

Anti-Soviet War Budget Targets Blacks, Poor

Reagan: Let 'em Eat Bullets

Ronald Reagan's February 18 economic message contained no surprises: a silver platter for imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, the meat ax for the poor, blacks, workers. To prolonged Congressional bipartisan applause he announced that the only department of government to get a big increase will be defense. Social services and programs cut by \$41 billion, the war arsenal up by \$32 billion. The Reagan speech was greeted with talk about reversing the "New Deal" of Roosevelt. As they said of Ike, now we get the "Raw Deal"... and the threat of a third imperialist world war. Responding to the Cold War sawre-rattling coming from Washington, a Soviet commentator interviewed on ABC-TV suggested that the U.S. capital be renamed "Retrograd."

"Renewal" and "reindustrialization" were the words that floated in the capitalist press, and Reagan's death-and-starvation budget is even being called a program for "recovery." But the policy of austerity and guns is not new: it was the core of Carter's budget and it continues at an accelerated pace with Reagan. The Democrats say they will not fight the budget cuts much in Congress, but instead focus on the so-called "tax cuts" as inflationary. Yet in fact this war budget has bipartisan support, just as the imperialist war drive has the support of the entire capitalist class.

Reagan tried to head off criticism of his war budget by saying he would



Varo/LA Times

Tanks in California, on the way to the Middle East. \$1 trillion for the anti-Soviet war drive by 1985.

maintain a "safety net" below the "truly needy." But who is "truly" needy and who is "untruly" needy? The "untruly needy" typically include a welfare mother with a couple of kids or an elderly couple living in a big city on about \$500 a month. The budget hits the cities and ghettos: mass transit, subsidized housing, schools, hospitals. It is estimated that a million people will be

denied food stamps, that half a million families with children will be denied welfare. The AFL-CIO projects the loss of a million jobs in the public sector the first year of Reagan's budget.

The policy is really one of finding scapegoats for the failures of the American capitalist economy. This is a message that the Nazis and the KKK well understand, as they load up their rifles and douse their crosses with kerosene to "cut" the marked victims with race terror. Reagan's budget cuts are concentrated with almost surgical precision on the poor. And in this country the poorest are the blackest. According to federal government statistics, over 30 percent of black families live below the poverty line, compared to 9 percent for white families. Black infants have twice the mortality rate of whites; black children are twice as likely to suffer malnutrition as whites; and the incidence of tuberculosis among black youths is five times higher than among white youths.

The only change in Social Security pensions is the elimination of the *minimum* (all of \$122 a month) going to retired workers whose past earnings would otherwise entitle them to less. If Reagan is not now prepared to cut Medicare, the basic federal health insurance for the aged, he is cutting Medicaid, the health insurance for the poor. Medicaid recipients consist of the 3.5 million parents and 7 million children on welfare, the elderly poor, blind and disabled and those who aren't quite poor enough to qualify for welfare but have no money for medical bills.

The Reagan budget is the social

equivalent of the neutron bomb: it tries to wipe out the poor but leaves the tax shelters intact.

There is not even a token gesture toward eliminating the genuine *parasitic* items in the federal budget. While Reagan starves black ghetto youth, takes away benefits from coal miners suffering black lung disease and closes down public health hospitals serving seamen, federal workers and others, large subsidies will still be paid to prosperous farmers for *not* growing crops. Federally subsidized farmers are, of course, a traditional and important Republic constituency. The classic

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Workers Must Liquidate Guardia Civil!

Coup Attempt in Spain

FEBRUARY 23—The dramatic attempted coup in Madrid last night is being portrayed as the escapade of a "mad colonel." Certainly the gang of 200 Guardia Civil cops and civilian Francoist ultras who kidnapped the entire Spanish parliament were fringe elements with little chance of installing a military government. But Colonel Tejero and fellow putschist General Milans de Bosch have

influence and protection. Tejero masterminded a 1978 plot to seize the cabinet; although found guilty of sedition he was released from jail and returned to duty. This time they marched unhindered into the Cortes, seized national TV with army tanks and placed Valencia under military rule. This could not have been done without complicity at high levels. The

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SL Debates Sojourner Truth Group on the Russian Question

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Cleveland Nazi Defenders Take Cue from Reagan

Send War Criminal Demjanjuk to Soviet Ukraine!

