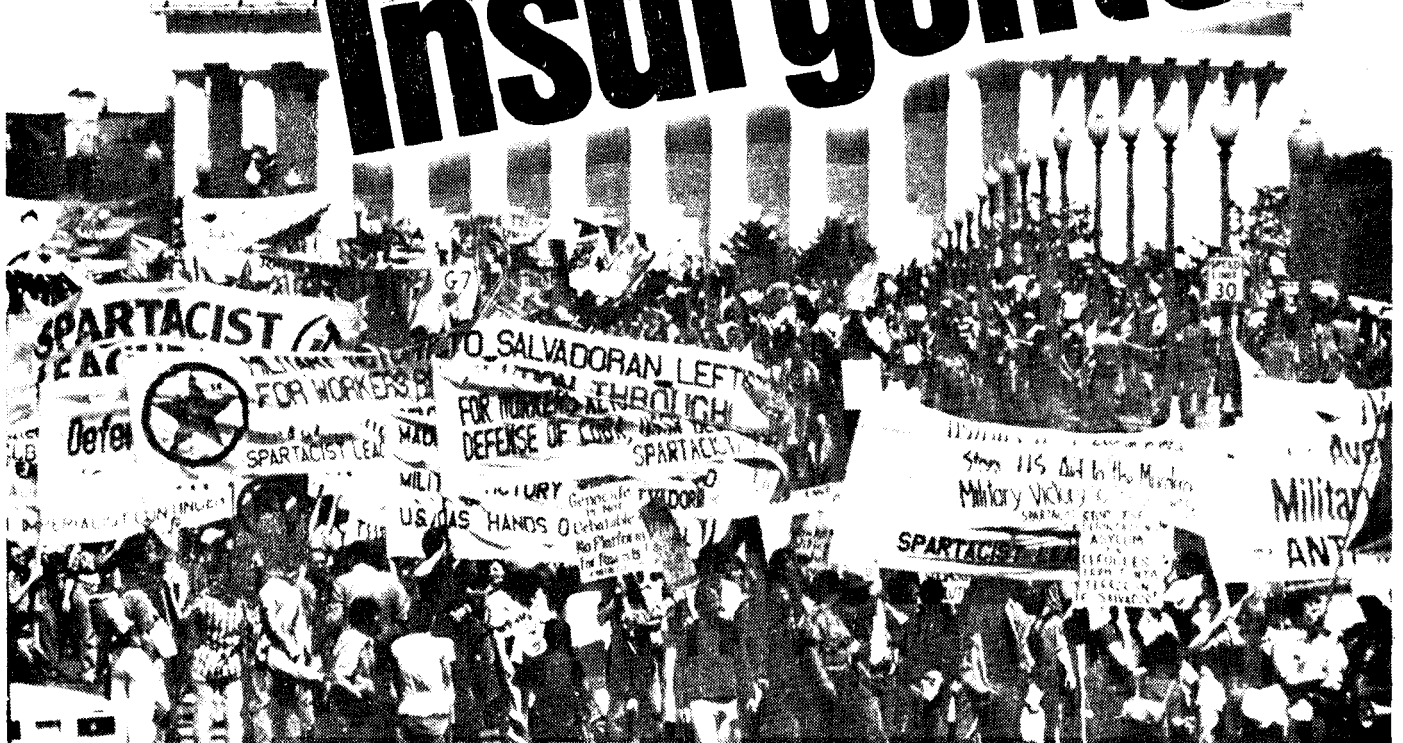


El Salvador:

Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!



**U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!
Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!
Break with the Democrats—
For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!**

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**Cover photo:
May 3 Anti-Imperialist
Contingent.**
(Credit: AP)

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El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

The bloody civil war in El Salvador is raging at white heat. Leftist guerrilla fighters have got the butcher junta on the run. Reagan has proclaimed Central America the front line of his anti-Soviet Cold War. Frustrated by the blow to their "rollback" plans in Poland, the warhawks in Washington want to "teach the Russians a lesson" by drowning the Central American masses in a sea of blood. **Which side are you on?**

Daily, Reagan and Haig escalate their threats to use a Big Stick to stop Communism in "America's backyard." Helicopter gunships, Green Beret torture training for Salvadoran troops, CIA hit teams of Cuban gusanos and Nicaraguan exiles, now talk of a Caribbean blockade and sending in the Marines. **Yet the reformist organizers of the "official" El Salvador protests, eager for an alliance with Democratic "doves," refuse to call for leftist rebels to win the war.**

Last May 3 we marched on the Pentagon calling for the leftist rebels to win the war in El Salvador, protesting U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. Now more than ever! **The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are calling for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march in Washington, D.C. for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" and "Break with the Democrats—For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!"**

A decade ago the New Left marched to chants of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh,

NLF is Going to Win!" Today the ex-radicals call for a "political solution" in El Salvador—a coalition with sections of the military/Christian Democratic junta. It is a dangerous illusion to think that the massacres can be stopped by talking with the blood-crazed military butchers. For the brutally oppressed working masses of El Salvador, the only just "political solution" is workers revolution.

A decade ago the New Left marched to chants of "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!" But as the Republicans talk of falling dominos in Central America, the Democratic Party "doves" are flapping their wings in fear of being drawn into "another Vietnam." Today the reformists call for "No More Vietnams," appealing to the liberals' fear of becoming mired in one more *losing* imperialist adventure. On March 27, only the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent will say "Vietnam was a Victory" over imperialism.

The reformists try to hide from the Cold War and the class war. On El Salvador they are in cahoots with the Democrats (who brought us the "human rights" junta). Over Poland many of them join the obscene hypocrisy of Reagan, who crushes PATCO and proclaims "solidarity with Solidarność," the company union for the CIA and the bankers. The U.S. imperialists are taking aim at Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union. We say: **Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!**

Reagan has brought the Cold War



WV Photo

Washington, May 3: Anti-Imperialist Contingent marches for victory for Salvadoran leftist insurgents.

home. Auto plants are closed while war production booms. Race terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms are on the rise. Desperate Haitian refugees are put in concentration camps, while Polish anti-Communists are welcomed with open arms. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle here. Military cargo to right-wing juntas in Central America must be stopped by labor boycotts. But this will never be done by the Cold War giveback bureaucrats, linked to the Democrats. When half a million workers marched on Washington September 19 it showed that labor has the power. Class-struggle militants fight against the anti-Soviet war drive, against Reagan racism, for workers action to bring Reagan down.

The reformists look not to the working class but to the Democratic Party. The imperialist liberals want to "stop Communism" too, but worry that Reagan's shoot'em up methods could backfire. The reformists want to get the movement "ready for Teddy" Kennedy (just like they kept the Vietnam antiwar movement "clean for Gene" McCarthy). And so they do everything possible to exclude the reds. After all, they don't want their speakers to be embarrassed by chants of "Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party. We Know Which Side You're

On!"

Last May 3, the SL/SYL organized a 500-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march for military victory to Salvadoran leftists. The reformist Workers World Party/People's Anti-War Mobilization (WWP/PAM) tried to seal us off with a line of goons; a month later in New York they attacked a Spartacist protest outside a PAM meeting with planks and broken bottles. When such gangster tactics didn't work, the reformists—including the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—called in the cops to keep out the communists. They did it on May 30 in Chicago, in New York on November 21, and on February 20 provocative attempts by goons of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) again brought in the armed fist of the capitalist state. The WWP/CP/SWP/CISPES resort to anti-communist cop exclusions because red flags and revolutionary politics threaten their alliance with the Democratic "doves."

Today the slogans of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent are more urgent and obviously necessary than ever. Salvadoran leftists, PATCO strikers, black welfare mothers—we're all on Reagan's Cold War hit list. For the reformist thugs and betrayers, class

collaboration abroad means class collaboration at home. For us, anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. As we chanted on February 20, "We Call for Rebel Victory, They Call the Cops!"

There is a fundamental political contradiction within the El Salvador protests between those who want to pressure imperialism and those who fight to defeat it. Genuine anti-imperialist militants must be for Salvadoran left-wing rebels getting as many guns as they can, wherever they can, certainly, if they can, from the treacherous and reluctant Soviet bloc. Revolutionaries say: FDR/FMLN attempts to placate Yankee imperialism by begging for a "political solution" will leave oligarchic-landlord capitalist rule intact. No popular-front illusions—Break with the bourgeoisie! Sweep away the murderous generals and their death squads through workers revolution!

The line is drawn in El Salvador. Those who fight for a victory of the Salvadoran masses over their oppressors, who oppose Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, will march in Washington on March 27 with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. In El Salvador the choice is revolution or death! Which side are you on? Join us! ■

El Salvador: "Negotiated Solution" Means Bloodbath

Smash the Junta, Workers to Power!

JUNE 15—Fighting has sharply increased in El Salvador's bloody civil war as leftist guerrillas are mounting a rainy season offensive that has built in intensity from week to week. From the northeastern province of Morazán to the western hills of Chalatenango, the entire northern tier of the country has been the scene of coordinated guerrilla assaults on the forces of the U.S.-backed military/Christian Democratic junta. So far, insurgent advances contrast with the January "final/general" offensive that was called off after only ten days. But government troops and police are not the only obstacle facing rebel fighters—treacherous calls for negotiations with sectors of the junta pose a dangerous roadblock to a left-wing victory on the battlefield.

As rebel forces step up their attacks, Reagan continues to pour millions in weapons into the junta's armory. Meanwhile, imperialist liberals have launched an offensive of their own, pleading for a "peaceful solution" to the civil war which has claimed 20,000 lives since January of last year. But the Reagan regime isn't buying. While supplying the junta colonels with Huey helicopters and Green Berets, Washington tries to win over wavering Latin governments with promises of a new "Marshall Plan" for the region. Meeting last week with Mexican president José López Portillo, Reagan offered them U.S. private investment as a bribe to get them to turn their backs on the Salvadoran insurgency and give a cold shoulder to Fidel and the Sandinistas.

The Reagan line in the Caribbean area has been challenged within the imperialist camp by the West German-dominated Socialist International (SI), which is leading the drive for a negotiated solution to the Salvadoran struggle. Meeting in Panama last March, SI leaders proffered West German Social Democrat Willy Brandt as a mediator to bring the warring sides together. When neither Reagan nor his junta leaped to meet with Brandt, German Social Democratic leader Hans-Jürgen Wisch-

newskei met with governments throughout the region to push for mediation. No dice. The latest SI maneuver sent Canadian New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent on yet another regional junket, which predictably brought no better results.

Among the advocates of a "political solution" in El Salvador are the populist regime of Mexico's López Portillo, Venezuelan Christian Democratic president Herrera Campins, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Castro's Cuba. All voice a common fear of the Salvadoran civil war expanding into a region-wide conflict. But another of the supporters of a "negotiated settlement" is the Salvadoran opposition popular front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Thus we have the self-defeating, ultimately suicidal spectacle of the FDR/FMLN leaders trying to strike a bargain with sectors of the butchering junta. By preventing a leftist victory, this would prepare a bloody massacre of the insurgent masses—and on a scale far larger than that already experienced following the installation of a "reform" junta in October 1979.

But the guerrillas entrenched on the volcanic slopes and in the FMLN border strongholds of El Salvador face an enemy in no mood to bargain. "Power is not negotiable," says a former military leader. "If we sit down with [the rebels] what would there be to discuss?" asks a top junta commander (*Washington Post*, 21 April). The junta killers know that behind them stands a U.S. government which badly wants a leftist defeat in order to "draw the line" against the Soviets and Cubans in Central America. Reagan thinks he has a winnable war in El Salvador; his National Security Council considers it a "target" area where the U.S.-backed butchers have a "clear advantage."

Junta Troops: "It's Finished"

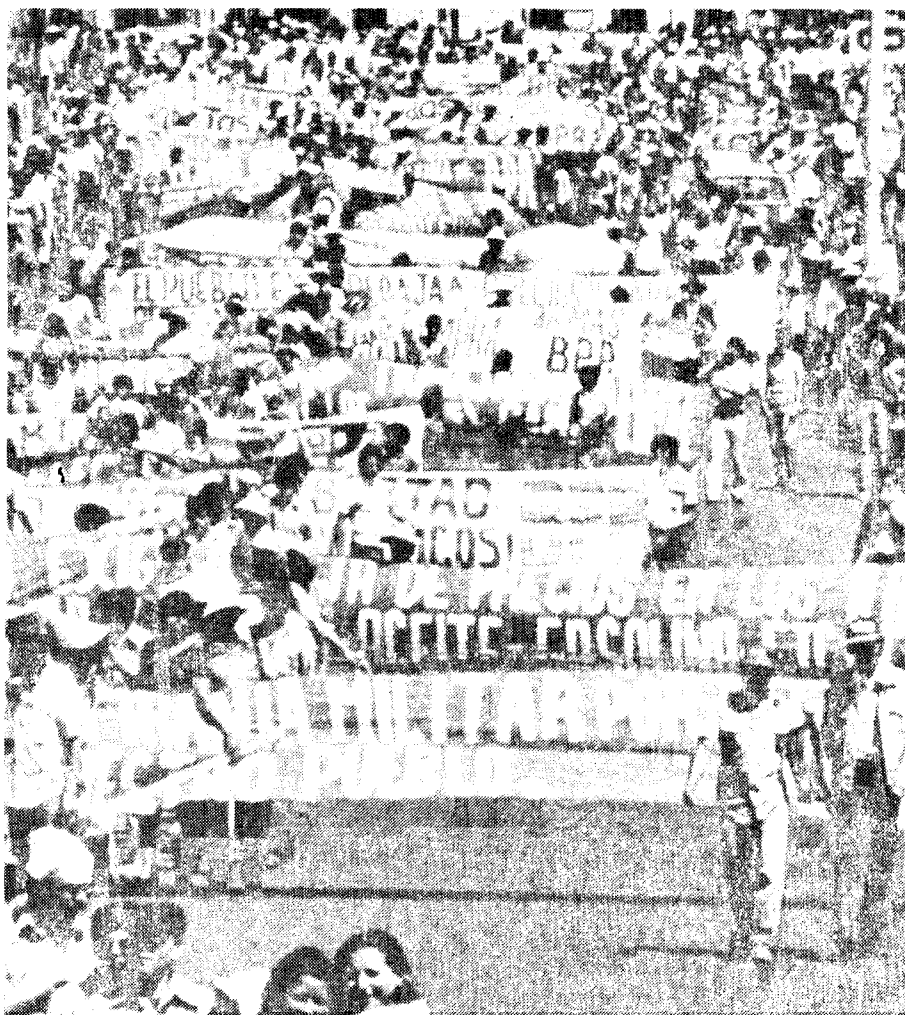
Nevertheless, despite all the tons of military equipment shipped to the junta

forces, the Salvadoran military has been unable to inflict serious damage on the leftist insurgents. The "liberated zones" controlled by the FMLN fighters have reportedly been expanded since the January offensive. Rebel sources now report that 50 percent of the northern departments of Morazán, Chalatenango and Cabañas, as well as large portions of other areas, are in their hands. Many towns nominally under government control are completely cut off and surrounded by FMLN forces, who stop short of taking them only to avoid being bombed by government planes.

Thousands of guerrillas have massed to attack the "Fifth of November" dam on the Lempa River, which provides all the electricity for the capital city of San Salvador. Yet government forces are so busy facing guerrillas throughout the country that journalists who visited the area report that the dam and surrounding towns are barely defended. San Francisco Gotera, capital of Morazán, is under siege and FMLN/FDR forces reportedly plan to establish a provisional government there "in the near future." According to the well-informed British publication, *Latin American Weekly Report* (5 June):

"After resisting a powerful [junta] offensive for the past two months, guerrilla units of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) are reported to have forced the army to withdraw 3,000 troops from the area. The army has suffered heavy casualties, and the hospital at Gotera is so full that a constant helicopter shuttle service is ferrying the wounded to San Salvador."

On June 10 FMLN guerrillas annihilated an army garrison at Arcatao in Chalatenango. The *Washington Post* (12 June) reported the battle by monitoring army radio messages: "As the day progressed the operator's pleas became more frantic. He described a column of 600 uniformed guerrillas equipped with machine guns progressively encircling the garrison. Heavy shooting could be heard in the background. Late in the afternoon the operator said the column



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22 January 1980: 200,000 take to the streets of San Salvador to commemorate the 1932 uprising (above). The bloody aftermath: junta sharpshooters murder 200, wound 300 (below).

was made up of 1,000 guerrillas. Ammunition was parachuted in, but the operator said the guerrillas got to the drop first. The transmission ended in the late afternoon with the words "It's finished."

Despite the Saigon press conference-style body counts issued by the junta, it

is clear that the guerrillas are far from defeated. Nonetheless, their long-term military success is far from assured. For the FMLN/FDR leadership has aimed not at winning on the battlefield but achieving a compromise through diplomacy. No attempts to raise the urban working masses in insurrectionary (or

any other) struggle have been reported since the collapse of the general strike in January. And the policy of the opposition coalition in recent months has followed the lines laid out by FDR leader Ana Guadalupe Martínez: "Our main task is presently to build a bloc of states to oppose an intervention in El Salvador" (*Tageszeitung* [Frankfurt], 31 January).

"Political Solution"?

Despite the continued rejection of their peace overtures, the FDR's Mexico-based Political-Diplomatic Commission continually repeats its desire to "maintain conversations and explore all roads that could lead to a political solution" (*Noticias de El Salvador* [San José], 29 April-5 May). What exactly would such a so-called "political solution" or "negotiated settlement" mean? Alan Riding in the *New York Times* (7 May) cited a scenario "most frequently mentioned by optimists in the region":

"According to proponents of the idea, a regional mediating group would help the warring sides to negotiate the conditions for free elections.

