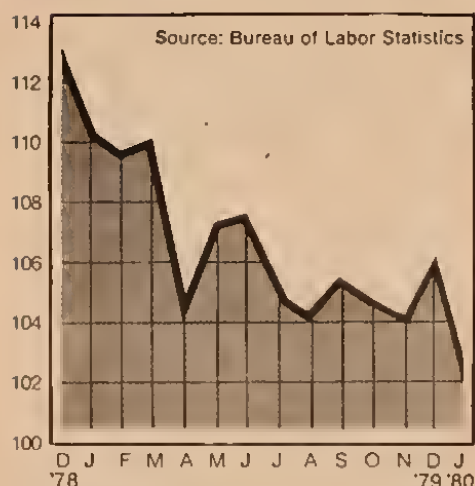


Inflation Panic

Carter to Workers: Let 'em Bite Bullets!



Average Real Take-Home Pay for Industrial Worker
(in 1967 dollars)

"We are headed for national bankruptcy."

—Felix Rohatyn, Wall Street banker

MARCH 16—With prices rising at 18 percent a year, the United States is experiencing an inflation rate which used to be associated with Latin American banana republics. While the hostages in Iran and the Russians in Afghanistan are still catching headlines, American working people are less concerned with the supposed "red menace" than with feeding their family and meeting the mortgage payments. Gasoline and meat are on their way to becoming luxury items in what used to be called the richest country in the world. Carter demands a further slashing of vital social services while holding wages down; the bourgeois economists, nodding sagely, suggest that perhaps this would make a tiny dent in inflation. And the bought-off union "leaders" meekly agree to shove this program for continuing sacrifices down the workers' throats.

U.S. capitalists too are panicky over the shrinking dollar. Skyrocketing inflation has wreaked havoc in the financial markets, with the long-term bond market killed and stocks falling sharply. Bankers are going nuts just trying to maintain, let alone augment, the value of their money-capital. What is causing panic on Wall Street and in Fortune 500 boardrooms is that there is no reason to believe the present price explosion will stop. *Newsweek* (10 March) quoted a top White House aide: "Grown, thoughtful men are scared. It's time to be scared."

So Jimmy Carter tried to reassure



Striking Chicago fire fighters rally, March 1980. City workers are told to pay for bosses' inflation.

Labor: Break Carter's Wage Limits!

jittery businessmen that the target of his economic policies continues to be the living standards of the workers and poor. His emergency measures call for a \$13 billion cut in federal spending for social services, a 10-cent per gallon tax at the gas pumps, layoffs of federal employees, credit card restrictions... and of course, wage guidelines. As though he were addressing a nation of economic masochists, he demanded the need for "pain" and "discipline." As the White House brayed about the uplifting effects of Carter's program, liberal economist Arthur Okun mused:

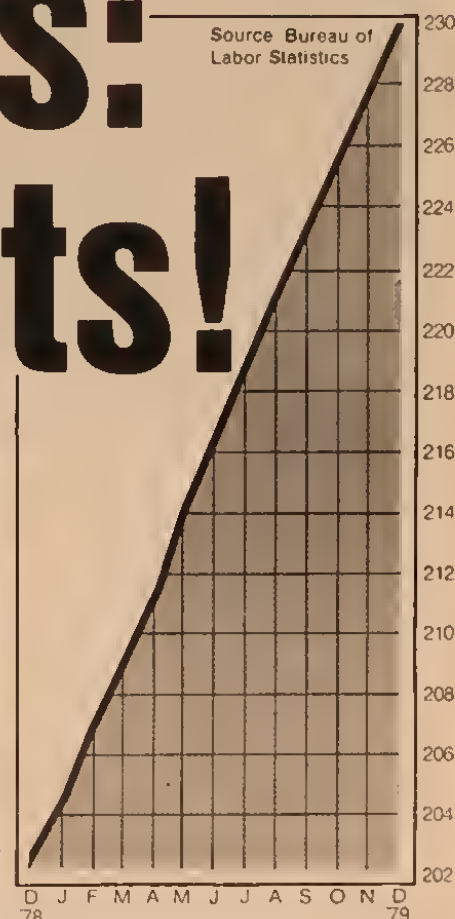
"I don't see how people will get a psychological lift because the government has asked them to shoot themselves in the foot."

—*New York Times*, 16 March

Just as he blamed the "wastefulness" of Americans for last summer's gas lines, now Carter tries to sound like Billy Graham in blaming the credit-guzzling

public for the irrationalities of capitalism. But all the talk of a "wage-price spiral" is pure bunk. In the last 12 months, the average real (adjusted for inflation) take-home pay of American industrial workers has fallen by *more than 10 percent* (see graphs). Meanwhile, basic necessities—food, housing, fuel, medical costs—are running at twice and three times the rate of inflation in the rest of the economy. Most Americans are in debt because they are trying to make ends meet in a super-inflated economy: if they are borrowing like crazy at 18 percent on credit cards, it's because prices are heading for 20 percent.

With price rises roughly double last year's rates, wages are being slashed as surely as if employers simply deducted it from the paychecks. And the centerpiece of Carter's "anti-inflation" program—"voluntary wage and price guidelines"—is to keep on driving



Consumer Price Index
(1967=100)

workers' pay down. While there is a clamoring for mandatory controls, Carter relies on wage "guidelines" *because they are working*—for the bosses. And this is the responsibility of the labor bureaucracy, from Meany successor Lane Kirkland to liberal Doug Fraser, which has worked in tandem with the Democratic administration in keeping pay increases far below the inflation level. Just to catch up, the labor movement must be mobilized for an all-out wage offensive. And that means a political fight with the pro-capitalist misleaders who have reached a "national accord" for the workers to submit to the grinding heel of ever upward inflation.

Wall Street Jumps

Once again the capitalists are faced with an economy careening from panic to panic. Only yesterday it seemed it was the dollar crisis, then came the gold speculation fever. Now, without fixing that mess, the economy is poised before an inflationary blow-out and collapse. Yet the capitalists had no idea it was coming, how it happened or how to stop it. No wonder Jimmy Carter talks about having faith in the American economy: present bourgeois economic forecasting seems an elaborate religious ritual having considerably less connection to reality than primitive witch-doctoring (which usually has a core of empirical practice). Thus at the end of last year the Allied Social Scientists gathered in Atlanta with their computerized econometric models, neo-Keynesian dreams and shifting definitions of "money."

continued on page 8

Labor, Blacks, Chicanos: Stop KKK in California!

LOS ANGELES, March 17—Dressed in black uniforms and flaunting loaded revolvers, with attack dogs at their sides, a gang of Ku Klux Klansmen staged a murderous raid in the racially integrated community of Oceanside on Saturday. They used a baseball bat to smash the skull of an anti-Klan demonstrator among the several hundred who gathered in John Landes Park to protest the KKK provocation. The victim of Klan terror was hospitalized and has had more than 100 stitches for his head injury. Others were also injured including a San Diego reporter. As the cops stood by, the KKK picked off victims while the unorganized crowd tried to protect itself by hurling bottles and rocks at the armed fascists.

Oceanside is the latest outbreak of racist violence in an ominous pattern of Klan terror that threatens to bring the Greensboro massacre to California. Only a few weeks before, 150 Klansmen invaded Fontana, California to burn a cross in this steel town with a large Chicano and black population. When outraged residents called upon the local government for help, the city fathers answered with a cruel and dangerous joke. They invoked the "environmental pollution" laws limiting the Klan's burning crosses to no more than 25 feet in length.

In Chico, secret court hearings—just released—tell of two white hunters who admitted they shot and killed a black man with a deer rifle after not "finding

any deer or cows to shoot" (*Oakland Tribune*, 19 February). And right in downtown San Francisco, the Klan waved their murderous weapons provocatively in front of the Federal Building in December.

This new wave of race-hate and terror must be stopped. But the Klan and the Nazis will not be defeated by reformist pleas to the capitalist government nor with isolated adventurist heroics. At Oceanside there was pressure on the city government to "ban the Klan," and when that didn't work small bands of leftists in Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Socialist League tried to substitute themselves for mass action. They wound up leaving a few helpless individuals to face the paramilitary Klan alone.

The Klan can be stopped, with the mass force of the labor movement. That is the strategy of labor/black mobilization that was demonstrated in Detroit last November 10 when 500—mainly black workers—came out to protest the Klan massacre in Greensboro, saying: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" And that same strategy has been proposed by militant unionists trying to mobilize the powerful Bay Area labor movement to crush the Klan and the Nazis, who want to celebrate Hitler's birthday with a provocative show of race-terror on April 19 in San Francisco.

Unionists grouped around the class-struggle "Longshore-Warehouse Mili-

tant" newsletter and other militant workers' groups are pushing for a mass labor action to sweep the Nazis off the streets. "Labor organizing the black and latino communities behind it, must see to it that the Nazis don't set foot in SF April 19," a 14 February "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" leaflet demanded. Because of increasing demands for action from area unionists, on February 19 a labor-initiated public meeting to plan the anti-Klan demonstration was held at the ILWU Local 6 hall. But while

militants were demanding a vote to call a counter-demonstration at the site of the planned Nazi rally, the union bureaucrats were appealing to labor-hating SF mayor Dianne Feinstein to ban the fascist march.

In the wake of Oceanside, Fontana and Greensboro what is needed is a massive mobilization to stop the racist killers. Labor must organize now to crush the KKK/Nazi fascists on April 19! ■

Bay Area ITU Local Backs Margolis Suit

Bay Area Typographical Union Local 21 voted unanimously at its February 24 meeting to support Jane Margolis' fight against Secret Service harassment. After hearing a presentation by UCASSH speaker Kathleen Burnham stressing the need to oppose government intervention into the labor movement, the Typographical Union members passed the following motion:

WHEREAS, On July 16, 1979, the United States Secret Service dragged Delegate Jane Margolis from the meeting of the national convention of her Union, the Communications Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, Sister Margolis, San Francisco Local 9410 Executive Board member, a shop steward and an elected convention delegate representing 3,500 phone workers had every right to be there; and

WHEREAS, Sister Margolis has filed a \$1 million lawsuit against the Secret Service for this flagrant and brutal violation of her right to attend and speak at the sessions of her own union's convention; and

WHEREAS, Outraged phone workers have formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, or UCASSH, to publicize this suit; and

WHEREAS, Labor unions everywhere have an interest in protecting the rights to free speech and assembly guaranteed under the U.S. Constitution; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Local 21 goes on record as supporting the lawsuit against the Secret Service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That Local 21 send Sister Margolis and UCASSH a message of solidarity and a check for \$50.00 to help defray legal expenses.

Protests Against Knifing of German Spartacist

Protests and statements of solidarity continue to come in responding to the murderous knife attack January 25 on German Spartacist leader Fred Zierenberg by Afghan reactionaries and various foreign Maoists at Frankfurt University. Statements have been received and/or articles printed from several sections and sympathizing groups of the United Secretariat (USec), including the Swedish KAF, Chilean LCCh, German GIM, and the Dutch and Japanese sections. We reprint several of these below, as well as a statement from the Frankfurt Turkish People's House.

Letter from Japan

Tokyo
21 February 1980
Dear Editor,

I thought *WV* readers would be interested to know that news of the murder attempt against our comrade did reach Japan, and did reach the pages of the USec press. The following comes from *Sekai Kakumei*, 18 February 1980, No. 615. The article is signed Kazuko Fujimura.

"This news just arrived from a comrade in West Germany.

"Yesterday a shocking thing occurred. At a Frankfurt University teach-in on the Afghanistan problem, the TLD (ultra-sectarian self-styled Trotskyist) was attacked by a Maoist group, an Islamic group, and the Maoist-influenced General Union of Afghan Students, who used iron pipes and knives. One TLD member was critically injured while several others received serious wounds. Intra-left violence, which has become commonplace in Japan, is on the rise in Germany. Two weeks earlier a Turkish leftist, leafleting for a University forum in Berlin, was stabbed to death by a Turkish fascist and the protest demo for that was

held only a few days ago. Clashes between left and right, Maoist and rightist combinations, and terrorism against the left, is no longer a climate exclusive to Italy and Spain but has spread to Germany as well. The GIM (German section of the FI) has warned about this danger and posed the question of a resolute challenge to this."

This comes from the vernacular weekly of the DYI (Japanese section of the USec). It is especially disgusting to read about the GIM's "warnings" in the pages of their fraternal group's press for a couple of reasons. Firstly the attack took place against the "ultra-sectarians" because they were the only ones with enough guts to defend the Soviet presence in Afghanistan—a position with which the DYI is sympathetic. And secondly the GIM's refusal to defend the TLD's later forum proves that their warnings are empty.

When the day comes to avenge this murderous deed, I wonder if the GIM will still be warning about these dangers.

Sincerely,
Stevens

KAF Statement

Stockholm
13 February 1980

ASTA
Frankfurt University
Frankfurt, West Germany

Comrades

We have been informed that members and sympathizers of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) were attacked and injured at a public meeting on Afghanistan that was arranged by the University of Frankfurt the 25th of January. The responsible for the attacks are said to

be members of the General Union of Afghani Students Abroad (GUAFS), "Fight Back" and the ATIF/ATÖF.

