

Smash Reagan Reaction! For a Workers Party!

Labor: Don't Crawl for the Democrats!

When half a million workers marched on Washington on "Solidarity Day" last September 19, you could feel the potential power of the U.S. labor movement. Sure, the union bureaucrats just wanted to worry Reagan a little while letting their memberships blow off steam. They deliberately failed to mobilize heavily among Midwestern industrial unions—the hard-hit, heavily black concentrations of workers likely to be most vividly aware that a march would not solve their problems. The AFL-CIO tops even tried to make Solidarność, the Polish "free trade union" for the CIA and imperialist bankers, a major focus of "Solidarity Day." But the union ranks who came out were looking for ways to fight back through their unions against austerity, unemployment and union busting.

The striking air controllers union (PATCO) was on the line. Blacks, workers and the poor were directly targeted by the Cold War budget ax. Workers were angry and looking for fighting solutions. That's why more than 8,000 marchers bought copies of *Workers Vanguard* with the headline: "Bust Union-Buster Reagan: Shut Down the Airports! Unchain Labor!" The fighting program of the Spartacist League was what was needed to turn "Solidarity Day" into real working-class solidarity against the bosses' offensive. The Machinists and Teamsters, in particular, could have shut the airports down tight and won not only for PATCO, but for the whole labor movement.

It will take sharp class struggle to turn back the anti-

labor, anti-black offensive. For sit-down strikes against layoffs and plant closings! For concrete labor solidarity—picket lines mean don't cross! For mass labor/black defense against racist terror! Bring Reagan down through strike action!

But the fat-cat union tops are more afraid of a fighting perspective than they are of Ronald Reagan. So they are presenting Labor Day 1982 outright to the Democratic Party. Lane Kirkland and all the other giveback artists are once again peddling their "alternative" to the class struggle: the Democrats. Preaching the defeatist line that labor cannot fight for its own survival, the bureaucrats now bring us as saviors Walter Mondale, Teddy Kennedy and the rest of labor's Democratic enemies.

When a Democratic president is in office, the AFL-CIO doesn't plan Labor Day marches at all. This year, marches are being organized, from New York to San Antonio. But in San Francisco, the planned Labor Day event has been canceled in favor of a more explicit election rally on October 24 titled "Vote labor (meaning vote Democratic) for jobs and justice." Perhaps the Bay Area labor fakery are remembering last September 19, when thousands roundly booed Carter's VP Mondale at the S.F. rally. When he appealed for solidarity with Solidarność, Mondale was drowned out by chants of "PATCO! PATCO!"

Today more than ever, it is desperately necessary to

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WV Photo

"Solidarity Day," 19 September 1981: Real labor solidarity would have shut down the airports and won.

The Mayors: All Democrats All Strikebreakers All Enemies of Blacks



Ed Koch

WV Photo



Jane Byrne

Leonard/Time



Dianne Feinstein

Ressmeyer



Coleman Young

WV Photo

DSA: Braintrusters to Labor Bureaucracy for War on Russia

Jay Lovestone's Bastard Grandchildren

SAN FRANCISCO, August 27—Sixty supporters of the Spartacist League held a spirited 40-minute demonstration outside the West Coast regional conference of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). With banners, signs and chants the SL comrades displayed their vigorous political opposition to Harrington's pep rally for the capitalist Democratic Party. Chants ranged from the starkly programmatic, like "No to Gun Control" and "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," to the all but unpronounceable: "Not Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske—But Marx, Lenin and Trotsky!" The DSA was frisking everyone going inside, resulting in a bottleneck at the door and a long, slow-moving line—a captive audience for the SL demonstration.

Featured speakers at the rally included Machinists union bureaucrat William Winpisinger and Salvadoran FDR spokesman Guillermo Ungo. Significantly, only a handful of Latinos turned out for this rare U.S. appearance by Ungo, although tens of thousands of Salvadorans reside in the Bay Area and many have participated in protests against U.S. imperialist policy in Central America.

Indeed the audience of over 1,000 was virtually all-white and appeared to consist mainly of middle-aged school-teacher types—people who lived through the Vietnam War and know full well what the imperialist Democrats are all about. The cynicism was as marked as the anti-Sovietism. One old guy told us: "So we have blood on our hands, so what? Everybody has blood on their hands...." These "State Department socialists" are terrified of Reagan and his "nukes," but don't much care if the Democrats want to bomb the colonial masses back into the Stone Age with "conventional" weapons, napalm or anything else they think won't pollute the air over San Francisco.

We reprint below the Spartacist leaflet distributed at the event.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) is protesting



San Francisco, August 27: SL protests the party of the murderers of Luxemburg and Leibknecht.

here tonight against the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), Michael Harrington's latest anti-communist front for the Democratic Party. In Reagan's racist America, millions of workers and blacks, their backs to the wall, are realizing it is desperately necessary to fight. But the DSA wants to get them "ready for Teddy," to herd them back into the capitalist party which brought Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs, Vietnam and paved the way for Reagan.

• While Reagan smashed PATCO, DSA's Winpisinger stabbed air controllers in the back by refusing to pull the IAM out in a solidarity strike to shut down the airports.

• Half a million auto workers are laid off as DSA hails UAW chief Fraser's billion dollar "giveback" to auto bosses.

• Blacks and other minorities face racist/fascist terror. DSA's "answer": the Democratic Party of Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter and KKK "grand

dragon" Tom Metzger.

• Last March DSA called for continued American aid to Israel. Today the Zionist butchers slaughter thousands in Lebanon with U.S.-supplied cluster bombs and U.S. jet fighters.

• Harrington's "democratic socialists" make common cause with the Wall Street Journal, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in trying to "roll back Communism" in Poland via Solidarnosc, company union for imperialist bankers and the CIA.

• Harrington was a leader of the Socialist Party while it supported U.S. holocaust in Vietnam; now he wants to prevent "another Vietnam tragedy" in El Salvador. DSA supports negotiations with Reagan and with death squad leader Roberto d'Aubuisson to head off military victory of leftist rebels.

There is a long history of such anti-communist social democrats who act as the labor lieutenants of "democratic" imperialism. Ex-Communist Jay Lovestone, the CIA's main labor operative, was George Meany's right-hand man in busting militant unions around the world. Harrington's mentor, Max Shachtman, went from refusing to militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialism in 1940 to supporting the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. Today Harrington's DSA marches with the Pilsudskiite anti-Semites of Solidarnosc, who call for "Death to Communism," in lock step with his old Socialist Party buddy Albert Shanker who sponsored a CIA-front Solidarnosc "information office."

State Department "socialists" abroad are giveback "socialists" at home. As head of the Machinists, DSA vice president Winpisinger could have shut down the airports last year to support the striking controllers. Instead, he had his members cross PATCO picket lines. At the DSA fusion conference in March, UAW secretary-treasurer Ray Majerus was given the "Social Justice" award—for helping Harrington's pal Fraser ram through a \$5 billion present to the bosses. Harrington even picked up Fraser's racist "yellow peril" rhetoric against "importing Japanese capitalism."

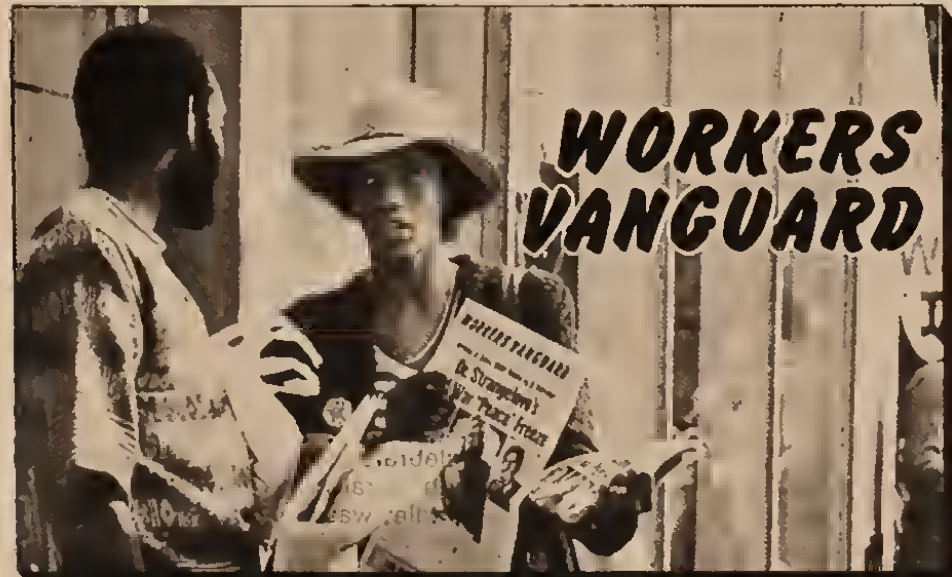
Harrington has been at this game for over 20 years. Ever since the early 1960s, when he braintrusterd JFK's bogus "war on poverty," he has been trying to "realign" the Democratic Party on a liberal program. But his chances were blown away by the Democrats' hideous

carnage in Indochina. Who would buy war criminal LBJ as the "left wing of the possible"? It was only as Jimmy Carter, defender of feudalism in Afghanistan, tried to morally rearm American imperialism after the Vietnam debacle with his anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade that Harrington could plausibly sell his realignment scheme. Now with all wings of the bourgeoisie engaging in a bipartisan crusade against the Soviet Union, of course the social democrats march to the orders of their capitalist masters. Thus, as Reagan revs up the war machine, the DSA calls for "genuine national security" while DSAer Ron Dellums calls for a Pentagon budget of "only" \$200 billion!

When the DSA talks about "labor support," they mean endorsing the pressure tactics and sellouts of the betrayers of the American proletariat. The Trotskyists of the SL/SYL offer the only program showing a way out for workers and the oppressed—a class-struggle workers party to fight for socialist revolution. Not government bailouts, but the workers must seize and expropriate industry without a penny of compensation to the capitalists. Not endless pressuring of the bankrupt capitalist state, but the working class taking full power in its hands to sweep away the capitalist state! And that power must be defended by depriving of political power all who would bring back the capitalist order of racism, unemployment and war!

While the rest of the "left" is supporting the Kennedy "nuke freeze" (i.e., more conventional weapons against the Soviet Union in Europe), the SL/SYL stands foursquare for the military defense of the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states, above all the USSR, against the imperialists. While the Stalinists unite with the social democrats to spread illusions in détente with rapacious U.S. imperialism, we call for political revolution to oust the bureaucratic usurpers, who undermine the gains of the October Revolution.