"The armed forces would then be restricted to their barracks and the guerrillas to their camps, while the country would be policed by an international force. After the elections, a new army would be formed, eliminating undesirable elements from either side."

This scenario, known as the "Zimbabwe solution," is a scheme to defeat the "undesirable" leftist guerrillas at the bargaining table. It is a plan for the restabilization of Salvadoran capitalism, with the use of foreign troops if necessary. It is a formula for counterrevolution.

The professors and bourgeois politicians who dominate the FDR Political-Diplomatic Commission have studiously avoided saying just what sort of negotiated "solution" they have in mind. But the scheme reported by Riding is the plan being put forward by the imperialist liberals and social democrats to whom they appeal. It was the plan suggested in the "Dissent Paper" circulated last fall by liberal CIA and State Department officials.

FDR/FMLN spokesmen plead ever more shamelessly for negotiations of any kind, on any terms. Last year Guillermo Ungo, a member of the junta who switched sides and now heads the FDR, declared that he would talk only with the U.S. directly, with the "circus owner, not the acrobats." By February, Political-Diplomatic Commission member Salvador Samayoa (minister of education when Ungo was in the junta) was saying that "we're willing to give the

Christian Democrats the benefit of the doubt" and that they would seek talks with the civilians in the junta (*New York Times*, 24 February). On April 24 an FMLN statement announced that the guerrillas were "willing to end the fighting if productive conversations are initiated with the civilian-military government."

When Christian Democratic junta head Napoleón Duarte rejected FMLN conditions for talks—reopening the universities, freeing political prisoners, lifting the state of siege and curfew—Political-Diplomatic Commission member Fabio Castillo simply announced that the FDR would pose no preconditions for talks. In a major two-part interview with the Sandinista organ *Barricada*, Castillo, an ex-rector of the University of San Salvador, declared:

"The Political-Diplomatic Commission has not posed prior conditions. Those prior conditions for dialogue, which could eventually lead to negotiation, would be part of the negotiations. The only condition that [the Commission] has posed is the establishment of an international mediating group.... Naturally, this is the proposal of the Commission and would also be open to negotiation."

—*Barricada* [Managua], 11 May

Splits in the Front?

By themselves the Ungos, Castillos, Samayoas and other middle-class reformers and dissident Christian Democrats in the FDR have no real power. In a civil war in which virtually the entire landlord-capitalist elite is on one side and the workers and poor peasants are on the other, they represent only the attempt of the popular front to paper over the deep class divisions by proclaiming a "democratic" rather than a socialist revolution. The presence of Ungo et al. in the FDR leadership is a pledge to the domestic Latin bourgeoisies and to the U.S. imperialists that the



E. Montes

El Salvador's left-wing guerrillas.

guerrilla struggle will not transcend the bounds of capitalism.

The blatantly counterrevolutionary implications of the popular front's ever more abject talk of ceasefires and negotiations without conditions, however, are causing tensions within the loosely allied guerrilla front. According to the 5 June *Latin American Weekly Report*, the leader of the Fuerzas Populares de Liberación (FPL), Salvador Cayetano Carpio, has withdrawn from the FMLN's joint command. Moreover, the FPL organ *El Rebelde*, as well as the publications of other left groups, have reappeared after their suspension as part of the unity pact. An editorial in the April edition of the clandestine *El Rebelde* declared: "The diplomatic line cannot substitute for the military line, nor is it by itself a proposition separate from prolonged people's war" (*El Día* [Mexico], 12 May). *El Rebelde* and FPL spokesman Comandante Ana María have insisted that no dialogue with the junta could be undertaken without stringent "minimum conditions" including "an end to repression throughout the country." In practice that is to rule out negotiations for the foreseeable future.

The FPL, a left-wing breakaway from the official pro-Moscow Communist Party, is the largest of the guerrilla groups and leads several tens of thousands of workers and peasants through unions affiliated to its Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR). It is the FPL that has driven the junta forces out of Chalatenango and withstood repeated

heavy assaults on the Guazapa volcano, in sight of San Salvador. When U.S. journalist Alex Drehler visited FPL camps this spring, an FPL guerrilla commander told him that they considered the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua to be "basically a revolt of the middle classes" and that "we want to form a society, a government, that will be more radical than Cuba." "So you see," he was told, "there is no room for compromise here" (*Chicago Tribune*, 8-10 March).

But FPL leaders, like those of the ERP, FARN and other guerrilla groups, have done plenty of compromising with their bourgeois liberal allies. The FPL/BPR reaction to the October 1979 "reform" junta, which overthrew the Romero dictatorship with State Department backing, was to call on it to carry out promises of reform. And the FPL dropped its call for a "worker-peasant government with proletarian hegemony" to help form the FDR popular front more than a year ago. If Cayetano and the other FPL leaders are wary of the dangers of the pursuit of negotiations at all costs, they are only facing the consequences of their own Stalinist-nationalist, popular-frontist line.

Military Victory and Workers Revolution

Talk of a "political/negotiated solution" in El Salvador comes from diverse sources: from Latin American bourgeois governments, fearful of the spread of a revolutionary contagion in the region;

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from American liberals, fearful of "another Vietnam," a *losing* imperialist adventure; from social democrats of the SI, reflecting the interests of European capital in a continuation of "détente" as opposed to Reagan's Cold War II; from Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Havana, who fear a victory of the Salvadoran working masses as a challenge to their own parasitic rule. Brezhnev and Castro are so intent on pursuing "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism (even hoping to seduce Reagan!) that they will willingly sabotage revolution in El Salvador. Asked about Reagan accusations of Soviet arms to Salvadoran rebels, Brezhnev spokesman Zamyatin replied haughtily, "The Soviet Union does not provide El Salvador with arms. It never has. It never will." Traitors! The Soviet regime of Lenin and Trotsky would have considered this an inescapable internationalist duty.

Nicaragua's petty-bourgeois Sandinista leadership, only recently arrived in power and facing ominous domestic and international counterrevolutionary threats, might be expected to look more favorably on the struggles of leftist guerrillas next door. Not so, and the counterrevolutionary consequences of nationalism are dramatically revealed. After the FMLN's January offensive Nicaraguan interior minister Tomás Borge told the press: "In El Salvador, the guerrillas could not defeat the army and the army could not defeat the guerrillas.... No defeat and no victory seems possible, so we feel that a political solution should be sought" (*New York Times*, 16 February). By mid-March, the State Department let it be known that Nicaragua had cut off arms to Salvadoran rebels, and now in their eagerness to placate Reagan they have begun to *arrest* people ferrying guns to the FMLN (DPA dispatch, 15 May). But where would Borge & Co. be now if a "negotiated solution" with sections of the dictatorship ("Somozaism without Somoza") had been pushed through two years ago?

What of the FDR/FMLN leaders? Why are they so eager to bargain with the military butchers when the masses already know that "revolution or death" is more than a slogan but the real choice facing working people in El Salvador? Wouldn't Salvadoran leftists have the greatest interest in extending the war, raising up workers and peasants throughout Central America in a revolutionary conflagration? Certainly this is true of those who fight for socialist revolution, which can only be

an international struggle—especially in this region of artificial mini-states. But the FDR is a coalition linking several radical left groups to marginal liberal bourgeois politicians. In such class-collaborationist popular fronts the presence of capitalist elements serves to guarantee that the masses do not go beyond the limits of capitalism.

These bourgeois phantoms naturally lack confidence in their capacity to confront imperialism and its puppets; and they fear the consequences of an all-out mobilization of the exploited, which could open the road to social revolution. The same could be said of the reformist programs of the FMLN guerrilla leaders, an eclectic mixture of Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, which led them to tie their organizations to the class enemy in forming the FDR. Thus the struggle for a rebel victory in the raging civil war is the cutting edge of the fight for proletarian opposition to popular-front class collaboration in El Salvador today.

There is a close connection between military victory and workers revolution. A workers revolution in El Salvador is impossible without military victory of the leftist insurgents. Any "solution" which leaves even sections of the present kill-crazed capitalist state apparatus in place threatens the masses with a repeat of the 1932 *matanza*, when 30,000 were executed in the wake of a failed uprising.

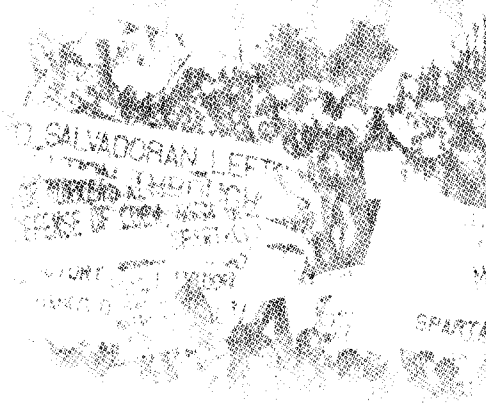
And the only guarantee of military victory is the mobilization of the exploited masses for their own class interests. Their revolutionary fervor will be the most powerful weapon against the better armed conscript army and mercenary security forces. But having defeated the military forces of their capitalist oppressors, the workers and peasants would not be satisfied with a few reforms. The most basic demands of the Salvadoran working people—for land, for emancipation from the imperialist yoke, for jobs and economic development—*cannot* be met without expropriating the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialist planned economy in an international framework.

The mass of the left-wing fighters are not risking their lives in order to create ministerial portfolios for Ungo and Castillo in some U.S.-brokered coalition. Military victory of the left would open a period of dual power, posing the need for and direct possibility of a revolution that would sweep away the entire capitalist state. But to lead the struggle for internationalist workers revolution the essential element is a proletarian Trotskyist vanguard party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. The only "political solution" for the Salvadoran masses is a workers and peasants government, like the one Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks won in October 1917. ■

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May 3 El Salvador Protests:



AP

Anti-Imperialist Contingent Draws Class Line

"1, 2, 3, 4—Leftist Rebels, Win the War!" chanted the 500-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent as they swung onto the Arlington Memorial Bridge on May 3 in Washington, D.C. "5, 6, 7, 8—Nothing to Negotiate!" they added, in a sharp attack on the Democratic Party liberals and fake-left reformists who spread treacherous illusions in a "political solution" in El Salvador. Such a "solution" could only be a deal with the puppet Christian Democratic/military junta or with the puppeteers in Washington to cheat the Salvadoran masses out of the victory they are suffering and dying for. The Contingent's huge red-on-white banners drove the point home: "Avenge the Blood of El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!"

In the massive 80,000-person demonstration in Washington, and in smaller marches in San Francisco and Seattle, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, organized by the Spartacist League and Trotskyist League of Canada, was the reddest and just about the *only* militant section in the rad-lib anti-Reagan demonstrations. They alone took sides with the workers and peasants in the raging Salvadoran civil war against the gang of uniformed murderers backed up by U.S. imperialism. Only the Anti-Imperialist Contingent took on Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War threats, proclaiming, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" And it was the red flags and banners of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, not the pale green flags of liberal "concern" carried by

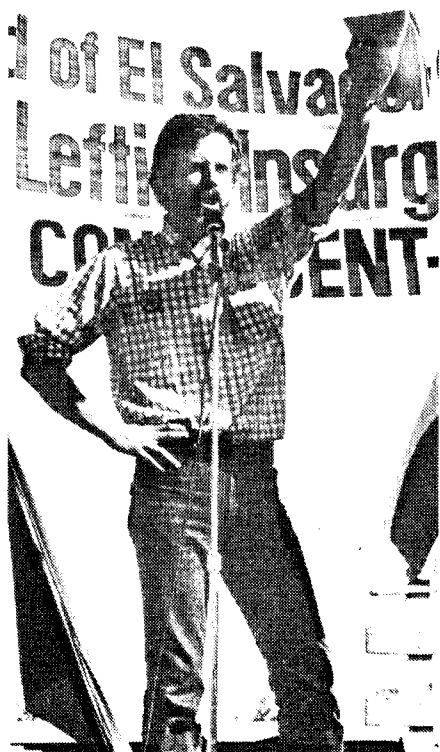
the march organizers, that flashed around the world as *the* photo of the El Salvador protest.

A sharp political line ran through the demonstrations, the first big protest marches since the Vietnam antiwar movement. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent challenged demonstrators to take a side with the leftist rebels. The People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), organized by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) made it clear where they stood by slandering the Contingent as "violent" and then setting up a line of "marshals" to physically block protesters from joining the Anti-Imperialist rally. These provocateurs made it clear that theirs was a rally for liberal imperialist "doves" and *against* military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. Sam Marcy, by his words and deeds, has proclaimed himself a conscious counterrevolutionary.

The Spartacist League fought for the victory of the Indochinese revolution and we fight today for *victory* to the toilers in the Salvadoran civil war—by posing a clear *class line* in El Salvador and at home. Marcy's PAM/YAWF goons are making their bid for the role played by the Socialist Workers Party in the '60s—organizers of radicalized youth for the liberal Democrats like Bella Abzug, the featured speaker at their May 3 rally. The line between revolution and counterrevolution has been drawn by the Anti-Imperialist Contingent: Military victory to the leftist insurgents! Smash junta terror in El Salvador—For workers revolution!

Speeches at D.C. Anti-Imperialist Contingent Rally

“Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home”



WV Photo

Frank Hicks

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

We have a side in El Salvador. We must do everything in our power to guarantee that the workers and peasants of that country *win*, and win big! For us in the labor movement that means fighting to hot-cargo military goods to El Salvador. For the UAW, that means political strikes against Reagan if he sends in the Marines. But the hacks in Solidarity House in the UAW International, they're calling for the so-called

political solution in El Salvador. They want to leave the army and the right-wing death squads intact, to kill and kill again, and that's the bitter truth. They don't want the brothers and sisters in El Salvador to win any more than they want *us* to win against Ford, against General Motors, against Chrysler.

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

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

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



WV Photo

Don Alexander

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

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

In fact, the organizers of this other

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

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



Young Spartacus

Alison Spencer

Spartacus Youth League National Committee

The Spartacus Youth League helped to build this Anti-Imperialist Contingent not only because we don't want to be the cannon fodder for Reagan's imperialist war drive but because we take a side. Students here may feel threatened by registration for the draft, but the students and youth of El Salvador face something quite different. Like the tortured corpse of a classmate dumped by the roadside, or a severed head tossed into the classroom—that's what goes on there every day. And when they join up with leftist workers and peasants to struggle against a U.S.-backed military dictatorship which has sucked their blood for over fifty years, we say, "Their fight is our fight!" And we take a side—military victory to the left-wing insurgents!

On campuses across the country students have rallied around the SYL slogans. From protesting Kissinger, an imperialist warmonger and criminal, in Ann Arbor to the National Security Agency spies at Brandeis, students have rallied to the SYL's demonstrations, demonstrations like this in solidarity with our class brothers in El Salvador. Over there, the People's Antiwar Mobilization [PAM], CISPEs, and their cheerleaders on the left, they don't want you to take a side. They say, "Let the people of El Salvador decide," and what that means is they are just ducking the question of which side must win this war. There's a war going on there, and these people really do not care who wins, as long as the Green Berets aren't doing the killing. Well, we're internationalists, and we do care, and we intend to do something about it. We intend to

fight like we did today with the class-struggle politics that pose the only real challenge to the warmakers and strike-breakers in power here in the United States.

The liberals today are saying, "No more Vietnams," because that's a war that they lost, and the only thing they think is immoral is failure. And during the war they said, "Bring our boys home." But leftist students chanted, "Two, three, many Vietnams" and the Spartacist League raised the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist," because our "boys" were the North Vietnamese. And they won! They defeated imperialism on the battlefield, not marching hand in hand with the imperialists here. And there's a lesson in that: It takes a fight to get what you want. The coal miners know that, the Viet Cong knew that, and the Spartacus Youth League knows that too.

But liberal pacifists think that nothing is worth fighting for because they don't have any alternative to offer. So when the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam the antiwar movement simply collapsed. But did the Pentagon collapse? No, it didn't. And they're back today, rearmed, to renew their anti-Soviet war drive.

But the Spartacus Youth League does have an alternative to offer and something that is worth fighting for, and that's a socialist future. Because capitalism offers us a future only of unemployment, of more Greensboros, of cutbacks in every social service for women, minorities, the poor and the working class. A future of war and nuclear holocaust. A long time ago Engels said mankind faced the choice of socialism or barbarism, and I'll tell you with the Dr. Strangeloves in power today it's posed even more starkly. You can be active and red with the SYL, or radioactive and dead. So if you want a future, join the organization that has a world to win. Join the SYL! ■

\$2.50

Marxist Bulletin **5**

WHAT STRATEGY
FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism
vs.
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Which Side They Were On

PAM Marches for Imperialist Doves

The workers and peasants of El Salvador are fighting a life or death struggle against the junta, its sadistic killers and its godfathers in Washington and Wall Street. Every class-conscious worker and socialist, every defender of social justice must desire victory by the Salvadoran insurgent masses against their torturers and exploiters.

Military Victory to the Leftist Rebels! This was the rallying cry of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent initiated by the Spartacist League at the El Salvador demonstration in Washington May 3. We were the only militant contingent there. Our red banners of revolution, not the pale green flags of liberal "concern," captured the attention of the press, and the AP wire photo of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was picked up by the major bourgeois papers and run as *the* picture of the demonstration.

The reformist organizers of the May 3 protest understood that the red banners of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent posed the "spectre of communism." For the "People's Antiwar Mobilization" (PAM), dominated on the East Coast by the Workers World/YAWF group led by Sam Marcy, our call for military victory to the anti-imperialist fighters in El Salvador is a *split issue*. PAM "marshals" forcibly prevented protesters from joining the Anti-Imperialist rally, instead herding them to the "official" rally to hear liberal Democratic politicians like Bella Abzug, Paul O'Dwyer and John Conyers (who didn't show but sent a telegram) call for more butter/less guns and a cagier policy in the "best interests" of American imperialism.