In this way we would like to solidarize with the TLD in a protest against this horrifying attack on the democratic right of the TLD to put forward their opinions. Even if our party has deep political disagreements with the TLD and the "International Spartacist Tendency" we condemn the attempts to silence those who refuse to participate in the imperialist-led witchhunt against the Afghan revolution and the USSR. Stop the right-wing attacks!

for the Political Bureau
of the Communist Workers League
Swedish section of the Fourth
International
Håkan Blomqvist

LCCh Statement

To the Workers and Students of the
University of Frankfurt
To All Political Organizations
Claiming to Struggle for
Democracy, Proletarian
Revolution and Socialism

In response to the assaults and attacks suffered by members of the German Trotskyist League (section of the International Spartacist Tendency) on January 25 of this year as they were publicly expressing their viewpoint on the situation in Afghanistan, the Liga Comunista de Chile considers it its duty and responsibility to state the following:

We reject and repudiate the attack perpetrated by elements belonging to GUAFS, "Fight Back" and ATIF/ATÖF against members of the German Trotskyist League and characterize this attack as an outra-

geous and criminal act against the democratic rights won by the workers and student movement. The Liga Comunista de Chile, in addition to solidarizing with the comrades who were victims of these attacks, calls on all political organizations belonging to the workers and student movement of Frankfurt to close ranks against the use and practice of such gangster methods, typical of fascist groups, in order to eradicate them definitively from the workers and student organizations.

External Secretariat of the
Liga Comunista de Chile
4 February 1980

Frankfurt Turkish People's House Press Release

Frankfurt am Main
13 February 1980

We most sharply condemn the brutal attack by members of the Turkish Maoist organizations ATIF/ATÖF against supporters of the TLD at the forum of the Frankfurt ASTA on Afghanistan on 25 January 1980. We see this attack in the context of a constantly increasing anti-Soviet frenzy which is a slap in the face to all peace-loving people.

When one observes how these forces behave here, one can judge what deeds they would be capable of with the help of American military support.

We demand the most stringent punishment of those involved in this knifing.

Turkish People's House
Secretary, Board of Directors
Necati Özçelik

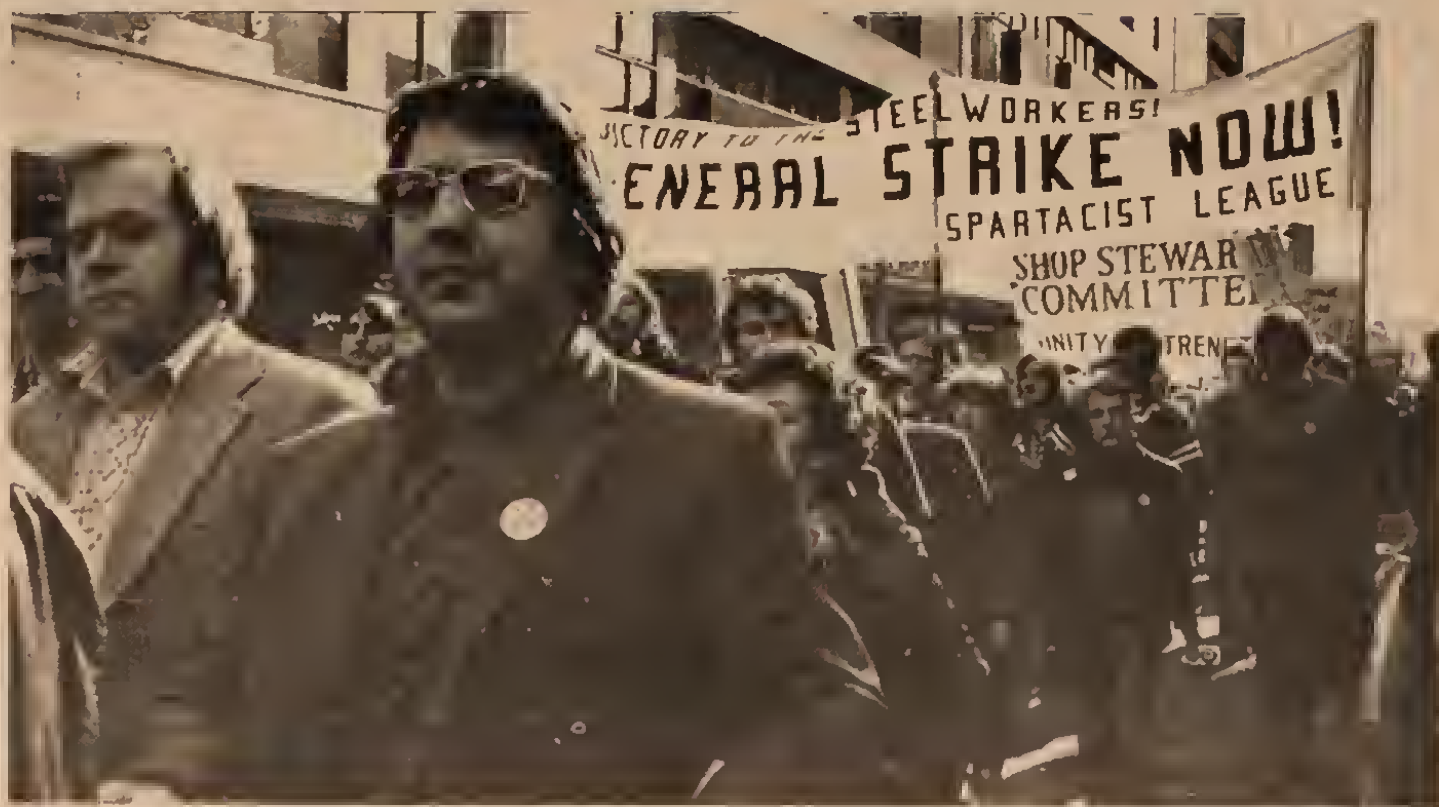
Spread the Strike to Beat Back Thatcher

British Steel Strikers Holding Out

LONDON, March 16—The British steel strike has become a bitterly fought war of attrition. The 150,000 striking British Steel Corporation (BSC) workers are dug in hard despite eleven weeks of mass arrests, press vilification and extreme financial hardship. Their strike has begun to have an impact on the economy. The attempts of their leaders to negotiate a sellout have thus far been of no avail, as BSC management and the Thatcher government have rejected any compromise.

What has most encouraged the Tories to hardline it is the criminal backstabbing and treachery of the union leaders, from the Trades Union Congress (TUC) to "left" bureaucrats like Yorkshire miners leader Arthur Scargill to Communist Party (CP) officials in the motor and engineering industries. With one or two exceptions earlier in the strike, these cowards have refused to mobilise their ranks to beef up the beleaguered pickets; they have looked the other way as lorry drivers belonging to the largest union in Britain have scabbed; and they have refused to join the steel workers on strike. Despite verbal directives to respect picket lines and "black" (refuse to handle) steel shipments, the TUC hasn't the slightest intention of implementing such policies. For they well understand that, were they to do so, the British economy would quickly grind to a halt, and a political class confrontation with the bosses would rapidly be precipitated. And that is the last thing that the bureaucrats and the social-democratic Labour Party want.

What is posed most urgently in Britain today is a general strike to smash the Tories' anti-working-class offensive and open the road to a real struggle to put a final end to decaying British capitalism. The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) has been actively intervening in the strike with such a perspec-



Spartacist League/Britain marching in steel strike demonstration at Sheffield, February 18.

tive and program—and gaining a serious hearing from steel worker militants looking for a road to win their battle. But the fake-lefts have capitulated to the bureaucracy's attempts to isolate the strikers, going so far as to apologise for and even participate in the scabbing. The following account of strike action during the last two weeks has been compiled by the SL/B from reports from South Yorkshire and other strike centers throughout Britain.

March 5: Bill Sirs, Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) general secretary, announces the "compromise"

union initiative drawn up under the guidance of the TUC at a delegate conference. A nervous TUC has intervened, following a militant demonstration of Sheffield steel workers demanding a general strike. At the conference, several delegates from Wales demand that the union claim be extended to halt BSC's planned elimination of 50,000 jobs, while others call for a general strike. But the bureaucrats beat a massive retreat. The ISTC paper, *Steelworker Banner*, admits the new claim "will mean negotiating away many jobs." The pay claim too has been reduced to a base rate of about 15 per cent over 15 months.

March 7: The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) finally instructs its drivers not to cross picket lines, nine weeks into the strike! At strike committee headquarters in South Yorkshire there is great excitement: if they picket key factories and the TGWU men follow directives, the country would grind to a halt. Plans are made to step up picketing at car factories and other major steel users next week.

But later that day a meeting of British Leylands convenors in Coventry votes against calling a strike at the nationalised motor company, even though the workforce had voted down the company's 5 per cent offer by two to one. Coachloads of steel workers join Leylands workers to lobby the meeting, but to no avail. The next morning the CP's *Morning Star* endorsed the no-strike decision.

March 9: More than 100,000 workers march through London at a TUC demonstration. The union tops are seeking a diversion. The insipid official banner reads, "The Government Must Change Course Now." The ISTC contingent is by far the most militant and spirited. Every time the steel workers are mentioned over the loudspeakers, cheers ring out from the crowd. TUC head Len Murray almost gets booed off the stage by steel workers and miners heckling and shouting "General Strike." Most of the "far left" organisations do not even mount contingents, while the reformist Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff refuses to demand a general strike. In contrast, SL supporters march behind a banner reading "Victory to the Steelworkers, General Strike Now." More than 500 copies of *Spartacist Britain* are sold at the demonstration.

March 10: Strikers fan out across the country to step up the picketing. About 20 arrive at Oxford to picket Leylands Cowley, expecting promised assistance from assembly plant deputy convenor and Workers Socialist League (WSL) leader Alan Thornett. A few students appear to help on the picket line as do Spartacist supporters and a couple of militant seamen visiting from the U.S. But not Thornett. Much to the disgruntlement of several strikers, this pseudo-revolutionary "leader" is nowhere to be found.

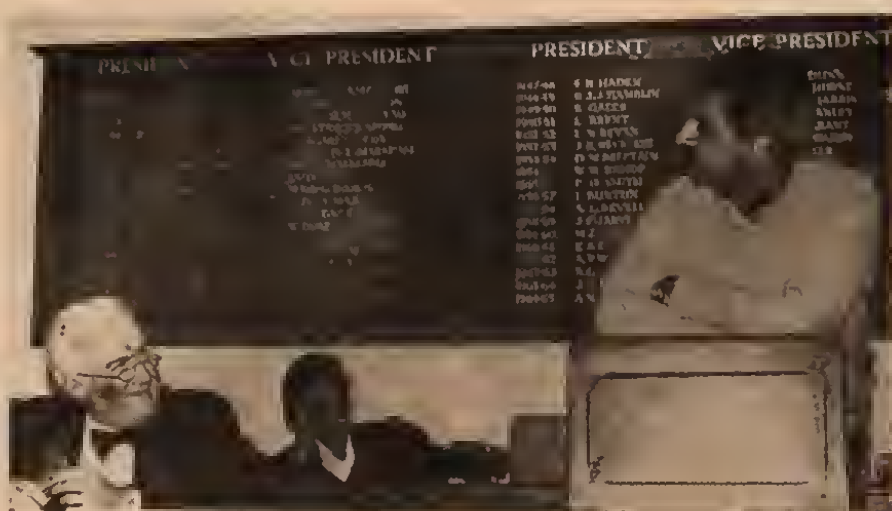
The strikers also discover just how hollow are the TGWU's new instructions. There are far too few pickets, and the vast majority of Cowley workers and TGWU drivers either don't see them or ignore them. The picketers call the local TGWU chief official, Ray Buckle, who claims he's received no instructions from national union headquarters. The picketers are furious.

But in Sheffield the same day 400 engineering [metal trades] stewards vote to instruct their members not to cross picket lines. Soon 8,000 engineering workers in 16 plants are out, with many joining the picket lines. Finally the strike is spreading!

March 12: The South Yorkshire strike committees try to throw up a mass picket at Hadfields scab private steel

continued on page 10

Fink "Socialist" Debates Cop



Spartacist Britain

With Britain gripped by a bitter steel strike that has seen cops running amok attacking the picket lines, what labor militant, much less socialist, would be caught dead debating the police over whether they've been "unnecessarily brutal in enforcing the law"? Scandalously, Tariq Ali of the International Marxist Group, section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, agreed to debate the chairman of the West Midlands Police Federation, Gordon Meredith, at the Birmingham University Student Union on February 29.