The social democrats are the sworn enemies of workers revolution since World War I, social imperialists who supported their "own" capitalist butchers, tried to strangle the Bolshevik Revolution, and drowned the 1919 German revolution in blood. We Trotskyists, Spartacists, who fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International, are the party of the Russian Revolution. Harrington's DSA is the party of the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The victorious working class will remember its martyrs... and their murderers. ■



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No. 312 3 September 1982

Statement Filed By Diana Coleman

Supporter Spartacist, labor/socialist who organized stopping Nazi celebration of Hitler's birthday, San Francisco 1980. Union militant, six years CWA. Member National Association Letter Carriers. Break with Democrats—build a workers party! Strike action to bring down Reagan! No gun control—labor/black defense against Klan/Nazi terror! For massive public works under union control! Jobs for all, decent housing, free medical care, child care, education, transit! Full equality—minorities, women, homosexuals! Citizenship rights for undocumented workers! From Afghanistan to Poland to El Salvador—down with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! Throw out the capitalists! Seize banks, industry—no compensation! Establish workers government!

Spartacist Candidates for S.F. Board of Supervisors Say:

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats!

Statement Filed By Richard Bradley

Supporter Spartacist, labor/socialist who mobilized to stop Nazi provocation against gays—Chicago 1982. Ten years UAW militant. Member Teamsters. Black activist. South Carolina desegregation struggles, 1966-67. Oppose anti-Soviet war preparations/austerity drive! Not a man or penny to imperialist armed forces! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Israeli/imperialist troops out of Lebanon! Democrats—enemies of labor/minorities! Build a workers party! Strike action to bring down Reagan! Jobs for all, decent housing, free medical, child care, education, transit! Stop INS raids—citizenship rights for undocumented workers! No gun control! Smash Nazi/Klan terror! Throw out bosses—establish workers government!

SAN FRANCISCO—This year every labor misleader from Lane Kirkland to Gus Hall is hoping American workers have taken enough punishment under Reagan to be driven back forcibly to the Democratic Party fold. Bureaucrats in unions wracked with layoffs tell their members outright: you deserve this for not voting Democrat like we told you to. With the poor and working population reeling from bipartisan budget cuts and bipartisan tax hikes to pay for a bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, the union tops peddle the "lesser evil Democrats" lie. And the entire American reformist left is up to its neck in this massive fraud, either directly (like Michael Harrington's DSA) or indirectly through CISPES and the nuke "freeze" movement (CP, SWP, Marcyites, etc.), steering workers into a hoped-for revival of the urban/labor/Dixiecrat coalition to elect Teddy Kennedy

president in 1984.

Against the whole spectrum of this American popular front, the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee in San Francisco has announced two candidates for Board of Supervisors in the November elections. Diana Coleman and Ritchie Bradley are out to tell the working-class public: you can't fight Reagan with Democrats! It will take a program of independent class struggle to turn labor around, stop the endless cycle of defeats and sellouts, and bring Reagan down through militant labor action.

Central to that class-struggle program is an energetic and resolute battle against the anti-Soviet war aims of U.S. imperialism. As Trotskyists, Coleman and Bradley stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and deformed workers states against imperialism.

In Afghanistan they hail the Red Army intervention against the CIA-backed feudalists and demand the extension of the gains of the October Revolution. In Poland they denounce Solidarność as a company union for the CIA and Western bankers, calling for the crystallization of a genuine Trotskyist party to lead proletarian political revolution to oust the venal, incompetent, counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy and defend the Polish working class against imperialist-inspired counterrevolution.

Coleman and Bradley raise the call: Military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador! Salvadoran workers and peasants must break with the popular-frontist FDR and seize power in their own name. As socialist union militants, Coleman and Bradley urge U.S. workers to refuse to ship arms to the bloody junta and to oppose U.S. military

intervention by strikes and other militant labor action! They demand the complete withdrawal of Israeli/imperialist troops from Lebanon.

The Spartacist candidates' stand for international workers' solidarity is also expressed in their opposition to the labor bureaucracy's protectionist job-trusting. These schemes tell American workers their real enemy is not their own bourgeoisie but their class brothers in Japan and West Europe.

Coleman and Bradley say: The main enemy is at home! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist armed forces! They denounce the Vietnam war criminal-led "nuclear freeze movement" as a bourgeois diversion: imperialist wars will end only when the proletariat seizes power from the bourgeoisie and establishes its own class rule. Their campaign provides San Francisco

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WV Photo



DIANA COLEMAN, 36, was born in San Francisco. Her experience as an activist in the civil rights, antiwar and women's movement and as a trade unionist brought her to a militant socialist perspective of support to the Trotskyist Spartacist League.

At an early age she took part in demonstrations at City Hall which rode the witchhunting McCarthyite HUAC out of San Francisco in 1960. In 1965 she went to Gulfport, Mississippi to work with the militant civil rights organization SNCC. She came back to the Bay Area to become active in the Vietnam antiwar movement.

Coleman was a leader of Oakland Women's Liberation and an active union militant for ten years, six of them at the phone company as a member of the Militant Action Caucus of CWA. She was active in

the militant phone workers' suit which wrested an apology and settlement from the U.S. Secret Service for its illegal seizure of CWA delegate Jane Margolis at her union's 1979 convention.

In 1980 Diana was an organizer of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN), the Spartacist-initiated united front which stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday at the San Francisco Civic Center. Following that successful mobilization, she was the Spartacist candidate for Board of Supervisors in 1980 and received 7,000 votes. She has been a frequent speaker for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at El Salvador protests.

Coleman was active in the 1981 defense campaign that won a retraction from California attorney general George Deukmejian (now Reagan's man for California governor) for his office's lying characterization of the Spartacist League as "terrorist" in a report sent to cop agencies—a characterization which aimed to set up the Marxists of the SL for murder by the cops.

This June, Coleman addressed the City Council to testify against Mayor Feinstein's gun control as a threat to minorities in particular, pointing out that "if guns are banned, only the cops and the Klan will have guns." She called for the right of black armed self-defense against racist terror and for mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists.

WV Photo



RICHARD BRADLEY, 32, is a black activist, union militant and committed revolutionist. He grew up during the civil rights movement and participated in demonstrations in Orangeburg, South Carolina to desegregate public facilities, amid racist attacks and National Guard shootings. He marched in protest of cop violence against civil rights demonstrators. In 1967 he was among the embattled black students who were the first ever admitted to the University of South Carolina.

Later he worked for ten years on the assembly line at Ford Motor Co. in Mahwah, New Jersey. At first a sympathizer of the Communist Party, he soon became disgusted with the CP's reformist work as a left "pressure" group on pro-Democratic Party out-bureaucrats. Ritchie became a leader of a militant opposition caucus in the union,

seeking to unchain the might of the UAW to fight against the auto companies. That struggle won him to the revolutionary views of the Spartacist League. Always a fighter for the workers and oppressed, in 1980 he took the lead in fighting for factory seizures and an industry-wide strike against the closure of the Mahwah plant, a perspective which has only acquired greater urgency in the face of industrial contraction and skyrocketing unemployment.

Bradley covered the infamous Greensboro, North Carolina trial as part of the *Workers Vanguard* news team which publicized government involvement in the Klan/Nazi murder of five leftist union and black activists in 1979. When the Klan vowed to celebrate the Greensboro massacre with a rally in downtown Detroit, Bradley was one of the organizers of the Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization that faced down the threats of Detroit's Democratic Party mayor and stopped the KKK provocation. Ritchie also worked to build a similar mobilization of 3,000 which confronted a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day this year in Chicago on June 27.

It is desperately necessary to fight, and to build a workers party to lead that fight. The Coleman/Bradley campaign is a means to reach out and find the workers, especially black workers, who will provide the leadership for the American workers revolution, a socialist revolution to finish what the Civil War started.

Reagan Incites Solidarność Counterrevolution in Poland

"The struggle continues in Poland," declared Ronald Reagan a few months ago as he called upon the British parliament to join him in a new "crusade" against Communism. And indeed Poland is the weak link among the bureaucratically ruled workers states which make up the Soviet bloc. The Polish Stalinists' gross economic mismanagement and flagrant corruption, their suppression of democratic rights amid continual promises of "socialist renewal" have caused a substantial section of the Polish people, including major sectors of the working class, to look toward Reagan's Pentagon and pope Wojtyła's Vatican. U.S. imperialism saw in the counterrevolutionary eruption in and around Solidarność (Solidarity) the best opportunity yet to "roll back" the Soviet sphere, leading for example to the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis. No wonder Reagan howled in frustration when the Polish army spiked Solidarność's bid for power last December! Hence his clumsy and desperate attempts to stop the Siberian gas pipeline deal between the USSR and West Europe, which have provoked European capitalists into some howling of their own against Washington.

While U.S. imperialism lost an important battle for Poland last December, Reagan has by no means given up the war. Taking the cue from their godfather in Washington, the underground Solidarność leadership has called for stepped-up protests to culminate in a mass demonstration on August 31. Since the communications network of the Solidarność underground leaves something to be desired, this call to action has been rebroadcast repeatedly by Radio Free Europe! So much for those self-styled "leftists" who indignantly denounced as a Stalinist slander our description of Solidarność as a Polish company union for the CIA and bankers.

December 13: Counterrevolution Checked

In early December 1981 Poland stood at the very edge of civil war. Solidarność chieftain Lech Walesa reportedly told the minister of labor with whom he had carried on lengthy negotiations, "Well, Mr. Ciosek, this is the end. Then we will have to take over power." The following evening at a secret meeting in Radom the Solidarność high command laid plans to overthrow the government. A decision was made to set up militias and a general strike was announced for the second week in December. Under the gun the Stalinist bureaucracy, at the last possible moment to act from a position

of state power, launched a virtual counter-coup.

Had Walesa made good his boastful threat, Poland would have been transformed into a fanatical ally in Reagan's war drive, bringing NATO's nuclear arsenal right up to the borders of the Soviet Union. If anyone doubts this, just look at those Solidarność activists now active in the West. Solidarność-in-exile has put itself forward as Reagan's ideological shock troops against East-West détente, the West European anti-missile protests and the left in general. The most prominent Solidarność spokesman in North America, Zygmunt

crackdown against Solidarność would require Soviet military intervention—and that would mean a bloodbath. Yet, as it turned out, the job was done by the Polish army and with only a dozen or so deaths. There was little bloodshed because, fortunately, there was so little resistance. One Solidarność supporter exclaimed bitterly:

"We always believed that Polish soldiers would never shoot Polish workers—and it's still true, they haven't really. But the diabolical thing is they don't have to."

—New York Times, 1 January

While millions of Poles rallied to Solidarność as an oppositional move-

intermediary, from an official in the Ministry of the Interior."