CLEVELAND—In the ongoing trial here of Nazi war criminal John Demjanjuk the implicit witnesses for the defense of this death camp sadist are none other than Ronald Reagan and General Haig. The anti-Soviet fanatics who have been demonstrating on behalf of Demjanjuk say the evidence against him is no good because it comes from the Soviet Union. And, after all, doesn't the White House say that the Soviet Union "lies, cheats and steals"?

In early February the 60-year-old Ukrainian immigrant was confronted by the first of numerous witnesses who've identified him as a Nazi collaborator responsible for mass murder of Polish Jews during World War II. Demjanjuk was identified as the sadistic Ukrainian known as "Ivan the Terrible" among the inmates of the infamous Nazi death camps of Treblinka and Sobibor. Survivors have recognized him from his 1951 U.S. visa photo as well as the photo on an S.S. identification card issued to one Ivan Demjanjuk. The S.S. card fits John Demjanjuk's description right down to the scar on his back, which he traces to a wound he received while serving in the Soviet Red Army prior to his capture by the Germans in 1941.

Testifying in Cleveland, Treblinka survivors are giving chilling accounts of how "Ivan the Terrible" carried out his

monstrous work of herding Jews into the ovens, operating the gas engines that pumped in the poisonous fumes and then dragging out the corpses. "He had a pipe, a sword and a whip, and he tortured the victims with this before they entered the gas chambers—especially the women," recounted one survivor. Another recalled how Demjanjuk's greatest pleasure was to cut off inmates' ears—and if they cried out in

agony, he'd shoot them.

Demjanjuk's "defense" is that all this evidence is fabricated because it's from Soviet sources! And in this he has the implicit blessing of the Reagan administration, with its recent anti-Soviet tirades recalling Hoover-style "Masters of Deceit" rhetoric of the 1950s Cold War. At a pro-Demjanjuk rally held in a Ukrainian Orthodox church in the "whites only" suburb of Parma, one

right-wing Ukrainian "community leader" said, "The president himself has said he was suspicious of Soviet integrity" (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 9 February). The crowd of 450 bristled when anti-communist crusader and ex-Soviet "dissident" Valentyn Moroz said Demjanjuk had been fingered by a "pro-Soviet" Ukrainian newspaper in New York. Defenders of Demjanjuk made common cause with fascists in a demonstration outside the Cleveland courthouse on the first day of the hearings. A Carmelite nun hurled a Soviet flag, cheered on by fascists with placards reading "Holocaust is a Hoax," and "Six Million Lies."

At the demonstration Moroz said, "We are protesting against a Soviet trial in American courts." Not so. If Demjanjuk were on trial in the USSR, he'd be facing charges of mass murder in collaboration with the Nazis, and not just falsification of visa papers. However, anyone who stands opposed to the genocide carried out by the Nazi barbarians can only hope for a speedy conviction of Demjanjuk even on these relatively petty charges, for then he faces deportation. A jury of Russians and Ukrainians, who lost 20 million of their fathers and mothers fighting to defend the USSR from fascism in World War II, would have a keen sense for what kind of justice this monster deserves. ■



Cleveland, February 10: Anti-Soviet Ukrainians demonstrate for Nazi war criminal.

Rouge Militants Demand Sit-Down Strike at DAP

The following excerpted leaflet was issued by the Rouge Militant Caucus in Detroit on February 23 to fight the sudden layoff of 1,000 workers out of 4,000 at the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP). As we go to press, the Caucus has gathered 600 signatures on a petition demanding an emergency in-plant union meeting this Thursday.

Fight For Our Jobs! Sit Down!