Meredith represents the cops who recently ransacked the Birmingham Labour Club, being used as local

strike headquarters, and beat unconscious a striking worker outside British Leylands Castle Bromwich. Protesting this disgusting "debate," members of the Spartacist League/Britain picketed outside the Student Union, chanting "No debate with the Labour Club raiders!" But Ali traipsed across this picket line, exchanged pleasantries with cop Meredith over dinner inside, participated in the oh-so-polite "debate," and afterwards shook hands with his worthy opponent. Militants who know how Meredith's cops "debate"—with boots, batons and bashing—have some less polite words to describe what the fink "socialist" Ali has done.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 252

21 March 1980

Women of the East: Proletarian Revolution or Slavery

Afghanistan today is "probably the first instance of a shooting war in modern history which was ignited specifically by the question of women's liberation," Dale Reissner, editor of the Spartacist League (SL) journal *Women and Revolution* told audiences in the Midwest and on the East Coast. Yet, Reissner noted, "there have been no demonstrations in defense of Afghan women from the feminists."

Comrades Reissner and Phyllis Anwar were on an SL speaking tour for International Women's Day, commemorating the struggle of working women, notably the 1917 protest in Russia that sparked the overthrow of the tsar, opening a revolutionary struggle that led to the establishment of the first workers state in history. The comrades were warmly received in Boston, Cleveland, Ann Arbor and Oberlin in early March. That same week the San Francisco/Oakland branches of the SL held an all-day conference which also focused on the liberation of women in Iran and Afghanistan.

"There are only two roads for Eastern women—proletarian revolution or slavery," Reissner stressed, explaining why the Spartacist League says "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" "Revolutionists in this conflict," she said, "must stand on the side of the Red Army—because a victory for the mullah-led rebels means a victory for the bride price, it means a victory for the veil, it means a victory for usury, for feudal serfdom and the continuation of the enslavement of women."

Comrade Anwar gave a vivid presentation of what life in Afghanistan is like for women. She spent four years in Afghanistan with her husband, a native Afghan, and was the first foreign woman to refuse to put on the veil when she arrived there. Anwar pointed out that life for women has changed little



Michaud/Woodfin Camp

Veiled Afghan woman.

since her first-hand experiences in Afghanistan in the 1940s. She quoted a recent *New York Times* article on the settlement of a tribal feud which involved the handing over to a rival family of two goats, money and two little girls. The speaker noted that next door in Iran, where Islamic fundamentalism holds sway, the ayatollah Khomeini says that it is considered a great

honor for a girl to get her first menstrual period in her husband's home. It is still vital to have blood-smeared sheets to show the morning after a wedding, too.

At the International Women's Day events this year, the bankruptcy of feminism as a strategy for the liberation of women stood out in particular relief: not only have the feminists been silent on the civil war and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, but the tumultuous events in Iran, too, caught them politically off-balance. Particularly after Kate Millett's expulsion from Iran, they had supported the Iranian women's struggle against Khomeini's reactionary attempt to reimpose the veil. But they had no revolutionary program to mobilize the millions of women oppressed by near-feudal slavery; indeed many of Millett's bourgeois feminist associates have had ties with the shah's notorious feminist sister, Princess Ashraf.

On the other hand, the repulsive support which most leftists and "progressives" gave to Khomeini, Reissner explained, "flows out of a culmination of New Left despair at the possibility of really having a proletarian revolution." It is a historic irony, she said, that the Spartacist League, which is dedicated to the overthrow of the whole bourgeois social order, finds itself today in the position of defending the gains of the bourgeois revolution, while Carter, the chief of the most powerful bourgeoisie on earth, and assorted "far leftists" try to make common cause with the feudal enemies of even bourgeois democracy.

In contrast to the disoriented ex-New Leftists and feminists, the SL understands that the Soviet Army presence in Afghanistan is crucially important to women's liberation today. Reissner noted that although the conservative Kremlin bureaucrats were motivated by

simple nationalist concern to defend themselves from imperialist pressure, in this case their action coincides with the interest of proletarian internationalism. "If Afghanistan is transformed into anything resembling Soviet Central Asia, this would be an enormous leap forward—especially for women."

Although the USSR today is ruled by a repressive Stalinist bureaucracy which must be overthrown through proletarian political revolution, the social and economic gains of the Russian Revolution have transformed the life of women and must be defended. Comrade Reissner made a powerful comparison between the current status of women in Soviet Central Asia and their sisters (often quite literally) in Afghanistan and other tribal border regions where imperialism and feudalism still hold sway:

"The young soldiers, Central Asian soldiers, who were sent into Afghanistan, in confronting the abysmal squalor and backwardness of Afghanistan confronted their own past. Many were Uzbeks and Tadzhiks. Tadzhik women were so oppressed that they not only had to wear a heavy black horsehair veil in public without even eye slits, but even in private no women were allowed to see them unveiled because there was a fear that a woman might describe their face to a man. I'm not talking about ancient history now. I'm talking about sixty years ago—within living memory of many of the people in that area."

The achievement of the Soviet Union, she summarized, becomes very clear when you compare the living conditions of Soviet peoples in Central Asia today with their cousins just across the border. The literacy rate in Afghanistan is about 5 percent, perhaps the lowest in the world. In Uzbekistan, the largest of the Soviet Central Asian Republics, the literacy rate is about 100 percent. The life expectancy in Afghanistan is about 40, in Uzbekistan 70. As of 1975 in

continued on page 10

"Poor Little Afghanistan"

State Department Shachtmanism Once Again

When the Carter administration seized upon Soviet intervention in Afghanistan to launch a new Cold War drive, the entire workers movement was suddenly forced to confront the Russian question head-on. As was to be expected, the pro-Peking Stalinists were the most despicable "left" cheerleaders for Carter's Hate Russia crusade (see "Maoists United With Uncle Sam," *WV* No. 250, 22 February). And equally predictably, the mangiest of these running dogs of U.S. imperialism was a clot of seedy Shachtmanite sectlets, yapping away about the danger of "Soviet imperialism."

"Russian Invasion Tramples Afghanistan Independence," headlined the January *Torch* of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). Like the State Department, the RSL demands the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. But while claiming to oppose imperialism "East and West," it comes out foursquare for the imperialist-backed Muslim reactionaries: "We must also support the armed struggle of the Afghan people against

the invaders." In Afghanistan, the RSL's "third camp" turns out to be that of the mullahs, landlords, usurers, tribal chiefs and defenders of the veil and bride price!

The League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP), an ex-RSL splinter led by long-time Shachtmanite Sy Landy, adopted the same pro-imperialist "Russia out" line, but tried to give it a left face. In its *Socialist Action* of January 1980 the LRP refuses to take a side in the raging civil war, supporting instead a *non-existent* anti-rebel, anti-Soviet "third force": "the Taraki-Amin governments." So, supposedly, they're *against* the mullahs whom they're *for* in Iran, and *against* the Soviets who are the military backbone of the government they're *for*. Why all these verbal acrobatics on behalf of the rather unappetizing hero Amin (who murdered Taraki and whose blood purges were reminiscent of Ethiopia's Mengistu)? Because, at all costs, they do not want to be caught defending the Soviet Union in any way.

But it's particularly outrageous that

they're trying to peddle this classic Shachtmanite tripe as "Trotskyism." LRP spokesman Walter Dahl has been going around to New York forums on Afghanistan lately claiming that Trotsky "opposed the Red Army's invasion of Poland" in 1939, saying that it meant "the enslavement of Poland." Dahl is an out-and-out liar. Trotsky insisted that the Red Army could be the spark for the overthrow of bourgeois property forms in Poland. And he summed up, "Our outright duty was to participate in the overturn on the side of the workers and peasants and to that extent on the side of the Red Army." ("From a Scratch—To The Danger of Gangrene," *In Defense of Marxism*).

Furthermore, these Shachtmanites take Trotsky's phrase about "the enslavement of Poland" totally out of context, then cite it as a precedent for their pro-imperialist prattle about "the enslavement of Afghanistan." The cases are not identical. In 1939 the Russian invasion of Poland was a product of the Kremlin's reactionary/utopian belief that the USSR could be defended by

deals with one or another imperialist coalition (in this case the Stalin-Hitler pact). The intervention into Afghanistan

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Spartacist



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Smash White Terror in Central America!

El Salvador on Edge of Civil War

The fall of the U.S.-sponsored Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua last July was enthusiastically welcomed by the long-suffering subjects of military rulers throughout Central America. But the triumph of the Sandinista guerrillas was handwriting on the wall to dictatorial regimes in Guatemala and El Salvador, which face guerrilla insurgencies at home. Their immediate response: a sharp escalation of reactionary terror, launching repeated massacres against all opponents of their dictatorial rule. Hundreds of peasants and workers have been butchered in machine-gun assaults by the dictators' mercenary armies and assassinated by right-wing paramilitary gangs. Even priests, liberal reformers and Christian Democratic conservatives have fallen victim to the murder squads.

Washington has attempted to prop up its shaky Central American dominos by imposing cosmetic changes on the military juntas. The "Made in USA" coup in El Salvador last October is the chief "success" in this campaign to give neo-colonial military rule a "human rights" face. But the promises of democratic and social reforms have fooled no one, least of all the Salvadoran masses. Despite a brutal white terror that has claimed more than 700 lives so far *this year*, the workers and landless peasants have not been cowed. Instead, their burning desire to finish once and for all with the rapacious ruling class and the bloody generals has pushed El Salvador to the brink of all-out civil war.

On January 22, the anniversary of a 1932 Communist-led peasant uprising in which 30,000 agricultural workers and leftists were massacred, the combined forces of the Salvadoran left staged the largest protest demonstration in the country's history. Two hundred thousand protesters jammed the streets of the capital city of San Salvador. Usually such massive numbers give a degree of protection, as the dictator-

Despite escalating white terror in El Salvador, revolutionary ferment grows.



Keter/Sygma

ship's professional gunmen wait to carry out their dirty work in the shadows. But this arrogant, isolated regime is so nervous that its cops and troops answered with a ferocious barrage of gunfire. As demonstrators entered the capital city's main square, snipers posted on the rooftops of the National Palace and the Bank of El Salvador began firing into the crowd, continuing their deadly barrage for a solid hour. Demonstrators who sought sanctuary in the Metropolitan Cathedral were also gunned down. And when hundreds of protesters withdrew to the national university, they were besieged by troops and military planes sprayed them with insecticides. The Salvadoran Red Cross estimates that over 100 were killed on that day alone and more than 300 wounded.

In neighboring Guatemala a series of military governments have enforced their repressive rule with indiscriminate murder for decades. A Guatemalan professor in exile estimates that 70,000 persons, from Indian peasants to liberal politicians, have been systematically assassinated by successive regimes, an average of 3,000 murders a year for over 20 years (*Síntesis Latinoamericana*, 14 February)! Most recently the government of General Romero Lucas García answered a peasant occupation of the Spanish embassy with a fiery assault in which 39 people, including two Spanish diplomats and a former vice president of Guatemala, died.

The grisly statistics of dead and wounded are symptoms of the terminal illness of isolated and hated army regimes now faced with a growing

challenge from the left. If Nicaragua was the archetypal banana republic with an upstart puppet ruler, El Salvador is about as close as one comes these days to a 19th-century "oligarchy"—the legendary (but very real) 14 families have ruled the country uninterrupted since the days of Spanish colonialism. With time the semi-feudal *encomienda* was transformed into the capitalist *hacienda* producing coffee and cotton for export. But the brutal repression by the masters of the land barely changed. Even now "order" in the agricultural districts is maintained primarily by a force of private rural police paid by the landowners.

Now, as a tide of mass protest mounts, the *hacendados* are preparing to stage a last-stand defense of what they

continued on page 9

New Sandinista Jailing of Leftists

On February 11 Nicaragua's Sandinista-led "Government of National Reconstruction" sentenced four leaders of the left-wing People's Action Movement (MAP) and its trade-union arm, Workers Front (FO), to two years of "public works" (forced labor). The convictions of Melvin Wallace, Juan Alberto Enriquez, Carlos Domingo Cuadra and Isidro Téllez followed the forced closing of the MAP/FO-linked newspaper *El Pueblo* on January 23. Charges were later brought against seven MAP/FO leaders, including Enriquez and Téllez, for illegal possession of arms and violations of the Public Order and Security Law carrying possible penalties of up to ten years in prison. The legal proceedings were accompanied by mass rallies organized by the Sandinista Front (FSLN) where, according to the New York *Guardian* (27 February), thousands shouted slogans such as "Death to ultraleftism" and "Death to Trotskyism."

The arrests of the MAP/FO leaders are not isolated incidents but part of a pattern of harassment, imprisonment and slander by the FSLN against its left-wing critics. *El Pueblo* was first closed and its editor, Melvin Wallace, arrested within days after the FSLN columns rolled into Managua last summer. In

August the "Trotskyist" Simón Bolívar Brigade, an international contingent which had joined the FSLN in the final days of the Somoza dictatorship, was forcibly expelled from the country. In October, FSLN *comandantes* launched a wave of jailings against the MAP/FO and the ostensibly Trotskyist LMR, charging them with responsibility for armed attacks on FSLN troops and other "counterrevolutionary" actions. The recent jailings, however, were justified by no more than government declarations that articles in *El Pueblo* constituted "destructive criticism" and sought "to damage the popular interests."