—"Poland Still Defiant,"

New York Times Magazine, 22 August

This kind of openness perpetuates the counterrevolutionary danger. But at the same time it makes possible the creation of a network of Trotskyist cells. Many Polish workers and intellectuals are surely seeking new answers to the prolonged social crisis, and some will be open to the authentic program of revolutionary Marxism which alone can undercut the disastrous polarization of Polish society which pits workers, along with petty-bourgeois and outright reactionary elements, against "socialism" as espoused by the privileged, discredited Stalinist bureaucracy.

Polish Stalinists Cannot Clean Up the Economic Mess

The Jaruzelski regime has undertaken a series of sweeping economic measures more or less as dictated by Poland's Western bankers. For more than a decade the Polish Stalinists tried to appease the workers by freezing con-

Warsaw, 13 August: Behind the cross of flowers stands the threat of counter-revolution.



Przetakiewicz, exclaimed to a Toronto meeting in March:

"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."

The head of the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council, Jan Faber, described his unhappy encounters with Solidarność exiles: "They tell us: 'you should be embracing Reagan's policy and cheering. It is the only way to deal seriously with the Soviets'" (New York Times, 3 June). Since some of Reagan's missiles will surely hit Warsaw, Gdansk and Cracow this amounts to a call for the extermination of the Polish people in the name of anti-Communist Polish nationalism.

Before December 13 the one thing everyone seemed to agree on was that a

ment against the despised Stalinist bureaucracy, many pulled back from Walesa's coup. Apparently they had insufficient confidence that Walesa & Co. offered a way out of the endless crises wracking Polish society.

Shortly after martial law was imposed we wrote:

"A tremendous political/psychological shakeup has taken place in Poland. Suddenly Polish society has been arrested, just plain stopped. But the repression has not gone so deep as to prevent the emergence of an underground opposition.... Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them."

—"What Next for Poland?," WV No. 298, 5 February

Contrary to the horror stories manufactured by imperialist propaganda, the repression in Poland has been pretty mild. Almost all the Solidarność internees have been released. In fact, Jaruzelski's Poland is still more tolerant, even conciliatory toward right-wing forces than any other Stalinist-ruled state. The so-called "underground" is remarkably above ground. The West German *Der Spiegel* not only interviewed the organizer of Solidarność clandestine radio station, but published his photo to boot! The *New York Times* man in Warsaw, John Darnton, who is strongly pro-Solidarność, reports:

"One man I know who is in hiding comes up from time to time for a meal at his favorite restaurant. Another public figure in hiding, the former head of the journalists' association, is said to have received heart medication, through an

sumer goods prices while periodically granting sizable money wage increases. The predictable result was one of the most extreme cases of suppressed inflation in modern economic history. Then in February 1982 the inflation was unsuppressed as consumer prices were on average doubled, in some cases quadrupled. Even so there is still a lot of excess money demand playing havoc with the economy. And while hitting urban consumers with massive price hikes, the regime increased the prices paid to peasant proprietors for their products.

At the same time, the government told enterprises they would have to become financially self-sufficient—no more subsidies from the state budget to cover losses. As a result tens of thousands are being laid off. There are now an estimated 300,000 unemployed in the country, and one Communist party paper, *Rzeczpospolita*, projects this figure will rise to half a million by 1985.

The Solidarność leaders, however, can hardly criticize these economic "reforms." They themselves demanded that Poland join the International Monetary Fund, the world bankers' cartel, which recently told poor countries they would have to meet their debt payments even at the cost of mass starvation. Solidarność also demanded the complete abolition of centralized planning in favor of enterprises operating on the basis of market profitability. Especially under present Polish conditions this is a recipe for instant mass unemployment. And Solidarność fully backed the organization of peasant smallholders (Rural Solidarity) in its

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A Modern Holy Alliance: Lech Walesa gets his orders from Pope Wojtyła.

U.S. Provocations Widen Civil War in Central America

Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

Hands Off Nicaragua!

After "Major Blowtorch" d'Aubuisson came to power in the March 28 El Salvador elections with the vow to "exterminate" the leftist guerrillas with napalm, U.S. imperialism felt encouraged to extend the counterrevolutionary offensive throughout Central America. Moreover, Washington's counterrevolutionary drive is explicitly global: from El Salvador to Sandinista Nicaragua to Castro's Cuba to the Soviet Union. Reactionaries like Reagan see behind every rebellion of the oppressed, every struggle for social justice, the red menace of the Bolshevik Revolution even in its Stalinist degeneration. That is why the Spartacist tendency says: the defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!

Washington is making no secret of its intent to drown the rebellious Central American workers and peasants in blood. General Wallace Nutting, who heads the U.S. southern command in Panama, where "counterinsurgency" specialists from various Latin American countries are trained, told the *New York Times* (22 August) that "El Salvador was part of a broader regional problem" and he urged more military aid to Guatemala to avoid the "Finlandization" of the isthmus. On August 11 the U.S. Senate passed a resolution reasserting the Monroe Doctrine (!) and vowing to prevent the spread of Cuban influence by any means, "including the use of arms."

Imperialist Setbacks in El Salvador

With the election of crazed right-wing terrorist d'Aubuisson as president of the Constituent Assembly, even "moderate" right-wing terrorists who had run the country before found themselves under the gun. José Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats, themselves up to their necks in mass butchery, were labeled "Communists" by d'Aubuisson and have since been systematically bumped off by his death squads. Within a few months of d'Aubuisson's taking office twelve leading Christian Democrats, including mayors of two cities, were killed.

This, of course, did not prevent the Reagan administration from "certifying" that there was "progress in human rights" in El Salvador, a Congressional



Venceremos

Salvadoran leftist guerrillas have scored stunning victories over Washington-backed junta forces this summer.

requirement before additional American aid can be sent. Needless to say, the attempt of Congressional liberals to look clean by cutting the "military" portion of the scheduled \$75 million in "economic" aid to d'Aubuisson's death squads is of no consequence. Washington rumor has it that the military aid will simply be funneled through the Honduran junta.

Despite d'Aubuisson's ferocity, truckloads of American dollars and the return of elite Salvadoran army units trained in the U.S., the leftist FMLN forces this summer have dealt the military butchers a series of stunning defeats which have largely gone unreported in the American press.

On June 5 the leftist guerrillas overran the garrison town of Perquin in northeastern Morazán province, near the Honduran border. Expecting that the rebels would retreat in the face of reinforcements, as they had done before, the army dispatched a relief column of 335 troops up the highway from the provincial capital. They never made it to Perquin. Some 200 were killed or wounded; the rest fled in terror into the hills:

"Government spokesmen simply do not know the fate of the column, but said some of the survivors were found wandering in the mountains when the troops finally reached the area Saturday, 18 days after the ambush."

—UPI, 27 June

This so enraged army commanders that they sent in a force of 6,000 soldiers, one third of their total strength, to "wipe

out" the FMLN in Perquin. Instead, UPI reported, "the column took heavy casualties as it moved under constant flank attack at a rate of only half a mile a day" and the rebels claim to have killed or wounded over 500 soldiers. Even more embarrassing for the government, the guerrillas shot down a helicopter carrying Deputy Defense Minister Francisco Castillo and area commander Col. Salvador Beltrán. Beltrán was killed and Castillo captured. The rebels then taunted the army by broadcasting an interview with Castillo over its clandestine radio.

The guerrilla victory was doubly significant in that the army units included companies of the infamous Atlacatl and Ramón Belloso battalions, the former trained by U.S. military advisers, the latter made up of officers and troops just back from 16 weeks training at Fort Bragg and Fort Benning in the U.S. The Salvadoran military has been counting on these elite forces to turn the tide of battle for them. But the only "victory" for these troops was the killing of 135 "subversives" in Chalatenango province, 95 percent of whom were unarmed noncombatants including women, children and old people.

In July and August the FMLN guerrillas made more gains: on July 17 the Dominican paper *El Sol* reported that the guerrillas captured three towns in Chalatenango province, and the Salvadoran army failed to recapture them despite the use of three U.S.-trained elite battalions. Guerrillas even

turned the tables on the government by attacking army barracks in San Francisco Gotera, the provincial capital of Morazán.

Military Victory to the Salvadoran Leftists!

The recent losses on the battlefield have prevented the consolidation of d'Aubuisson's power, and have fueled the ambitions of so-called "reformist" or "centrist" army leaders. According to the well-informed *Latin American Weekly Report* (30 July):

"What all these groups and individuals have in common is a desire to seek a negotiated political solution with the opposition rather than trying vainly for an all-out military victory. As the army continues to lose ground to the guerrillas, the opposition's case will undoubtedly find increasing support."

The return of "reformist" army leaders like Colonel Adolfo Majano would not diminish the terror against the Salvadoran masses, who had a taste of the "human rights" junta in 1979-80.

For the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the FDR/FMLN, the military gains of the guerrillas in the field have always been subordinate to a so-called "political solution," which explicitly accepts the "institutionality" of the bloodthirsty Salvadoran army. On July 22 FDR leaders Rubén Zamora and Guillermo Ungo announced that they wanted a "dialogue" with the army leaders. A recent FDR/FMLN communiqué, continued on page 10

Der Spiegel



The war regionalizes: Victims of "death squads" in Guatemala (above), U.S. trains Salvadoran butchers at Fort Benning (right).



Taylor/Syigma



Mario Ruiz

U.S. "advisers" in Honduras.

NYC Transit Militants Protest Lynch Mob Murder

“Labor Has the Power to Stop Racist Terror!”

Militants in the NYC Transport Workers Union (TWU) are calling on the union to defend its members after the lynch mob murder of black union brother William Turks in Brooklyn on June 21. The militants have been campaigning in the TWU for an effective union response to the racist assault which killed Turks and injured two other black TWUers. The workers were on their way home from the Coney Island shop when they were set upon by a mob of club-swinging racists on Avenue X in the racially polarized Gravesend area. Immediately following this outrage, black TWU Local 100 member Ed Kartsen and two other TWUers issued a leaflet dated 23 June demanding the union “organize an immediate rally and march of mourning and solidarity—starting right at the Coney Island shop entrance. Every union and black organization in the city should be mobilized.”

The 23 June leaflet provoked broad interest among transit workers. TWU head John Lawe was flooded with phone calls from union members urging a TWU demonstration in Brooklyn. It also prompted Arnold Cherry, the TWU's leading black “dissident” and head of the Transit Workers Coalition of bureaucrats, to issue a leaflet of his own a few days later. The undated Cherry leaflet denounced “Extremist groups like the far left Spartacus [sic] League, which ran Karstan [sic] for President of Local 100 in the last election.” Cherry claimed the militants were “using the death of a fellow transit worker for their own purposes.”