If Ford Motor Company has its way this is the last week of work for as many as 1,000 DAP brothers and sisters. The rumored line speed cut and mass layoffs are a fact—skilled tradesmen have been scheduled during the shutdown to make the line speed 52 jobs/hour and the foremen know which jobs will be cut.

It's Ford's profits or our jobs. Who wins is a question of strength. We can and must use ours. A DAP sitdown strike, 4,000-strong demanding NO LAYOFFS is the answer. Big stockpiles and low sales can weaken a regular strike, but not a sitdown. It would halt production and challenge the bosses' claim they own the plants and our lives. Generations of auto workers have poured out their sweat and blood to build the plants. Our lives depend on them; we have a right to our jobs....

A mass meeting in the plant could adopt and implement the sitdown strike on the spot.

We would not be alone in our fight.

Like the sitdowns in Flint, ours would inspire workers across the country. We would immediately have the support of thousands of our brothers and sisters in Rouge, Detroit and industry-wide who are on the street or facing layoffs. We would fight to spread the strike Rouge-wide to stop the Flatrock plant closing and other layoffs....

Fraser, [Rouge Local 600 president] Rinaldi, and [DAP unit chairman] Vawters accept the companies' so-called right to lay us off. Their racist "Buy American" scheme and concessions to the auto bosses are two sides of the same coin—preserving the companies' profits at our expense.... The Chrysler "solution"—take-aways in exchange for the hollow promise to postpone plant closings—isn't a compromise, it's surrender. Fraser's strategy is a proven sure thing—sure to get us screwed, proven time and again....

From the fight to fire the Klan-hooded foremen to the fight against layoffs and plant closings the union bureaucrats have fought us with their no-win strategy. The bureaucrats demand that our so-called "friends of labor" Democrats in Congress now pay their debts to labor. But it was the policies of the Democratic Party under Carter that brought us Reagan, and today the Democrats say give Reagan a chance. A chance to do what? Slit our throats?...

Fight for a DAP sitdown strike! No layoffs! No plant closings! Unlimited government-guaranteed SUB, unemployment and pensions!

Letter

Get the Chicken King!

January 24, 1981

Dear Editor,

Your article in the January 16th issue, "It Takes a Tough Union to Break the Chicken King," was to the point. The United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) has 1.4 million members and is the third largest union in North America after the Teamsters and Auto Workers. The former Retail Clerks and Meatcutters merged in 1979 ostensibly to better fight union husters such as Frank Perdue. However, the combined union has not yet rekindled the militant traditions of the Clerks (1946 Oakland General Strike) or Butchers (CIO Packinghouse Drive). The merger was a bureaucratic affair with the Retail Clerks imposing their structure and Constitution on the smaller Amalgamated. Among Meatcutters, the new UFCW was said to stand for—"You F---ing Clerks Won."

The food industry in all its phases is probably the largest employer of workers in North America. Food retailers, processors and warehousemen cannot run very far away. The industry is very labor intensive and heavily unionized. Therefore it is not surprising that numerous strikes have and will occur in the supermarkets, slaughterhouses and food distribution centers of the continent.

The Teamsters, Clerks and Meatcutters of the San Francisco Bay Area have historically enjoyed the best contracts in the U.S. supermarket industry. The 1978 Teamsters and 1980 Clerks strikes in Northern California were major battles between the unions and the Food Employers' Council. 1981 is shaping up to be a decisive year for supermarket labor here as the Teamster contract expires on August 1st.

It will take the type of labor solidarity

between the Teamsters and the UFCW which existed before the 1947 Taft-Hartley 'slave labor' Act to win the class struggles of the 1980's. The traditions of mutual support and militant action have been eroded in the 30 plus years of injunctions. As your article shows, the current UFCW leaders have no intention of fighting the crippling law outside of the capitalists courts and Congress. They will use Reagan's election as another excuse for their passivity. Mass picket lines and secondary boycotts may be against Taft-Hartley, but can Taft and Hartley (to paraphrase the miners) pluck chickens and put them in the meat case?