But the real "crime" committed by the MAP/FO, a pro-Albania Stalinist group, was to support and lead strikes against nationalized and private businesses and to criticize the FSLN's pro-business policies. In the interests of bankrupt Nicaraguan capitalists, the Sandinista regime has opposed all strikes, eliminated the traditional "13th month" Christmas bonus and reneged on its earlier promise to pay wages due from the period of the civil war. A series of strikes and factory occupations, led by the FO and the pro-Moscow Communist Party, was answered by charges that the CIA,

working through "union pseudo-leaders" was trying to "destabilize the economy and make impossible economic reactivation."

Despite the anti-Trotskyist tirades of FSLN leaders, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has consistently supported the anti-left and anti-working-class repression in Sandinista Nicaragua. While the FSLN breaks strikes in order to demonstrate its commitment to working out a *modus vivendi* with Nicaraguan capitalists and U.S. imperialism, according to the SWP Nicaragua today is "a country in which the workers and peasants have political power" (*Perspectiva Mundial*, 10 March). "The FSLN," they claim, "has made it clear that it upholds the right to criticism [except 'destructive criticism']". It is defending the independence of the trade unions and mass organizations from the state [except that it forces them into the government-controlled union federation]. It has opposed any acts of coercion against strikes and demonstrations by workers and peasants [except that it arrests the leaders]" (*Intercontinental Press*, 18 February).

Ever-so-slightly squeamish about tossing leftists in jail for writing "sectari-

an" editorials, the SWP heaved a sigh of relief when the government backed up the charges against the MAP/FO with the discovery of what FSLN leader Tomás Borge described as "more than three thousand arms to be employed in the counterrevolution." If they didn't have such "secret arsenals," the MAP/FO might be the only people in Nicaragua without guns. But the SWP openly supports these jailings, alleging, "The Nicaraguan government has the responsibility and the right to take energetic measures of self-defense against this type of violation of the security of the revolution" (*Perspectiva Mundial*, 10 March).

By championing the anti-left repression unleashed by the FSLN and its capitalist partners, the pacifist-legalist SWP cheerleaders for *sandinismo* prove that they are not Marxists—who stand for the right of self-defense for the working masses, not bonapartist governments—nor even "consistent" (bourgeois) democrats (what about the "right to bear arms"?). All genuine revolutionaries, as well as all defenders of trade-union and democratic rights, must denounce the closing of *El Pueblo* and the jailing of the MAP/FO leaders. Free all left-wing prisoners in the FSLN jails! ■

BOOK REVIEW

**THERE IS A FOUNTAIN—
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CIVIL
RIGHTS LAWYER
BY CONRAD LYNN**

In 1961 a distinguished black attorney was invited to speak to a high school senior class in suburban New York on the subject of the civil rights struggle. When his talk was ended, a right-wing fanatic took the floor and harangued the students: "I'm going to tell you just how the red rat you have just heard crawled out of the woodwork." And in the style of Joseph McCarthy he took out a fistful of notes and began reading about Conrad Lynn's past—how he had joined the Communist Party's youth group, how he had been arrested in radical demonstrations, how he had defended communist militants in the courtroom, how he had gone to Cuba, and more.

But the days of McCarthyism were waning, when legions of witchhunters across the country took the dirt slipped to them by the FBI and routinely got people thrown out of their jobs and ostracized by the community. In any case the redbaiting didn't phase Lynn who had never made a secret of his radical political activities or let the verbal brickbats of the race-haters stop him. Today, at 70 and still full of fight, Lynn continues his lifelong battle for the rights of the oppressed inside the courtroom and out. Only last November he received another death threat from the KKK for representing a former prisoner who exposed Klan activities among NY State prison guards.

Conrad Lynn's career is a record of courage and dedication; from the mid-1930s on he played an active role in many of the key struggles for black freedom. And now he has written some of it down in an autobiography entitled, *There is a Fountain* (Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1979), after an old Protestant hymn of suffering and survival. The book is subtitled, *The Autobiography of a Civil Rights Lawyer*, which is of course how Lynn is best known. As he says, if "my office has been called the 'house of last resort,' it is because I have been willing to handle cases that were unpopular or dangerous." But, hardly one to bear the law's

army; his brother Winfred's legal case was a battering ram in that struggle. After the war he was on the first freedom ride, sponsored by CORE in 1946. In the early '50s he defended Puerto Rican nationalist leader Albizu Campos at a time—after the attack on Truman at Blair House—when few lawyers would touch the case. And when in 1954 four Puerto Rican nationalists, led by Lolita Lebrón, attacked the U.S. House of Representatives with pistols demanding freedom from colonial oppression, Lynn took their ease as well.

He defended the victims of racist injustice from the lynch-law rural South, where the judges' black robes were often indistinguishable from the white robes of the Klan, to the urban slums of Harlem where the cops regularly pummeled black youth and the courts railroaded them to jail. He stood with black militant Robert Williams for the right of armed self-defense in the South. Lynn was one of the first Americans to visit Castro's Cuba and even arranged for Castro's famous 1960 stay at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

In 1963 Lynn went on the offensive against HUAC witchhunting. Testifying before HUAC the day after thousands of blacks had been arrested by Bull Connor's cops in Birmingham, Alabama, hundreds beaten and bitten by police dogs, Lynn turned the tables on the witchhunters. He recalls, "Every member of the committee except one was from the South, and I cited injustice after injustice that had been visited upon black people in each congressman's district." Charged with "Communist propaganda," Lynn countered: "I don't happen to be satisfied with a government that permits brutalization of the Negroes in Birmingham." Accused of aiding Robert Williams' escape to Cuba, Lynn boldly replied: "We reconstituted the Underground Railroad and he got out through Canada."

That same year Lynn became chairman of the Freedom Now Party. During the Vietnam War he was an antiwar activist and went to Vietnam as a member of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Commission. He also defended members of the New York Black Panther Party in the courtroom amid a hailstorm of government frame-ups and persecution of black militants.

Most of all this book is the story of a fighter for black equality whose political life has spanned four decades of uncorrupted if somewhat eclectic radical militancy. It ought to be a book that gets a wide reading and enthusiastic welcome on the left. But it is being ignored by and large by reviewers of the left press, perhaps because of Lynn's characteristic habit of naming not only the heroes of the black struggle, like Robert Williams, but also the sellouts and cowards like Roy Wilkins...and the Stalinized Communist Party.

The "Kissing Case"

One of Lynn's most dramatic battles recounted in his autobiography, one which deeply probes the race-hate psychology of the South, was the famous "kissing case." It began in October 1958 in Monroe, North Carolina when a six-year-old white child, Sissy Marcus, kissed a nine-year-old black child, Hanover Thompson, on the cheek in play while another black child, seven-year-old Fuzzy Simpson, looked on. When Sissy Marcus told her mother what had happened, the state of North Carolina launched a campaign of barbaric legal terror against these two children, throwing them into jail under miserable conditions, denying them visits even by their mothers, and charging them with rape.

It was here in Monroe County that Robert Williams headed up the NAACP. Two years earlier they had defended with force of arms the homes of blacks against KKK night-riders; in 1961 a frame-up kidnapping charge against Williams following a Klan attack on a demonstration would force

BLACK RADICAL IN THE COURTS,



Harlem, 1964: While dozens of police sharpshooters lined roofs, Conrad Lynn (right) linked arms with Bill Epton to courageously lead off banned march against cop terror.

ON THE STREETS

him into exile. When the "kissing case" began, Williams came quickly to the defense of the children, but the national NAACP would not touch the case. Roy Wilkins, then national director of the NAACP, said that "inter-racial sex was an explosive issue" and that the NAACP "ought to concern itself with other issues." When Lynn talked to Wilkins about the case, the NAACP director asked, "Why do you want to represent those scum who are on welfare?"

Williams enlisted Lynn and together they fought the case in the courtroom, the streets and the pages of the international press. But to the shock of northern liberals, the children were convicted. Judge Hampton told Lynn that he had held "a separate but equal hearing." Lynn asked, "What do you mean...by a separate and equal hearing?" The judge replied:

"Well, down here we do things a little different from you folks up there in New York. We feel we get along better if the white folks stay in their place and the niggers stay in theirs...."

"On the mornin' I had the hearin', I called in the white parent, Mrs. Marcus, and her daughter. She told me in front of the same stenographer I have here now what happened to her child. I sent them home. Later I summoned the two nigger mothers and had the children brought up from the county jail. Since they just stood silent and didn't say nothin', I knew that was a confession of guilt. I gave the older nigger boy twelve years. The younger nigger got fourteen."

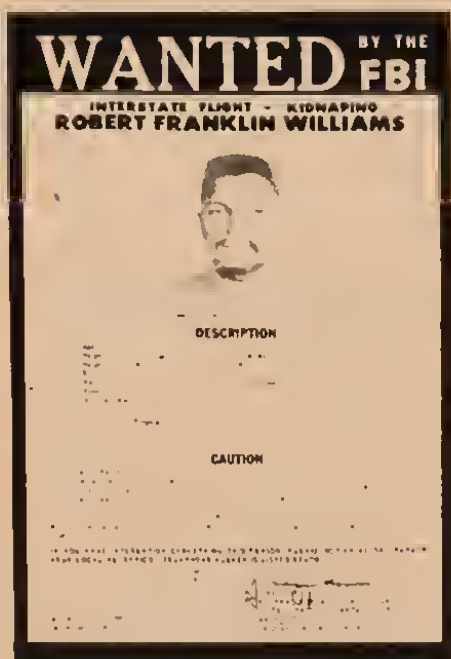
Williams and Lynn continued to gain support for the victims in the "kissing case" worldwide, but under North

Carolina "justice" (which hasn't changed all that much—witness the "Wilmington 10" case two decades later), they *again* lost on appeal. The State Attorney General spoke for the attitude of the entire court: "I say we dare not let these two [children] go. Lynn and his ilk don't care about them. What they want is *revolution*. They want to spit in our faces and rip our sacred traditions to shreds." It wasn't until the defense campaign initiated by Williams and Lynn had built so much support that even Eleanor Roosevelt intervened on behalf of the children that they were at last freed from the jails of North Carolina.

In his presentation of the case, Lynn throws a penetrating light on the underlying political tensions and struggle that wrecked the civil rights movement. When the pacifist/liberal NAACP suspended Williams because of his statements for the right of armed self-defense in the South, Lynn defended him before the councils of the NAACP. *There is a Fountain* recounts how, abandoned by the treacherous liberals, Williams was forced to flee to Cuba to escape the lynch mobs and kangaroo courts. Some of the most interesting observations in this book concern Williams' heroic struggle by a man who fought at his side.

Harlem 1964

There is a Fountain is not only a collection of famous cases and causes; it is also a rich storehouse of little-known illustrative anecdotes, information and engaging stories. For instance, there is a



Framed-up black militant Robert Williams. Lynn helped him escape lynch-law, FBI vendetta with a new "underground railroad."

delay and the racist insolence of judicial office, Lynn was always more than a civil rights lawyer.

To read *There is a Fountain* is to follow Conrad Lynn, the black activist, to the front lines of many of the shaping events of American radicalism over the past half century. He was there, walking to Washington, D.C. with Harlem pacifists after A. Philip Randolph canceled his proclaimed march for black jobs in June 1941. During World War II he worked for desegregation of the

story about actor Sidney Poitier that isn't likely to appear in *People Magazine*. During the fight to desegregate the army in World War II, soldier Poitier and his buddies "took one of the army trucks and loaded it with strapping black GIs armed with ax handles and crowbars," leading the charge on a Jim Crow whiskey bar. "In ten minutes the place was in splinters." But *There is a Fountain* contains only a fraction of Lynn's radical activities and cases, and one of his bravest acts did not even find its way into this book—the time during the 1964 Harlem "riots" when with dozens of police sharpshooters on the rooftops Lynn linked arms with Bill Epton to lead off a banned march against cop terror.

The events began on 18 July 1964, after NYC police gunned down black youth James Powell. As the ghetto streets filled with angry protesters the elite Tactical Patrol Force swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths. Thousands of blacks came forward spontaneously to struggle against a common enemy, and radicals in the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) called for block-by-block self-defense against cop brutality and a mass demonstration through the streets of Harlem. The Spartacist group at the time initiated a Harlem Solidarity Committee in conjunction with these efforts. However, the liberals and black reformists organized in the "Unity Council" did everything they could to stop the planned HDC march and the city banned it. As we wrote at the time,

"They [the liberals and reformists] devoted ceaseless efforts to attempt to persuade Bill Epton, leader of the HDC and vice-chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, to call off the march, and did succeed in convincing Jesse Grey to withdraw his backing at the last minute....

"The efforts of the Unity Council were in concert with those of the police who were mobilized 27,000 strong to crush the march.... With much courage and dignity Epton, with his lawyer, Conrad Lynn, with the continued support of the Freedom Now Party, and others, stepped out to begin the march and was immediately arrested."

—"Harlem Riot and After,"
Spartacist No. 3, January-February 1965

Black and Red

For Conrad Lynn, the poor boy from Long Island who worked his way up to become a lawyer, there was never any question that the struggle against the oppression of blacks demanded the most profound social change. For Lynn, his relatively privileged position among American blacks meant a deeper sense of political responsibility. He entered college in 1926 as a Republican Party

loyalist and crack debater "bent on becoming a preacher of the gospel." But by 1928 he had joined the Communist Party and done a radio broadcast on behalf of William Z. Foster, the CP's presidential candidate. The first black law student at Syracuse University, by 1931 he had been suspended for political activity (and later reinstated).