Cherry's own “proposal” was to criticize Lawe for not asking TWU members to take time off work to attend Turks' funeral (which had already been held!) and to push for attendance at a pro-Democratic Party lobbying “rally for jobs” in Albany called by the state AFL-CIO tops. Key to Cherry's pitch was the attempt to paint Kartsen as some kind of wild man fanning the flames of racial violence. To do so he had to pass off the Turks murder as little different from garden-variety subway crime.

With Lawe and Cherry united in opposition to union action, it was left to anti-union black demagogues to seek to use the lynch mob killing for their own

pro-Democratic Party purposes. First Roy Innis, a black demagogue whose political career was capped by his apologetics for the South Africa/CIA-backed UNITA faction in Angola against the nationalist MPLA rebels, called a demonstration over the Turks killing. Then it was the turn of Rev. Herbert Daughtry, best known for systematically channeling black discontent into anti-Semitic scapegoating in Crown Heights. Both rallies attracted a couple of hundred black participants and a rather larger number of local racist youth who lined the sidewalks shouting racist slurs and threats.

Cherry kept his distance from these rallies, but they fit in with his basic perspective, which he shares with Lawe: to throttle the power of the unions, counseling the workers and oppressed to place their hopes in the election of Democrats. Cherry and Lawe may acquiesce to a few blacks occasionally blowing off steam in Innis/Daughtry-style rallies, but must oppose independent mass mobilization by the working people against the racist system, which could blow the lid off the Democrat/union bureaucrat alliance.

What is needed is a real show of force expressing the TWU's determination to defend its members against the rising threat of racist and fascist-inspired violence. The TWU, as well as other city unions with a high proportion of minority workers, must take the lead in independently mobilizing the organized strength of the labor movement in defense of the elementary democratic rights of blacks.

The perspective of massive labor/black mobilization against race-terror was put forward by Kartsen in his union election platform last fall. Kartsen and TWU brother David Brewer campaigned on an anti-capitalist, anti-racist action program centering on defense of the right to strike (see *WV* No. 293, 20 November 1981). Earlier, Kartsen had fought for the TWU to shut down the “Train to the Plane” in solidarity with striking air traffic controllers, in hopes of galvanizing similar actions by unions like the Machinists, which stabbed the PATCO strikers in the back by continuing to service the airplanes. It is this kind of concrete action, he argued, which is

needed to get the unions off their knees to defeat givebacks and union-busting. But this proposal was torpedoed by Lawe and Cherry, whose disastrous “leadership” of the 1980 transit strike has fostered widespread defeatism among the TWU ranks in the face of the city bosses' present speed-up/union-busting offensive against the TWU.

We publish below the most recent leaflet issued by Kartsen demanding the

tion of TWU power in Gravesend because it would “disturb our good relations with management.” Lawe starts by giving up the strike weapon “to achieve better relations with management” and now he wants us to surrender to the racist lynch mobs!

Arnold Cherry's response to this call was to come out with a dirty red-baiting attack claiming that “extremists” are using the Turks murder for their own

31 July 1982—

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News

(Queens) **BROOKLYN News** (Long Island)

Transit workers plan rally to protest Turk's slaying

By ANGELA JONES
Amsterdam News Staff
Some members of the Transit Workers Union (TWU) — outraged over the murder of fellow worker Willie Turks last month — are urging the membership to organize a rally to protest racial violence against all union workers.
Ed Kartsen, a signal/maintenance man at the 25th Street signal shop, said “It is open season on Blacks and the work force,” and maintained that TWU workers expect special protection from Mayor Koch or the city.
“We have to look to our own forces,” he said. “This will be an ongoing effort to get us off our knees and play the leadership role that we should play.”
Turks, 34, a TA cnc maintenance man and two fellow employees were attacked in the Gravesend area of Brooklyn as they exited a Bagel shop on June 21. Turks was beaten and stomped to death, while his co-workers Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper were assaulted.
Pointing to the mayor's “flood of crocodile tears following the tragedy,” Kartsen accused the mayor of “perpetuating racism throughout the city.”
“Who paved the way for this outrage,” he asked.
He cited the death of Black motorman Jesse Coles last year as an example of “what the city thinks of Black transit employees.” Shortly after the death of Coles — who was killed in his cab when a signal maintainer failed to operate properly. — MTA head John Simpson hastily blamed the accident on “human error.”
“If one of us is attacked, all of us are attacked,” he said.
But TWU President John Lawe told the *Am News* that he is opposed to any organized efforts by his membership to become involved in publicly decrying the Turk's murder.
“A demonstration would inflame the whole thing,” he maintained. “It is a march to put not the answer.”
The leader of the 33,000 member union said he has been in close contact with Roy Innis, leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and feels the organization's rallies in Gravesend have helped to “stabilize the neighborhood.”

NYC black press publicizes militants' call for union action.

TWU answer the Turks murder by a mobilization of integrated union power. The leaflet signed by Kartsen and two other TWU militants is dated 20 August.

It's been two months since the lynch mob murder of TWU brother Willie Turks. Our black union brothers, as well as the black people who live in the encircled projects in Gravesend, live under the threat of continuing racist and anti-labor violence. Brother Turks' murder was no isolated incident. A Jewish TWUer was hit with a baseball bat and blinded in one eye by the racist thugs. The *Amsterdam News* says that at least two of the racist killers are back on the streets. Despite a supposed crackdown by the cops, nothing has changed.

A couple of weeks ago on August 7 a six-year-old black girl had to flee for her life from a knife-wielding racist in Gravesend.

Our union has the power to put a stop to this crap. We could dispatch squads of flatbed trucks with thousands of TWU brothers and sisters prepared to defend our members and smash these updated versions of the Ku Klux Klan southern lynch mobs.

Right after the Turks murder I put out a call for union action to stop these racist attacks. This call has been met warmly by many individual transit workers who realize the deadly seriousness of this issue. One black TWU sister called us to tell us how her son has been followed and harassed on his way to work. The union hall was flooded with phone calls demanding union action.

But the Lawe leadership has done nothing but work to sabotage our call for a TWU mobilization in Gravesend. Martin Bellamy, VP of the motormen's division, had the nerve to tell me that if I wanted something done about the Turks lynching I should write a letter to Koch. Koch—the one who loves to hate us! John Lawe went so far as to go on the air on a black radio station (WBLS) to promote his opposition to a mobiliza-

ends. In his leaflet titled “Turks' Killing Not Just a Racial Issue” he repeats Lawe's arguments: “All over the transit system, workers are traveling in fear of life and property”—as if lynch mob terror is no different than your average everyday mugging.

In response to our support to the right of armed self-defense, which is supposed to be guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, Cherry says: “Their call for the use of guns by transit workers must be denounced.” If brother Cherry is against the right of self-defense, what is he for? Answer: he's for gun control and for more cops, the corrupt racist brutal thugs whose job is to protect the property of the bosses, and never mind the lives of transit workers. Cherry's red-baiting attack against the mobilization of TWU power goes together with his support to Democratic Party politician [Frank] Barbaro. He has to be against the independent mobilization of labor's power so he can present his politician friends as the only alternative for workers fed up with Reaganism.

Cherry claims reds are trying to use transit workers—while he hustles TWU votes for the Democratic Party! The Democratic Party is in the business of cynically using workers and minorities to get into office. Once elected, they support the interests of the capitalist class against workers and minorities. Ed Koch, that TWU-hating racist, is a member of the same party Cherry wants us to vote for. Koch started off just like Barbaro—a liberal Democrat. He campaigned for workers' votes, and once elected went on a campaign to smash the workers' organizations (our unions) for the Big MAC hankers. Jimmy Carter's Democrats paved the way for Reagan by demoralizing and infuriating the working people. Under the Democrats, the government broke strikes and started the war build-up that Reagan continues. It was under the Democrats that even the most minimal democratic gains won by the mass civil rights movement were taken back in the streets.

continued on page 9



June 27: Transit militant Ed Kartsen addresses SL-initiated mass anti-Nazi demonstration in Chicago.

Death of Busing Inflames Racist Terror in Boston

• Black, unemployed, 17-year-old Braxton Mitchell was surrounded by Boston cops after allegedly stealing a car for a "joyride." He was shot in the head as he attempted to flee. "You shot him like a dog," Mitchell's mother sobbed at cop spokesmen during an emotional community meeting in Roxbury.

• In a traffic altercation which began in front of Government Center and ended in Back Bay, four white punks wielding chains and clubs smashed in a black family's car windows. Mayor Kevin White refused to characterize the attack as racial though one of the assailants had reportedly screamed, "I'm gonna kill you, you black nigger."

• Gary Lee, black, 27 years old, was sitting on his front porch when approached by two plainclothes cops who said Lee "looked suspicious." Lee allegedly ran and a scuffle ensued during which a cop was reportedly shot in the hand and shoulder. Lee was shot in the head. Ambulance technicians rushed the cop away leaving the black man lying in the street. Lee was dead by the time he got to the hospital.

• Three black families in Dorchester are suing the mayor and police commissioner charging that violence against blacks has become so commonplace in Boston that it constitutes de facto city policy. The families were driven out of their homes by six months of frequent racial assaults involving rocks, knives and, finally, molotov cocktails.

And Mayor White says, "It's been a relatively quiet summer."

Boston's black people are facing a many-sided racist front: white racist mobs, official terror in blue, the sanctification of school segregation in the courts. Certainly, racist attacks are nothing new in Boston and they have become fairly common since pitched battles over busing began in 1974. But now fascists across the U.S. are working the fringes of "respectable" politics and a president endorsed by the KKK sits in the White House. The racists have taken their cue: it's open season on Boston minorities. Without credible black leadership, after eight years of losing the busing battle in the streets, Boston's black people know their lives are cheap in this racially polarized city. Maybe Gary Lee did run when he saw the cops approaching—he could figure they weren't coming to protect him!

In a single statement, Dorchester police superintendent David Walsh summed up the cops' attitude toward blacks: "We try to sensitize our men. But the citizens need to be educated too. We can't put up a 10-foot high chain link fence along Washington Street... there will be crime..." (*Boston Globe*, 10 August). In other words, to the cops blacks are non-citizen criminals who should be fenced off from white "citizens."

As racists in and out of uniform spread terror in the streets, the courts are also reveling in the black masses' desperation. Here, in the city which was the Northern battleground in the struggle for integrated education, the courts are tossing the last shovelfuls of earth on the corpse. In December 1981 federal judge Arthur Garrity announced his intention to exit from the case which in 1974 had mandated court-ordered busing to desegregate the schools. A few months later, he got his opportunity as a newly formed Black Parents Committee—represented by the former attorney for the black plaintiffs in the city's original school desegregation case—

began pushing for "freedom of choice" for their children, i.e., an end to court-ordered busing.