Gooning for the Democrats, PAM/YAWF made it explicit that their followers were marching *against* military victory for the Salvadoran leftists. Why is Sam Marcy in such a hurry to draw a hard line against revolution in El Salvador? Because he and his fellow reformists are hostile to a perspective of mobilizing the working class for *power* in the U.S. and in America's Latin



PAM rally, Washington, D.C., 3 May 1981. Marcyites (literally) built platform for pro-imperialist Democratic "doves."

American neo-colonies, deeming it more "realistic" to pressure the liberal wing of American imperialism to bring "human rights" to El Salvador. Their strategy is predicated on the illusion—even here in the citadel of world imperialism!—of a "progressive" wing of the ruling class. Desperately searching for such a thing, they find only the Democratic face of the world's number one warmongering imperialism.

The Democratic "doves," who disagree with anti-Soviet militarism only when it looks like it's *losing* (as in Vietnam), are no less than the Republicans racist strikebreakers at home and bitter foes of international revolutionary struggle. But for Sam Marcy, wedded to the popular-front strategy of collaboration with the "peace-loving" servants of imperialism, they are the only game in town, and their tender sensibilities had to be protected. So the PAM "marshals" had to herd people past the Anti-Imperialist rally and its chants of "Take a Side—Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Remember Bay of Pigs! Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" For the Anti-Imperialist rally—where people could hear a socialist perspective for El Salvador, where they could express their solidarity with the U.S. miners'

strike and the Irish nationalist prisoners, learn about the Russian Revolution, sing "Which Side Are You On?" and the "Internationale"—clearly posed the question: reform or revolution. So the Marcyites organized violence against the Anti-Imperialist rally. Now they are stuck with justifying it.

Accordingly, the Marcyite paper couples the Anti-Imperialist Contingent with a Moonie counterdemonstration in support of the junta's white terror as "Two Disruptions That Fizzled" (*Workers World*, 8 May). At the demonstration too, the Marcyite-led disrupters lied to the marchers, telling them the Anti-Imperialist rally was the right-wing counterdemonstration. But nobody believed it. Everyone knew our rally was against the Democrats and for red revolution. That's why the "marshals" had to forcibly prevent people from joining us, as is openly admitted in *Workers World*, which quotes a "PAM coordinator": "PAM guides prevented this from happening by forming a barrier between the disrupters and the antiwar protesters...."

By way of political cover, *Workers World* supplies the following:

"Their call for 'military victory' to the left-wing insurgents is a cover for their hostility to the Salvadoran liberation forces. Thus in a newspaper distributed at the demonstration they demanded

that 'the workers and peasants of El Salvador must break with the FDR.'

What? We call for victory to the Salvadoran liberation forces in this civil war because we are hostile to the Salvadoran liberation forces? Those unfamiliar with classical Stalinist "logic" will find this a little hard to understand.

Because we stand in solidarity with the heroic Salvadoran workers, peasants and leftist intellectuals, we oppose their popular-frontist leaders of the FDR, who are using the blood shed by the insurgent masses to intensify pressure for a "political solution." What this would mean is a replay of the made-in-USA "human rights" junta of October 1979, which included among its ministers the first president of the subsequently formed FDR, Alvarez Córdova (who was killed by a rightist death squad) and its present head, Guillermo Ungo. Yet this "reform" junta, among its very first acts, massacred workers who took over the factories. All the talk of a "peaceful solution" in El Salvador simply means more death and destruction for the working masses.

In El Salvador, a military victory for the insurgency, destroying the existing capitalist armed forces, would lead to a situation of dual power, opening the possibility for workers revolution despite and against the flimsy FDR popular front, whose program is a "reformed" capitalist government. At the very least, rebel military victory would allow the masses a taste of vengeance against the brutal killers who have ruled the country with fire and death for decades. On the other hand, defeat at the hands of the U.S. puppet junta would mean the destruction of the workers movement and the left and an immense strengthening of imperialist counterrevolution throughout the region.

Marcy: "Self-Determination" Is the Right to Betray

As they seek to become brokers for the Democratic "doves," the WWP/YAWF organizers of PAM have been feeling the heat both from liberals and social democrats to their right and from the SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent to the left. Shortly before the May 3 march, Marcy himself wrote a pathetic apologia for counterrevolutionary betrayal in El Salvador, titled "On Negotiated Settlement and the Right of Self-Determination" (*Workers World*, 17 April). He attempts to argue that when the liberal imperialists argue for a "political solution" this is a bad

thing, but it's okay for ostensible leftists to do so. Evidently ashamed to say straight out that he stands for a coalition government between the FDR and the blood-drenched ruling junta, he appeals to liberal guilt in the name of national sovereignty:

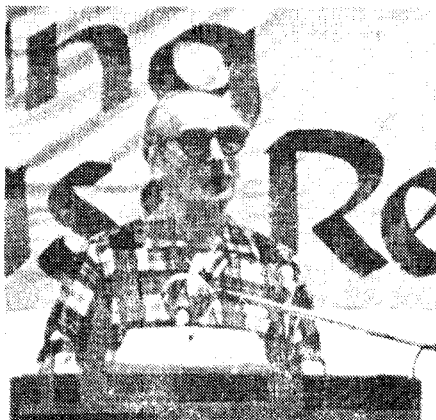
"Under any and all circumstances, it is the right of the oppressed country to set the conditions and the specific immediate objectives for which it is struggling....

"The oppressed and the oppressed alone have the right to determine whether to fight for full withdrawal under the circumstances, how and by what means to arrive at a political settlement, if that is desirable, and what conditions should be embraced in any agreement."

The right of self-determination means one thing and one thing only: the right of a nation to an independent state. El Salvador is engulfed in a *civil war*. Thus the call for "self-determination" is an irrelevant piece of rhetoric dredged up to cover Marcy's tailism: first identify the flimsy, contradictory FDR with the will of the Salvadoran nation and then pronounce any opposition to its policies a violation of self-determination. If some gang of bourgeois nationalists set up an American military base in their country, would Marcy support this in the name of self-determination?

Marcy appeals to the precedent of Vietnam, arguing that it was correct to support the 1973 "peace" settlement there. The Spartacist League pointed out then that this treaty would settle nothing, and indeed it took two more years of bitter fighting until the Vietnamese workers and peasants won the victory on the battlefield. But calls for a "negotiated settlement" or "political solution" in El Salvador are far more dangerous. As an SL spokesman noted at the May 3 Anti-Imperialist rally:

"...there's one crucial difference, because in Vietnam the Soviet Union against its will was forced to deliver some arms and they had the ability,



Sam Marcy, self-proclaimed counter-revolutionist. Workers World



Bella bellows. WV Photo

militarily, to defeat the U.S. on the battlefield. The United States in this case is operating in what it considers its own backyard and the people who are talking about a political solution are talking about a bloodbath in Central America—and you'd better know it."

At bottom the Marcyites' appeal is to nationalism and liberal guilt. "We Americans can't tell other peoples what to do" is the line of argument. Well, the Spartacist League is not "we Americans." We are Marxist *internationalists!* The German socialists Marx and Engels rallied the European workers movement in support for a military victory of the North in the American Civil War—and while sharply opposing Lincoln's policies on many occasions. That is our tradition. We are part of an international class, the world proletariat. And we support the victory of *our class* in El Salvador!

Teddy Kennedy's New Waterboys

With the May 3 demonstration, the Marcyites make their bid for the role played by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the Vietnam antiwar movement—organizers of radicalized youth for the liberal Democrats. The SWP was too worried about winning its current court suit against the FBI (by getting the government to acknowledge the SWP is too tame to warrant secret police surveillance and "dirty tricks") to compete for the mantle of "best builder" on May 3, especially after having tried to demonstrate its respectability by joining with DSOC to red-bait the march as "violence"-prone. (This didn't stop the SWP's *Militant* after the fact from hailing the demo as the "Biggest Antiwar March Since Vietnam"!)

The SWP's abstention left the Marcyites a clear shot at becoming, along with the Communist Party and its numberless front groups, the aspiring brokers for a new bloc between anti-Reagan youth and the Democrats.

The Marcyites have come a long way down even from their origins as a pro-Stalinist split from Trotskyism in 1958. During the Vietnam era, the Marcyites were among the most raucous cheerleaders for all manner of Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists. While slavishly tailing Vietnamese Stalinism and its popular-frontist strategy, the Marcyites on occasion criticized the official antiwar movement led by the SWP and Communist Party (the "Mobe" and the "New Mobe") from the left:

"...American troops have intervened again and again in dozens of countries to establish corrupt regimes that serve the interests of U.S. corporations....
"The Mobe leaders know all this, but are so anxious to have the support of the doves of the ruling class that they refuse to alert the American people to the dangers that lie beyond the Vietnam war....

"Anyone genuinely opposed to war must, in the long run, oppose imperialism and fight for the destruction of its foundation, monopoly capitalism."

— *Workers World*, 13 November 1969

For years YAWF trained its members to tail every kind of "Third World" nationalism and Stalinism. But to get Teddy or some other mainstream liberal Democrat onto the speakers' stand, YAWF will have to shed even nominal anti-imperialism. If you want Teddy, you can't have the PLO, just for instance: at the "multi-issue" May 3 rally there was no demand about Zionism. To be successful brokers toward the liberal establishment, Marcy will have to wean his membership away from any residual attachment to national liberation struggles and especially from even lipservice to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. With May 3 this process has more than begun.

Once the Marcyites liked to posture as hard-guy defenders of the USSR against U.S. imperialism. Under the theoretical rubric of the "global class war" they slavishly supported the Kremlin's foreign policy, especially its most counterrevolutionary aspects (what precipitated their split from Trotskyism was their support to Khrushchev's crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution). But now that the U.S. imperialists are making El Salvador the front line of "Cold War II," these "global class warriors" are found in the bourgeois liberal camp. They organized the May 3 demo on the liberal line that the Central American upheavals have no bearing on the "East-West conflict."

Reagan declares El Salvador the

forward point of "Soviet expansionism." Haig threatens Cuba with military action if it doesn't stop arming the Salvadoran insurgents. Yet the Marcyites eagerly seek a blood line between themselves and our slogan, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador." The rightward shift in the bourgeois political climate finds internal reflection in the Marcy group, which now aspires simply to the social-democratic role which earned the SWP the just contempt of many tens of thousands of subjectively anti-imperialist youth during the Vietnam War.

The rightward shift of liberalism and its left apologists is palpable in the El Salvador protest milieu. Che Guevara's call for "two, three, many Vietnams" used to be a standard chant among New Left radicals. Everyone understood that the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese was draining U.S. imperialism of its strength. But today the liberal slogan of "no more Vietnams" is pervasive. Ironically one of the clearest statements of this shift to the right comes from the academic Castroites of the North American Congress on Latin America, which actually begins a fund appeal, "Help save the people of the U.S., and the peoples of Latin America, from the tragedy of two, three, many Vietnams"!

PAM pushes the same line. In endorsing the May 3 PAM rally, a Detroit city council resolution warned against "entering into another no-win Viet Nam-type internal conflict." The key here is "no-win." Liberals fear "another Vietnam" only because U.S.

imperialism *lost* there. Speaking for the resurgent hawks, Richard Nixon declared in a Seattle television interview that El Salvador "is not another Vietnam. It is not going to be a place where we're going to fail." This is the flip side of the imperialist defeatism which PAM appeals to. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent, in contrast, stood with the working masses of Central America and appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the U.S.

The Spartacist League fought for the victory of the Indochinese revolution and we fight today for *victory* to the toilers in the Salvadoran civil war—by posing a clear *class line* in El Salvador and at home. The choice is between preaching faith in the Democratic wing of the capitalist warmongers or building a massive anti-imperialist movement with a perspective of workers power in Latin America and here. We know which side we're on. And we know which side Sam Marcy's on, too. He stands for "anti-Reaganism" under the hegemony of Carter/Kennedy's Democratic Party. We stand for class solidarity and class struggle. The reformist charlatans *oppose* the defeat of the blood-soaked Salvadoran junta, in the interests of appealing to the pro-imperialist "doves" who above all fear the spectre of revolution. That is what makes a Sam Marcy, by his words and by his deeds, a self-proclaimed counterrevolutionist on El Salvador.

We demand: Military victory to the leftist insurgents! Smash junta terror in El Salvador—For workers revolution! ■

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Militant L.A. Phone Workers Say: U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!

Campaigning for upcoming delegate elections to this summer's convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC) is centering its campaign on U.S. and CWA involvement in El Salvador. The MAC candidates in the Los Angeles area—Barbara Britton, Manuel Delgado and Barry Janus—issued a leaflet on April 12 which noted the MAC's planned participation in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in the Salvadoran consulate on April 18. The MAC slogans in the demo were: "U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off El Salvador! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents! Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive! AFL-CIO Break with the AFLD! Boycott All Military Goods to El Salvador!" The leaflet is excerpted below.

The U.S. means bloody business in El Salvador. Every single union hall was bombed and destroyed. Whole villages have been burned to the ground. 12,000 mostly workers and peasants were slaughtered last year alone. Operating under the cover of the CWA-supported American Institute For Free Labor Development (AIFLD)'s "land reform," the CIA transplanted the Phoenix pacification program from Vietnam to El Salvador.

The war in El Salvador is a civil war. This war pits the workers and impoverished peasants against the coffee barons, the landlords, the right-wing death squads, the military junta, and the U.S. government. The American labor movement has a stake in this fight. We in the Militant Action Caucus call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents. And we call on American labor to take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters win. The ILWU showed the way when they resolved not to handle military cargo bound for El Salvador. But the military boycott has to be made real on the docks and extended to teamsters and seamen. And if war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines, labor had better be prepared

to strike to stop U.S. military intervention. The CWA must break with the CIA's labor front in South America, the AIFLD. Our local must immediately cease its financial contributions to "Operation South America".

Only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a blood bath. But real victory for the workers and peasants can only be won through independent struggle in their own interest. A real victory means the establishment of workers and peasants governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America—governments that nationalize without compensation the coffee plantations, the corporations and the estates. This means that the workers and peasants must break from the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) led by so-called "friends of the people" like landlord Alvarez and Ungo, the former junta

member. The FDR leaders are angling for a "political solution"—a deal with the junta and its U.S. masters that would leave the corporations and landed estates intact and social conditions for the workers and peasants unchanged.

Down With Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive

Reagan's war drive begins in El Salvador. But that is not where it will end. His real targets are Cuba and the Soviet Union. He hates the Soviet Union and Cuba for the same reason he hates the unions. Both stand in the way of corporate profit. The USSR is no workers' paradise. Russian workers have numerous scores to settle with the likes of Brezhnev, just as we have some scores to settle with the bureaucratic misleaders of our unions. But we are better off with a misled union than no union at all. Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organized a planned economy that provides economic necessities. Just as we defend our unions against government and company attacks we are for defending Soviet and Cuban workers and their planned economy against profit-hungry Reagan.

The war drive means mainly black and Latino youth fighting and dying in the jungles of Central America to boost the profits of the big corporations. It's not the Russians who are closing our factories, letting our cities rot and eliminating CETA programs, food stamps and unemployment insurance. It's not the Russians who are closing schools and hospitals while going after our unions with a vengeance. Our enemy is at home.

We in the MAC are fighting for a new leadership in the CWA—a leadership that will stand up to Reagan/Haig's thermonuclear lunacy. Labor must break from the parties of big business, the Republicans and Democrats. To rid this society of war, racism and fascist terror requires a workers party—a party that will bring the working class to power and establish a workers' government and a planned economy. ■

UAW Militants:

Victory to the Brothers in El Salvador!

The following motion was put forward today by the Rouge Militant Caucus at the UAW Local 600 Maintenance and Construction Unit (Skilled Trades) meeting:

The Maintenance and Construction Unit of UAW Local 600 endorses the anti-imperialist contingent in the May 3 march on Washington. We stand opposed to all U.S. military and economic aid to the murderous junta in El Salvador, and to Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

In the civil war between the leftist insurgents and the U.S.-supported junta, we are for the victory of our working-class brothers and sisters who are under the heel of one of the longest continuous military dictatorships in Central America.

—submitted by Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600, 21 April 1981

reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 286, 31 July 1981

Longshore Militants Say: “For Military Victory to the Salvadoran Leftists!”

During the 24th biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), held in Honolulu April 27-May 2, Howard Keylor of the Militant Caucus (a class-struggle opposition in the union) presented the following minority report on El Salvador.

