" in nuclear destructive capacity in the 1970s. That is a problem for U.S. war planners, who want to restore the kind of imperialist clout that comes with the ability to blackmail the Russians.

Socialism or Barbarism

The organizers of the "freeze" campaign present nuclear weapons themselves as the ultimate enemy. But nuclear weapons are not some natural catastrophe like bubonic plague. They are a product of capitalist society in its long death agony. *Who* developed nuclear weapons? *Who* first used them and intends to use them again? And *why*?

Nuclear weapons were developed under orders of that great American liberal Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II, that is, U.S. imperialism's military bid for global domination. They were used by his successor Harry Truman against Japan to "demonstrate" to the Soviet Union the military power and utter ruthlessness of the American government. If the Soviet Union had not developed its own nuclear weapons, Moscow and Lenin-grad would likely have suffered the same fate as Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is the Soviet nuclear arsenal which up to now has kept U.S. imperialism at bay, which kept it from invading Cuba and overthrowing Castro, from using nuclear weapons in Korea, Vietnam and many other places throughout the world. Soviet military strength, even in the hands of the nationalist, anti-revolutionary bureaucracy, has bought the world proletariat a little more time to resolve the question of socialism or nuclear annihilation.

Much of the theology of the "freeze" movement is provided by those who argue that since a nuclear world war will destroy mankind, the technology of war has transcended the politics of war. Every modern disarmament campaign and peace movement has made the same kind of arguments. Pacifist disarmament takes the fact that war hurts everybody as a moral imperative to build a classless political movement in a class-divided world. All humanity, they say, must get together to pressure the U.S. government (and the Soviets) to "ban the bomb." But the imperialists will never disarm themselves—as the

Trotskyist Transitional Program puts it, the only disarmament that will end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the armed workers.

The "freezers" say mass marches, organizing town meetings, etc., can bring disarmament. For high school and college-age youth the Vietnam War has become almost as historically remote as the Korean War or World War II. Many do not know that the American rulers—prominently including those who now support a nuclear "freeze"—killed two million defenseless workers and peasants to protect their bloody puppets in Saigon as part of the "free world." Do any Vietnamese think the Reagans, Kennedys and Rockefellers will give up their nuclear weapons, the ultimate means by which they intend to defend their oilfields and factories, their yachts and gambling casinos, and of course "the American way of life"?

The fact is that despite all the disarmament and peace movements, the imperialists continue their policy of militarism. With each disarmament hoax pushed by "peace" forces, the imperialists have jockeyed and prepared for war—the Kellogg Pact, the Naval Treaties and Disarmament Conferences of the 1930s, the League of Nations. As we have shown, the U.S. built up its nuclear arsenal under the Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and SALT ("That Was the Détente That Was," Part II, *WV* No. 254, 18 April 1980). Now the freezers appeal to the United Nations which provided the moral cover for U.S. intervention in the Korean War, and which will stand to World War III as the League of Nations did to World War II.

There is no special struggle against war somehow independent of and above the class struggle, lifted mystically from its social base and concrete historical causes. War is a symptom and result of the contradictions of capitalism in crisis. What's new today is the centrality of the Russian question to the war preparations. Disarmament 1980s-style uses "superpowers arms race" rhetoric to cover for the mobilization of opinion for the liberal anti-Soviet war drive. British disarmament movement leader E.P. Thompson calls for a nuclear-free zone in Europe "from Portugal to Poland," and calls on pro-Western "dissidents" of the Soviet Union to open up a "peace" opposition against the USSR. The Trotskyist Spartacist League said "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution—Reagan/Haig, Hands Off Poland" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador."

Capitalism breeds war, especially decaying capitalism in the imperialist epoch. It is only under socialism that war can disappear because its causes will disappear. Therefore the struggle against war is the struggle for workers revolution, on an international scale, against the class enemy at home. As Leon Trotsky wrote in his "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932): "The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force in general. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors. Ideological pacifism confronts war with moral indignation the way the lamb confronts the butcher's knife with plaintive bleatings. But the task consists of confronting the knife of the bourgeoisie with the knife of the proletariat." ■

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Blitzkrieg...