Busing, mandated in Boston in 1974 after a decade of mass-based struggles against Jim Crow nationally, represented a formal victory for the liberal-led civil rights movement. Given that "separate but equal" education must necessarily be grossly unequal in a racist society, moves toward integrating the public schools were a minimal but real step toward black equality. But in a deeply racist, vicious exploitative capitalist society the defense of even minimal black demands

the streets.

Since 1974, black kids have had their school buses stoned as they rode to previously all-white schools. The liberals' busing plan, with its inherent class bias, was calculated to inflame plebeian racist backlash. The wealthy suburban schools were of course always exempted from busing plans. Roxbury black students were shipped to poor working-class schools like South Boston High, and Southie kids—those who didn't transfer to private schools—were sent to Roxbury or Mattapan. "Quality education" was nonexistent for all of them.

No wonder the demoralized black

surrenders to the racist status quo. It must be opposed by all defenders of black rights. From the beginning of the fight over busing, the Spartacist League has defended busing as a partial step toward black equality. Down with Jim Crow—implement busing and extend it to the suburbs! We insisted that the key to winning the busing fight was labor/black defense to enforce school desegregation against the terror campaign of criminal racist mobs.

The liberals and their reformist hangers-on oppose a perspective of mobilizing labor independent of the capitalist state to defend blacks. The masses of black people today know they don't have a friend in the White House; those who remember "ethnic purity" Carter know the Democrats are no answer either. But the liberal misleaders continue to look toward the racist Congress, the racist courts and the racist cops for "protection," and to counterpose themselves to a struggle to win the labor movement to champion black freedom. The present agitation for "preferential layoffs" of teachers—a bid to destroy the hard-won union seniority system—pits black and white teachers against each other and threatens to generate the same disastrous lineup as the 1968 teachers strike in New York, when black nationalists and the Ford Foundation sought to mobilize the black community to bust the union in support of an illusory "community control" plan which did not even aim at school integration but only at defending the bailiwick of a high-paid black administrator.

For its part, the Boston Teachers Union's narrow "professionalist" policies have set the stage for a split along race lines. A militant, class-struggle teachers union would be in the vanguard of labor/black struggle to defend the black school children against the anti-busing mobs. It would fight for "No Layoffs," appealing for broad support from other unions like the militant transit workers and among parents who recognize the need for a fight for decent public education, which includes the fight for more and better-paid teachers. It would win the working people of Boston to its side by aggressive involvement in social struggle for black rights, beginning with militant protests against atrocities like the shootings of Braxton Mitchell and Gary Lee.

The Spartacist League fights for revolutionary integrationism in the fight for an egalitarian socialist society. Our program to mobilize all the oppressed behind the power of a class-struggle labor movement is the alternative to defeatism and despair for the besieged black masses of America. ■

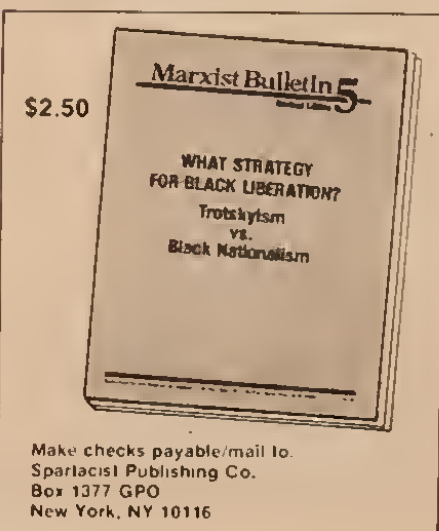


Boston 1975: SL/SYL calls for labor-black defense against anti-busing racist mobs. Below: Stars-and-stripes anti-busing thugs attack blacks in Boston, 1976.

requires a revolutionary perspective. The reformist civil rights leaders saw no role for the mass movement they controlled except to exert moral pressure against racism. They wanted to get the good government to move against the bad racists. With their perspective, they expected that the capitalist rulers who benevolently granted black people certain formal rights would defend black people when they exercised them. The liberal-led movement was capable of getting busing passed in the courts but not of defending black school children. The racist countermobilization which subjected the school buses to every kind of harassment and assault went unopposed by the black and white liberals and preachers who posed as blacks' defenders. What was granted in the courts was ripped back by force in

parents are backing away from busing. Why subject your kids to rat-infested buses, endless racial assaults, schools like armed camps where students are run past metal detectors, to get what passes for "education"? Hence the Black Parents Committee, which proposes to capitulate to the racists' "freedom of choice" school assignment plan, i.e., the end of busing and the re-sanctification of school segregation. In an exceptionally interesting *Boston Globe* poll released last March, 79 percent of black parents surveyed supported "freedom of choice" while at the same time 73 percent recognized it as a defeat for civil rights! A clearer index of defeatism would be hard to find.

The call for "freedom of choice," like the black nationalists' program of "community control of the schools,"



Labor: Don't Crawl...

(continued from page 1)

fight! The unemployed rolls are ten million and growing. Blacks face depression conditions compounded by vicious slashing of basic social services. Bloody race-terrorism and cop brutality are on the rise. The bosses are screaming for more wage cuts as they close plant after plant. Kirkland calls unemployment a "human disaster," but his do-nothing policy is a political disaster for the working people. Every giveback only whets the capitalists' appetite in the "one-sided class war." And now the AFL-CIO tops want us to march for another Jimmy Carter.

Instead of using the fighting weapons of labor—the picket, the strike, the sit-down, labor/black defense, international solidarity—we are told to vote Democratic, to put in more enemies like the Democratic mayors who are destroying the cities where workers and minorities live on behalf of a social program that amounts to mass murder.

Democrats: Reagan's Partners in Crime

Anyone who thinks the Democrats will improve life for working people ought to take a long hard look at the Democratic mayors. For if the front lines of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive are Central America, the Near East and Eastern Europe, the battleground of his domestic war against workers and minorities is the big city. And here Reagan has as his field marshals of austerity and oppression the Democratic mayors. Detroit's Coleman Young, New York's Ed Koch, Chicago's Jane Byrne, San Francisco's Dianne Feinstein—all Democratic union busters, all enemies of blacks. The Democratic mayors were there before Reagan with the budget ax, the strikebreaking, the killer cops.

Black youth unemployment is now over 60 percent (in Detroit, over 70 percent). Even black skilled workers are finding themselves on the economic scrap heap. Across-the-board attacks on black rights accompany the economic assault, from tax breaks for segregated schools to a green light for race-terrorists. The Democratic mayors blame Reagan while they carry out the same program. Against the jobless youth they unleash their trigger-happy cops. They cut back job training, crack down on welfare, close hospitals. Their answer to increased landlord arson is to close ghetto firehouses. And they have a special hate for city workers.

Coleman Young, the black Democrat who runs Detroit, presides over a living hell for black people. His phony "Renaissance" talk has given way to

preaching "trickle-down" economics for the poor. But nothing's trickling in Detroit, except into the pockets of Young and his cronies. He's now being investigated over a scam involving a black-owned oil company, but his real crimes against black Detroit stem from his close ties to the auto bosses. To roll out the red carpet for the Republican convention, he declared war on the largely black municipal workers union. His message to Detroit's black workers is: drop dead.

New York's Koch took office in 1978 riding the white backlash and railing against "poverty pimps" and "welfare chiselers." He proposed the electric chair to restore "law and order." His slashing of jobs and social services on behalf of the banks has become a model of capitalist cutback drives.

Koch's attack on Harlem reached something like retrench warfare in September 1980 when he sent his cossacks in a bloody charge against demonstrators sitting in to save Sydenham Hospital. As demonstrators were clubbed and arrested, Koch praised the cops' "restraint" and called the protesters a "black mob."

Long before Reagan, Koch with the help of social-democratic union bureaucrats was running a union-busting campaign. He specially targeted the heavily black transit union, personally leading the onslaught against their 1980 strike. No wonder a Brooklyn lynch mob was emboldened to beat a black transit worker to death last June.

Chicago's Jane Byrne was elected with 63 percent of the black vote and the support of black "leaders" like Jesse Jackson. Now her cops knock down black residents' doors in Cabrini Green while she spends a few well protected days there "slumming" for the press. This summer she appointed a white majority to the Chicago Housing Authority, which lords it over residents, 90 percent of whom are black.

For black hustlers for the Democrats, like PUSH's Jesse Jackson, this was an opening for a power play, a chance to use Chicago's frustrated black people to push an intra-Democratic squabble over who gets the keys to The Machine. Jackson called for a black boycott of Byrne's annual August waterfront extravaganza, the "ChicagoFest." The stunt fizzled; only a few hundred picketers showed up at the gates of an event which blacks do not attend in large numbers in any case. The Chicago media blabbed on and on about whether "Kool and the Gang" would sing or "Leon's Ribs" would sell there. The racists were delighted with the whole idea and some sported T-shirts reading "Honkyfest." But for Chicago's black people, this diversionary gimmick to test the waters for a black mayoral candidate was potentially very dangerous. In this segregated northern city on the edge of explosion, to deliberately inflame the racial polarization is to flirt with putting Chicago's blacks directly and physically up against a white majority and the notoriously racist, bonapartist Chicago cops.

And for what? For nothing but a few more "black faces in high places." For a black version of Byrne, a Coleman Young, a Tom Bradley (the Los Angeles mayor whose cops' "choke hold" has brought about a string of deaths of black youth).

It will take integrated class struggle against cop and fascist terror—and against the decaying capitalist system which holds black lives cheap—to stop the rising tide of violence against black people. And that means a political fight against the Democratic Party, including its black frontmen. That program was glimpsed briefly in Chicago on June 27 when a Spartacist-led labor/black mobilization of 3,000 prevented a fascist provocation against Gay Pride Day.

In San Francisco, the Spartacist League is running two candidates for Board of Supervisors. Diana Coleman

and Richard Bradley are running against the record of the Democratic Party. Mayor Feinstein's big electoral issue is gun control: the drive to monopolize the means of organized violence in the hands of the cops. As a Supervisor, Feinstein was the most prominent gloater over the defeat of the 1976 city craft workers strike. Now her city attorneys are even putting liens on the union hall of the little 200-member plumbers union Local 38 because it refused to sign an agreement to ignore other unions' picket lines.