Lynn was a spokesman for the Young Communist League in the 1920s. But although he maintained his "respect for the cadres" of the CP, he eventually broke with the party in the mid-1930s. Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of *There is a Fountain* is the fact that after breaking with the CP, Lynn was able to remain an independent radical on the left.

Lynn's political differences with the CP began while he was still in college over the CP's theory of the Black Belt and the demand for "black self-determination" in the Deep South. This position was one of the most off-beat expressions of "Third Period" Stalinism of the late '20s and early '30s and has been a touchstone in a number of recent memoirs of black ex-CPers from that generation. Some, like Harry Haywood, who went along with every purge and sellout and later became a Maoist, could never explain why the CP sold out the struggle for black freedom and look back on this period as the golden age of communist activity in the U.S. In contrast to Haywood's reveries, Lynn had a more down-to-earth reaction to this utopian/reactionary theory.

"I could hardly contain my amusement when we discussed this proposition at the YCL meeting. My contacts with the Deep South were close...[but] I had never heard of any demand for a separate black nation in the American South....

"My strongest points had been based not on theory but facts. At that very time, both white and black unemployed had elected a nineteen-year-old black youth Angelo Herndon, in Atlanta, Georgia, the heart of lynchdom, to lead them on a march for jobs. These outcasts, at the very bottom of the social structure, were forging a unity across racial lines that made it apparent the revolution would proceed along classic lines or it would not succeed at all."

Lynn did not make his disagreement with the CP public. In particular, he respected its work around the "Scottsboro Boys" defense and the generally aggressive policies against the cringing capitulation of the liberals and the Negro establishment. Unlike the Haywoods, he came to understand that the CP sellout was not in dropping the idiosyncratic black belt slogan but at the general political level. And he pointed his finger at the popular front. While he accepted the Communist Party line of "anti-fascist alliance" with FDR in World War II, he recognized and hated the consequences of this class collaboration for blacks and colonial peoples:

"As part of the effort to persuade Roosevelt into favoring an alliance of the 'democracies' against Hitler, the Communist party, with varying degrees of covertness, backed the Democratic party candidates in 1938. The fact that control of Congress by the Democrats meant control by Southern segregationist committee-chairmen in the House caused hardly a passing comment in the *Daily Worker*."

He simply "felt it to be a fact that wherever the Popular Front had achieved power, it suppressed unrest and dissent at home and prepared for war with the Axis." Lynn describes a Harlem meeting in which a black ex-member "strode down center aisle, pushed aside the chairman of the evening, and ripped down Stalin's picture":

"He turned to the astonished audience and said, 'Black revolutionaries should not stand for homage to the bloody collaborator of Mussolini in Ethiopia and the French in Algeria.'"

"I was surprised to find myself standing and cheering.... It was obvious to everyone that my position in the Communist party was becoming untenable."

In January 1937 Lynn was ruled out of order for demanding that the New York committee of the CP financially back a

New York Times.

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HARLEM. William Epton, center, just before he is seized on way to lead protest march



HARLEM. William Epton, center, just before he is seized on way to lead protest march

POLICE BREAK UP HARLEM PROTEST; 2 LEFTISTS SEIZED

Small Band of Followers Is
Dispersed After Defying
Murphy and Ignorance

PLEAS PROVE FRUITLESS

Negro Leaders Had Sought
to Avert Demonstration,
but Opposed Ban, Too

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

The police broke up a protest

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New York Times covered 1964 Harlem Riot with red-baiting, bourgeois horror at first black ghetto upheavals, sparked by cop killing of black youth.

general strike led by Trinidadian oil workers against British colonial rule. Not long afterward he was expelled.

One prime example of Stalinist treachery cited by Lynn is the planned 1941 "March on Washington" for jobs proclaimed by A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The widely-publicized march was heavily backed by the Communist Party, and thousands of young blacks were set to go. But on the eve of the march, FDR issued a toothless executive order against racial discrimination in war industries. Randolph, a real professional hat-in-hand, called off the march and the CP went along. Three days earlier, on 21 June 1941, Germany had invaded the USSR. During the Stalin-Hitler pact the CP was stridently denouncing "American imperialism"; now it was all out for the war effort, and to hell with the struggle against Jim Crow!

Lynn's account in this period particularly stung reviewer Ernest Kaiser in the CP front magazine *Freedomways* (Second Quarter 1979) who denounced Lynn's "erroneous explanation for Communist support of the bourgeois democracies during World War II" as "invalid and subjective." Invalid? Subjective? Lynn simply registered the fact that the Stalinists didn't give a damn about blacks.

Inside the Courtroom and Out

Despite his strong emotional ties to the Communist Party, Lynn has defended Trotskyists on many occasions. But he never made the leap from national-inclined "progressive" to Trotskyist revolutionist. Lynn was one of a layer of black youth misled and then dissipated by Stalinism. To have posed as black people's defender only to train the best of them in class collaboration was a historic crime. Yet Lynn's break with the Communist Party did not turn him against the goal of socialist revolution. Unlike the outstanding black author Richard Wright, for instance, whose *American Hunger* recounts his CP recruitment and disaffection in Chicago—a triumph of aesthetics over politics—communism for Lynn was not "a god that failed." As Lynn recalls, he began to define himself against a growing crowd of cold warriors at the end of the Second World War:

"Through the Lynn Committee [Against Segregation in the Armed Forces] I met a group of radical,

anticommunist intellectuals, which included Nate Glaser, Eddie Robinson, Dave Bazelon, and Paul Goodman. Their virulent anticommunism led them to a certain acceptance of American institutions, however wryly they expressed it. To me, Russia with all its ugliness, was a necessary counterweight to American imperialism. Also, I was not interested in framing a philosophy that would make life tolerable for me in this country. I felt a growing divergence from older friends, such as Murray Kempton, Dwight MacDonald, and Gene Phillips, who lacked my implacable hostility to basic assumptions in our society. Most of these white thinkers were on the way to economic success and a degree of public recognition. We remained friendly but gradually grew apart."

It would be wrong to think that Lynn is distinguished from Kempton, MacDonald and other squires of the anti-Soviet crusade by race alone. Although in smaller numbers, disillusioned blacks have also walked the ignominious path from communist intellectual to renegade servant of imperialism. And the defeated liberal civil rights movement had its share of Andrew Youngs and

continued on page 10

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Let 'em Bite Bullets...

(continued from page 1)

They came to predict. They would have done better to read the entrails of a goat. They certainly could not have done much worse:

"Atlanta, Dec. 30—The business outlook for 1980 is for a moderate recession ending late in the year, a recession less severe than that of 1974-75, according to leading economists attending the annual meeting. ... [They] saw an economy that in terms of immediate domestic pressures, is facing neither a depression nor accelerated inflation."

—New York Times,
31 December 1979

Oh well, back to the computer rooms of academe. But for businessmen who plan production and investment, such monumental errors can be plenty expensive. The root of the problem is not a defective "model" but the fact that the capitalist economy does not yield to the charades of "indicative" government "planning." The near-universal predictions last year of a coming "mild" recession to bring down inflation through "tight money" policies—whether based on monetarist or Keynesian assumptions—are ultimately derived from the illusion of rationally controlling the anarchic capitalist system. But the "nice little recession" didn't materialize, and a major price eruption did.

Back last October, when the inflation rate was a mere 14 percent, Federal Reserve head Paul Volcker announced a severe credit crunch to rein in prices. Obviously, the so-called "Volcker squeeze" has been a total failure. The big multinationals are borrowing abroad. And while the Fed's squeeze has driven up interest rates to Civil War levels, since the inflation rate is right up there too, the real cost of money remains minimal or even negative. Wage earners as well as businessmen are trying to keep up with inflation through borrowing. But the consume-on-credit roller coaster must crash. And the longer this ride lasts, the more it feeds inflation. Traditional "tight money" policy cannot stop this inflation, or can only do so by restricting credit so massively and suddenly it could trigger a wave of bankruptcies on the order of the Great Crash of 1929. This scares capitalists as much as runaway inflation does.

Guns and More Guns

So the American ruling class is turning toward fiscal austerity and a government-imposed wage-price freeze. A budget-slashing rage has descended on Washington. Only one area of government activity stands exempt—very exempt. Henry (the Senator from Boeing) Jackson summed it up: "The general mood is that we're going to make cuts, other than in the defense area. In defense, we'll have add-ons" (*New York Times*, 6 March). A few days later Carter coyly informed a group of big city mayors that his budget proposals might be "very unsettling for some people." But, the president insisted, the American people must "bite the bullet"

to fight inflation (*New York Times*, 8 March). A very apt metaphor. Carter's answer to out-of-sight food prices is: Let 'em bite bullets. There'll be lots of them.

Remember back in 1976, when Carter posed as a frugal Georgia farmer who would show those big-spending Washington bureaucrats how to do it. He pledged to balance the federal budget by 1980. Making a pitch for the post-Vietnam "peace" vote, he even promised to trim the Pentagon back \$7-10 billion. Well, Carter's cumulative budget deficit over four years in office is \$150 billion, with a \$16-20 billion deficit projected for fiscal 1980. And military expenditure has been the most dynamic sector of Carter's governmental economy.

Now screaming "the Russians are coming!" Carter even before the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had undertaken the greatest arms build-up since World War II—an additional \$100 billion-plus in new arms programs over the next four years. With production stagnant for the past year and a recession in the offing, armaments will be America's only growth industry. But the new "missile gap" is strictly for public consumption—the ruling class doesn't really believe the U.S. is about to be nuked by the Russians. The escalating arms build-up (especially the MX missile) is aimed at regaining the overwhelming strategic nuclear superiority which the U.S. held in the 1950s and early 1960s. And the source of this war drive is the counterrevolutionary appetite of imperialism to reconquer the one-third of the globe lost to capitalist exploitation since the 1917 Russian Revolution first led to the establishment of a workers state (where production is for use, not profit, and a genuinely planned economy was made possible).

Some elements of the ruling class, however, may decide that the great Pentagon boom is not worth the inflationary pressures it generates. Recall that a number of financiers and corporate presidents, like IBM's Thomas J. Watson, came to oppose the Vietnam War not out of humanitarian concern for the Indochinese masses, but out of worries that it was ruining the American economy. And they were right about that. The war-generated inflation led to a run on the dollar which destroyed the post-World War II monetary system when Nixon devalued the dollar in August 1971. It's also worth remembering that at the height of the Vietnam War in 1969 the inflation rate was all of 6 percent, up from 2 percent in 1965. A rate of inflation that was considered intolerable only ten years ago would be considered a godsend today.

"Austerity" for the Workers and Poor

For the moment, the military budget is sacrosanct in Congress. What then is up for the ax? No surprises here: social security benefits, unemployment insurance, Operation Head Start, education, job training, aid to local governments and the like. With "tight money" schemes in shambles, the financial bigwigs are demanding increased fiscal "austerity" for the masses. But they are not so foolish as to imagine that such measures will bring down inflation. The

Congressional Budget Office calculated in 1978 that a \$25 billion budget cut would reduce the inflation rate by about one-tenth of 1 percent in a year. The White House talks about fighting "inflation psychology"—but you don't have to be a Marxist to understand that inflation psychology results from the fact of inflation, not the other way around.

Carter's real motivation is political: by striking a pose as a "tough budget cutter" he can undercut the Republicans. A top White House official candidly remarked, "...if this works, we could clinch the nomination and the election" (*New York Times*, 15 March). All of the candidates are for cutting government expenditures in the cities, reflecting a consensus in the capitalist class that goes beyond the present inflation crisis. And this attack on social services hits at blacks and other minorities with a terrible vengeance. Already unemployment in the ghettos is at depression levels. A recent Labor Department survey admits that official figures on black youth joblessness were way too low—for the spring of 1979 it is now estimated at 38.9 percent (compared to 19.3 percent among white youth).

Yet today the policy of (not so) "benign" neglect of the ghettos is practically universal among mainstream capitalist politicians. In the past, liberal Democrats could be expected to woo the "black elected officials" in an election year; but when 300 of the latter gathered in Richmond at the beginning of March to write a "black agenda," not even the hard-pressed Kennedy bothered to put in an appearance. Vernon Jordan of the national Urban League said: "We don't have a problem—the candidates do. We have something they need." Presumably he meant the black vote, which he helped hustle for Jimmy Carter four years ago. But those "leaders" who presented the Democratic Party of My Lai and Birmingham as the "lesser evil" have sold the black masses a bill of goods. And now they, too, are considered expendable.

Meanwhile a clamor is increasing in the ruling class for a mandatory wage-price (read: wage) freeze. This is now coming not only from that section of the liberal Democrats (represented by Ted Kennedy) which has always favored such corporatist controls. The demand for an immediate state-imposed freeze on wages and prices is now coming from quite conservative bourgeois spokesmen like *Business Week* and Wall Street bankers Henry Kaufman and Felix Rohatyn (the man who ran New York City's anti-labor fiscal austerity program in 1975-76). Every couple of days the Carter administration reasserts it is not going to impose a wage-price freeze. But the denials themselves indicate that pressure for it is mounting.