(continued from page 12)

provocation for their invasion plans. To top it off, Thatcher revealed that the assassins' hit list included the London representative of the PLO!

"This raid reflects the fascist Israeli mentality," was the appropriate comment of Saleh Khalef, number two man in the PLO. Indeed, the indiscriminate bombing and shelling vividly recalled memories of Lidice, the Czech town which was leveled by the Nazis in 1942 on the suspicion of sympathizing with the assassination of Hitler's Gauleiter Heydrich. Now Begin justifies the Israeli invasion on the basis of PLO shelling of northern Israel. But there was no Palestinian shelling until after Israeli raids had killed 130 and wounded 250 last week.

Hitlerite genocide is not the monopoly of the Zionists in the Near East. In Syria, the Assad regime is based on the Alawite minority, derived from the Shi'ite branch of Islam, which represents only an eighth of the Syrian population. Right-wing terrorists of the Muslim Brotherhood feed off the resentment of the overwhelming majority of Sunni Muslims. In response to a provoked uprising by the Brotherhood in Hama, Syria's fourth largest city, the Assad regime leveled the town. Uncounted thousands were massacred. It was an act reminiscent of the Nazis' "reduction" first of the Warsaw ghetto (1943) and then of Warsaw as a whole (1944). A Western correspondent returned to the city in May and asked an old inhabitant where were all the houses that once stood on the river bank: "You are driving on them," was the reply. And where were all the people who lived here? "You are probably driving on some of them, too" (*New York Times*, 29 May).

The Israeli invasion represents a complete collapse of the U.S.-negotiated ceasefire of July 1981. This time Reagan gave tacit support for a strike against the PLO by refusing to condemn Israel in a UN resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon (eventually). Washington would like to destroy the PLO, but regrets the fact that the Israeli attack undercuts the U.S.' grand design for a worldwide anti-Soviet "strategic consensus." So after first being rebuffed by Argentina's Galtieri and then Thatcher on the Falklands/Malvinas, Reagan wrote to Begin expressing pious wishes for peace. The letter was conveniently delayed for a significant six hours, leading Begin's government to believe that "the United States would understand the Israeli action" (*New York Times*, 7 June). Six hours after the letter arrived, Israeli forces crossed into Lebanon.

The Americans, meanwhile, have made one more of their infinite changes of line. Now instead of worrying about the sinister Soviet-backed Iraqis running around the Near East, they are worrying about the sinister Soviet- and Allah-backed Iranians "destabilizing" the region. For Begin, however, the only good Arab is a dead Arab. And since Iranians are non-Arabs, Israel has been arming Ayatollah Khomeini's army in the Iraqi-Iranian war. But now Shi'ite Iran is proposing to Assad's Alawite-ruled Syria to form a common front against Israel! All Reagan/Haig need now would be for Taiwan to invade China, Spain to go into Gibraltar and Jeane Kirkpatrick to attack Washington. The U.S.' anti-Soviet "consensus" has been broken up on the shoals of national conflicts, from the south Atlantic to the Mediterranean.

The war in Lebanon could easily expand into a general Near Eastern war in which Palestinian self-determination would be subordinated. As in the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973, no matter who was the winner, the Palestinians would be the losers. But if Begin

should somehow succeed in creating a Greater Israel, from the Nile to the Euphrates, the two million Hebrew-speaking Jews would be consumed trying to keep down a hundred million Arabs. Zionist expansionism contains the seeds of its own destruction.

There is an alternative to nationalist genocide: proletarian internationalism. In the northern tier of the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans—an historic cauldron of national hatreds, like the Near East—a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party led by the Croat Tito managed to cohere the deformed workers state of Yugoslavia on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even though deformed by bureaucratic rule, Yugoslavia shows the way forward for the "southern tier" as well. Several million Jews in the Near East could well be part of an extremely valuable cultural and technical vanguard. But not separated, counterposed to the Arab population. Only through an anti-Zionist, anti-Arabist socialist federation, joining the Arabic, Hebrew-speaking and other working people of the region, can the bloody heritage of genocide be overcome.