WHEREAS:

Reagan's foreign policy is gearing up for World War III with the Soviet Union. The steps along this road to nuclear holocaust are clear—first El Salvador, then Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland and finally the USSR; and

WHEREAS:

The conflict in El Salvador is a civil war. On one side are the workers and impoverished peasants. On the other side are the landlords, coffee barons, the right-wing death squads, the military junta, and the U.S. government. Every single union hall has been bombed and destroyed and the killing goes on; and

WHEREAS:

The ILWU and the rest of the American labor movement has a stake in this fight and must take sides with the workers and peasants. Only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a blood bath. American labor must take all neces-

sary action to help our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador to win; and

WHEREAS:

The International's policy to boycott military cargo bound for El Salvador is a first step toward international labor solidarity. But the military boycott has to be made real on the waterfront and extended to Teamsters and Seamen. If war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines the ILWU and all labor must be prepared to strike to stop U.S. intervention; and

WHEREAS:

Real victory for the workers and peasants can only be won through independent struggle in their own class interests. This means the establishment of workers' and peasants' governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America to expropriate the coffee plantations, the corporations and the estates without compensation; and

WHEREAS:

The ability to carry out this independent class struggle means breaking politically with the so-called progressive capitalists who are angling for a negotiated “political solution” that will maintain capitalism in El Salvador. Such a deal with the junta would



WV Photo

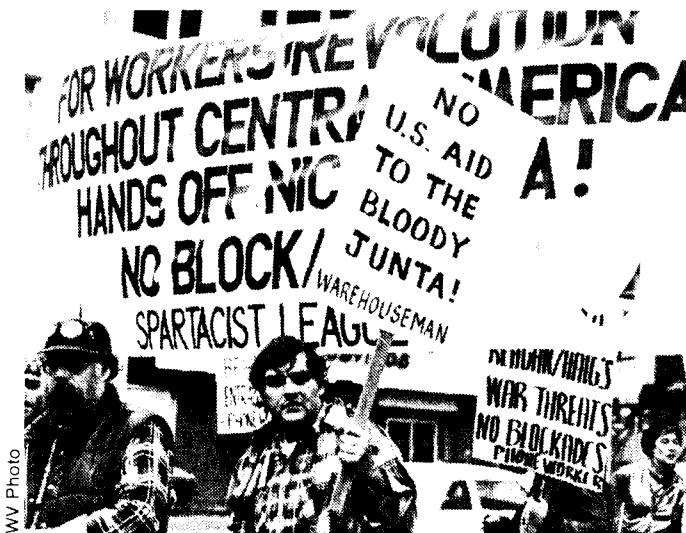
At 23 January 1982 Bay Area El Salvador demo.

leave the corporations and landed estates intact and social conditions for workers and peasants unchanged. For Salvadoran workers the only choice is victory or death; THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the ILWU:

1. Call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador;
2. Call upon the American labor movement to hot-cargo all military goods destined for El Salvador and other Central American dictators;
3. Urge our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador to politically break with the capitalists and to struggle for a workers' and peasants' government;
4. Demand an end to all U.S. military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta;
5. Demands U.S./OAS/Latin American capitalists—all hands off El Salvador and Nicaragua! ■

San Francisco,
21 November
1981:
Class-struggle
militants want
their class
brothers and
sisters to win
the war in
El Salvador.



WV Photo

The First Communist-Led Uprising in the Americas

El Salvador 1932: La Matanza

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

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

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

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

tural workers and peasants nonetheless frightened the ruling landlord-capitalists nearly to death.

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

Farabundo Martí and 1932

The roots of the 1932 revolt are found in the spread of agricultural capitalism in El Salvador, enmeshing the country in the world market, and in the collapse of that market in 1929 with the capitalist depression. The development of the great coffee estates threw thousands of Indians off their ancestral lands, destroying the communal agricultural system which had sustained them for centuries. But in the formation of a mass of agricultural wage workers and oppressed peasant *colonos*, the coffee barons formed a dangerous class enemy. When the depression hit and the coffee price plummeted, the Indian peasants found themselves literally starving for lack of land or work. It was a situation ripe for rebellion.

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

Trotskyism.

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

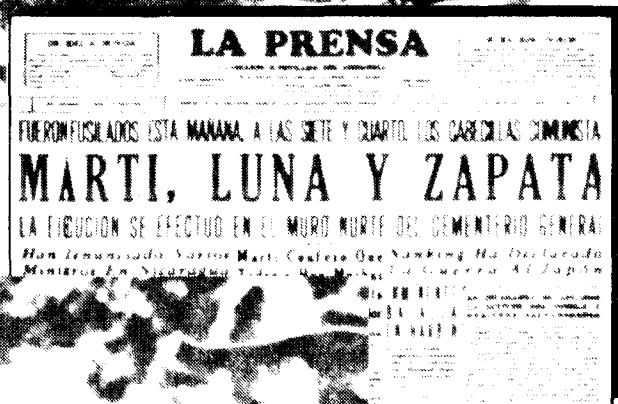
Martí fought in 1928-29 with Augusto Sandino in Nicaragua, serving as Sandino's personal secretary in the Liberal general's guerrilla war against the U.S. Marines occupying Nicaragua. He then broke with Sandino, saying, "His banner was only the banner of independence, the banner of emancipation, and he did not pursue goals of social rebellion. I declare this categorically because more than once communist ideas have been attributed to General Sandino" (Mauricio de la Selva, "El Salvador: Tres Décadas de Lucha," *Cuadernos Americanos*, January-February 1962).

"Struggle Against the National Bourgeoisie!"

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



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In 1932 El Salvador's white terror sent 30,000 to their graves; newspapers announced the executions of the leaders of the insurgency. Below: Nicaragua's Sandino (left) with Farabundo Martí.

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

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

Araujo jailed Martí, who became a popular hero, winning his freedom by a hunger strike accompanied by mass demonstrations for his release. But the Communists' prospects were threatened when, in December 1931, a right-wing military coup brought General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez to power. Time seemed to be running out for the still weak and under-led PCS. The objective conditions for a Communist-led revolution were clearly apparent—

but would there be a leadership capable of capitalizing on them? The weaknesses of the PCS were shown when a Communist-influenced student paper, *Estrella Roja*, published by Martí's disciples Alfonso Luna and Mario Zapata, greeted the Martínez coup, saying that "the blunders of Araujo imposed on the military the moral obligation of overthrowing him."

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

desperate attempt to overthrow the Martínez regime.

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

Matanza

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

In the end "zero hour" arrived at midnight on the 22nd and the peasants rose up and marched out to a heroic but doomed rebellion. Curiously, all of the northern portion of Central America was rocked that very night by the simultaneous eruption of four major volcanos, including El Salvador's Izalco crater. Thomas P. Anderson, the American historian of *la matanza*, writes in his valuable and interesting account that as the molten lava flowed down the slopes of Izalco,

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

"The revolt was no mere *jacquerie*, no sudden impulse on the part of Indian

campesinos. . . it has the distinction of being the first Latin American revolutionary movement in which men who were avowed international communists played a major part."

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

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

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

"Ultraleftism"

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

"I don't believe that we should be labeled petty-bourgeois adventurers for having done it. . . . I believe that our errors were rightist and not leftist. . . due to vacillations and delays, due to gross violations of the most elemental conspiratorial security measures, the insurrection was begun. . . when the

government had already murdered all the Communist officers and soldiers in the bourgeois army, had captured or liquidated, or was about to liquidate, most of the members of the leadership of the party and the mass organizations."

—Dalton, *Miguel Mármol*

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

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

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

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

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

—*WV* No. 271, 2 January

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

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Front Line El Salvador

Smash Junta Terror!

Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Cuba, USSR!

We print below the edited first half of a speech by Jan Norden, editor of Workers Vanguard and member of the Spartacist League Central Committee, recently delivered in Boston and New York under the title, "For Workers Revolution in Central America." An expanded version of the second half, focusing on Nicaragua, appeared in WV No. 277, 27 March 1981.

It's high noon in Central America. The whole isthmus is red-hot, bubbling like the volcanic chain that forms its backbone. A string of banana republics, puppet dictatorships and oligarchic tyrannies have shot their wad, and there is an historic day of reckoning approaching. There is a general crisis of bourgeois rule in the region, such as it has been practiced over the last half century. And in this explosive situation a new administration has moved into the White House which is determined to send a bloody message to the Kremlin. The message consists of Huey helicopters, 105 millimeter bazookas, PT patrol boats and U.S. "military advisers." The blood is supposed to be that of the Central American masses. Reagan has challenged Castro and Brezhnev to a shoot-out over El Salvador, and Central America is now the focal point of the Cold War—the point at which all the energy of imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive is concentrated on the tinder of popular outrage and the flames begin to leap up.

To meet this challenge the left, both in Latin America and in the imperialist centers, has to face head-on the basic question, to take a stand in the confrontation between rapacious imperialism and the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. It won't do to appeal to liberal "concern" over genocide. In the first place, this is not just another case of the U.S. backing up

**Junta victims
in El Salvador
Cathedral,
March 1980.**



Chauvel/Sygma

some bloodthirsty butchers in its backyard. When Teddy Roosevelt was riding roughshod over these little statelets, American imperialism was mainly concerned with consolidating its regional hegemony. The Spanish-American War and dollar diplomacy were centrally aimed at turning the Monroe Doctrine into reality. Building the Panama Canal enabled the U.S. for the first time to possess a two-ocean navy. It was part of the carving up of the colonial world by imperialism in preparation for World War I. The issue half a century ago, the last time that Central America was big news, was essentially regional. This time the stakes are far higher.

So in the last couple weeks we have been treated to this outcry over Soviet arms in El Salvador. I have here the State Department's "White Paper." I

guess they have to call them white papers because their real purpose is to throw mud in the eyes of the public, so they don't see what's going on. So the first thing you have to do is to debunk the imperialist lies. To recall President Reagan's words of a few weeks ago: who is it that goes around the world lying, cheating and stealing? Well, we have a candidate for that. It's the United States. And this is really attempt Number 2. Number 1 was back in January when they had "definitive proof" that Nicaragua was the "real source" arming the Salvadoran rebels. And the proof was a couple of rowboats on the Bay of Fonseca. The wood, they said, was a kind that's not found normally in El Salvador, and this was the proof of Nicaraguan aggression. It's obviously ridiculous, but this was the



Bonner/NY Times

Salvadoran rebels on the offensive.

basis on which they cut off \$15 million in aid to Nicaragua, and \$5 million in "lethal" military aid was resumed to El Salvador. Well, that flopped pretty bad—the correspondents rushed down there and couldn't find any evidence of arms or anything. So now we have supposed reports by the head of the El Salvador Communist Party.

Now the unofficial voices of American imperialism have even more fantastical things to say. There was a terrific one in the February 2nd edition of *Business Week*. They said:

"The recent arrival of North Koreans [to aid the Salvadoran guerrillas, they said] was discovered when four of them were killed in a traffic accident in Nicaragua in early January. Buenos Aires has also identified larger numbers of Montoneros, Argentina's left-wing guerrillas. It has been reported that American-made 105 howitzers, captured by the North Vietnamese in 1975, have been landed by a Lebanese ship chartered by the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring them up from Saigon."

Whew! So my first reaction is to ask, "Where is Carlos in all this?!" And what about the Baader-Meinhof gang?! But as proletarian revolutionaries we have more to say than just exposing inventions. The reality is that there is unfortunately no effective Soviet aid going to the insurgents in El Salvador. Because if there were, we wouldn't have had 12,000 people who died at the hands of right-wing death squads and the junta's army in the last year. That is the proof. Hopefully there are some arms from Cuba and the Soviet Union there. But the fact of the matter is that there is

not adequate protection for the masses facing bloodthirsty dictators. And then the Soviet ambassador to the U.S. gets up and says, "We're innocent." Unfortunately he was telling the truth. If he did lie, cheat and steal in order to further the cause of world revolution, we'd feel a lot better. But it's not so.

Now what we are seeing here is the attempt by the leading capitalist world power to reassert a claim to global hegemony after being badly mauled in Indochina. The unraveling of the various dictatorships in the region is intimately connected to the relative weakness of U.S. imperialism following Vietnam. Then came Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, which in Latin America was essentially a passing phase of bourgeois hypocrisy. But as we pointed out from Day One, its real direction was against the Soviet Union. In other words it was imperialist moral rearmament, in preparation for war. And it wasn't just going to be Cold War, it would be hot war. And Reagan has decreed that this is where the hot war starts. So Central America is a substitute for the Persian Gulf or Berlin or somewhere else. Poland, for example. That's the place that's uppermost in Washington's mind. And by "drawing the line against Communism" in El Salvador, what they are really preparing for is to "roll back," in Foster Dulles phraseology, the historic gains of the Russian proletarian revolution.

Secondly, as we wrote in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the U.S. rulers are not seeking to achieve "stability" in

the region or anything of the sort. The only solution that they have in mind for the Central American left is a "final solution." Reagan's spoiling for a fight; he wants the blood to flow in rivers. And since the most powerful imperial power of this epoch wills it, *the blood will flow*. That is a fact. So why all this talk about a political solution? The Latin American populist regimes, like Mexico, and European social democrats are talking about it. It's so much pipe-dreaming. And they'd better take that Détente Gold out of their hookahs, because this is serious business. But the same sort of dangerous utopianism is coming from the intended victims, from the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua and spokesmen for the Salvadoran left. They should draw some conclusions from the U.S.' brush-off. *Reagan stands by his butchers.*

The Salvadoran junta is not going to get a "human rights" slap on the hand this time. And the reason is that what's posed here is a class battle on an international scale. And therefore the only answers which make any sense are class answers—the program and perspective of proletarian revolution. That's why we say what at first struck a lot of people on the left as "off the wall," that "Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union Begins in El Salvador!" And, comrades, the events of the last week have emphatically confirmed that warning. For example, one liberal Congressman complained it was a return to "gunboat diplomacy"—he's so right. Spanish radio reported last Tuesday that there are presently more than 40

American ships in the Caribbean trying to stop arms shipments to Nicaragua and El Salvador's leftists. Reagan answers the liberal concern about getting embroiled in a "new Vietnam" saying he intends to deal with the problem at its "source," which he claims is Cuba and the USSR. Now in fact that's baloney, but it is U.S. policy. So now Washington is telling Moscow that SALT depends on the junta winning in El Salvador. Havana's being told that unless they stop arms shipments to the Salvadoran leftists they will face a naval blockade.

And then what? Recall what the Soviet diplomat said who negotiated the Russian backdown over the October 1962 missile crisis. He said, "We will never permit this again." And the Kremlin meant it. So where will the liberals and social democrats stand in a new Cuban missile crisis? I recall very well how things stood the last time. The Socialist Workers Party, the SWP, which used to be a Trotskyist organization until it started tailing after Castroism in the early '60s, had been building up a pro-Cuban front group, called the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. With an eye toward the liberals, they talked only about "self-determination" and "hands off" Cuba. But when the missile crisis came around, when push came to shove, big surprise: all of the liberals just faded away. There was no more "fair play" for Cuba—it was "which side are you on, brother?" for it was a class question. And the SWP capitulated to the liberal pacifists by refusing to criticize Khrushchev, even though Castro himself, their big hero, was opposed to the deal and the Cuban masses were incensed at the deal which left them without essential protection against American imperialism.

So that's what's wrong with these class-collaborationist coalitions and politics on the part of supposed left-wing and revolutionary forces. When it gets down to the nitty-gritty, they paralyze effective action by the workers organizations, because they seek to avoid the fundamental contradictions. Whereas the main thing Marxists have always pointed out about politics is that when all is said and done, it comes down to a class division: you're on one side or the other on a picket line. In a civil war you stand on one side or another, or because there's no qualitative difference from the point of view of the proletariat you're opposed in a revolutionary way to both sides. But these reformists try to *hide* that distinction. So the question I would pose here is what happens when there's a new Cuban crisis—all those

liberals talking now about "Let the Salvadoran People Decide," where will they and coalitions built on those politics stand then? You can't escape the class question.

So Reagan has chosen El Salvador and Central America as the axis around which he's revving up his Cold War. And what's going to be at the center of the political battle is the question of the Soviet Union and the degenerated and deformed workers states. As Trotskyists we have a side there. We criticize the détente illusions of a Brezhnev or Castro—Castro, by the way, supported Carter against Reagan last November, but who laid the basis for what's happening in El Salvador if not Carter? We call for the ouster of a Stalinist caste which weakens the foundations of proletarian rule by its attempts to conciliate imperialism. And that is part of our overall political program for the unconditional defense and extension of the gains of the October Revolution. So to prepare the proletariat for its tasks, key slogans are: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR." Enough of this talk about a "political solution" with the bloody junta: "Military Victory for the Left Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Break with the Bourgeoisie!" In Nicaragua there's no middle way, the only road is "Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!" and "Set Central America Aflame with Workers Revolution!"

El Salvador 1932

So let's look a little bit at El Salvador and go through some of the last 160 years since independence was won from Spain. Now, first of all, El Salvador is not a banana republic, it's a coffee republic. Since the late 1800s its main export has been that little green bean that turns to gold for the coffee barons. But more than anything else, it's the quintessential country run by an oligarchy. The ruling class consists of a very small number of families—the biggest one is called the Hills, the Alvarez are another. These are dynastic families who control everything. They're the landlords, the generals, the bishops, the presidents and so on. In El Salvador they call this oligarchy the 14 Families. Someone did a study on it recently and they discovered there were 60. So if you want to make a distinction...

If you really want a picture of El Salvador sometime, I suggest that you see a movie that was around some time ago called *Viva Maria!* It stars Brigitte Bardot, Jeanne Moreau and George Hamilton. It's a spoof on Latin American revolutions: Brigitte Bardot is the

daughter of some IRA terrorist who emigrates to Central America because nothing's happening in Ireland, and you've got to throw bombs somewhere. So they lead a revolution, all those beautiful girls wearing bandoliers, George Hamilton martyred against a cross and Jeanne Moreau cuddling up to him in jail. It's really a schlock movie, of course, but it's got all the stereotypes about a typical oligarchy-run Latin American society. They have torture wheels with peasants on them slowly turning in the wind; they've got peasants marching single file, all barefoot, down dusty roads with brutal foremen riding up and down the line with whips and rifles. Well the point is, if you go up and down the roads in El Salvador you can see just that.

It's a murderous society with many semi-feudal characteristics. But only semi-feudal, because it's been producing for the world market ever since at least a century ago. So in this situation you get deeply felt democratic demands. To get rid of these butchers, right? Why should 14, or 60, families lord it over everyone? The demand for land to the peasants who till it. And for national emancipation from the imperialist overlordship that's exercised by the U.S., directly and through its local intermediaries. In Latin America today bourgeois-democratic demands are burning revolutionary issues. But as Trotskyists we don't therefore call for a "democratic revolution" as the social democrats and Stalinists do. The fundamental contribution of Leon Trotsky and the Russian Revolution to Marxism is that we understand that in this imperialist epoch you can't have real democracy (particularly for the oppressed masses) unless the workers win it by achieving their own class rule.