The latest polls also show that a majority of the population favors a wage-price freeze. *Anything* to stop the killing inflation. But trade unionists in particular should remember that the Carter government has operated wage-price "guidelines" for the last year and a half with disastrous results for working people. As a result, the real income of the average working family has fallen to the 1965 level today. The average manufacturing worker with three dependents, who in January 1980 took home roughly \$240 a week, is earning no more in real terms, when adjusted for inflation, than the \$97 he received 15

years ago. So much for the "American dream": two cars in every garage and an Evinrude outboard for every family! State-imposed so-called "wage-price controls" would be an even greater attack on the working class. Wages would certainly be frozen—employers would see to that. But prices, impossible to control anyway in a big capitalist market economy, would just as certainly continue to rise.

Kennedy supporters in the labor bureaucracy, crypto-social democrats like the UAW's Fraser and IAM's Winpisinger, have long been calling for a government "wage-price" freeze. In fact, most of the union tops support such a program, although they know full well from experience under the Republicans' controls, that this would be (as a former Nixon staffer put it) "a mechanism to zap labor." Even AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland is pretending to be upset with Carter's latest "anti-inflation" proposals. These cynical misleaders want legally binding wage controls so they can blame the government for their sellouts. Last fall the leading labor fakery entered into a "national accord" with Carter's White House to consult over just how much to "zap labor."

As prices were skyrocketing out of control in January, the union bureaucracy openly declared that workers must accept a huge loss of real income: with inflation over 18 percent, they say the "normal" wage increase should be about 8.5 percent! Their betrayal is formalized in the Carter administration's Pay Advisory Committee, a "tripartite" body including labor, management and the government. Labor is "represented" by Kirkland and 12 presidents of major national unions. The *New York Times* (17 March) suggests that the union members are willing to accept the wage cuts because the "national accord" has "given labor... access to the corridors of power." But for whom is this power used? Union militants must demand: Labor off the capitalist government's pay boards!

Workers need the opposite of a wage freeze! With steel and phone company contracts coming up this year, and the oil workers currently on strike, organized labor must launch a full-scale offensive to restore wage levels and win a 100 percent COLA to protect against inflation. A sliding scale of wages must be combined with demands to shorten the workweek at no loss in pay (a sliding scale of hours) to fight layoffs. Thirty hours work for 40 hours pay and a full wage escalator—not "tight money" and a wage freeze—is the answer to capitalism's twin evils of inflation and unemployment. Such demands contradict the basic laws of capitalism, say the reformists. Yes indeed. They express the elementary program that the workers must not pay for the bankruptcy of the capitalist economy. They can only be generalized in a planned, collectively owned economy.

The battle between Kennedy and Carter over "mandatory" controls vs. "voluntary" guidelines is a phony issue. All the capitalist politicians have as their common purpose holding down workers' wages. Labor must break with the bosses' parties and build a workers party, to fight for a workers government. Only then can the working class free itself from the terrible irrationalities of the "free enterprise" economy and begin to construct a socialist future. ■

Spartacus Youth League Forum

March 22
Washington, D.C.

No to the Draft! Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Not a man nor a penny for the Imperialist armed forces!
Why Marxists defend the USSR against Imperialism
For the victory of the Red Army over Islamic reaction!

Spaakar: Charles O'Brian Spartacist League Central Committee
7:00 p.m., Antioch School of Law, Room 101,
2633 16th Street, N.W. (between Euclid and Fuller)

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

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

El Salvador...

(continued from page 5)

view as their god-given right to exploit. And they are not the types to flee to Miami at the first shot: a tremendous bloodletting is being prepared. In 1932 the oligarchy massacred 3 percent of the country's entire population to prevent a revolutionary victory. If the military rulers are not overthrown this time by a mass working-class revolt, they are quite capable of launching a reign of terror that could cost more than 100,000 lives.

"Human Rights" Junta In El Salvador

As Washington grew worried about spreading revolutionary ferment in Central America following the Sandinista victory, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Viron "Pete" Vaky and his successor William Bowdler tried to convince Salvadoran General Carlos Humberto Romero to institute at least minimal reforms. But Romero, bolstered by his U.S.-armed National Guard, hacienda cops, 3,000 ex-Somoza guardsmen and a 100,000-strong network of informers and thugs known as ORDEN ("order"), rejected any compromise. So amid rumors of coups by even more intransigent officers, the State Department cued its boys to remove the obstinate general and install a junta including a businessman and two reformist professors.

The junta immediately pledged to carry out a series of reforms and won praises from the *New York Times*, Amnesty International, the Socialist International and liberal Catholic archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. But challenged on the right by the military ultras and on the left by the mass-based guerrillas, the army quickly resorted to bloody repression exceeding in ferocity even that of Romero's final months. In the first 15 days of the junta's rule the independent Salvadoran Human Rights Commission estimates that 208 persons were killed by cops and troops, 152 wounded, 30 tortured to death and more than 60 "disappeared" (*Combate* [Sweden], December 1979-January 1980).

stepped up its terrorist actions and even staged a 50,000-strong march through the capital in December. At year-end, the powerless liberal reformers, unable to restrain the military right, resigned from the government *en masse*. Education Minister Salvador Samayoa walked out of the cabinet and into one of the guerrilla armies, declaring, "The only way to solve national problems is an armed struggle" (UPI dispatch, 9 January).

Since that time a restructured junta including right-wing Christian Democrats has precariously presided over a military regime for which repression against the left has increasingly displaced even phony promises of reforms as the order of the day. For the U.S. imperialists as well, the maintenance of "order" has taken precedence over considerations of "human rights" diplomacy. Thirty U.S. military "advisers" are on their way to El Salvador to teach the Salvadoran military "sophisticated" techniques of torture and repression. Seven million dollars in military aid is in the pipeline to the junta. That such aid can only strengthen the hand of the military hard-liners is so obvious that not only the *New York Times*, the church and the left have opposed it but the Christian Democrats in the junta as well!

Imperialist liberals hope that a combination of refined repression and judicious reform can prevent a left-wing revolution in El Salvador. Such hopes are illusory. The key reforms which the junta has attempted to carry out—bank nationalizations and land distribution—while abhorrent to the large landowners, are completely fraudulent. The bank nationalization is merely a means to prevent an excessive flight of capital to Miami. As for the land "reform," an Amnesty International report issued in London March 17 reveals that the troops who have carried out the occupation of the few haciendas targeted for land distribution have killed and kidnapped hundreds of peasant supporters of anti-government peasant unions. Moreover, the report explains that "The lands expropriated in the Salvadoran agrarian reform are assigned by the government to members of the ORDEN organization created by the previous government..." (DPA dispatch, 17 March).

It was widely reported that the U.S. squelched an ultra-rightist coup planned for February 24 by threatening a withdrawal of aid. But if today the State Department prefers to maintain the fiction of democratic rule in El Salvador, tomorrow it is quite capable of actively encouraging the coup-prone colonels to come to power. One's faith in the U.S.' commitment to the "human rights" junta is not enhanced by the knowledge that State Department Latin honcho "Pete" Vaky won his spurs as Kissinger's Latin American assistant during the "destabilization" of Allende's Chile prior to the 1973 Pinochet coup.

No "Third Road" in Central America

Unfortunately, the Salvadoran workers and peasants, who have heroically defied both the Romero regime and its "progressive" successor, have today no genuinely revolutionary leadership. The leftist guerrillas and their allies in the Revolutionary People's Bloc, the Unified People's Action Front and the 28th of February People's Leagues—who have all now united in a "National Revolutionary Coordinating Committee" with the Communist Party—explicitly disavow any intention of creating a "socialist" regime of any kind. Instead they are trying to win the weak urban bourgeoisie, the Catholic hierarchy and even part of Romero's blood-soaked officer caste to their side. Salvador Cayetano Carpio, "líder máximo" of the largest guerrilla army, on "priests and military men committed to the people" to join the "people's revolutionary alliance" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 21 February). In the midst of

L.A. Shows the Way! Support the Oil Workers!

As we go to press, the wire services have announced that Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union leaders have reached what are intended to be pattern settlements with Gulf Oil and Cities Service. Workers there are presently voting on the pact, which doesn't come near present inflation levels and falls way short of the fully paid medical insurance that was a key strike demand. To push through his wretched deal International president Robert Goss is banking on mobilizing "back-to-work" sentiment among strikers who have been on the bricks for the past 10 weeks. With the strike entering a crucial juncture, ILWU Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor put out a "Longshore Militant" leaflet calling for a one-day Bay Area-wide port shutdown in support of the OCAW strike.

"Longshore Militant" No. 49,
14 March 1980

Bloated with profits, ripping off over a \$1.25 a gallon at the pumps, Big Oil is running a massive nationwide scabbing operation against the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). The oil workers need massive labor support to defeat these corporate giants. On Saturday, March 1st, L.A. harbor workers spearheaded by ILWU Local 13 took the lead. Fed up with the oil companies' and ship owners' attempts to wipe out 40 years of union gains in the port, Local 13 shut it down for 24 hours. With the active support of Teamsters, IBU tugboat operators, seamen and hundreds of others who refused to cross OCAW picket lines, it cost the ship owners \$2.5 million. Thousands of unionists representing at least ten-plus L.A. harbor unions marched in the largest show of union force in L.A. since 1946.

Local 10 should take the same action up here. During the 1969 oil strike, when an OCAW picket was killed in Richmond, Local 10 sent busloads of longshoremen to man the lines. Now the



WV Photo

ILWU shut down port of L.A. March 1 in solidarity with OCAW strike.

ILWU should help build mass pickets to stop scabbing at the refineries. IBU tug operators in the San Francisco Bay are already honoring OCAW lines, but scabs are running the tankers in. A one-day Bay Area-wide port shutdown in solidarity with the oil strikers would be a big boost for their strike. It would back up Local 13's message to the PMA [employers association] that the ILWU won't stand for further attacks on harbor workers' conditions. It could begin to turn the tide against the wave of strikebreaking which has also hit BART [transit] workers, SF teachers, Teamster grocery workers, retail clerks, KRON-TV crews and the ILWU Local 6 Pfizer strikers.

LET'S SHUT IT DOWN HERE!



Keler/Sygma

Protesters in El Salvador funeral procession—700 killed by regime since January 1.

With the exception of the obsequiously reformist Moscow-loyal Communist Party, which was bought off with a cabinet portfolio, the left declared war on the junta. The three main coalitions of unions, peasant groups and students, each linked to a hard core of guerrilla militants, launched a campaign of demonstrations, factory takeovers, land occupations and armed actions. In turn, the junta declared martial law and reneged on promises to release political prisoners. The Guard invaded struck factories and massacred peasants occupying hacienda land. ORDEN, which the junta had promised to disband,

a pre-revolutionary crisis, in which the impossibility of liberal compromise has been clearly demonstrated, the popular-frontist guerrillas continue to call for a grand alliance of the exploited and oppressed masses with the "democratic" class enemies and military butchers.

The Salvadoran guerrillas, like the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, are attempting to follow the illusion of a "third road" between proletarian revolution and banana republic neo-colonialism. Already the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas are repressing the far left and the working class in the hopes of achieving stability and placating the capitalists, domestic and imperialist (see accompanying article). But as they simultaneously attempt to preserve their anti-imperialist credentials, the U.S. will not long tolerate, much less supply aid to, a regime which abstains on UN votes condemning the Soviet role in Afghanistan.

The American ruling class can only shake its fist in frustration as the Soviet Red Army mops up the Islamic counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. But Central America is not Asia. It is Yankee imperialism's own backyard and the Russian army is a long way away. For all of Washington's maneuvers in El Salvador have one aim: no more Nicaraguas. Especially running against Reagan, Carter is more than capable of giving the *gorillas* the green light for a bloodbath or in the last extremity sending in the marines. The

revolutionary workers and peasants of Central America may become the first victims of the Carter Doctrine.

Communist revolutionaries demand that all American military aid to the Salvadoran junta be stopped and the U.S. imperialists keep their bloody hands off Central America! The only road forward to victory for the workers and peasants of Central America lies in an uncompromising struggle against all the exploiters, their military, political and "spiritual" representatives, not just the oligarchy and imperialists but the capitalist class. This road, the road of permanent revolution, requires the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard to lead the struggle for workers and peasants governments throughout the isthmus and a United Socialist States of Latin America. ■

Spartacist League Class Series

**Greensboro: Smash the Klan,
Smash Fascism**

Thursday, March 27 7:00 p.m.

**The Black Question
and the American Revolution**

Thursday, April 10 7:00 p.m.

1634 Telegraph Avenue, 3rd floor
(near 17th Street)

for more information:
(415) 835-1535

Oakland

British Steel...

(continued from page 3)

plant. One month ago 2,000 strikers and Yorkshire miners did manage to shut it down. But this time there are only 700 steel workers and no miners. The pickets are trapped and outmanoeuvred by an equal number of police, who make 73 arrests. The leadership does not appear very serious. After the mass arrests the strikers are marched around for a few hours and finally sent home with nothing accomplished.