The construction of such communist parties must be through a triumphant struggle against Stalinism, which has repeatedly capitulated to the nationalisms of both sides. A fine chance for the construction of a workers party in the Near East was in Iraq, where a proletariat based on the oil workers has a history of militant struggle. The Iraqi Communist Party stood at the threshold of power in the mass upsurge that followed the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in 1958. But this revolutionary opportunity was thrown away by the Kremlin in order to get an illusory deal with the imperialists. Historian Isaac Deutscher wrote that the Communist offensive was suddenly called off because Khrushchev feared that this would provoke renewed Western intervention in the eastern Mediterranean and wreck his idiot policy of peaceful coexistence (*Russia, China and the West*, 1953-66).

Short of working-class revolution throughout the region, the Arab masses will continue to be ruled by reactionary sheiks and colonels, who repress and oppress the Palestinians; and continue to be beset by Zionist militarists who can dominate only through sheer terror. And before crazed religious nationalist terrorist Begin and his ilk give up one square inch of sacred soil of "Eretz Israel," they are prepared to set the world aflame in a nuclear holocaust that would make the Nazis or Americans look like pacifists. The imperialist "democrats" who today cluck their tongues at communal violence and nationalist terror in the Near East are the descendants of the notorious anti-Semites Roosevelt and Churchill, who laid the basis for the present clash by refusing Jewish immigration to the U.S. and Britain, forcing the refugees from Nazi genocide into the ultimate death trap of Palestine.

Time is running out. Even right-wing social-democratic Zionists like Irving Howe are now admitting that Arabs are brutally, tragically oppressed in an Israel where "democracy"—as in ancient Athens and the antebellum South—is reserved exclusively for the oppressors. (Therefore Communist parties are tolerated there as long as they "know their place," unlike in the neighboring states.) Meanwhile, Zionist expansionism could easily unleash something beyond a regional war; the tripwires for World War III are all over the Near East. The endless cycle of squalid national wars and Zionist oppression of the Palestinian people can only be broken by united class struggle of the Hebrew, Arab and other workers against their "own" ruling classes.

—Israel out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories!

—For a communist federation of the Near East! ■

Thatcher...

(continued from page 12)

with NATO ally Britain over junior partner Argentina, which has sought to become the main gendarme for U.S. imperialism in Latin America. The result was continent-wide condemnation ranging from Castro's Cuba and Sandinista Nicaragua to the Chilean, Brazilian and even Salvadoran juntas. When the "Yankee ministry of colonies," the OAS, tried to invoke the modern version of the Monroe Doctrine—the Rio Treaty of 1947—against aggression by an extra-continental power (Britain), Haig brushed it off as "not very relevant." Certainly the thugs and oligarchs who rule much of the region are notoriously fickle, but a bloody Argentine defeat could unleash nationalist outrage against "Anglo-Saxon perfidy" making unilateral U.S. intervention in Central America far more costly.

For General Galtieri, "recovery" of the Falklands/Malvinas began as a textbook case of a despotic regime trying to take the heat off at home by launching a foreign adventure. As a direct result of the junta's economic policies, Argentina is in the midst of the worst depression in its history. For the sixth year in a row it had the highest rate of inflation in the world (130 percent in 1981), industry is working at 50 percent of capacity, unemployment is skyrocketing. Popular anger was still boiling over the *desaparecidos*, the 30,000 "disappeared" victims of the military's "dirty war" of terror against leftists and Peronists. Mass opposition to the dictatorship was growing, and on March 30 15,000 workers were met with brutal repression when they attempted to protest in front of the presidential palace. Three days later Argentine commandos seized the Falklands/Malvinas.

As a diversion it worked. Labor demonstrations stopped and patriotic fervor spread. But the fundamental calculation behind the military adventure backfired, badly. Galtieri calculated that in return for services rendered in Central America (Argentine advisers aiding Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary terrorists and Salvadoran junta troops), Reagan would let him take the islands and restrain the decrepit British lion in the higher interests of anti-Communist unity. After this illusion went up in smoke, the Argentine generals and admirals fought a desultory war hoping to buy time for diplomatic pressure. The air force knocked out quite a few British ships (spectacularly with the *Sheffield* and *Antelope*), the army barely slowed down the British commandos' advance and the navy hugged the Patagonian coast. But now that they face imminent defeat, the junta is worried about the home front. If they are routed in the Falklands/Malvinas, all hell could break loose in Buenos Aires.