Democrats, Bureaucrats: The Cold War Connection

Lane Kirkland's vows to fight "Reaganomics" are merely an effort to repair the Democrats' liberal/labor electoral coalition. The AFL-CIO tops have endlessly stumped for Democratic "friends of labor," but now it's time for the real hard sell. In early August the AFL-CIO executive council promised a break with its tradition of formal "non-partisanship," and at this summer's Democratic "mid-term" conference, it was clear that the AFL-CIO has become the Democratic National Committee's most reliable financial supporter.

AFSCME's Atlantic City convention, held back-to-back with the Democrats' Philadelphia meeting, boasted of the union's influence in Kennedy's party. "AFSCME Leaders Help Shape Democrats' Program" headlined *Public Employee* (August 1982). AFSCME is running a pro-Democratic pseudo-populist campaign for a "Peoples' Congress." Fund-raising efforts will include "PEOPLE T-shirts," "PEOPLE pens," a "PEOPLE raffle"; *Public Employee* even talks about "PEOPLE people"! Workers familiar with the reformist American "left" should consider the identity of pro-Democrat intent with the Marcyite Workers World Party's effort to set up an "All Peoples Congress" last year.

For all the talk about "Reaganomics," there is a deep political consensus between the twin parties of capitalism. They agree on the fundamental questions, centrally on the ruling-class drive toward war against the Soviet Union. "Cold War II" was begun by Carter/Brzezinski mainly over Afghanistan. Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade was an attempt to morally (and militarily) rearm U.S. imperialism to combat communism on a global scale. At bottom it was a transition between the so-called "Vietnam syndrome" and unabashed warmongering.

The Cold War budget ax is chopping up the lives and livelihoods of countless millions of Americans, particularly blacks. A recent Princeton University study confirms statistically what is agonizingly obvious on the streets. In New York City alone: 12,000 lost welfare payments; and 39,000 had payments reduced; 42,000 lost food stamps and more than a million had them reduced; 4,500 lost CETA jobs and 33,000 lost job training; 30,000 lost school lunches; nearly half a million poor people will pay more for housing (*New York Times*, 13 August).

The racist Cold Warriors who run the American unions can't fight Reaganism because they share his program to "roll back" Communism. The U.S. labor "leaders" are even more ferocious in anti-Soviet fanaticism than many bourgeois elements. Many of them rose to their exalted positions over the political remains of the Communists in the postwar witchhunts. In the tradition of George Meany, who wanted to fight to the last man in Vietnam when most of the bourgeoisie had already given up, the anti-Soviet AFL-CIO tops are an important social underpinning to the imperialist drive to reverse the gains of anti-capitalist revolutions throughout the world.

The rabidly pro-Zionist AFL-CIO took out pro-Begin advertisements in

the name of labor as the Israelis were mercilessly pounding Beirut. The labor traitors have long been the willing tools of union-busting CIA "free trade unions" from Latin America to Poland. Solidarność: at least here is a "labor struggle" that Albert Shanker can support, while he and his cronies figure out how much to give back of hard won union gains here at home. Their "roll-back" unionism abroad and their "giveback" unionism at home are linked by subordination to the U.S. ruling class.

But the AFL-CIO is having some problems selling the Democrats to the restive union ranks. John Perkins of COPE, the AFL-CIO's electoral arm, says he "hopes...to dilute the widespread cynicism COPE has found among so many potential voters, who at this time do not expect either party to do much of anything for them" (*New York Times*, 11 August). Even Teddy Kennedy has noticed that people are having trouble telling the twin parties apart. "The last thing this nation needs," he said at the recent Democratic convention, "is two Republican Parties." But that's what there is: two Republican Parties. Or two Democratic Parties, if you prefer.

Guns, No Butter

Nobody really thought Reagan could run up the highest peacetime military increases in history, cut taxes and balance the budget. The one promise he kept was to gear up the anti-Soviet military machine for war. It is the anti-Soviet war drive which demands the domestic policies of austerity. And it is on the anti-Soviet war drive that the Democrats and the labor bureaucrats stand shoulder to shoulder with Reagan. This is what gives the lie to the bureaucrats' crocodile tears for the poor, the "guns vs. butter" rhetoric. They are *for* the guns pointed at the USSR, and the hell with everything else.

But some workers aren't buying it. A recent editorial titled "Remembering Solidarity" in the "black establishment" *Amsterdam News* is clearly a response to real disgust with the "let them eat anti-Communism" school of politics:

"Eight black South African miners have been killed while participating in a strike in Johannesburg recently. The strikers were protesting that while men doing the same jobs are paid five times as much as they are. 'Has anyone heard from Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO? Has Al Shanker and the Teachers Union opened a New York office for the black trade union members so they can tell the true story about South Africa? Has anyone heard from Pope John Paul about the humanity of the slain workers? And where is Ronald Reagan that defender of freedom and justice?'"

Black people in racist America are forced to see the vicious hypocrisy of the capitalist system. Yet black Americans remain tied to illusions in the Democrats and will in their mass continue to support them so long as there appears to be no alternative. The key to unlocking this situation is revolutionary leadership. Black workers particularly will play a vanguard role in forging a proletarian party of black and white workers' leaders fighting to bring the power of labor to bear in industrial and political action against the bosses and their government. The working class needs its own party, built in struggle against the racist, Cold Warrior union tops, to link the needs of the unemployed to the potential power of employed workers, to unite the multiracial American proletariat around its class interests through struggle on behalf of all the oppressed, to weld our struggles to those of our class brothers throughout the world. Down with Cold War austerity—Defend and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution! For union action against Reagan and the Democratic mayors! Unchain labor—Oust the sellout bureaucrats! For a workers party fighting for a workers government! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Steel Bosses Demand Givebacks

For USWA Action Now to Stop Layoffs!

CHICAGO, 27 August—Over 600 unionists turned out today for a special Steelworkers (USWA) Local 65 meeting called to discuss a U.S. Steel proposal to build a new rail mill at its South Works plant here. The company is demanding major concessions in job combinations, plantwide. The ranks, reduced from nearly 10,000 a decade ago to about 900 working members today, wanted no part of this extortion. According to a Local 65 member, union officials who spoke for the deal were booed, and District 31 assistant director Carl Alessi was shouted down repeatedly when he threatened that voting no could result in the plant closing.

Former District 31 director and 1977 candidate for International president Ed Sadlowski, long the darling of the U.S. reformist "left," soft-pedaled his support for the concessions deal. Reportedly he admitted that accepting the concessions would not guarantee the new rail mill would be built, nor that the plant would remain open. But, continued this member of the team that negotiated the concessions, the union had done the best it could. In short, "Oilcan Eddie" told steel workers to eat it. No more "fightback" rhetoric here, only a program of more givebacks. Sadlowski's remarks received a cold reception here in his former base.

Two local out-bureaucrats, former Local 65 president Alice Peurala and CP-supported grievanceman Joe Kransdorf, were applauded for calling for a no-vote, but neither put forward any strategy to stop the layoffs and plant



Decaying capitalism demolishes U.S. Steel plant in Youngstown, Ohio. Nationally 114,000 steelworkers are laid off.

closures. Kransdorf's line was: "We should vote no and take our chances." It was the Peurala leadership that let 4,000 jobs go down the drain without a fight. Now all they can say is "take your chances."

One militant drew applause when he pointed to sitdown action against the steel bosses. The USWA is being gutted in basic steel by the loss of jobs: 114,000 steel workers are presently on indefinite layoff with no prospect of recall. The bosses are riding roughshod over workers on the shop floor, ignoring union reps, stalling grievances, combin-

ing jobs. Meanwhile bureaucrats like Local 1014 president Phil Cyprian in Gary continue to whine, "We should be partners, not adversaries!"

The recent USWA rejection of the steel industry's mammoth concessions proposal won't stop the companies' anti-labor drive. The present industry-wide contract expires next August, but union action is vitally needed *now*. But instead of mounting a fight against the job cuts, USWA officials have already agreed to several local giveback deals. All wings of the bureaucracy, from International president Lloyd McBride

to District 31 "progressive" Jim Bala-noff, tell the workers the only way out is voting Democrat in November. And all join hands with the steel bosses in whipping up protectionist opposition to foreign steel—a chauvinist campaign that paves the way for inter-imperialist war.

In a word, all these misleaders recognize the "right" of the greedy American steel barons to make a profit out of the workers' sweat. The reformists stamp out any impulse toward the hard class struggle that could ignite a workers' political counteroffensive against Reagan reaction and Democratic demagoguery. And especially in the social tinderbox of black and working-class Chicago, a sit-in at South Works could be just such a spark.

Local 65 president Don Stazak and the rest of the McBride-loyal local leadership expected a vote of confidence at today's meeting. But the angry mood displayed at this biggest turnout in over a decade prompted these sellouts to reconsider taking a vote. Claiming the packed hall didn't represent the membership as a whole, they proposed a mail vote and bureaucratically adjourned the meeting as the members chanted: "vote! vote! vote!" It is clear that among the ranks of the USWA there is willingness to fight. What stands in the way is a brittle and isolated pro-capitalist bureaucracy. The task remains to forge the leadership that will sweep the treacherous defeatists away and lead steel workers on the class-struggle road to victory. ■

Spartacist Candidates...

(continued from page 3)

voters with a chance to register principled opposition to the program and politics of U.S. imperialism.

San Francisco is a labor town with a labor-hating Democratic city government. Coleman and Bradley will run against the union-busting record of the Board of Supervisors, from strike-breaker mayor Feinstein to the DSA-Democrat gay politico Harry Britt.

Ritchie Bradley's candidacy is particularly welcome in putting forward a black communist against the black Democrats. Whether they are career cops like gubernatorial candidate Tom Bradley or fake-lefts like Congressman Ron Dellums, their role is to lead blacks back to the party of Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter and KKKer Tom Metzger.

Coleman and Bradley oppose Feinstein's gun ban, signed into city law by Board of Supervisor "progressives," as well as the statewide ballot initiative backed by governor Brown for a freeze on gun ownership. Gun control disarms blacks and minorities, women, gays, all increasingly targets of reactionary violence in Reagan's America. Teddy Kennedy's party never lifted a finger to defend black school children stoned by racist mobs in their Boston school buses; the party of Jerry Brown and Ron Dellums did nothing to protect black families whose homes were shot up and vandalized by the Klan in Contra Costa County. Now Democrats and Republicans join in measures to disarm the victims. Coleman and Bradley stand for the right of black armed self-defense and for mass labor/black mobilizations to stop KKK/Nazi terror. They have

worked actively for such mobilizations, including the successful demonstration that stopped the Nazis in San Francisco in April 1980.