The reason is that if some of these "democratic" capitalist forces finally get power, they're going to have to carry out a repression that's not that different from what the previous tyrants and patriarchs did. Why? Because the reason that these dictators are the norm in Latin America in the first place is because there is a very tiny bourgeoisie sitting on top of a very big oppressed peasant and proletarian or plebeian population whose miserable conditions are continually leading to revolutionary ferment. And the only way that they can keep them down is through one kind or another of bonapartist regime—you know, the "man on horseback," military dictatorships which ultimately come down to mass terror. In line with this, I was doing some translating the other day and it occurred to me that there are

an awful lot of words in Spanish for coup. So I looked it up and there were 297 nouns for coup. If you add the verbs, it's over 580! So there's actually more words than there are for snow in Eskimo. Of course, the reason is there's a lot of snow in the Arctic, and in Latin America you have a lot of coups. And then in El Salvador they just got their first civilian president in 50 years. His name? José Napoleón Duarte—Joe Napoleon!

In El Salvador, the quintessential land of the coffee oligarchy, this tendency to bonapartist rule is shown dramatically. For the country has been continually subjected to military rule ever since 1932. It's the longest continuous period of army rule anywhere on the continent. And it's not an accident. Why? Well, El Salvador is the most productive area of Central America, producing commercial crops from one end of the country to the other—it's like one giant plantation. And when they went into coffee, they just threw hundreds of thousands of peasants off their land, so that the percentage of landless peasants who have become agricultural workers in El Salvador is far higher than anywhere else in Latin America. The conditions are very similar to what they were in Zapata's Morelos around the time of the Mexican Revolution, and of course the Mexican Revolution had a big impact at this end of the Central American isthmus.

So when there was an international financial crash, the capitalist economic collapse of 1929, the traditional terror was lifted and the landless laborers began to lift their heads. The oligarchy saw the storm clouds gathering and decided to dump the reformer, replacing him with a bonafide hangman-general named Maximiliano Hernández Martínez. The Communist Party called for an uprising to which the rural masses responded massively. And the result was an indescribably bloody repression. Thirty thousand people died, in a country of a little over 2 million people. It's like shooting down 3 million people in the United States by comparison. And ever since then that has been the dominant theme of Salvadoran politics. Everybody knows that if things get out of hand, it's going to be 1932 all over again. So that is what revolutionary organizations that claim to lead the proletariat have to prepare for—for another 1932, but this time one in which the workers and peasants can win!

This was the first Communist-led uprising in America, and it was met with the longest-lived military dictatorship in



Young Spartacus Photo

SL/SYL contingent at 21 March 1981 rally in Boston against U.S. support to El Salvador junta.

the Western hemisphere. There's a close relationship here, and the point is that El Salvador expresses in concentrated form the conditions of bourgeois rule throughout Latin America. This is what is at the heart of the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution, namely that in the backward capitalist countries the very weak bourgeoisie cannot rule independently of and against imperialism and the semi-feudal elements. In fact, they're intimately allied, and they cannot install a bourgeois-democratic revolution; the history of the French and English Revolutions cannot be repeated here. Because the ruling class is not much more than a branch-office bourgeoisie. All of the "experiments" in bourgeois democracy have failed miserably in Latin America. A few decades ago, Uruguay was supposed to be the Switzerland of Latin America. Or Chile, a little piece of Europe transported to South America. And they had the Alliance for Progress to boot. Well, look at Uruguay and Chile now.

So why does this happen everywhere? That's what the Trotskyists understand while the Stalinists and social democrats are always bitterly surprised. You see, these reformists always maintain that you can have some kind of a bourgeois-democratic stage, or an anti-imperialist stage, or an anti-oligarchic, anti-feudalist, anti-fascist stage, etc., etc. When you hear all that rhetoric you should stop and ask yourself, what's missing here? It's anti-everything and full of Marxist-sounding terminology, but there's no reference to proletarian revolution. Right? So all of this fancy language is essentially to cover up the fact that they refuse to struggle for proletarian revolution. In fact, they are simply trying to put over some kind of more liberal or "progressive" capitalist regime which will ultimately turn around and repress the workers just like its predecessors did. And only the Trotskyists tell the truth, that to win the classic demands of the bourgeois revolution today it's necessary for the working class to take power and establish its own

class rule. This is the *only* alternative to bloody counterrevolution.

The classic case in Latin America is Chile. Now Chile actually does have a more European class structure, and ever since the 1930s it's had large reformist and even centrist workers parties. Consequently they also had their People's Front experience. They had a series of popular fronts from 1936 to the late 1940s, and the last one was headed by General González Videla, whose main support was the Communist Party. He came into power in 1945, and by 1947 he had thrown the entire CP into concentration camps. There's also the other alternative, the Pinochet variant, where the Allende Unidad Popular acted as a barrier to going beyond the limits of capitalism. The UP was brought to power by a working-class upsurge—initially very enthusiastic—but as it gradually played its forces out, imperialist reaction and the domestic bourgeoisie struck back. In either variant the popular front is a roadblock to revolution.

Break with the Bourgeoisie!

To come back to the case of El Salvador, there are other limitations to bourgeois economic development and the achievement of any kind of real prosperity or social progress in the region. And that is that the whole area is Balkanized into tiny countries. Basically, all of Latin America is in many senses one big nation, with the exception of Brazil. But in the case of Central America, this is even more extreme. It emerged from colonial rule as a single federal state, but the bourgeoisie was so dispersed that it soon split up. But the result is that you now have Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama, none of them economically viable. Oh, they all have their own oil refinery. Every single one of them has a Coca-Cola bottling plant—though now that the Republicans are in, they'll probably change hands and become Pepsi-Cola. (The *Times* noted the other day that things always go better for Pepsi under the Republicans.) And they all have their Sears Roebuck stores for the tiny middle class that lives in suburban divisions named Colonia Kennedy, Colonia Country Club or Colonia Sears. Which are all laid out like Levittown. But meanwhile you go two streets over and you have a mass of almost unbelievable poverty. Even today it's real progress when you can get a tin roof! In other words, the conditions of life for the masses are if anything worse than they were 30 years

ago.

Now part of the reason why you have such overwhelming poverty, such a tiny middle class, is that the narrow national framework doesn't allow for genuine economic development. And any attempt at development within the capitalist framework is doomed to failure, because you set up a canning plant here, a Revlon factory there and pretty soon they're all competing and the local bourgeoisies are getting at each other's throats because there's no market for their produce. Let me give you an example, this so-called "football war" between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969. This was one of the most ridiculous wars in Latin American history, but it had nothing to do with football. What happened is that the Central American Common Market was set up as part of the Alliance for Progress; you were supposed to produce widgets in one country and gizmos in the other, and then you would get to the "take-off stage" and Walt Rostow would come down and give you a prize.

That's the theory, but El Salvador being a little more advanced began industrializing like crazy, and soon Honduras complained that their market was being invaded. Meanwhile there were also a lot of peasants spilling over the border, because land pressure in El Salvador is very great. So Honduras accused its Maryland-sized neighbor of imperialism and threw out thousands of squatters. Both countries were whipping up popular hysteria and after a contested football game in Mexico City it blew up into a war. But the fundamental thing was competition between these economically unviable statelets. This "football war" put an end to the Central

American Common Market and since then there's been hardly any industrialization at all. If the working class took power, of course, it would not be some tiny "socialist republic of El Salvador," but in the framework of a socialist federation linking all of Central America with Mexico, which is the real potential industrial powerhouse of the region. And that is the precondition to any real economic development.

Now another important aspect of the situation in El Salvador is the extremely sharp left-right polarization, reflecting the deep abyss between the classes. Another dramatic example: in Latin America there's a certain code on how to run a dictatorship. It used to be, for instance, that when leftists got jailed they would be relatively well treated, because everyone knew (including the jailers) that after they sold out, one of these fellows might be the next president or a cabinet minister. Now that's all changed after the Alliance for Progress, which led to the systematic dissemination of "enlightened" American imperialism. Okay, so another rule of the game is that there is a certain cycle to these things. As long as you're going to keep the masses in abysmal poverty, it's inevitable that periodically they will have waves of mass protest sweeping through the population. And the rule is that when it reaches a high point you let it pass over, let 'em march past and wait for another day. Not in El Salvador.

Last year, on January 22, there were 200,000 people marching into downtown San Salvador. They have the traditional central plaza, with the national palace and then the cathedral (you know, god blesses El Benefactor);

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and then there's the national bank (Mammon blesses El Benefactor), and finally the defense ministry (the guns bless El Benefactor). Anyway, so the crowd pulls into the central plaza, they turn right around the cathedral and start going past the national bank and presidential palace. Two hundred thousand people and what does the government do? It puts sharpshooters on the roofs, and they gun down the crowd. They killed 200 people and wounded another 300. Now that is playing with fire—it's not in the Dale Carnegie rules for tinpot Latin American dictators. But there's a reason for it. The Salvadoran bourgeoisie knows that its situation has been precarious for a long time, and that's why there has not been any real attempt by dissident bourgeois elements to challenge military rule for five decades. And so this kind of shameless massacre is also taken for granted—it's necessary from their class point of view.

There are all sorts of other examples. The assassination of Archbishop Romero, for example. You're not supposed to shoot archbishops either, especially when he has friends here. He was a good friend of Father Drinan, the Congressman from Massachusetts; but then the pope kicked out Father Drinan, so I guess they figure it's alright to kill the archbishop. Now Archbishop Romero got very upset with President Romero (no relation) when the army started shooting off his priests several years ago. And when the "human rights" junta put in by Washington about a year and a half ago did the same thing, pretty soon he began sounding like a Maoist. All from the scriptures of course—you know, Epistle of Paul, Chapter I, Verse 13, "God says don't kill, so if they kill it's right to rebel." Well, the day after he said that he was shot down in the middle of saying mass. Incidentally, the hit men are supposed to have been Cuban gusanos trained by the CIA—so if you want to talk about exporting terrorism, that's a pretty good example.

And then there were the heads of the opposition popular-front coalition, the FDR, the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Their top leader, his name was Alvarez Córdova, was a scion of one of the 14 Families. And you don't normally shoot down members of the oligarchy. Or the Catholic missionary women: you shouldn't shoot nuns, it's not accepted, remember Stanleyville and all that. And Carter's ambassador Robert White—after the November election, all of Reagan's advisers were calling him a "social reformer" and he accused them of trying to get him killed. That's what



Daily World

El Salvador workers stage 24-hour strike against junta terror, March 1980.

happens to all the other "social reformers," even when they're connected to the CIA, like the land reform guys they bumped off in the San Salvador Hilton coffee shop.

So what is the response to that? As Marxists, communists, we say that it's necessary to organize the oppressed and the exploited around that social force which has the class interest to do away with the system that leads to such sadistic killers. But unfortunately the Salvadoran left has been influenced by decades of nationalist and Stalinist-reformist ideology so that its efforts have mainly been directed at papering over the very deep abyss between the classes there. That's what their whole popular-frontism policy is about. In the name of "democratic unity" they get the workers and peasants committed to respecting the private property of the capitalists, the "integrity" of the armed forces, the "serene guidance" of the church, and so forth. So you tack on a handful of dissident Christian Democrats and a couple of limp-wristed Social Democrats—actually bourgeois liberals masquerading as social democrats—all in order to keep the masses in check. Then supposedly you won't frighten off the "progressive bourgeoisie" and maybe you can strike a deal with Washington.

So they get a popular-front coalition with a few liberals and priests and reformists. And the masses, who are overjoyed at the ouster of the previous gang of murderers, initially give them their support. Now they've already had

a version of this in El Salvador with the so-called reform junta that was put in by Carter in October 1979. They had liberal army officers, liberal civilians; the Communist Party supplied a labor minister, and there were two hard-line colonels. So what happens? The liberals all get shunted aside, one after another, in what's called a "creeping coup," and the military hawks unleash the worst bloodbath in decades. Oh yes, and you have a "land reform" that is brought to you by the same people who brought you "pacification" in Vietnam. This land reform consists of handing out parcels to the members of a fascist organization called ORDEN, which has links to the military and is used to spy on the peasants. And the rest of the people who used to be there, the agricultural laborers, etc., all get thrown out, sent up into the hills where they are labeled guerrillas and then shot down by the army. It's called "Reform by Death" in El Salvador.

So today they have another version of this class-collaborationist coalition, the Revolutionary Democratic Front. At first it was headed by the landowner Alvarez and now by the "social democrat" Ungo, both of whom were members of the original "human rights junta" of October 1979. Lately the FDR has also been angling for an agreement with Colonel Majano, who was also a member of that junta but has now been arrested. It's a more left-wing coalition, more like Allende's UP perhaps. But what does it stand for? What about the land question, for example. The junta has a "land reform"—what does the left

say to that? Now Bolsheviks call for agrarian revolution, not land reform. The peasants are not going to fight for pieces of paper that say "title to land" on them, so that they keep on paying 50 percent of the harvest, only now it's not sharecropping but paying off the land bank. History shows that the only time the peasants really believe that anything has changed is when they rise up in a revolutionary insurrection and burn down the hacienda or manor house, and burn the land records. That's what happened in France in 1789 or Russia in 1917, or also in the defeated peasant revolution in Mexico in Morelos.

The reason is quite obvious. In addition to the "title" in the peasant's hand there is another piece of paper, right? It's in the national archives in the capital. And when the wave of reform passes, the landowners are going to return from Miami. Then it's going to be their piece of paper against the peasant's piece of paper. And guess what—their piece of paper has more guns behind it. So the peasants are rightly skeptical about these various reforms. Whereas if they are mobilized around a program of land to the tiller and led by the social force that has the power to impose that against the bourgeoisie, namely by the working class, they can be a tremendous auxiliary force and even the bulk of the numbers supporting proletarian revolution. But not if you have a popular front. Señor Alvarez is in the coalition; he holds thousands of hectares of land and represents a social class.

Furthermore, it's not that there are some bad landowners over there and some good industrialists over here, and those people are for social reaction while these people are for social progress. They're all the same people. In the typical Latin American oligarchic family the oldest son inherits the estate, a younger brother becomes a colonel in the army, a third son goes into bourgeois politics and number four goes into the church. If they have five sons, the last one is a revolutionary. Oh, and the one who gets the Coca-Cola franchise, I forgot about him. So there's a division of labor, they all come from the same family. In El Salvador they're named Romero or Alvarez, and in Nicaragua they're all Chamorros, but they're not going to carry out an agrarian revolution.

Internationally it's the same thing. So recently the Second International has been mucking around in the U.S.' backyard, recognizing all sorts of liberal and populist parties as members of their social-democratic international. Now

Alan Riding, a very perceptive reporter for the *New York Times*, was writing about this recently. There's a very small group in El Salvador called the National Revolutionary Movement, the MNR, a bunch of liberals headed by Guillermo Ungo, who is a vice president of the Socialist International. Thus they're connected with the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which sends them D-marks and acts in some respects for the interests of West German capital. So Riding remarked that the actual number of social democrats in El Salvador could probably fit into one Volkswagen. What they're angling for is for Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt to pull their chestnuts out of the fire, and in return they promise to be good boys, pay all the imperialist debts and so on. But what do you suppose Schmidt and Brandt are going to do when Reagan's gunboats start coming down the coast? Not a hell of a lot.

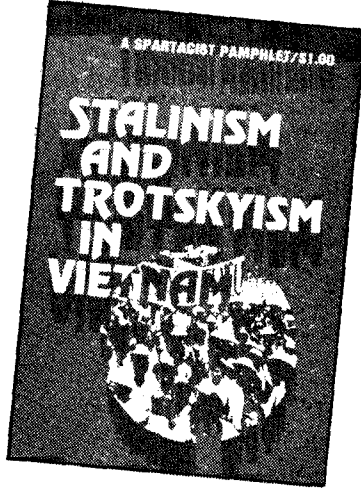
So the question of popular-frontism runs through all aspects of the situation in El Salvador, including the recent failed offensive. This was billed as the "final offensive," and *Time* magazine quoted one guerrilla leader saying it was the "final, final offensive. Finally!" Now it sounds like a joke, and partly it's for military tactical reasons, but behind all the stop-and-go offensives and retreats in El Salvador there is a political program. Now it appears to be the case—and it's hard to tell because of the blackout in the imperialist press—that there was little response to the call for insurrection. And certainly that was the case with the general strike. A leader of the left-wing insurgents, whose coalition is called the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, or FMLN, Ana Guadalupe Martinez said that "The masses felt that they lacked the support to massively carry out the strike, and for the political-military organizations, it was too weak to have been able to grow over into an insurrection.... The strike call at this point in time was a political error."

But this is not the first time such an error has occurred. The general strike last August was also a failure, and for similar reasons. In that case they were trying to negotiate with various bourgeois forces to broaden their popular front. And on the eve of the strike the bus owners pulled out. Shortly after the strike one of the more "moderate" groups, the FARN, left the military body of this multi-faceted left-wing coalition, the DRU, in the hopes of making a deal with Colonel Majano. Now the deal did not come off, because

significant sectors of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie are not willing to be part of a left coalition. But the point is that it's the constant effort to try to get such a deal which has held them back from mobilizing the masses in a truly revolutionary insurrectionary direction. For example, in the recent final/general offensive they never intended to carry out a countrywide uprising. Action in the cities was always supposed to be auxiliary, and not because they are some kind of Maoist "prolonged people's war" guerrillas.