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has said from the beginning of this ludicrous war, "Revolutionary socialists can only look forward to the spectacle of these two hated right-wing regimes sinking each other's fleets on the high seas." While social-patriots rallied to their respective national colors, and pacifists wrung their hands calling to "stop the war," the iSt advocated the Leninist-Trotskyist policy of *revolutionary defeatism* on both sides, pointing to the tremendous opportunities opened up by the war:

"The bloody Argentine junta, wracked only a few weeks ago by massive labor protests, and the despised Thatcher government, which has driven the British people into the poorhouse, can be brought down as a result of defeat and humiliation in war."

—"Falklands: Nowhere War,"
WV No. 304, 30 April

Now this prospect looms in Argentina. Already there is a *fin de régime* (end-of-the-regime) atmosphere in the capital. But what will replace Galtieri & Co.?

An even more reactionary military strongman posing as hero of the fight for the Malvinas? A civilian-military government of "national salvation," to limit the damage and provide for an "orderly transition"? A Peronist regime vowing to continue the irredentist fight for some rocky outcrops on the edge of the Antarctic?

It depends first of all on how resounding and devastating is the defeat on the islands. But none of these outcomes will liberate the Argentine masses from the poverty and repression which have wracked the country for years, and put a revolutionary end to the cycle of Peronist populist rule and military dictatorship which has kept Argentina stagnant for three decades. The crucial element here is a communist leadership which can swim against the nationalist stream over this absurd contest which in no way strikes a blow against imperialism. Yet internationalism is what has been most lacking as the Argentine left has almost unanimously signed up for war duty with Galtieri.

**"¡Se va a acabar,
la dictadura militar!"
("The Military Dictatorship is
Coming to an End!")**

The present military regime in Argentina took power in an almost bloodless coup in March 1976, as the government of populist leader Juan Perón's widow, Isabel, collapsed. But then the blood began flowing in rivers. The anti-leftist terror already begun under the second Perón regime was greatly stepped up, and the ominous Ford Falcons began arriving nightly in the working-class barrios of Buenos Aires and Córdoba. More than 10,000 were admittedly killed, and three times that number "disappeared."

One of the main purposes of the military takeover was to break the back of a militant workers movement. (Roughly 30 percent of the Argentine population consists of industrial workers, the highest percentage in Latin America, and they were organized in the powerful CGT labor federation, the largest by far on the continent.) Following the Videla coup, hundreds of labor leaders were arrested, the national federations dissolved and local unions "intervened" (put in receivership) by the military. Wages were frozen and prices "freed" from controls; as a result, real incomes of Argentine workers were cut by half in less than a year (falling 61 percent between 1974 and 1977), an almost unprecedented slashing of living standards—in Chile real wages fell by "only" 40 percent after the '73 coup.

But despite repression and depression, labor struggles did not stop. The generals were not able to break the back of the workers movement—just to force it underground. Already in July-September 1976, auto workers struck in Córdoba leading to the arrests and mass trial of 1,000 Renault workers. By '79 factory takeovers had begun again, particularly by the auto workers and metal workers unions (still illegal). And in June 1981 auto workers were striking not against the companies but directly over junta economic policies.

As the bankruptcy of the junta's rule became increasingly obvious, even to leading sectors of the Argentine bourgeoisie, the military regime began to totter. Last year the country had three presidents (Generals Videla, Viola and Galtieri). Galtieri seized power in a palace coup last December objecting to Viola's contacts with politicians, but within a few weeks he was promising an organic law permitting political parties by mid-1982.

Meanwhile, popular protests were mounting as the masses made it clear they were not willing to wait for the junta's "democracy." By mid-March the streets of Buenos Aires were filled with numerous demonstrations by unions and human rights groups. With much hesitation, the Peronist CGT labor federation called a march on the Plaza

de Mayo for March 30 to protest the regime's economic policies which were producing mass layoffs. The government responded by cordoning off the city center with riot police, then charging the thousands of workers with mounted police and tear-gas grenades while the secret police, brandishing revolvers, careened through the crowds in their Ford Falcons. Altogether 2,000 demonstrators were arrested, including the entire CGT leadership and Nobel Peace Prize winner Pérez Esquivel; scores were injured and two killed. The next day protests exploded in Mendoza and Córdoba as well. The CGT and the previously pro-government CNT federation called a general strike for April 5 to denounce the repression.