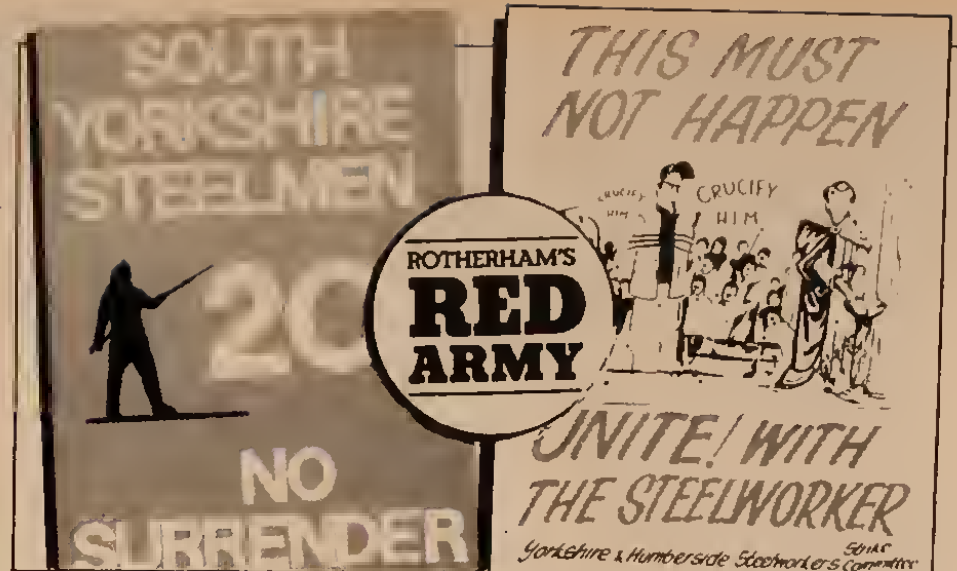
These strikers in South Yorkshire bitterly hate the private sector scabs. Yet one "socialist" organisation, the International Marxist Group (IMG), is busy apologising for the scabbing, thereby rendering its belated call for a general strike totally empty. The IMG's *Socialist Challenge* of 6 March even features an article "by a Hadfields worker," who blithely describes the atmosphere inside the scab plant!

This evening the negotiations in London are called off amid much acrimony. Thatcher and BSC clearly want to break this strike; they reduce their basic pay offer to 9 per cent and demand 10,000 more redundancies. The

bureaucrats are desperate for a settlement, but they dare not submit this to the membership and they walk out.

March 14: A special miners conference convenes to discuss the question of import controls. The meeting is quickly polarised between delegates advancing diversionary and reactionary protectionism as a way to save jobs and others who see strike action alongside the steel workers as the only way forward. "We must join the steel men before it is too late," says one delegate from South Wales. But the conference passes the official resolution, calling for import controls. Left miners "leader" Arthur Scargill places himself on the reactionary side of the debate, and doesn't even mention the steel strike in his speech for protectionism.

The same afternoon in Sheffield the CP-dominated district committee of the engineering unions votes to call their members back to work across the steel workers' picket lines. But in Manchester 70 delegates from the local strike committees demand that there be no more negotiations until BSC puts 20 per cent without strings on the table. They are clearly not ready to give in. Still, the meeting does not raise concrete demands on the union leaders—



Leylands convenors, engineering officials, Scargill and the rest—to stop the stalling and sabotage and bring out their ranks alongside the steel workers. Even the most militant strike committee in South Yorkshire is unwilling to openly challenge the bureaucrats by fighting for a strategy of mobilising the class.

Yet this is the only way to break the current deadlock which threatens to allow a bureaucratic sellout or even a major defeat at the hands of the Thatcher government. The future of the

British union movement could ride on the outcome of the steel battle—either defeat and an open door for ever deeper Tory attacks, or a sweeping victory which could open up a perspective for a struggle for proletarian power. Step up the picketing, bring out the miners, demand that the TUC call a general strike! Sack Sirs and other union traitors! Forge a revolutionary leadership and a communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the working class to power! ■

Women of the East...

(continued from page 4)

Uzbekistan, there were 18 women of cabinet and sub-cabinet rank; 116 Uzbek women who were heads or assistant heads of major industrial enterprises and 1,727 Ph.D.s (six times the number of black Ph.D.s in the entire United States in 1975, in proportion to the population). In Afghanistan there are no figures for women Ph.D.s. The infant mortality rate in Afghanistan is over 25 percent, and half of all children die before the age of five.

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The speakers insisted that only socialist revolution could open the way for women's liberation. During the discussion period following the presentations in Boston, a half-dozen supporters of the reactionary Afghan insurgents baited the speakers, insisting "We do not see the issue between men and women [as a] social problem." And these anti-Soviet reactionaries broke into cheers when it was pointed out how the CIA-backed Afghan rebels had skinned Russian soldiers alive.

To the mullah-lovers, Comrade Anwar replied that the "Russian solution" was the only way forward for the Afghan people: "It would be years and years before Afghanistan could accumulate capital to develop its own resources and will always be struggling in poverty. That's why there are families like my husband's, where 14 children are born and only six reach adulthood." When another pro-Islamic Afghan

woman said in horror that she had seen 80-year-old women in Moscow sweeping streets, an SL member replied that it would be hard to find any 80-year-old women in Afghanistan.

The early work of the Bolshevik cadres in Soviet Central Asia was pointed to as a model for communist work on the women's liberation front. Reissner closed her presentation with a prediction of Leon Trotsky's, written in 1924 about Moslem women in the Soviet East:

"...the Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits, and in creativity, the slave of slaves...she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for the ideas of communism, than the awakened woman worker." ■

Black Radical...

(continued from page 7)

Marion Barrys who made their separate peace with the racist "power structure."

If Lynn has been able to stand by the black oppressed despite his eclectic politics, it is because since he left the CP in the 1930s he has functioned as an individual radical lawyer defending the persecuted. Unlike many of the individuals and groups he has defended, Lynn has never attempted to lead the black masses through an organized political tendency. He never confronted the need to embrace or develop a coherent program in the struggle for power. Thus, sadly, he never found his way into a revolutionary (Trotskyist) party. In Conrad Lynn one finds an example of a courageous and principled black radical but also the self-limitation of that role.

Lynn writes that "there were times when I remained 'straight' in my beliefs because an opportunity to join the Establishment was snatched away from me," but no one who reads his autobiography can accept this as a full explanation. Others who faced the same temptations "listened to a different siren." Bayard Rustin, for one, also belonged to the Young Communist League in the early 1930s. But Rustin grew closer to Nixon than to the common goals of their youth.

What siren did Conrad Lynn hear? If his political course has been contradictory at times, what is striking about Lynn is that he keeps on fighting. Throughout he has "kept the faith" with

the black masses and their thirst for freedom from oppression. A dramatic example of this mass sentiment was the outpouring of support for Castro in Harlem in the midst of a tidal wave of anti-Communist hysteria against the Cuban leader's 1960 UN visit. Lynn describes the scene:

"The black community's celebration was immense and spontaneous.... Crowds of black people stood outside the Theresa night and day, and when members of the delegation walked the streets of the ghetto they were followed by admiring throngs. Blacks on the street absorbed more political education on these occasions than they had from any lesson since the Great Depression."

The black radical response that is celebrated in *There is a Fountain* has been the lode-star of Lynn's career. That is why this black rebel in the courtroom is politically more at home on the streets, where he has walked with Robert Williams, Malcolm X, Bill Epton and the Black Panthers. He has walked with personal courage and dignity and gritty energy. For wherever Conrad Lynn has seen a path being cut toward human liberation, he has been there. ■

Shachtmanites...

(continued from page 4)

stan is not a product of "peaceful coexistence," but its opposite: the Soviets were forced for purely defensive reasons to intervene in a civil war fighting against imperialist-aided feudalistic reaction.

Above all, in 1939-40 Trotsky waged a faction fight *against* those who called for Soviet troop withdrawal from Poland, namely the RSL/LRP's forebears, the petty-bourgeois Shachtman/Burnham/Abern opposition in the American Socialist Workers Party! Trotsky predicted that their "third camp" was just a bridge to reconciliation to the "democratic" imperialist bourgeoisie, which is exactly what happened. During the Korean War, Shachtman's International Socialist League (ISL) all but openly embraced U.S. imperialism against North Korea: "If the United States were to win the war, in all likelihood it would not mean the automatic and immediate establishment of totalitarian rule that would result directly from a victory of Stalinism." In 1958 when liquidating the ISL into Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, they forswore "any creed known as Trotskyism." And by 1961, Shachtman stood with the extreme right wing of the Socialist Party (SP), supporting the

U.S.' Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba!

But by the time of the Vietnam War, such nakedly pro-imperialist politics no longer went over so well. The incredible heroism of the Vietnamese in resisting the greatest imperialist military machine on earth inspired a new generation of radicals throughout the world. In the U.S. even many left-liberals were chanting "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh" and rooting for the Vietcong. "Communism" was no longer a dirty word in the petty-bourgeois radical milieu. On the contrary, it was the "in thing."

So the always-opportunist Shachtmanites—now emerged from the SP as the International Socialists (I.S.)—began posing as born-again Trotskyists. Shelving their original position of opposition to "all foreign intervention" in Vietnam, they came out for victory to the "state-capitalist" NLF, claiming it was simply a struggle for self-determination and ignoring the civil war between opposing *class* forces raging in Indochina. Now Carter has begun to rev up the imperialist war machine and petty-bourgeois opinion is swinging to the right. So once again the Shachtmanites are shrieking about "Russian imperialism." At a February 2 New York Spartacist forum on Afghanistan, SL spokesman Al Nelson summed up the track record of these State Department socialists:

"Show me anywhere in the history of the labor movement where the social-democratic movement has not played a consistently counterrevolutionary anti-communist role. Start with August 1914; the crushing of the German revolution, 1918-1919; ditto 1921, ditto 1923—all the way through and to Portugal, taking money from the CIA....

"You help the bourgeoisie. That's what you've always done. When I first became a Trotskyist in 1961 there was the YPSL then. In those days the YPSL used to bait us—I was in the YSA then—for being totalitarian agents of the GPU. They were stone anti-communists coming out of the '50s, McCarthy stuff. And it was Sy Landy and all his other friends who got together in the I.S. later, and who now belong to 16 different organizations if they're in politics at all. And the touchstone has always been anti-communism, anti-revolution. Always. Always.

"It's a shame that the Red Army had to stop at the gates of Warsaw in 1921. They almost made it to Germany. [applause] And if they had made it to Germany, the intervention of the Soviet Union in 'poor Germany,' what would your line have been then? The same line as the social democrats had then. They were scared of it. They were raising a big hue and cry about the red men that were coming from the East.

"So, that's your history, that's not ours. You turn the rock over, and there's an anti-communist social democrat." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)
own trains and buses between runs.

Transit workers are not the only intended victims. So is the riding public. Upon his election Koch immediately cut the size of "off-peak" subway trains in half, forcing people to run for the train and to stand up when they get it. Moreover, passengers often have to ride in total darkness due to electrical failures on the newer cars. (Even the armed transit cops are complaining that it is unsafe to ride the trains except in pairs—but what about everybody else who is forced to ride alone, with no means of self-defense due to gun control laws?) As a scare tactic Ravitch recently proposed eliminating nine more subway lines and chopping up over 1,000 bus routes. Half-fare programs for the elderly and on weekends are scheduled to be eliminated May 1. Service at 113 stations may be reduced or eliminated.

The subway maintenance program is already shot to hell: since 1974 the skilled maintenance workforce has been cut by over one-third, and at present a quarter of all buses are out of service at any one time. In an act of calculated murder, the MTA proposes elimination of the hand-brake indication light program (hand brakes left applied are a major cause of train derailments). And Ravitch is already threatening a \$1 fare. This only confirms the suspicions of New Yorkers that the Susan B. Anthony dollar was designed to be...a subway token!

The mayor's office is in the thick of the negotiations, despite Koch's insistence that he officially only has his "two cents" to offer. The city has already hired the law firm of Proskauer, Rose, Goetz and Mendelson—whose union-busting expertise has been useful to another major client, the notorious "open-shop" J.P. Stevens textile manufacturer! Against the transit unions Koch is gearing up to use the state's Taylor Law which outlaws public employee strikes, ordering two-for-one fines against striking workers while jailing their leaders. And to whip the municipal unions into line, the mayor manufactured another "fiscal crisis." Despite the fact that by the end of the 1978 fiscal year the city had an \$800 million surplus, he just rolled two years of budgeted debt into one and presto—another impending financial disaster! Now Koch is crying that New York can't even afford a 4 percent wage increase, proposing cuts of \$760 million from the budget, 13,000 city jobs and 7,200 from the Board of Education alone!

Forge a Militant TWU Leadership!