What they were after was to get a piece of territory where they could set up their alternative FDR government, and then the Helmut Schmidts and López Portillos could recognize it and if they were lucky maybe it would come up before the UN or the OAS. In other words, the military action was conceived fundamentally as a pressure tactic on the international bourgeoisie. However, such a strategy is hopeless under the circumstances of Reagan rule. And in any case even if it did come to power, what it would mean is eventually that the workers and peasants would be cheated out of a victory for which they had shed a lot of blood. And everything would all end up back in the hands of the ruling class. So while the bulk of the left tries to mask the class division, the Trotskyists say that it is necessary to mobilize the working class, with the support of the peasants, to overthrow this very tiny bourgeoisie, which however has the backing of imperialism. And in the new Cold War context, the tasks posed by tiny El Salvador are on a global scale. ■

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Trotskyists Said: "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" **El Salvador: New Vietnam?**

At the Spartacist League forum in New York on February 28, a member of the audience noted, "There's been a lot of talk in the bourgeois press about Reagan saying there is not going to be another Vietnam, and among a lot of so-called leftists of not wanting to bring back Vietnam. Would you comment on how you think the situation in Central America differs from Vietnam and...the idea that we're going to rerun Vietnam and the antiwar movement." Comrade Norden replied:

On the Vietnam question, there are important differences that have to be stressed. As I mentioned, the coalition in El Salvador is a bourgeois popular front. Now, like in Spain, we call for the military victory of the popular-front forces against the right-wing reactionaries, because if the junta wins against the left-wing rebels it will lead to the obliteration of the working class and all active elements in it. As an example, in Spain 100,000 proletarians were killed *after* Franco won. So from the point of view of the working class, even though both forces are bourgeois, that's a qualitative difference, and so we call for the military victory of one side.

In the case of Vietnam it's a little bit different. The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese behind them had a popular-front program and even had something that looked like a popular front. But in fact all they had in this popular front were a couple of Buddhist monks and an architect. The reality was that on the one hand you had the North Vietnamese deformed workers state going up against American imperialism, and you had this NLF in the South that was connected essentially to the North Vietnamese. So in terms of the class forces concerned here, the nature of the civil war was different.

What you find with many left groups is that they try to cut the corners so they don't have to take the

hard positions. And what this leads to in the protest movements in the United States over El Salvador and Vietnam is a similar sort of thing. So a comrade over here spoke about CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. They call for "Let the People of El Salvador Decide," and "Self-Determination for the Salvadoran People," and "No Intervention." Now you listen to those things and you say, "How can anybody be against that." I mean, shouldn't the Salvadoran people be allowed to decide?

Well, raising these things which seem like what "all men of good will" could support, really is bourgeois liberalism. Because, for example, CISPES and the people who support it like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, are supporting a bill, HR 1509, which calls for no military aid to the junta. "No military aid to the junta" means that they accept *economic* aid to the junta, which is what's keeping that junta running. That place is bankrupt—their economy's been shot to hell for months. But they put forward this program which essentially approves of economic aid, because liberals don't oppose that. They just don't want to give guns to bad butchers, or something of the sort. And thus they have policies that are literally enabling the junta to stay alive.

And their overall program is for "self-determination." That came up at the beginning of the Vietnam War, too. They said, "No foreign troops in Vietnam." Right? "Self-determination for the South Vietnamese." Well, what did that mean? That meant no North Vietnamese troops in Vietnam. But we were *for* North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. And in the last days of the war we said, "Viet Cong On to Saigon!" Now, at the same time we said, look, these are the representatives of a deformed workers state; if they get in they are going to suppress workers democracy. But they will carry out a

fundamental social transformation, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and the duty of all Trotskyists and class-conscious proletarians is to support that militarily.

So we said you've got to take a side, and the slogan for which we were most notorious in the Vietnam antiwar movement was, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" We took a *class* side there. Today we are for the military victory of the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. But we also say of the situation in Nicaragua that it is necessary to go beyond their program and expropriate the bourgeoisie, that there is no middle road. The whole of the Central American isthmus must erupt in a volcano of workers revolution, in order to set the whole continent afire. And it's doubly important in this case. I'll tell you why.

In Vietnam what the SWP connected up with was bourgeois defeatism. And one thing about bourgeois defeatism, you never get it unless the bourgeoisie is getting defeated. Now in Vietnam they had Soviet aid. It came through North Vietnam. But in the present circumstances it is quite true that Fidel Castro has been counseling "moderation," and a "political settlement" and all of these things. Obviously they're getting their arms somewhere, although the main supplier, unfortunately, is the U.S. Defense Department. Because most of those guns they seem to have captured from the Salvadoran government forces. But even though they may give some arms, fundamentally they're starving them of arms, just like Stalin starved the Spanish workers and peasants in the 1930s of arms. And it's because of their overall political program.

So at the global level, in terms of the confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba; at the level of the internal politics of El Salvador and Nicaragua; and at the level of the struggle in the United States, this kind of popular-frontist program, class collaboration, is a program for defeat.

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same is true of the bourgeois governments of Latin America as well.

Guatemala: Well, such a front doesn't have to have an organic structure. But we think that even if in the final analysis these countries may have common interests with the United States, they can play an important role in holding back imperialism in Latin America. For example, if the U.S. intervenes in El Salvador it will affect all Central America, and for Mexico it wouldn't be at all pleasant to have two borders with the U.S., particularly with one border so close to its oil fields.

WV: Reagan has made El Salvador the focus of his Cold War against the Soviet bloc, using accusations that arms are coming from Cuba or the Soviet Union, and threatening to throw a *cordon sanitaire* around Cuba. We think it's necessary to give an answer to this imperialist attack, because it is the axis of Reagan's policies. For our part we've said repeatedly that the Salvadoran insurgents have the right to get arms wherever they can, particularly, if they can get them, from the Soviet bloc. Thus we have raised the demand: "The defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!" That is, Reagan attacks

the rebels in El Salvador as a key part of his Cold War policies of attacking the Soviet Union, and we say that while we have very different politics than Moscow, we also have to defend the social conquests there, and also in the case of Cuba. So we would like to know what is your response to Reagan's attack.

Guatemala: In the first place, we feel that Reagan's main objective is to take the world back to the Cold War, and that endangers world peace. The attempt to raise the conflict in El Salvador into an East-West conflict aims at presenting a defeat of our revolutionary forces through military intervention as a military defeat inflicted on the Soviet Union. Thereby they hope to regain the respect and confidence of their international capitalist allies. So we think it is important to raise the banner of non-intervention, and defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, as well as defense of the Carter-Torrijos Panama Canal treaty, which is a first step toward self-determination for the Panamanian people. We think that this is the time to make the American people understand the negative aspects which Reagan's policies can have for them. It's vitally important to respond to Reagan at the

international level, but even more so within the United States.

WV: As a Trotskyist organization, we fight not simply at the level of general propaganda, but also in the unions, against U.S. threats of blockading Cuba. We have called on the labor movement, particularly maritime and dock workers, to boycott military cargo to El Salvador, and support efforts by class-struggle militants to put this into practice. We have also raised the call for an "Anti-Imperialist Contingent" in the May 3 El Salvador demonstration, with our main slogan being, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador." In the coming weeks this will be the major concentration of the work of the Spartacist League/U.S., and we would be interested to know your views on what are the tasks facing revolutionaries in the United States.

Guatemala: Fundamentally, their forces should be focused on turning these big demonstrations into demonstrations in support of El Salvador. In Mexico and elsewhere we have called for turning May Day into demonstrations of solidarity with the Salvadoran workers in their struggle against imperialism. At this moment we feel that it is important to concentrate efforts on preventing a massive intervention in El Salvador. This could have different variations, depending on the character of the political forces involved. Without a doubt, revolutionary forces should demonstrate not just for non-intervention, but in support of us. But we won't be able to win other forces to this position, and they should demonstrate against intervention. It is crucial that April and May should be months filled with large-scale actions, because these can be decisive in the development of the war.

Acevedo: And to use these demonstrations so that they receive international coverage, especially in Europe and Latin America, so that they see that solidarity is increasing in the United States. Especially to announce and propagandize the boycott of the dock workers in San Francisco, which has already had a big impact and which could be publicized even more, to show that in the U.S. protests against intervention are mushrooming like those over Vietnam.

WV: There shouldn't be illusions as to the extent at this point. It's a lot lower than Vietnam at the high point. There is a lot of unrest among young people. And sections of the Democratic Party are worried. But as we have pointed out, you have to remember what the Demo-



New York City, 20 February 1982.

Young Spartacus Photo

cratic Party is—the imperialist party which brought us the Bay of Pigs and the Gulf of Tonkin. They aren't "peace-loving" in any sense—they're warmongering to the core, but just have a different policy of how to do it.

We would like to ask a final question: there's been a lot of talk about a "political solution" in El Salvador; above all the Socialist International and liberals in the U.S. are talking about this. We've said that obviously any struggle has a political outcome—when you march into the presidential palace, that's a political solution too. But what they're talking about is the possibility of an agreement between sectors of the military junta and sectors of the FDR. We have warned that this is a trap for the workers and peasants, that it's necessary to fight for military victory and also workers revolution throughout Central America. So we would like to know what is the policy of the FMLN/FDR concerning a "political solution"?

Acevedo: Yes, they have tried to divide the FDR in the hopes of splitting off the democratic sectors from the revolutionary sectors. But this policy has failed. Our policy at this time is that in order to win a military victory inside the country it is necessary to inflict a political defeat on imperialism at the international level. And thus we have proclaimed to the world the characteristics of our revolution, and our call for democracy and freedom. But in order to defeat imperialism on a world scale it is necessary to expose its warmongering policies, and it's in that framework that our organizations are posing the ques-

tion of mediation. This does *not* mean that within the country our fighters are going to put down their arms. Never. Our soldiers are attacking, arms in hand, and are defending the principles which we support at the international level.

WV: Just to end, we'd like to stress that for us the question of El Salvador is not simply a question of solidarity. Rather,

it's an integral part of the struggle of revolutionaries and proletarians in all countries, as El Salvador has become the focal point of the Cold War. It is the obligation of all those who call themselves Marxists to fight to the hilt against American imperialism, to *smash* it, so that it suffers a defeat on the scale of the rout it experienced in Vietnam. This is our policy. Thank you. ■

reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 282, 5 June 1981

Leftist Guerrillas Say: Win the War in El Salvador!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Pop Frontists in NYC Anti-Red Attack

YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo



WV Photo

Panicked, plank-wielding YAWF goons (left), pushed aside by SL protesters.

NEW YORK—On May 3 in Washington, D.C., Sam Marcy's goons blocked El Salvador protesters from attending the rally of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, initiated by the Spartacist League. The class line was drawn that day between revolution and counterrevolution, between those who called for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" and those like Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) who supported the liberal Democrats' "negotiated settlement." On June 6 in New York City that line was drawn in blood when Marcy's goons tried it again. They got a taste of what can happen to those who try to deny communists their right to protest. They will get hurt.

The YAWF gooning for the imperialist "doves" had to be protested, politically. And that is what we did on the night of June 6. About 125 SL supporters and friends demonstrated outside a publicly advertised speech by Sam Marcy carrying signs that read: "Sam Marcy: Water Boy for Teddy Kennedy," "Sam Marcy: Self-Proclaimed Counterrevolutionary," "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!"

"Smash the Bloody Junta Through Workers Revolution!" "U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" YAWF tried to stop the protest and failed, miserably.

When the SL demonstrators came to the corner of the block at East 15th Street and Union Square, some 40 YAWF goons, already there, linked arms and brought cars into the street in an attempt to completely seal off the entire block. An SL spokesman at the head of the line of demonstrators repeatedly stated the SL's intentions to the YAWF squad:

"We are going to have a demonstration protesting your meeting. We do not intend to obstruct your meeting. We intend to have a picket line just this side of your building."

The YAWF goons attempted to direct the demonstration to the other side of the street, but the SL replied "no negotiations" and swiftly, simply and effectively swept aside their goon squad. The cowardly YAWF thugs who tried to pick off SLers at the sides of the demonstration got a well-deserved drubbing. In seconds the SL picket line

set up about one-third down the block and chants resounded all over Union Square: "Leftist rebels win the war, avenge the blood of El Salvador!" "Smash Stalinist gangsterism!" "Leftist rebels need victory, Marcy fronts for the bourgeoisie!" "Sam Marcy, in bed with Bella," "Sam Marcy, reformist runt, latest fool of the popular front!" It was a powerful demonstration that brought scores of onlookers to East 15th Street.

During the melee, SL supporters quickly repelled the attack and established our line. The Marcyites, hysterical, used anything they could get their hands on, including broken bottles and huge 2-inch by 10-inch by 7-foot wood planks from construction sawhorses. A long-time leader of Workers World, Fred Goldstein, crept up behind an SL spokesman and was about to deliver a deadly blow with one of the planks when he was brought down by a flying tackle.

Their goon squad cowered behind police lines as soon as the police arrived (within five minutes), frantically feeding the cops the lie that the SL had weapons. They probably hoped the police would do what YAWF had been sorely unable to do by themselves. And the question still remains: who *did* call the police in New York City? In Chicago, at a May 30 rally, the Marcyites went along with the Communist Party which called the cops to exclude the SL from an El Salvador march.

The SL purpose was clear, and we accomplished it. But in the pages of *Workers World* (12 June) the Marcyites claim that this protest demonstration was an "organized sneak attack" to break up their meeting. In the same article they say we had a police permit to demonstrate. Quite true. But they can't have it both ways. One doesn't get a demonstration permit for a sneak attack to break up a meeting. Nor does one bring dozens of placards emblazoned with political slogans. Ultimately, the proof that we had no intention of breaking up that meeting is that the

meeting took place! And we remain willing to defend Marcyite meetings against rightists.

The Marcyites, faithful to the old Stalinist gangster technique of fascist-baiting, characterized the SL demonstration in their press as a "neo-fascist" attack, and Marcy told his audience of 250 that the demonstrators outside were "fascist goons." After May 3 they lumped together the rally of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent with the Moonies' counterrevolutionary provocation. What next? The CIA? Agents of the Mikado? Trotskyists know the sinister purpose of Stalinist slander: to justify gangsterism and set us up for cop attack.

From Stalin to Bella

Behind the Marcyites' crude slanders and frenzied violence is their rightward political turn under the pressure of the Reagan years. While the YAWF goons were outside on 15th Street swinging sawhorse planks against those who stand for military victory to Salvadoran leftists, Marcy was inside droning on about a new "vacuum of opposition" to Reagan. This "vacuum" on the left was created in part by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which played the role during the Vietnam antiwar protests to which the Marcyites aspire today—herding radicalizing youth into the arms of the liberal Democrats.

It is the attempt to get that bloc with the liberal Democrats that defines YAWF's politics today, and those of its creature, the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM). With the SL protesting outside his window against his donkey work for the Democrats, Marcy pretends that there really is no developing liberal opposition to Reagan. He would have his audience believe that Bella Abzug and the rest are not really Democrats. The Democrats' "demise is our resurrection" he proclaims. But the latest PAM multi-issue scheme for an All People's Congress to "overturn the Reagan program" tells the real story. The first sentence of its first leaflet is quite clearly a call to the anti-Reagan liberal Democrats to "fight the right": "The majority in the U.S. Congress, including a large segment of the Democratic Party, has rubber stamped the reactionary Reagan program." What about the remaining "segment" of the Democrats? They are meant for the PAM platform.

The character of PAM cannot be hidden. Even the *New York Times* has got its number. In a 24 May article it defined PAM as a "coalition" that "enjoys support from a variety of

political organizations that include Marxists, Socialists and Communists, as well as persons aligned with traditional United States politics." And just in case anyone had any doubts about who and what these "persons" and "traditions" might be, the next subheading was: "Bella Abzug and Paul O'Dwyer." The article explained that PAM not only "embraced" these Democrats, but also "Third Parties" like the Citizens



WV Photo

Party and California's Peace and Freedom Party: This is the "vacuum" that the Marcyites hope to fill—the slot for the left tail on the anti-Reagan popular front.

Gone are the days when *Workers World* was filled up with photographs of the heroic Viet Cong. There are no "Venceremos" chants for El Salvador's FMLN. Sam Marcy has come a long way down since his faction congealed as cheerleaders for the "global class war" in 1950. In 1956 the Marcyites were the crudest pro-Stalinists, cheering on Moscow's tanks as they crushed the Hungarian workers' political revolution—all in the name of "anti-imperialism." Today, in the name of "self-determination," they support "negotiated settlement"—so that Salvadoran tanks can crush Salvadoran workers and peasants. It is not the "global class warriors" who call for the defense of the gains of October. It is the Trotskyists of the SL who say: Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!

In the early days of the Vietnam War, the liberals and reformists tried to hold the growing antiwar movement to the call for "negotiations," but it didn't work. The liberal CIA-connected SANE organization kept the fake-lefts in tow with their call to "stop the war." But the SL picketed the SANE rally in Madison Square Garden. Our call for

the picket explained: "There can be no neutrality in this fight. We are not simply for stopping the war, but rather are for the *victory* of that revolution." (*Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967). Sound familiar? The SWP's *Militant* empathized with SANE, bemoaned our "sectarian" picket and quipped that "maybe the name [SANE] bugs them too." But it was the SANE line that was simply overwhelmed by the reality of struggle—military struggle in Vietnam and political struggle in the U.S. The Marcyites—now mimicking SANE's line as the pro-negotiations right wing of antiwar protest—deserve the same fate: to be swept aside politically.

That popular front appetites lead to violence against revolutionaries is no accident. It is part of the logic of betrayal. During the Vietnam protest movement it was the SWP which organized the popular-frontist peace crawls. At a watershed meeting of their front group NPAC ("National Peace Action Coalition"), SWP "marshals" cleaned up the political opposition for their keynote speaker, liberal senator Vance Hartke. As we said at that time, this bloody act of political gangsterism against Progressive Labor, SDS and the Spartacist League was a "qualitative shift for the SWP on the road to simple reformism."