"Opposition" Salutes Galtieri

While the March 30 demonstration was brutally being put down, one slogan kept echoing: "*¡Se va a acabar, la dictadura militar!*" ("The military dictatorship is coming to an end!"). The Galtieri regime seemed to be on its last legs, but *how* would it end? That depends on the leadership of the masses who have been struggling to bring down the hated military butchers. So Galtieri responded with his Malvinas diversion... and the entire left, the Peronists, union bureaucrats and politicians dutifully hailed this incredible adventure in order to show their patriotic colors. Present at the swearing-in ceremonies for the new military governor of the Malvinas were leaders of the bourgeois opposition parties, most particularly the Peronists; and of both the CGT and CNT labor federations, some of the latter having just been let out of prison.

The calculations of the bourgeois parties were transparent. They figured that a successful occupation of the islands would cover the military with prestige so they could then withdraw to the barracks with "their heads held high." The bourgeois-populist guerrillas of the Montonero Peronist Movement (MPM) were even more enthusiastic about "Operation Malvinas." While most of the Argentine bourgeoisie has never given a damn about some wind-swept outcrops in the South Atlantic, retaking the islands from the British has been a part of the revanchist-nationalist program of Peronism ever since the 1943 coup (by pro-Axis officers) which brought Perón to power.

The Communist Party (PCA) also endorsed the Falklands/Malvinas adventure, following its general line of "critical" support to the bloody dictatorship. The old-line Stalinist PCA is acting here simply as a mouthpiece for Kremlin foreign policy (which cuddles up to the viciously anti-communist junta because Argentina is the major supplier of wheat to the Soviet Union). In the UN Commission on Human Rights, Soviet representatives have repeatedly opposed investigations of torture and kidnappings in Argentina. Now that the generals have been abandoned by their American patrons, the Argentine Stalinists hope to cash in on their last six years of vile apologies for junta terror.

It is hardly surprising that the Peronist nationalists and the perennial Stalinist sellouts line up behind Galtieri's diversion. But the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) of Nahuel Moreno claims to stand for Trotskyism and permanent revolution. In reality, Moreno is a political chameleon who tails whatever radical current is popular—Castroism, Maoism, you name it—while in Argentina almost always acting as a camp follower of the Peronist march. Once again the Falklands/Malvinas crisis finds them at their posts, not in the internationalist cause of the proletariat but serving the interests of the bourgeois fatherland.

In an editorial on "Malvinas: The Socialist Position," the Argentine PST writes:

"In any confrontation between an

imperialist country—in this case England—and a semi-colonial one—such as Argentina—we socialists are always on the side of the semi-colonial country against the imperialist one.... That is to say, we are against England—even though it has a bourgeois-democratic regime—and on the side of Argentina—despite the malignant dictatorship that governs it." [emphasis in original]

—Palabra Socialista, April 1982

The Morenoite international grouping, which calls itself the International Workers League (IWL) since breaking with Pierre Lambert's French OCI (now PCI) last year, proclaimed: "The IWL... hereby states that if need arises, it will



Anti-government labor protest in Buenos Aires three days before Galtieri's Malvinas diversion.

fight in the camp of the Argentine government" ("Solidarity with Argentine Struggle," reprinted in *Socialist Organiser*, 6 May).

Moreno to the Malvinas?

Various petty-bourgeois radical (and not-so-radical) groups in the imperialist countries have taken similar pro-junta stands. For the most part this represents a mushy Third Worldism left over from the days of the New Left. The PST, in contrast, is swimming in the wake of its "own" bourgeoisie, and furthermore is forced to justify this position before militants who are more than a little skeptical about *any* action of the murderous junta. This puts Moreno & Co. in quite a bind, for it is one thing to simply accuse anyone who doesn't hail Galtieri of being an apologist for imperialism, and quite another matter to try to convince workers with a healthy class instinct why they should support this adventure by their exploiters. The Morenoites' main argument is to repeat over and over that Argentina is a "semi-colonial country." Not so.