Coleman and Bradley stand for a fight for jobs, for decent affordable housing and free public services. Since 1980 42 San Francisco plants and businesses have closed—thousands of jobs lost without a fight. Working people, blacks especially, are being driven out of the city by the converting or demolishing of low-cost and public housing, a practice typified by wealthy hotel owner Feinstein. Millionaire Muni boss Richard Sklar, the strike-breaking "democratic socialist," personifies the fare-gouging, service-cutting policies that make life in this city exasperating, expensive and dangerous.

Coleman and Bradley are campaigning on a program of mobilizing labor and minorities to struggle for a decent life. They are fighting to break working people from support to the Democratic Party of capitalist austerity, racism and imperialist war. Not only in San Francisco but throughout the nation workers need their own party to fight for a workers government which will smash the bosses' state, expropriate major industry and institute a planned economy in the interest of all working people. A vote for Coleman and Bradley is a vote for forging a mass workers party to lead the fight for successful socialist revolution. ■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 6)

The black Democrats under the leadership of people like [Black United Front leader Herbert] Daughtry and [CORE head Roy] Innis cynically used the blacks down in Gravesend to stage a

march into the racist stronghold in a call for police protection. Those marches were a display of weakness and isolation which will provoke more racist violence. Then the Democrats went home and left the Gravesend blacks to face the inflamed racist thugs and the racist cops.

A mobilization of integrated union power in Gravesend would expose impotent Democratic Party tactics like those marches. It could show a way forward for the oppressed working masses all over the city—the unions, not the Democratic fakers, as the real champions of the working people and minorities. No wonder the political agents of the Democrats in our union like Lawe and Cherry oppose such a mobilization!

What reared its head in Gravesend was not simply ethnic street gangs but the potential recruits for fascism. The KKK has been reported leafleting in the area. The fascists grow in times of massive economic hardship and social chaos. Their program is union-busting and genocide. The working class must nip these racist killers in the bud!

And the labor movement has the power to do it. The Spartacist League, the group that Cherry attacks in his leaflet, organized a militant mobilization of 3,000 people in Chicago against a provocation by the Nazis. I supported and participated in that important demonstration, along with many other unionists, on June 27th. But think what 33,000 TWU members, taking the lead to mobilize the workers and minorities of this city, could do in Gravesend!

Supporters of the Communist Party call on the capitalist government to "ban" the fascists. And the Socialist Workers Party thinks genocide is debatable. SWP supporter Mark Friedman, now a TWUer here, debated a Klansman on TV in San Diego! Anybody who thinks they can debate the

fascists had better expect that while you're debating one, another one is putting a bomb in your car. The fascists are not interested in debating "ideas"—they are terrorists organized for murderous action against blacks and other minorities!

The fascist thugs are emboldened in Reagan's America. They have polled tens of thousands of votes in several communities, and they are growing. The labor movement better get itself in gear to protect ourselves against their racist terrorism.

A lot of working people are pretty demoralized by the no-struggle "strategy" of the American union "leaders." The will to fight back is there but it's held down by union "leaders" who want us to believe the Democrats are some kind of "answer." The biggest and most racially integrated labor demonstration in U.S. history took place last September 19 in Washington. Half a million unionists came out to show their opposition to Reagan. The size and militancy of that demonstration surprised and scared the AFL-CIO brass. They're scared to fight the givebacks and cutbacks, scared to fight Reagan; they tell us nothing can be done except wait for election day and vote Democratic. But we don't want Jimmy Carter back! We need to bring Reagan down in the fight for a class-struggle workers party fighting for a workers government. We need to mobilize our real strength as unionists and our real allies, the working people and all the oppressed, to smash racist terrorism. We don't need more petitions to Koch and more begging marches in Albany, we need a fighting labor movement with an anti-capitalist perspective.

—Ed Kartsen

Endorsers: David Brewer
Keith Anwar

August 20, 1982

Central America...

(continued from page 5)

while noting the "institutionalization of the fascist clique" around d'Aubuisson, concludes that a more "flexible" solution might come from "a more direct negotiation with the White House"!

The military victories of the leftist guerrillas thus may well be thrown away for the sake of a "political solution." For the workers and peasants of El Salvador, such a treacherous "political solution" leaving the landlord-puppet army and oligarchy rule intact would mean the greatest bloodbath in the history of their oppression.

The response of the Reagan White House to the military setbacks of its Salvadoran puppets is not, however, to seek a "political solution" with the Ungos and Zamoras, but to widen the war. When it comes to protecting its capital, the imperialist bourgeoisie recognizes no borders. So Washington has been trying to organize a kind of Central American NATO. Honduras in particular, with an air force considered to be the most powerful in the region, has become a pivotal military force for the U.S.-directed counterrevolutionary terror. Since 1980 American military aid to Honduras has tripled. Earlier this summer Honduran troops carried out a joint military "exercise" with U.S. army and air force units stationed in Panama.

After visiting Washington recently, Honduran army chief Gustavo Alvarez went on television and declared war on the Salvadoran FMLN. In June 3,000 Honduran soldiers joined Salvadoran army units in a joint sweep against the leftist insurgents. But this also brought the war home to Honduras. In July Honduran counterinsurgency units fought a 16-hour gun battle with guerrillas in the capital city of Teguci-

galpa, and leftist insurgents bombed the capital's electricity installations.

The escalating Central American war has had a ripple-like effect. Mexico, while posturing as a "friend" of Cuba, Nicaragua and the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN, has beefed up its own counterinsurgency units as it worries about a spillover of peasant unrest from neighboring Guatemala. The murderous right-wing terror of Guatemala's General Ríos Montt, a certified religious nut, has forced an estimated 100,000 Guatemalan peasants to seek refuge across the border in Mexico. At the same time, the sudden drastic devaluation of the peso has popped the Mexican "oil boom" and further impoverished millions of its people, creating a potential for revolutionary ferment at the very borders of the United States.

The Vise Tightens on Sandinista Nicaragua

When the decades-entrenched Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua was overthrown by a popular insurrection in July 1979, U.S. imperialism suffered its greatest defeat in Latin America since the Cuban Revolution. And Ronald Reagan, of all U.S. imperialists, has no intention of accepting that defeat.

While the Honduran troops hunt the Salvadoran FMLN, they also threaten the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista regime, supporting ex-Sandinista-turned-counterrevolutionary Edén Pastora, the CIA-backed *somocistas* and their allies among the Miskito Indians. The Reagan administration has openly boasted of spending millions to train such counterrevolutionary armed bands. The *Washington Post* (6 August) observes that "it is hard to avoid the impression that the Reagan administration is cranking up something like a slow-motion Bay of Pigs invasion as a part of a multifaceted plan to destabilize Nicaragua."

Washington's offensive has put con-

siderable pressure on the Sandinista regime, which is still trying at all costs to reach an accommodation with imperialism and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. "Nicaragua is doing everything it can to avoid a regional conflict," Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega assured French president François Mitterrand in July (*Latin American Weekly Review*, 16 July). In other words, the heavily armed Sandinista forces will do *nothing* to militarily support the leftist insurgents in El Salvador and other Central American countries even as Washington's puppet juntas come to each other's aid!

But now Washington's puppet juntas are moving to attack Nicaragua itself, however much the Sandinistas may seek "peaceful coexistence." And that's something Ortega cannot close his eyes to:

"We are expecting an air attack and an attack by land. To the extent that there exists in the United States Government the desire to provoke this war, it is becoming practically impossible to avoid it."

—*New York Times*, 29 August

The pressure of a hostile American imperialism has brought forth cries for *socialist* revolution from the Nicaraguan working masses. Last May Day workers carried the popular slogan, "Defend the revolution, construct socialism." Sandinista leader Bayardo Arce has publicly repudiated the revolutionary demands of Nicaragua's working class:

"This is the slogan of our working class. This is important because it is not a line or a slogan of the revolutionary government or of the Sandinist front in this period."

—*El Sol*, 19 July

While the Nicaraguan economy continues to be predominantly capitalist, the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime could be forced against its will down the Cuban road of a deformed social revolution. Liberal Democrat and Carter's former ambassador to El Salvador Robert White

notes that "Nicaragua could go either way," and he proposes in effect that the U.S. buy off the Sandinistas rather than try to overthrow them. Reagan, on the other hand, seems to be trying to force the Sandinistas down the Cuban road so as to justify his bloody "crusade against Communism" in Central America.

But this is a dangerous game which can backfire. The regionalization of the Central American conflicts and the prospect of social struggles in Mexico with its powerful proletariat raise the stakes. In this context, the calls of the wretchedly reformist American "left" for a "political solution" are more than ever an exercise in outright betrayal. The French and Mexican presidents who came out for a negotiated settlement in El Salvador, like ex-ambassador White with his proposals for economic aid to Nicaragua to co-opt the Sandinistas, seek no less than Reagan to perpetuate the misery and terror of the masses. Like the earlier voices of bourgeois defeatism during the Vietnam War, these elements seek to modify imperialist policy to take account of a central fact that the anti-Communist fanatic Reagan refuses to recognize: the U.S. is no longer in a position, economically and militarily, to single-handedly police the globe. What the "moderates" want may be characterized by turning an old phrase on its head: diplomacy is the continuation of war by other means.

The road forward for the desperate Central American working masses is the road of permanent revolution, for proletarian power throughout the region. This demands the forging of Trotskyist parties steeled in political combat against all manner of reformist popular frontists and petty-bourgeois nationalists. Our "political solution" is workers revolution! Military victory to the Central American leftist insurgents!■

Poland...

(continued from page 4)

campaign for higher procurement prices.

For all the Jaruzelski regime's austerity measures, Poland still is *not living within its means*. Without substantial Soviet aid the Polish economy would collapse completely. The exact amount of this aid is not known since the Soviet government refuses to publicize the figures for fear of upsetting its own hardworking people who deeply and legitimately resent feeding anti-Soviet Poles. Despite martial law, living conditions in Poland are still appreciably better than in Russia, as even the *New York Times* (21 February) admits:

"Yet for all the recent economic devastation, Polish shops are still better stocked than Moscow's. Prices rose sharply Feb. 1, but markets display a variety and quality of food unknown in Russian cities—endives, brussels sprouts, pears, cheeses, appetizing jars of fruits and vegetables. Meat is rationed, but the Polish allowance is higher and the quality is better."

The Struggle for Poland Continues

The Poles still live better than the Russians, but they compare themselves to the West Germans (although they certainly don't work like the West Germans!). So the worsening economic conditions provide a fertile soil for anti-Communist agitators. And in early May these once again raised their heads.