But things have changed since then. YAWF may want to play the role of the SWP, but it is by no means likely that they can pull it off. One thing is certain. The SL is far larger than it was in 1971 and is not about to be pushed around by YAWF.

This fight ought to have some educational value for the Marcyites. As the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, said of the early Trotskyists' militant defense of their rights against Stalinist gangsterism, the Stalinists saw the Trotskyists "not only stand their ground and give back blow for blow but also give the ignorant, misguided young hoodlums a propaganda speech and a tract for the good of their souls." And the Trotskyists recruited a few on this firing line.

So the Marcyites are on notice: This is a political fight, and we welcome it. If you want to bring your signs and protest our meetings with rude slogans, that is your right and we defend it. If you want to demonstrate for "military *defeat* to the Salvadoran leftists," go right ahead. But know this: If you throw up your goon squad, if you link arms to block our meetings, if you try to silence our revolutionary message with fists, boots and broken bottles, then you are again at risk. ■

Chicago SL Campaign Exposes Stalinist Exclusion

CP Nailed for Calling Cops on Revolutionaries

CHICAGO—As protest against U.S. involvement in El Salvador has become the cutting edge for opposition to Reagan's war-drive austerity, various reformist left groups are scrambling for a fight-the-right, anti-Reagan coalition with "progressive" Democrats. And as a direct consequence the reformists have gone into a frenzy of anti-communist slander and physical goon attacks against the Spartacist League. They resort to this petty gangsterism because our call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" is the obvious, necessary and only revolutionary policy, and they cannot politically defend their own refusal to raise this. They do it because our slogan "Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador" raises the urgent central question which they must duck in order to court the Democratic Party liberals. So now they run to the armed thugs of the capitalist state to "get" the reds.

On May 30 in Chicago a lash-up of liberals and much of the reformist left, led by the Communist Party, called upon the racist cops to exclude the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. The SL/SYL had mobilized a 150-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march in a demonstration sponsored by the "May 30 Coalition." But even before the march began, CP supporters set us up by bringing in the police to keep out our contingent. The Stalinists and their fellow travelers (the Mao-to-Brezhnev popular fronters of the "Trend" and the Citizens Party for no-nuke capitalism) organized marshals to form a human chain with the police and block our entry. As a result of this disgusting bloc of cops and finks, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was kept up to 75 feet behind the march by an armed cordon of police. At the closing rally we were isolated across the street by a wall of cossacks on horseback.

Since the bureaucratic degeneration of the CP in the late 1920s, the Stalinist reformists have acted as provocateurs against Trotskyists (and anyone else who fights for workers revolution), while flinging mud to cover their own crimes. But this time the Big Lie is not going down so well. Too many people saw the CP do its dirty work; too many have their own axe to grind against the Stalinists' strongarm tactics. An SL-initiated protest statement has been signed by, among other, the Chicago Communist Workers Party (CWP), Red Rose Collective leader Bill Pelz, and independent members of the Madison, Wisconsin Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Iowa CP member Mike Messina demanded that this vile cop exclusion be repudiated at the next central committee meeting (see "Letter to the Communist Party," *WV* No. 283, 19 June). And the Revolutionary



Chicago, 30 May 1981: Stalinists call capitalist cops to cordon off Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 283, 19 June 1981

Letter to the Communist Party

Tim Yeager
Communist Party of Iowa
P.O. Box 531
Clinton, Iowa
8 June 1981

Dear comrade:

I just received a copy of the June 5th issue of WORKERS VANGUARD. The Vanguard is the paper of the Spartacist League. On page 12 there is a story, a copy of which I will send along to you, under the headline AT CHICAGO EL SALVADOR PROTEST/STALINISTS SET COPS ON ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT. The story is about a May 30th demonstration, in Chicago, at which the SL's anti-imperialist contingent was excluded by the police who were acting on instructions from the Communist Party organizers of the march.

The SL marched under the banners "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents", and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador". As a Communist I support these slogans,

and if I had been in Chicago I would have been found under that banner. *But*, even if I did not support the SL's slogans, I would still support their right to express themselves without police oppression, and when that oppression is instigated by the Communist Party, then I believe we have a major scandal on our hands. I am writing this letter to express my outrage and to protest the action of the Party in the strongest terms I can.

You know what this reminds me of? The TUAD conference in Gary, Indiana last year. At that time, too, the police were called by leaders of our party to stop the SL from passing out literature and raising a resolution endorsing the Keith Anwar picket line defense case. At that time I stood with the SL, as did the members of Grain Millers Local 6. We were so disgusted by that Stalinist nonsense that we walked out of the conference. It was our feeling that if we wanted to fight police, all we had to do was go down to our own picket line, we didn't need it at

a union conference, and one sponsored by the Party at that. At that time, I raised a protest within the Party, and was assured that the blunder of Fred Gaboury was an isolated instance that would not be repeated, and that a written apology would be forthcoming. A month short of a year has gone by and there has been no apology, and the incident is repeated, this time on the streets of Chicago.

As a member of the Party, I request that you raise a protest at the next meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA. Actions of this nature must be condemned in the strongest possible terms, and those responsible should be held accountable for their actions.

Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents of El Salvador!

Michael L. Messina
Marshalltown, Iowa

cc: Gus Hall
Workers Vanguard
Comrade G.D.

Socialist League (RSL) issued a statement condemning the cop exclusion, as did Earl Silbar, a well-known independent close to the Trend.

Once the dirty work was done, the CP started denying it had brought the cops in. But we have the goods on Sylvia Kushner, the CP fink who called the cops. Before the march began, police asked Les Friedman, a leader of the Jewish organization Chutzpah and steering committee member of the Anti-Klan Coalition, "What group of revolutionaries should we keep out?" When Friedman saw that the Spartacists were being excluded by a line of cops and Coalition marshals, he complained to leading CP supporter Jack Spiegel, who first claimed ignorance and later began cop-baiting the SL. When a Puerto Rican nationalist group, the FLN, was stopped by the police from joining the demo, Friedman protested to the cops, who answered: "Not until Sylvia Kushner says it's okay to let them in" (from affidavit by Les Friedman).

Rael Garcia of the CWP directly witnessed Kushner's treacherous actions. He writes: "I was a marshal the day of May 30th and also helped

organize the marshals for the march. When I heard Sylvia Kushner (known CP associate) tell the police to separate the 'Sperts' '50 feet' from the rest of the march I was outraged. Not 5 days earlier a final marshals meeting voted and agreed *not* to have the police or government intervene in the exclusion or security of said march. Particularly the police would not exclude the Spartacists.... I condemn the actions of Sylvia Kushner" (from affidavit by Rael Garcia, June 25). The "Trend," which eagerly gooned for the CP on May 30, followed up with slander stories that the SL had "attacked" the New World Resource Center on May 29. This is a lie. RSL supporter Doug Clark, who was present at the meeting, has testified that: "The scuffle was initiated by the NWRC squad. The SL attacked no one."

Communist Party: we have nailed you with the truth. *You* are the disrupters who bring the capitalist police into the workers movement and resort to despicable practices of slander and bureaucratic exclusion. And there could well have been a blood line in Chicago May 30. The Red Squad didn't call out the troops merely as a favor to

the CP. The CP gave the go-ahead, but the whole operation stinks of the FBI. The cops aren't known for drawing fine distinctions between the genuine communists of the Spartacist League and the left-liberal "Coalition." The stage was set for a bloodbath! We heard one cop say to another, "If this was another country, they'd *all* be dead." No leftist demonstrator was safe that day, and the responsibility for that lies squarely with the CP and its camp followers.

Reformists who seek to keep "their" demonstrations "respectable" for Democratic Party "doves" figure they cannot afford to have their supporters exposed to a revolutionary program for El Salvador. They cannot tolerate the slogans defending the Soviet Union, which would scare away the Teddy Kennedys. That's why they call the cops on communists while calling for a "political solution" with elements of the murderous junta in El Salvador. To sell this line they hide behind the skirts of the Salvadoran FDR, the popular front with bourgeois politicians (most of them ex-junta members). Behind the talk of "negotiated settlement" the real purpose is to preserve capitalist rule, which would be severely shaken by a leftist

victory in the civil war. And they look to the imperialists to broker such a deal. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent countered this dangerous illusion with the chant: "Remember Bay of Pigs, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!"

For the last month the Chicago left has been in an uproar over the cop exclusion. Even the People's Antiwar Mobilization, controlled by Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF), was pitched into turmoil over the events of May 30. WWP/YAWF/PAM are among the most frantic of the reformists seeking to slander, physically exclude and attack the SL. At the PAM-sponsored May 3 Pentagon march they built a platform for imperialist liberals while linking arms to prevent marchers from joining an anti-imperialist rally initiated by the SL. Outside a talk by WWP guru Sam Marcy in New York City June 6, Spartacist supporters had to administer a lesson in workers democracy to a frenzied Marcyite goon squad which attacked an SL demo with ten-foot wood planks and broken bottles (see "YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo," *WT* No. 283, 19 June).

But in Chicago, the Marcyites are feeling the heat from some of their coalition partners. A few days after the May 30 demonstration, Chicago PAM passed a motion *against* the police exclusion. The WWPers who run PAM now refuse to produce this motion, and when at a subsequent PAM internal meeting the SL statement of protest was read, Marcyites leaped to their feet shrieking to "table" the discussion. (Obviously their anti-exclusion motion is a worthless sop.) Then at a June 21 public PAM meeting, the contradiction between WWP/YAWF's fear of revolutionary politics and their need to placate bloc partners exploded. A Spartacist sales team was first told it could set up a literature table along with other organizations in the hall; when they returned three minutes later with more literature, the door had been locked. Through the glass you could see a CWP supporter attempting to open the door while Marcyites blocked his way and the rest of the motley coalition bickered in the background.

The latest shot in the Stalinists' war of lies is a leaflet being passed around by the NWRC aimed at setting up the SL for exclusion and repression by the capitalist state. The Trend's slander sheet begins with an elaborate attempt to portray the AP wirephoto of the May 3 Pentagon march (centering on SL banners calling for military victory to

Salvadoran leftists) as an imperialist plot. (This theme has become so common that it's a wonder they don't claim the Anti-Imperialist Contingent arrived in Washington in a sealed train paid for by the German general staff.) Along with easily disproved lies—like the claim that the cops only moved in when the SL prepared to join the march (they were there from the word go)—it contains valuable admissions. First, it *never denies* that the Coalition called in the police and tries to argue that the SL brought it on itself by refusing to follow the "planned order of marching, which placed them at the rear." So our "crime" is refusing to go to the back of the bus. The leaflet also tacitly admits that it was the NWRC which initiated the confrontation at the June 29 film showing by trying to "move them [the SL] toward the door" for trying to win people to the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

With the usual cloying nastiness of Stalinists trying to sound like Quakers, the NWRC leaflet asserts: "The truth is that behind the slogan of 'military victory' lies the real SL position of *political opposition* to the forces which can alone bring that victory—whether it is the FDR in El Salvador, the MPLA in Angola, or the NLF in Vietnam." Why stop there? What about Mao in China and Stalin in Russia? *Our* political victory was a rather good proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky. But then there was a politically limited counterrevolution under Stalin giving rise to a hideously deformed nationalist regime, suppressing any germ of workers democracy. The same bureaucratic regime was reproduced in the China of Mao and his heirs. That is *your* political victory. But we defend these states against imperialist attack—where do you stand? You *oppose* calling for military victory to Salvadoran leftists and for defense of Cuba and the USSR!

The heart of this classic smear job is to cop-bait on political grounds: "We see a political line which consists mostly of opposing everything from the 'left'—an easy line for an infiltrator to parrot." You see, left equals right in the best 1984 Stalinist tradition. Then a pious note: "We hope the SL is not developing along the lines of the former National Caucus of Labor Committees"—a repetition of the Marcyite "neo-fascist" insinuation, a technique straight from Stalin in the '30s when the Trotskyists were accused of being agents of Hitler and the Mikado *and then murdered*. And the ominous end: "*We will be closely watching the conduct of the SL in the next period, to see whether we can*

still afford to regard them as part of the left. We welcome your comments on this subject."

You want comments? Okay. To begin with, this is a vicious apology for thug attacks and cop exclusion. And you are watching from very far to the right as the whole reformist swamp—from the CP to the Marcyites and renegades from Mao—tries to cement a bloc with a wing of the Democratic Party. Can you "afford" political debate with the Trotskyist SL? Apparently not, for this same gang (and don't forget the "peaceful-legal" social democrats of the Socialist Workers Party) has repeatedly resorted to violence in a vain attempt to silence the Spartacists. Now you "unite" with the repressive forces of the capitalist state against the revolutionaries (forgetting who will be next on the cops' hit list), justifying this betrayal with slander. May 3, May 30, June 6—it's the same story, but this time the reformist finks and goons did their dirty work in a particularly blatant, stupid manner—and got caught.

Given the way this gang has been going—tailing the tail of the Democrats, who are tailing Reagan—they're already *politically* a good way out of the workers movement. It would indeed be better if they would at least defend some of the rights of the revolutionary left. But in the present context we are expecting a hard time from the government—which tries to write off all socialists as agents of "Soviet terrorism"—and they've made it clear whose cheering squad they're on. These treacherous reformists-for-a-political-solution in the midst of a raging civil war in El Salvador have all the backbone of an uncooked egg yolk. It's a far cry from the tens of thousands in the late '60s who called for a military victory to the Viet Cong. But in all the Kremlin's "détente" fantasies and the excuses for Peking's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism (Angola, Vietnam, Afghanistan and now U.S. arms to China), this is long forgotten.

The Spartacist League is the *only* left tendency which openly supports a victory on the battlefield for the heroic insurgents in El Salvador. For us, proletarian internationalism is more than a slogan. It means fighting everywhere for the cause of the exploited and the oppressed—not some kind of treacherous "unity" with the class enemy. The line is drawn in El Salvador—which side are you on? Down with the junta—workers to power! Military victory to the Salvadoran leftists! Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador! ■

reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 294, 4 December 1981

SL: "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Reformists Call Cops on Reds

Small demonstrations were held across the country over the weekend of November 21 to protest Reagan/Haig's threats of blockade and other military action against Cuba and Nicaragua. But as defense of Cuba and Nicaragua is now placed at center stage of world politics by the war threats of U.S. imperialism, the reformists and popular frontists are doing everything they can to avoid siding openly with "the enemy." The various sponsoring coalitions even refused to call for "Hands Off Cuba" and called on the cops to exclude the revolutionaries, so concerned were the opportunists to keep their movement "Ready for Teddy" Kennedy and the other imperialist "doves."

At El Salvador demonstrations last spring they violently opposed our demand "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents," even attempting to physically block protesters at the May 3 march on the Pentagon from attending an Anti-Imperialist rally sponsored by the Spartacist League (SL). Against our call that "Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador" they screamed "provocation." And after their anti-communist exclusions failed, they appeal to the guns and the clubs of the imperialist state to do their dirty work. They did it in Chicago May 30 and again in New York November 21.

Last week's "Stop U.S. intervention" demonstrations were a pathetic response to the war threats emanating from Washington. This was in part due to the squabbling and maneuvers of their reformist sponsors. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) after boycotting May 3 figured it would steal a march by initiating the November 21 demos. But the Communist Party (CP), Workers World and various El Salvador solidarity committees countered by refusing to mobilize. The only thing they could agree on is keeping out the reds.

Thus in New York the organizers of the "Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean" called in the police to keep the Trotskyist politics of the SL out of their liberal peace crawl. As the Spartacist contingent arrived at the



WV Photo

21 November 1981, NYC: Reformists use cops to exclude SL contingent, which called for defense of Cuba, USSR against imperialist war threats.

Times Square assembly point, CP/SWP goons ineffectually tried to block us and force the SL to the other side of the street. When this didn't work representatives of the Antonio Maceo Brigade asked us to take down our banner, "Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador," but backed away when met with a flat refusal. Thereupon "Emergency Campaign" spokesmen called the cops to keep out the communists. When the SL protested, the police went back to the "Emergency Campaign" spokesmen who once again appealed to the armed thugs of the class enemy to cordon off the revolutionaries.

But at the rally site, the 70-strong SL contingent marched in with our red flags flying, alongside the Cuban

flag and the FMLN banner of the Salvadoran insurgents, chanting "No Cold War Blockade, Workers Bring Down Reagan/Haig!" "Our Political Solution—Workers Revolution!" and "Junta Butchers on the Run, Leftist Rebels Need Russian Guns!" While the 600 or so demonstrators stood around listening to desultory speeches, Spartacist salesmen and supporters permeated the crowd, making dozens of contacts and drawing them into animated discussions around the SL literature table. Many protesters were upset at the cop exclusion and a number of people crossed the police barricades to join us, including some high school students from Brooklyn and a group of college students from Queens.

In San Francisco some 600 demonstrators picketed and marched under a steady rain. At one point "monitors" dispatched a half dozen Stalinist and Fedayeen supporters to lock arms in an attempt to separate off the SL contingent and its banner "For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America! Hands Off Nicaragua! No Blockades!" To no avail. In Chicago a spirited 50-strong Spartacist contingent contrasted sharply with the miserable turnout of the official coalition. Even though we made up one half of the entire demo, the organizers refused a speaker to the SL. But as the rally broke up, an SL spokesman took the podium, calling for defense of the gains of the Cuban and Soviet revolutions and for workers and peasants governments to expropriate the bourgeoisie throughout Central America.