Argentina part of the "Third World"? Around 1900, Argentina's average income was comparable to Canada's; in the '20s they boasted of a European standard of living (while expressing racist contempt for dark-skinned mestizos in the rest of Latin America). Beginning with the Great Depression and up to 1950 (under the first Perón regime), there was considerable industrialization through "import substitution," so that even today industry produces twice as much as agriculture in the Argentine economy. The class structure is European: 75 percent urban (much more than France), with a large proletariat and a tiny peasantry (the commercial *estancias* hire agricultural

workers). The country has suffered at times (not recently) from declining terms of trade, as have other exporters of beef and wheat (like Australia and Canada).

Despite the junta's pretensions to act as a regional gendarme (witness its role in the Bolivian "cocaine coup" last year, and more recently in Central America), Argentina is not even a secondary imperialist country like Australia or Canada. Since the turn of the century at least, it has been in what Lenin called a "transitional form of dependence." Other examples of such intermediate capitalist states are much of East

Falklands/Malvinas used as a means of economic pressure by Britain? By buying supplies in Argentina? Granted, the Falklands are a relic from the British empire, and communists demand that this decaying, second-rate imperialist power get out of all its colonial holdovers, from Hong Kong to the Falklands. But the Argentine working masses would gain nothing from Galtieri's adventure (even if it had been successful).

Ever since coming to power the Argentine military has tried to whip up national chauvinism by claiming historically disputed territory—like the Beagle Channel from Chile. When mutual Argentine-Chilean provocations over the Channel escalated last year, the PST called for "immediate mobilization to prevent war" and for the "liquidation of both dictatorships" (*Opción*, March 1981). But when the junta's antagonist is Britain, then for Moreno & Co. the same diversionary, irredentist adventure becomes a "clear anti-imperialist struggle."

This ultra-reactionary junta will not undertake any anti-imperialist action, however partial. What do they want the islands for? As we have pointed out, they could well turn them into concentration camps for "dissidents," the luckiest of the *desaparecidos*—an Argentine Dawson Island. And whom have they named as military governor of the Malvinas? Mario Benjamín Menéndez, who was a principal architect of the junta's war of extermination against the Argentine left, as well as a notoriously brutal concentration camp commandant. It is particularly grotesque for the PST to support this ploy by butchers who have murdered more than a hundred of their comrades. The latest "disappearance" recorded in Argentina was that of PST militant Ana María Martínez, assassinated by the junta's thugs last February. But now Moreno & Co. declare that they "form part of the military camp of the dictatorship in the fight against the British imperialists."

As the crisis in the South Atlantic escalated, Moreno's IWL called for "an international campaign of support to Argentina's just struggle against British imperialism." Perhaps these pseudo-Trotskyists want to join the Peronist union misleaders in their junkets for Galtieri. Or does Moreno want to go to the Malvinas to exhort the troops to lay down their lives for Argentina's claim to the boggy islands? Throughout 1973-76, the PST capitulated to the Peronist regime, offering "proletarian solidarity," vowing to "fight for its continuity" (see the Spartacist pamphlet, *Moreno Truth Kit*). But their support to the Falklands/Malvinas adventure is the Morenoites' worst betrayal of the Argentine revolution by far. They recognize that Galtieri "aims to divert them [the workers] away from the struggle against their exploiters and the dictatorship"... and then *support* this diversion on the grounds that "recovery" of the archipelago is necessarily an anti-imperialist act. ■

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Israel Out of Lebanon!

Zionist Blitzkrieg

JUNE 8—After two days of murderous bombing of Palestinians in Lebanon, killing hundreds, on Sunday Israel launched its long-awaited massive Blitzkrieg to smash the PLO. Tens of thousands of heavily armed Israeli troops swept past UN "peacekeeping" forces, overran Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) positions at Beaufort Castle, besieged the gutted cities of Sidon and Tyre and approached the outskirts of Beirut. The Israeli air force dropped leaflets over Sidon giving the population two hours to evacuate before the siege began. Even the pro-Zionist *New York Times* had to acknowledge that the invasion was not "retaliation" for PLO shelling of north Israel, but a carefully planned effort to "crush the PLO." Socialists and all opponents of genocide must demand: Israel out of Lebanon, now!