Answering the call of the clandestine Solidarność radio station, on May Day 30,000 marched through Warsaw chanting "Down with the junta!" and "Free Lech Walesa!" Smaller demonstrations occurred in other cities. Two days later many of the same youths rampaged through the streets of Warsaw, Gdansk and elsewhere ripping down, trampling underfoot and burning the red flags which had been placed on public

buildings for May Day. The red flag, it should be pointed out, has been the symbol of social revolution ever since the French Revolution of 1789.

At the time the Solidarność underground directorate (and the Catholic episcopate) disowned this kind of street violence in favor of a different, wiler tactic. In June the provisional coordinating committee of Solidarność proposed a brief moratorium on protests in order to encourage the government to allow pope Wojtyla to attend the 600th anniversary of the rite of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa in late August. Solidarność underground chief Zbigniew Bujak and his fellow conspirators knew, as did everyone else in Poland, that a state visit by the arch-reactionary Polish pope would provide a "legitimate" occasion for a *mass* anti-Communist mobilization as was the case in 1979. While the Polish Stalinists very much want to conciliate the church hierarchy, a papal visit at this time was just too dangerous to risk. So on July 21 Jaruzelski announced that Wojtyla's visit would be postponed indefinitely.

In response Bujak & Co. (presumably after consultation with their CIA controls) decided to go for broke. They announced that in the last two weeks of August "the presence of our union will be exceptionally visible" and called for mass anti-government demonstrations culminating on August 31, the second anniversary of the Gdansk agreement with legally recognized Solidarność.

Despite the best efforts of Radio Free Europe, it does not look as if there will be an effective, large-scale counterrevolutionary mobilization in Poland at this time. To date the pro-Solidarność actions have been sporadic, uncoordinated and contained by the authorities. *Time* magazine (24 May) described the events in May as "more like a gesture of frustration than a show of force by the union." This is still the case. The people running through the streets chanting "Down with the junta!" are not in the

main the same mature workers who formed the backbone of Solidarność before December. They are rather student/lumpen youth, many of them unemployed, deeply alienated from the system and now drawn to the banner of clerical-nationalism or even clerical-fascism. The Solidarność agitators can call out these frenzied youth, but have not been able to direct the mass of the working class as before. The *New York Times* (8 August) observed: "A major disappointment among internees freed from detention centers is the contrast between the gung-ho militance they sustained behind bars and the apathy they are encountering outside."

But the apathy of the masses in the wake of Jaruzelski's effective counter-coup cannot last forever. All of the basic factors which drove Poland to the edge of counterrevolution nine months ago continue to operate—an economy ruined by massive debt to Western imperialism and saddled with a backward smallholding peasant agriculture, a powerful Catholic church pushing its tentacles into all aspects of social and political life, enormous popular illusions about Western, especially American, capitalism. Now added to this is the dangerous element of military bonapartism to which the Polish Stalinists have resorted under General Jaruzelski.

December 13 bought some time—

nothing more—for a revolutionary socialist solution to the Polish crisis. This requires above all a Trotskyist vanguard party which could restore Poland's deep and rich Marxist tradition embodied in Rosa Luxemburg and the early Polish Communist Party. We are convinced that the mass of Polish working people can be broken from their current infatuation with Reagan's America, Wojtyla's Vatican and the memory of the reactionary dictator Pilsudski, and be won to an authentically communist program of defending and extending the anti-capitalist gains still embodied in the Polish deformed workers state, through workers political revolution.

- Down with clericalism! For strict separation of church and state!

- For the collectivization of agriculture!

- For trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on defense of socialized property!

- Cancel the imperialist debt! For international socialist economic planning!

- For soviet democracy, not bourgeois parliamentarism! For proletarian political revolution!

- Defend the USSR against imperialism! For the revolutionary unity of the Polish and Soviet workers!■

—Spartacist Pamphlet—

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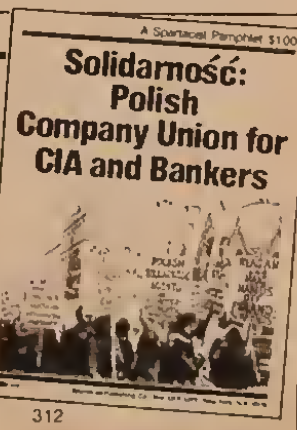
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Today the butcher of Tel Zaatar, the self-declared fascist who has called for the expulsion of all Palestinians from the country, is master of Lebanon. Behind him stand 30,000 Israeli troops and now 2,000 imperialist troops as well.

"He [Reagan] could have refused to meet with Begin, and would have, if he were really a representative of the people. He could have issued an executive order stopping all U.S. aid to Israel. Or he could have demanded that Begin comply with a UN resolution



Der Spiegel

On July 25 the Marcyites and Kremlin-line Stalinists got together again for a "teach-in" on Lebanon in New York City. On one panel *Workers World* editor Deirdre Griswold and Mark Solomon of the U.S. Peace Council gave presentations which did not mention, much less oppose, the plans to send the marines to Lebanon. When challenged by a Spartacist League spokesman on the June demonstration for "effective U.S. action," Griswold simply lost her voice. Finally

White warns that Reagan's attempts to drown every source of opposition in blood only radicalizes the masses and makes it impossible to do a deal with even the most opportunist reformist and nationalist forces. He argues that

The "November 29 Coalition" is simply another instance of Stalinist popular frontism, the political subordination of the interests of the workers and oppressed. The class expression of popular frontism is a governmental bloc between reformist mass workers parties and bourgeois parties, such as Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile or

Even the PLO deserves better cheerleaders than the craven and cynical Marcyites. But the PLO's nationalism has prevented the Palestinian proletariat from taking the road of class struggle. The solution to Palestinian national rights lies in joint class struggle by the working people of the region against the sheiks, colonels and Zionists. As Trotsky wrote in 1930: "The complete and genuine solution of... achieving *democracy* and *national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses." This is the road of permanent revolution, the proletarian perspective which unites the workers of the oppressed nations with those in the imperialist centers who do not flinch from opposing their "own" bourgeoisie. ■

[illegible]

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash "Pax Americana" From El Salvador to Beirut!

Imperialist/Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

They are the world's most notorious imperialist butchers. They have the blood of millions of toilers on their hands, from Indochina to North Africa. The very words are synonymous with the bloody suppression of colonial revolt: the U.S. Marines, the French Foreign Legion. Last week, joined by the elite Italian Bersaglieri Regiment, they landed in west Beirut. This multi-imperialist "peace-keeping" force came to finish what the savage Israeli invasion of Lebanon had started: disarming and dispersing the armed forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The 600,000 Palestinians in Lebanon now stand defenseless before the genocidal onslaught of the Zionist state and its Lebanese Maronite Christian allies in the fascist Phalange of Bashir Gemayel.

To call this situation a "victory" for the Palestinians, as do the Third Worldist nationalist cheerleaders on the left, is cynical treachery to the cause of Palestinian national liberation. As Begin smirked: "We wish Arafat such a 'victory' every day."

In past protests over El Salvador, the reformist American left, hungry to make its politics acceptable to the "progressive" Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party, has marched for a "political solution." They even call the cops to seal off the revolutionists who stand for military victory to the leftist insurgents. It's fitting that this same crew has called for a demonstration September 11 over Lebanon. For now they have their "political solution": in Beirut, as the U.S. marines land and the Palestinian guerrillas are stripped of their weapons and dispersed to isolated



Frey/Time



AP

U.S. Imperialism's killer elite polices Palestinians, spearheads anti-Soviet war drive in Near East (above). Palestinian woman ordered to celebrate PLO "victory" (right).

desert compounds. Chanting "Victory!" along with the PLO, the September 11 march organizers stand hardest against the road of class struggle against the Zionist and Arab rulers—For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Defend the Palestinians Against Phalange Terror!

It was not humanitarian scruples that prevented Menachem Begin from ordering the Zionist army into west Beirut to crush the PLO. Ariel Sharon's armed forces halted at the city gates because of the tenacious resistance of the coura-

geous, if poorly armed, PLO fighters. To take these out would have required house-to-house fighting and lots more Israeli soldiers being shipped back to the Zionist "homeland" in body bags. This might well have exploded a society whose polarization over the Lebanon invasion was such as to cause unprecedented mass peace demonstrations in Tel Aviv in the midst of war.

So the Israelis were forced to turn to the imperialist powers, centrally Reagan's America, to win on the negotiating table what even mad bomber Begin feared to fight for in the streets of west Beirut. They were aided by the PLO itself, which asked the U.S. marines and French legionnaires to accept their surrender and serve as their guardians as they boarded ships, trucks and buses for their new exile.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO always looked to the Arab regimes, both the bonapartist colonels and the reactionary sheiks, as their champions. The refusal of any of these regimes to so much as lift a finger for the beleaguered Palestinian commandos shows that the now terminated president of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, spoke for all of them at Camp David. The 1,100 PLO commandos given a "hero's welcome" on arriving in Tunisia were promptly stripped of their weapons and sent to a barbed wire enclosed camp guarded by police and soldiers, a camp virtually indistinguishable from the detention camps Israel maintains for Palestinian prisoners. A similar fate awaits PLO militants deported to Hussein's Jordan and Assad's Syria.

And what is in store for the Palestinians left behind in Lebanon? Two days after the first French legionnaires landed in Beirut, the country's

most notorious terrorist, Phalange head Bashir Gemayel, became its new president. It was an election Reagan's advisers in El Salvador would have appreciated. The Phalange militia (Kateab) rounded up Moslem members of parliament and marched them to an army barracks in Christian east Beirut. There, surrounded by Israeli tanks and threatened by Kateab gunmen, these aged clan leaders, Christian and Moslem, voted Gemayel the new master of Lebanon.

The Israeli-backed Phalange originated in the 1930s as a fascist organization deliberately modeled on the Hitler Youth and Spanish Falange. It is an opprobrious irony of history in the epoch of imperialist decay that survivors of the Nazi Holocaust have built a racist state whose only ally in the Arab East is a movement modeled on European fascism. And that the only terms which accurately describe Begin/Sharon's invasion of Lebanon and occupation of the West Bank are terms used to describe the Nazis: Blitzkrieg, Lebensraum, genocide.

Gemayel's Phalange represents the application of fascist ideology and organization to the warlord politics of traditional Lebanese society where each patriarchal family rules a religious/ethnic community with its own party and militia. This species of feudalist gangland warfare was institutionalized by the French colonialists as the Maronite-dominated "confessional" system, preserved by imperialism. Thus a plebeian Moslem rebellion against Maronite domination in 1958 was suppressed with the help of 10,000 U.S. marines dispatched by Eisenhower.

In 1975 a Phalangist massacre of
continued on page 11



Begin's terror bombing destroyed ancient city of Tyre.

Nachtwey/Black Star