As the reformist flops call the cops, they only show their treacherous colors. Bringing in the class enemy against a workers organization is gross provocation, particularly at a Latin American demonstration where the police could go after undocumented Latins. Now of course the SWP would like to slide out of taking responsibility for blocking with the cops—the racist enemies of all workers—against the revolutionaries. No doubt the SWP is scurrying around looking for others to blame it on. What others? The SWP's own front groups? The Communist Party, whose mobilization for this demo was obviously

Reformists turned to the cops to exclude the communists of the Spartacist League on 21 November 1981. But our revolutionary slogans were not silenced.



subminimal? In any case the SWP hasn't even managed a hypocritical objection in its press to the use of the cops. How different it would be if something genuinely unauthorized had occurred. Imagine, for instance, that an SWP-built demo had been the occasion for some adventurist types to throw bricks through UN windows. Does anybody doubt the SWP's *Militant* would have rushed into print with a condemnation? The SWP and all its bloc partners stand condemned by their deeds and by their silence.

For the past year the reformists have tried in vain to seal off the movement from the revolutionary politics of the

Spartacist League. But it will not work. We alone have told the plain truth, and fought Reagan/Haig's anti-Soviet war drive instead of trying to pretend it doesn't exist. Everybody knows there can be no deal with the butcher Duarte—in El Salvador the leftist rebels must win or they will die. And today the imperialists are openly saying that while their Cold War sights are trained on El Salvador and Nicaragua, they are targeting the "source": the deformed/degenerated workers states of Cuba and the Soviet Union. Now more than ever: Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador! ■

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CISPES Sabotages Asylum for Salvadoran Refugees

No Deportations!

Chanting "Stop the Deportations to El Salvador" and "Asylum for Refugees from Junta Terror," 75 demonstrators picketed and rallied on March 23 in front of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) office in downtown Los Angeles. This militant united-front protest, initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, condemned the INS for its mass deportations of Salvadorans who have fled the bloody repression of the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador. During the past year, it is estimated that over 12,000 refugees have been hand-delivered to the junta and its death squads.

The March 23 demonstration, the first protest called on this crucial democratic issue, garnered a wide range of endorsements and received considerable media coverage. Included among the picketers were representatives of the Feminist Women's Health Center, the Militant Action Caucus in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and members of the L.A. Valley Community College chapter of the Committee



Young Spartacus Photo

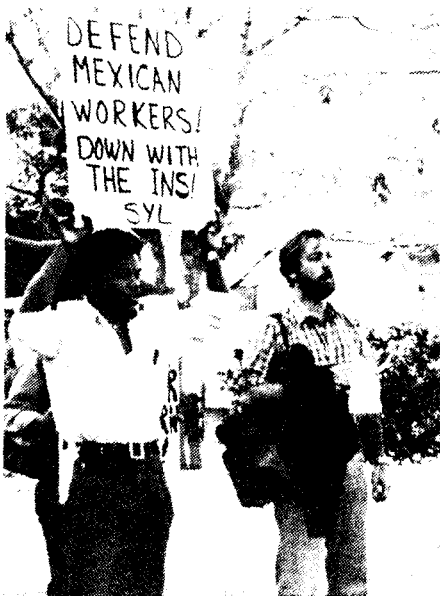
in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Phil Russo, director of organization for the Western states' region of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), expressed his opposition to INS raids into L.A.'s garment district by backing the rally. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) district council also supported the demonstration, but neither of these unions mobilized their forces to attend.

Conspicuous by its opposition to the protest was the citywide CISPES. When the SL/SYL first approached CISPES to join the united front, they responded with a categorical "No!" and suggested that the SL/SYL "get out of the movement"! Such a response by the people who mouth concern over the plight of the Salvadoran masses is criminal and a despicable betrayal of the hundreds of refugees who are being deported each week.

However, many members of CISPES were outraged by the sectarianism of its leadership. UCLA CISPES endorsed the protest, while students from Claremont College, Pasadena City College, Riverside and L.A. Valley Community College took leaflets and encouraged their members to attend. Nonsectarian members of CISPES managed to list the demonstration in the regular CISPES

newsletter under the title, "Things to build for and to go to!" Faced with this mounting support for the demonstration within its ranks, the CISPES leadership resorted to a campaign of outright sabotage. Their mailing list was systematically called and told that the demonstration had been canceled. To their credit, many individuals expressed shock and anger at this sabotage operation and intend to protest it at the next citywide CISPES meeting.

Speakers at the rally stressed the context in which the deportations are taking place. Spartacist spokesman José Silva pointed out, "The attacks on democratic rights at home, the massive cutbacks in social programs and the growth of the fascists are an integral part of Reagan's war drive which is ultimately aimed at the USSR." Barry Janus, Militant Action Caucus candidate for the CWA national convention, underlined the importance of El Salvador to the U.S. working class. "As a candidate to the CWA national convention, we run on a platform calling for military victory to the left-wing forces. If they don't win the workers' blood will flow. Labor in this country must help them win. The present ILWU boycott of military goods to El Salvador must be made real and extended to the Teamsters and seamen!" ■



Young Spartacus Photo

Los Angeles, 14 January 1982: SYL-led protest drove INS recruiters off L.A. Community College campus. CISPES abstained, showing a film instead. But the bulk of the audience left with the SYL to protest "La Migra."

Fact Sheet...

(continued from page 40)

both began cooperating with Guatemala, also under military dictatorship, to crush the Salvadoran rebels in "Operation Sandwich."

- **Now Reagan is sending more Huey helicopters, M-16 rifles, M-79 grenade launchers, plus Green Beret "advisers" and millions more in military and economic aid to the junta.** In February \$10.4 million in military aid was rushed to El Salvador. Reagan plans to send at least \$34.6 million in military aid in fiscal 1981. Economic aid from the U.S. is to total about \$144 million while the International Monetary Fund is adding approximately \$100 million to bolster the junta (*New York Times*, 1 March and 14 March; *Oakland Tribune*, 18 April). Israel has provided jet fighters and other weaponry. Argentina, Uruguay and Chile provide crucial military training support.

- **The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is running an airlift to death.** Every week they send back hundreds of Salvadoran refugees to be killed by the death squads. Many do not survive the trip from the San Salvador airport into the city. In fiscal 1980, nearly 12,000 Salvadorans were sent back to face the junta's assassins (*New York Times*, 2 March). The SL/SYL was the first organization in the United States to hold a demonstration calling for a halt to the deportations.

- **Washington pretends the junta is a "center reform government"** opposed to the right-wing death squads as well as to the leftist insurgents. This is a lie. The death squads are run by the military. As

new U.S.-supplied weapons come in, the army gives the old arms and ammunition to ORDEN, the rightist terror organization (*Washington Post*, 15 April).

- **ORDEN's death squads** "were conceived, like the Peace Corps, as a brain-child of the Kennedy-Johnson era." Their leader, Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, was trained in torture techniques by U.S. specialists run by the Agency for International Development (*Harper's*, March 1981).

- **The so-called "Land Reform"** is called "Reform by Death" in El Salvador. It's really a counterinsurgency program, designed for the CIA-front American Institute for Free Labor Development by Roy Prosterman, an architect of the mass-murder Phoenix program in Vietnam. "Reform" means driving the peasants off the land and turning it over to ORDEN members.

A History of Poverty and Massacres

- **The rulers of El Salvador continue to be the "14 Families"** and their U.S. overlords. Two percent of the population owns 60 percent of the land (*NACLA Report*, July/August 1980). Oligarchic families like the Hills and the Alvarez own huge coffee plantations, amassing enormous fortunes while paying their workers only a few dollars a day. U.S. corporations like Folger's, Esso, Dow and Ralston Purina control key industries, while U.S. clothing manufacturers ship apparel parts to be assembled in El Salvador and re-imported to the United States.

- **For the masses of workers and peasants, starvation is the rule.** Life has

become worse in the last 20 years: the official unemployment figure rose from 10 percent in 1960 to 25 percent in 1979, while in the countryside half the population is out of work eight months out of the year. From 1961 to 1975, the percentage of peasants without land rose from 11 percent to 40 percent. In the mid-'70s the average urban wage was \$4.00 a day. Eighty percent of the population live below the subsistence level. Ninety percent of the population earn less than \$100 a year. Seventy-five percent of the children suffer from malnutrition (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, April 1981; *NACLA Report*, March/April 1980 and January/February 1981).

- **The savagery of the oligarchy in repressing the struggles of the working people was shown in "La Matanza"—The Massacre—of 1932.** When the predominantly Indian coffee workers in western El Salvador joined urban workers in a Communist-led insurrection, the government of General Hernández Martínez crushed the revolt in blood. Thirty thousand were killed—4 percent of the entire population, or one person out of every 25.

- **The ruling class has declared war to the death on the workers and peasants who fight for a better life.** If the landlords and capitalists win, they will carry out a bloodbath on the scale of 1932. Their slogan today: a "peace of 100,000 dead."

Popular Front Disarms the Masses

- **For the workers and peasants, the choice is revolution or death.** To stop the reign of terror they must smash the capitalist armed forces. To give land to the peasants they must seize the estates and coffee plantations. To provide a decent life for themselves the workers must expropriate industry and establish a planned economy as part of a socialist federation of Central America. Only a workers and peasants government can carry out these burning tasks.

- **Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution teaches that the capitalists in the backward capitalist countries are so bound to imperialism and so afraid of the masses they brutally exploit that they will not even establish elementary democratic rights.** That is why El Salvador has suffered five decades, half a century, of military rule. The urgent demands of the working people in underdeveloped countries can be met only when the working class seizes power and establishes its own class rule. *The workers and peasants must win the class war!*



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• **But the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR)** is based on class collaboration, not on class struggle. The FDR is a coalition between leftist guerrillas, the Communist Party and tiny bourgeois parties like the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) and the MPSC (Popular Social Christian Movement, a dissident splinter of the Christian Democracy). While the capitalist parties have virtually no popular support, they embody the principle of private property, ensuring that the struggle will be confined to the bounds of capitalism.

• **The platform of the FDR** calls for a government of "the working class, the peasantry, and the advanced middle layers, ... small and medium-sized industrialists, merchants, artisans and farmers. ... Also involved will be honest professionals, the progressive clergy, democratic parties such as the MNR, advanced sectors of the Christian Democracy, worthy and honest officers of the army who are willing to serve the interests of the people. ..." In other words, a capitalist government. Even sections of the officer corps—carefully selected and trained for decades in the bloody suppression of the working masses—are invited to join this projected government.

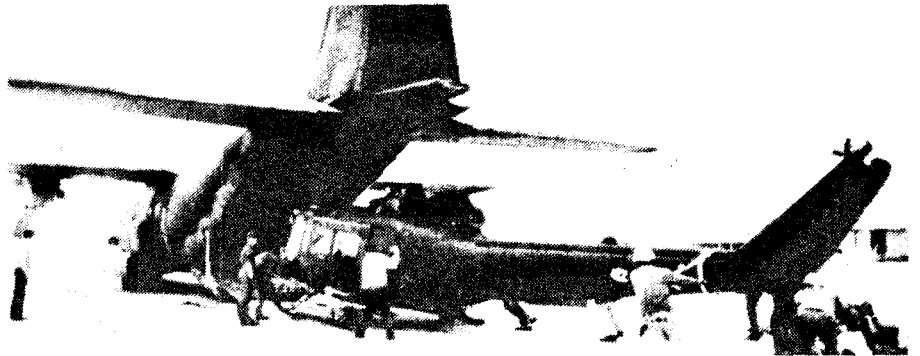
• **The popular front** (coalitions between workers parties and bourgeois parties) has led to bloody defeats for the working class from Spain in 1936-39 to Chile in 1973. It was from within Allende's Popular Unity cabinet that the military planned the bloody Chilean coup of 1973. By chaining the workers movement to the framework of what the "liberal" capitalists and "progressive" officers will accept, i.e., the system of private property, the popular front opens the way for the triumph of reaction.

• **The president of the FDR is Guillermo Ungo, leader of the MNR,** a bourgeois liberal party that is part of the social-democratic Second International. Ungo was the running mate of current junta chief José Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democrat, in 1972. Together with other liberal figures, Ungo joined the October 1979 junta. In January 1980 he resigned—but not before the army had massacred striking workers at the Lido, Diana, Arco Ingeniero and Apex plants and machine-gunned peasants in Morazán, Chalatenango, San Miguel and other provinces. Two other members of the seven-man FDR leadership were members of the first cabinet under the present junta.

• **A "political solution"** is called for by various liberals and the Socialist International. The FDR has declared itself "open to political solutions which do not betray the interests of our people" (March 1981 Declaration of FDR Politico-Military Commission) and has called for "dialogue with the U.S. government" (Declaration of 7 February 1981). But any "political solution" with elements of the junta or other bourgeois forces *must* be against the interests of the workers and peasants because it will not *smash* the bloody officer corps and the capitalist system it defends. The army would be free to prepare future massacres. The only "solution" to the civil war is:

Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!

• **The Soviet Union and Cuba are unfortunately telling the truth** when they plead innocent to Reagan's charge that they are arming the Salvadoran leftists.



Reagan rushed American arms to fight left-wing insurgents. Stern

The Stalinist bureaucrats' utopian/reformist program of "peaceful coexistence" and "socialism in one country" stands in the way of providing the desperately needed arms. If the insurgents were adequately armed, there would not have been 18,000 victims of the junta.

• **The People's Antiwar Mobilization,** which has called the May 3rd demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco, takes no side in the Salvadoran civil war. Liberals like Teddy Kennedy and social-patriotic reformists say: Let the Salvadorans fight it out themselves; U.S. money should be spent in the U.S., etc.

• **The Kennedy-sponsored Bill S-728** puts "conditions" on continued U.S. aid to the junta. In other words, it stands for the U.S. financing this bloody war of extermination, as long as the junta cleans up its image! The liberals preach "non-intervention" because they would prefer that the Salvadoran workers and peasants be crushed without the fuss

and expense of direct U.S. military involvement. They would prefer a CIA-organized and -supervised "Reform by Death." In the 1930s, the governments of the U.S., France, England and the Soviet Union proclaimed "non-intervention" in Spain as they watched Franco defeat the Republic and smash the workers movement.

• **Liberals and reformists who say "No more Vietnams"** are opposed to revolution. They do not want the U.S. imperialists to lose. An opinion piece titled "Peace in El Salvador" by Pierre Schori, a leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the party's liaison with the Second International, says, "It would indeed be an irony of fate if the Reagan administration embarked upon a policy that would lead to a situation that would fulfill 'Che' Guevara's call for creation of 'one, two, several Vietnams' in Latin America. ... The longer that peace efforts are postponed, the bloodier and more radical the ultimate solution will be. Why not give

peace a chance?" (*New York Times*, 28 February). This just means giving Reagan and the junta a chance to wipe out the workers and peasants.

• **The battle lines are drawn. The civil war is already on.** It must be won by the workers and peasants. And you can help them defeat imperialism.

• **Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent,** initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent says:

IF you are on the side of the Salvadoran workers and peasants fighting against their oppressors;

IF you want the military victory of the leftist insurgents and the defeat of the bloody junta;

IF you are for militant struggle against imperialism, to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution and to smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive;

Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent May 3!

**—Spartacist League/U.S.
24 April 1981**

EL SALVADOR FACT SHEET

• **A civil war is raging in El Salvador.** The workers and poor peasants, slum dwellers and agricultural laborers are on one side. On the other side are the landowners, the coffee barons and factory owners, the military and the right-wing death squads, led by the U.S.-backed junta.

• **The junta and its right-wing death squads** have killed more than 18,000 people since October 1979. Torture, rape, decapitation are the fate of suspected "subversives." In one recent massacre in a San Salvador slum, uniformed soldiers dragged more than 20 people out of their homes and shot them. Associated Press reported that the street ran with their blood (*Oakland Tribune*, 8 April).

• **Central America is the front line in Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War.** El Salvador has been chosen as a "winnable" example of Washington's drive to "stop the expansion of Communism throughout the world," said top Reagan aide Edwin Meese (*New York Times*, 1 March). Reagan and Haig are capable of launching a thermonuclear World War III to achieve their counterrevolutionary goals.

• **Cuba is threatened** with increased sanctions, and administration spokesmen hint darkly of throwing a "cordon sanitaire" around the island. General Haig warns that "a military option should not be excluded." The State Department blares that El Salvador is "a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers through Cuba." More than 40 U.S. warships were sent for "exercises" in the Caribbean. Meanwhile, U.S. aid to Sandinista Nicaragua has been terminated. Somozaist exiles train for an invasion.

• **Reagan's aim is to topple the "dominos"** from El Salvador to Nicaragua to Cuba to Poland and the USSR. National Security Council aide Richard



Philippot/Syigma

Pipes blurted out Washington's real policy when he said the Soviets face a choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war." There is no alternative" (*New York Times*, 24 March). The gains of the October Revolution of 1917 are the ultimate target.

"Human Rights" Coup

• **The current Salvadoran junta** toppled bloody military ruler General Carlos Romero on October 15, 1979. The coup was preceded by a visit from Carter's special envoy William Bowdler, who urged Romero to resign. Bowdler, a counterinsurgency expert since 1956, was in charge of the State Department's Cuba desk from 1961 to 1964 and helped plan the capture and murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967 (*NACLA*

Report, July/August 1980). The new military junta installed by the U.S. talked of "human rights" but its troops soon launched even more brutal repression than under the hated Romero.

• **The Carter administration immediately embraced the junta**, sending "riot-control" instructors and equipment and \$300,000 for training Salvadoran troops in U.S. military schools—on top of the \$5.7 million already reprogrammed for El Salvador in April 1980. Carter's ambassador, Robert White, acted as a proconsul, issuing orders to the military junta and its Christian Democratic puppet front man, Napoleón Duarte. Meanwhile Washington patched things up between the rival armies of Honduras and El Salvador. Financed by the U.S. they

continued on page 38

"Revolution or Death!"