Under Mike Quill, the union had a history of very sporadic militancy. Sometimes, when forced to, they would fight real hard. Thrown into jail in 1966 for defying the government's "no-strike" laws, Quill retorted, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes and we would not call off the strike." The TWU leader had a heart attack in jail, and died shortly thereafter. But with Quill it was all shadow-boxing. After a rousing pep rally or union demonstration, he'd go

down to City Hall and make a deal with his buddies inside the Democratic Party machine. Meanwhile, any internal opposition—the Communist Party in the '40s and the motormen later—was ruthlessly broken with the aid of the cops, courts and friendly politicians.

If Quill would occasionally lead a militant action, only to sell it out later, his successors have never led anything. Now Local 100 president John Lawe finds the backrooms of the Democratic Party closed off because there's simply no fat left in the pork barrel. Meanwhile he's facing heightened opposition within his own ranks. The 1978 subway contract was voted up over bitter opposition and only after a court-ordered ballot which added the heavy "yes" vote of MABSTOA (bus workers) and privately owned bus company workers. In recent Local 100 elections, Lawe was narrowly elected as a minority president with 43 percent of the overall vote, and only 28 percent in the subway divisions. A number of his better-known opponents, such as Henry Lewis, now have second-level posts in the union.

Not surprisingly, these "oppositionists," who have long relied on the bosses' courts to get to power, are still not calling for a strike. But they sold out even before they got into office. During the '78 contract fight, Lewis, leader of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers and now chairman of the Conductor-Tower Division, declared before a thousand men at a rally against the contract: "I am not in any way, shape or form calling for a strike." Furthermore, Lewis and George McDonald, head of "The Committee," which holds 10 out of 36 positions on the new executive board, dragged the union into court in 1978 to overturn the ballot on the grounds that Lawe was trying to intimidate members into either accepting or striking. As for Arnold Cherry, presidential candidate of the Unity Slate which won ten seats on the Local 100 exec board, he has called for no more than a petition campaign and a rally to support the TWU demands.

No Contract, No Work!

While City Hall, Albany and even the federal government are getting ready for a blowout, nothing less than a solid, militantly organized transit strike can win back the massive demands the workers urgently need. A victory by the TWU could point the way for the rest of the city unions which have the same gun pointed at their heads. And from the LIRR operating unions, still without a contract and threatening to strike, to private line and suburban bus drivers seeking parity with Local 100, NYC-area transit unions have a common interest in rolling back the bank-imposed austerity plan.

No Contract, No Work! No "stopping the clock"! The TWU should rip up the Taylor Law just as they did the Condon-Wadlin Act in 1966. It's supposed to be "free collective bargaining," but if there is a strike the courts throw the book at the union, not the bosses. When the LIRR operating unions went out on strike back in December, Carter hauled them back to work under the Railway Labor Act. Then the MTA

gave them a double whammy, legally kidnapping them to put them under the no-strike Taylor Law. Chicago Fire Fighters president Frank Muscare was sentenced to five months in jail for refusing to accept that city's union-husting strike settlement terms. Why must the workers' leaders always be the ones to go to jail if they refuse to sell out? If Koch and Ravitch persist in trying to break the union and shaft New York City, put *them* behind bars!

Double the Wages! To guard against raging inflation TWU must also demand a *100 percent, iron-clad cost-of-living accelerator* (COLA), with inflation levels to be determined by union committee. Scrap the "wage progression scale"—equal pay and benefits for equal work. No productivity ties which mean speed-up and loss of jobs.

For a full pension with COLA—restore "20 and out" for all!

Right to strike over unsafe working conditions! As the system deteriorates further, jobs become more hazardous. Demand new equipment and regular maintenance.

Massive federal funding to restore the subways! New York is one of the greatest cities in the world—it needs a minimum investment of \$10 billion for ten years (and throw in another \$1 billion a year for inflation) just to keep it afloat. The TWU must demand *restore all the job cuts, 30 hours work at no loss in pay*, and massive new hiring. From replacing the trucks and wheels on the new R46 cars, to cleaning off the graffiti, completely revamping the turn-of-the-century stations and restoring regular maintenance of the storm sewers (so the subways don't flood every time it rains), to completing the 2nd Avenue line and the 63rd Street crossover, there is enough work on the subways alone to give jobs to half the NYC unemployed.

Abolish the Fare! Public transit is a necessary social service. You don't pay the firemen when they come to put out a fire, so why should working people have to pay for transit just to get to and from work? The capitalists built the subways to haul workers into Manhattan from the boroughs—so make the capitalists pay. But although the TWU has historically had a paper position for no fare, Lawe today doesn't even oppose a fare increase. The TWU must *fight* to abolish the fare, which would win enthusiastic support from the mass of the population. If the subways were free, it would be a lot safer underground: passengers wouldn't have to worry about getting shot by cops chasing turnstile jumpers. After rush hour you wouldn't have to walk for blocks to find an open subway entrance. Just think of the money that could be saved by eliminating the steel it takes to close off entrances, erect turnstiles and bullet-proof the token booths!

For Elected Strike Committees, representing each division and department! *For a militant strike to smash the*

Emergency Financial Control Board/MAC! The TWU must refuse to pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. Abolish the bankers' veto power over union contracts! Take back the billions in union pension funds poured down the Big MAC rat hole—the TWU alone has \$3.7 million held ransom!

The blood-sucking banks, corporations and utilities must be expropriated. All of New York labor has an interest in the TWU's fight and a victory could lay the basis for a joint labor offensive to smash Big MAC. All NYC unions must be prepared to come to the defense of the TWU to combat government strikebreaking.

Break with the Democrats!

In the Great Financial Crisis of 1974-76, the bankers and corporation heads declared war on New York City and made the unions the main target. In the years that followed, the Democratic Party engineered the loss of 60,000 jobs, froze wages in the midst of skyrocketing inflation, closed hospitals and firehouses in the ghettos, and cut back everything from subway service to college admissions. We wouldn't be in the mess we're in today if the unions had fought then. A militant labor movement could have broken through the vicious cycle of union-black confrontations to lead a fight of all the oppressed against the capitalist assault.

But there was no fight, because from John Lawe to Victor Gotbaum to Albert Shanker, the labor bureaucrats stayed loyal to the capitalists and their Democratic Party which was leading the charge against the unions. Today, this remains true of TWU's "oppositionists." At a February 26 joint meeting of several opposition groups to form a "Committee for a Good Contract," when militants proposed that union members withdraw from both the Democratic and Republican parties in the face of their union-busting attacks, Arnold Cherry proudly declared, "I'm a card-carrying Democrat." Even to hold ground and reverse the cutbacks means a fight in the unions to dump the sellout bureaucrats, a political fight to break the workers movement from the Democrats and build a workers party.

TWU, the powerhouse of city labor, can lead the way in a hard, solid strike. The ruling class will throw in every weapon in their arsenal to break the strike, from jailing the union leaders, like they did to Quill in '66; to calling in the National Guard, as in the New York postal wildcat in 1970; to issuing anti-strike injunctions like they did with the Taft-Hartley Act in the great coal strike of 1977-78. But remember—TWU has the power to shut New York City down! The capitalists can't live without Wall Street or Midtown and they can't run them without the subways. Transit workers: they may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls! ■

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New York City Spartacist League Public Forum

Give Koch the Lindsay Treatment! NY Transit: STRIKE!

Place: Ansonia Hotel, Room 3, 2nd Floor, 73rd and Broadway
6 blocks north of TWU headquarters IRT Nos. 1, 2, 3 to 72nd Street

Time: 7:30 p.m., Thursday, March 27, 1980

Guest Speaker:
Gene Herson
Militant-Solidarity Caucus
a class-struggle opposition in the
National Maritime Union

Speaker:
Marjorie Stamborg,
Spartacist League
Former Spartacist Party candidate for
New York State Assembly, 64th A.D.

For more information call: (212) 732-7860

WORKERS VANGUARD



April 1966: Transit strikers demand freedom for jailed leader Mike Quill, arrested for defying government's "no strike" laws. "The judge can drop dead in his black robes and we would not call off the strike," he swore.

Strike the Subways!

NYC Transit Showdown

As the clock counts down on the midnight March 31 New York transit contract deadline, the bosses are gearing up for a showdown that could polarize the country, especially in this election year. With the workers screaming for relief from the pressure of grinding inflation and massive cutbacks, NYC rulers are coldly determined to "finish the job" on the hard-pressed city unions. And very quickly it will become a confrontation not just between the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and the mayor, but also with Carter and Congress. The administration is sure to use it as a test case for its vicious "bite the bullet" campaign to put the burden of inflation onto the workers. Carter figures that if Brzezinski couldn't stop 'em at the Khyber Pass, at least they can kick NY transit workers in the teeth, if it will only help him get re-elected!

Ever since the banks pulled the plug on the city six years ago, New York has been the prime target for big business' profit-raising/wage-slashing "austerity" drive. In the opening shot of the 1980 city labor talks—other municipal union contract dates follow later this spring—Mayor Koch, MTA chairman Ravitch and Big MAC financiers are pulling every trick in the books to paralyze TWU Local 100. In order to intimidate union leaders, the state changes the law to slap Long Island Rail Road union leaders behind bars. And in the face of transit workers' devastating losses, the MTA has so far offered not one penny in raises while putting on the bargaining table a list of "takeaway" demands a mile long!

But transit workers have raw power like no other sector of the New York workforce. They must take the lead in fighting to regain the huge losses extorted over the past five years. A TWU strike would bring the financial center of American and world capital-

ism to a screeching halt as it did for 12 days in 1966. The New York Stock Exchange would be threatened with closing, traffic on the interstates would back up to Connecticut and millions of workers wouldn't be able to reach their jobs when the subways and buses stop running. It's time to do it again! But make no mistake: if an NYC transit strike lasts more than a few days, you can be sure it will be on the agenda for the Joint Chiefs of Staff!

"Mayatollah" Koeh is just the front man for the entire bourgeoisie whose program has not changed since then-president Gerald Ford in 1975 told New York City to "Drop Dead!" In the coming election it looks like it's going to be Carter vs. Reagan and everybody knows what those two think of the Big Apple. Ever since the mid-70s fiscal crisis, NYC finances have essentially been run out of Washington and Wall Street. And twice in recent statements, Carter has gone out of his way to say there would not be a drop of federal aid to the cities forthcoming. Congress votes billions for the war budget, and even a billion and a half to bail out the Chrysler bosses who bled their corporation dry. Yet, for the subways which daily carry 5 million passengers, Carter only has peanuts to offer.

Wages plummet, essential services from subways to schools and hospitals are cut to the bone, all part of a

conscious plan of the bourgeoisie to slash away at what it sees as the unproductive capital tied up in wage bills for the burgeoning municipal unions and huge welfare/social service bills for the ghettos. The racist WASP politicians that run this country try to paint New York as a city filled with welfare chiselers and kill-crazy ax-murderers. They act as if they would like to see this black, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Italian and union town sliced off and floated into the Atlantic Ocean. But the capitalists ultimately *need* New York, as they will quickly find out in a transit strike!

So transit workers must dig in for a fight. The future of their union, which is critical to all New York labor, is at stake. The day the TWU walks out it will be a first-order crisis for the city of New York; after a few days it will be a *national* emergency. Washington may have to come up with the money, but the issue will be decided in the streets of New York. Mayor "Crazy Jane" Byrne in Chicago couldn't put out fires with seabs and Ed Koch and Zbigniew Brzezinski will learn *you can't run subways with bayonets!*

Double the Wages Is Not Enough!

Fifteen years ago when the subway workforce was predominantly white

(and heavily Irish), it was considered a privileged job to work in NY transit. But as the union's composition changed dramatically—today it is nearly half black—the bosses have been pushing back on wages and working conditions till they approximate standards in waitressing or the garment trades. TWU was formerly No. 1 in the U.S. in wages and working conditions for transit workers; now Local 100 has dropped to 50th place! Today NYC subway conductors earn \$6,500 a year less than their counterparts in Chicago, and \$10,500 less than conductors next door on the LIRR!

Just to make up what they have lost in the past six years alone, the union is demanding a 30 percent wage increase. But the TWU leadership has already indicated its willingness to bargain away this demand. Besides, even if present wage levels were *doubled* it would only be the beginning of the battle to scratch by in New York City. Another demand on the union's list is to restore the 20-year pension plan with no age limit, but at *half* pay. In an industry where men and women spend their entire working lives underground, the demand to restore "20-and-out" and a full-pay pension with 100 percent COLA is a must!

MTA's Ravitch is out for blood. He is "offering" not a single penny for COLA and has presented a list of 41 "take-away" demands that include a dramatic increase in part-time workers without union benefits and with lower pay scales; cutting new hires' wages to 70 percent; a big hourly pay cut for workers in training programs; virtually eliminating weekend and night differential pay. Paid lunches will be eliminated and under proposed "Combination Jobs" classifications, motormen and bus operators will be required to clean their

continued on page 11

NYC Transit Workers Shafted

	NYC	Chicago	LIRR
Bus Driver	\$8.08	\$10.82	—
Motorman	\$8.62	\$10.82	\$12.54
Conductor	\$7.48	\$10.62	\$12.54

Comparative hourly wages, January 1980
Source: Transport Workers Union Local 100