The diaspora of the Palestinian nation began with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Irgun terrorist Begin—the butcher of Deir Yassin, who has committed atrocities that would turn even Yasir Arafat's stomach—is



Begin, terrorist with state power, bombs civilian population of Beirut.

now turning southern Lebanon (and the West Bank) into a vast cemetery for Palestinian Arabs. Every refugee camp is called a "PLO headquarters." War minister Sharon declares his intention of driving Palestinians out of Lebanon altogether. "Never again," vow the Zionist fanatics, complaining of national humiliation over Sinai treaty obligations and sending in goon squads, mainly organized out of Brooklyn, to

gun down Palestinian youth on the West Bank. "Eli the wolf" was a dangerous, psychopathic fascistic killer. But above all how many atom bombs does Begin have at his disposal? This terrorist is prepared to use them.

Acting on the Hitlerite policy that one Jew is worth hundreds of Arabs, Israel launched a massive air and sea-based bombing and strafing of Lebanon, supposedly in retaliation for the shoot-

ing of the Israeli ambassador to Britain. Among the targets were an abandoned soccer stadium where hundreds of Palestinian families live, and refugee camps throughout southern Lebanon. The PLO denied any involvement in the shooting of the Israeli ambassador. The killing was claimed by a shadowy Arab terrorist group nobody ever heard of, and served the Zionists as an ideal

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Galtieri's Falklands/Malvinas Diversion Backfires

Thatcher Orders Bloody Slaughter

JUNE 4—For Margaret Thatcher, the "blood and iron" lady at No. 10 Downing Street, it's a fine little war in the South Atlantic. Having lost the Empire, economically declined to a standard of living below East Germany's, unable to win even the Cod War with Iceland, here was a chance to reassert that "Britannia rules the waves." It would be good at the polls (where the Tories were running a poor third) and divert attention from the 12.5 percent unemployment, giving the Conservatives a new lease on power and putting Labour in a bind as jingoism swept the country. So she dispatched an armada of 100 ships (true, over half of them merchant marine freighters, tugs and revamped luxury liners), providing "battle" duty for Prince Andrew and the chance to once again hoist the Union Jack to the Victorian strains of "God Save the Queen."

It was all in the name of principle, that armed aggression must be punished (unless, of course, it's their own aggression like at Suez). The haughty British rulers are full of principles. Like "fair

play." They declare a war zone around the Falklands/Malvinas, then sink a troop-carrying Argentine battleship, the General Belgrano, outside their own 200-mile limit at a cost of hundreds of lives. They would sacrifice thousands of lives in the name of "self-determination" for 1,800 "kelpers," the local residents, most of whom are practically in bondage to the Falkland Islands Company. And now that her majesty's expeditionary force is poised for the final assault on Port Stanley, the British prime minister declares that "magnanimous" is a word she does not use, ordering her commanders to kick the Argies off "our island" and into the sea. But this may not be the walkover that many British think. It could be a bloody battle which would shake both the Galtieri junta and the Thatcher government.

For Ronald Reagan, this mad war at the ends of the earth is turning into an all-round disaster. General Haig complained that American interests were more involved than either of the two combatants; the *Wall Street Journal* moaned that the Russians were the real



Press Association

"Magnanimous...It is not a word I use in connection with the Falklands."

winners. Only yesterday, the reactionary regimes in London and Buenos Aires were two of Washington's staunchest allies in a holy war for the "free world" against the Soviets. (Britain and Argentina were among the few states to send observers to sanctify the U.S.' fraudulent "elections" in El Salvador in March.) But when the chief imperialist called junta chief Galtieri urging him not to seize the Falklands/

Malvinas, Reagan was rebuffed; a month later when he phoned Thatcher to urge restraint in victory, the answer was again "no." Haig's shuttle diplomacy only bared American impotence.

Despite UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's concern for the sensibilities of "moderately authoritarian" Latin dictators, Reagan/Haig ultimately had to choose their "special relationship"

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