Member
UFCW, Local 1179
Martinez, CA

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co. 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPD, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions \$3.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

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

No. 275

27 February 1981

WORKERS VANGUARD

Koch's Cossacks Kill

"Hi, I'm Ed Koch, I'm for capital punishment." Discarding his image as a "limousine liberal," the congressman from Manhattan's Upper East Side "silk stocking district" greeted Brooklyn and Queens voters as he campaigned for mayor in 1977. Koch was the candidate of the white backlash in NYC. The days of "big government" spending were over. No talk about the "war on poverty" anymore. Instead Koch declared war on the "poverticians" (the city's black Democrats) and dismantled NYC's poverty programs one by one. Now he is shutting down schools and ghetto hospitals. Now with the random violence and increasing brutality of life in the city, Koch is seeking to ride into a second term by playing on the fears of the population with thinly veiled racist cries of "law and order."

The cornerstone of Koch's "anti-crime" program is gun control. The mayor personally raised \$100,000 from private sources to conduct a massive advertising campaign for NYC's new handgun law. Subway posters warn: "If you carry a gun, you'll go to jail for a year...and that's not a threat, it's the law." One of the more savage ads is Koch's late night TV spot in which he positively *yearns* for the introduction of the death penalty. The scene opens with the mayor's mug watching a jail cell door slam shut. Koch declares:

"If you get caught carrying an illegal handgun in New York, you'll be sent to jail for one year. And I promise you, it'll be the longest year of your life."

New York already has the toughest gun control laws on the books, but now Koch is screaming for hanging judges. He's gone after the city's judiciary for being "soft on crime." The judges, he claims, are abusing their latitude in imposing sentences of less than one year

Koch's cops unleashed against Harlem residents protesting Sydenham Hospital closing, September 20, 1980.

for crimes involving handguns. If Koch gets his way, they'll eliminate all exceptions to the minimum one-year penalty and also institute preventive detention.

Meanwhile, the mayor's cossacks keep rampaging on the streets. Just last week four defenseless people were killed by New York's "finest": a teenager suspected of car theft, a storekeeper beset by robbers, a college student returning home from a Valentine's Day party and a young Polish immigrant trying to patch it up with his girlfriend. The latter's brother-in-law said the New York cops were worse than in Poland: "In Poland we have very strict police and the law is very strict, but they don't shoot anybody" (CBS News, 16 February).

Needless to say, Koch defended his trigger-happy legal guns: "I don't

believe our cops have a record for being reckless in this area" (*New York Times*, 17 February). In a sense, he's right. It isn't recklessness, it's policy. Last month president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, Philip Caruso, told his men to "shoot first and shoot to kill." And kill they have—over 50 victims since 1979. Yet not one police officer has been convicted for any of these murders.

The ruling class response to crime is to strengthen its own gunmen (the cops) while *disarming* the population at large. The powers that be who are chauffeured about in their bulletproof limousines and never have to descend into the subways can advocate gun control and rest assured that they themselves are well protected. But working people are kept defenseless. The main purpose of the capitalist state apparatus—the cops, courts and prisons—is not to protect

people from violent crime, but to maintain the racist status quo which breeds violent crime. As for "law and order" campaigns, they don't stop crime but merely give free rein to the terrorists in blue.

As socialists we are against the monopolization of the means of violence in the hands of the capitalist state and fight for the right of working people to defend themselves. All gun control laws must be abolished. But while upholding the right of individuals to effectively defend themselves, we strenuously oppose any kind of vigilantism, such as the Guardian Angels, which can only lead to racist attacks. Only a concerted socialist fight by the labor movement, blacks and other minorities can save America's largest metropolis from the hideous cycle of violent crime and police terror. ■

Racist NYC Subway Vigilantes

They're No Angels!

They've become a familiar sight to the NYC subway rider. Dressed in red berets, white T-shirts and black Kung Fu pants they maraud through the cars or stand in the subway doors, arms crossed, crowding passengers getting on and off the trains. These are New York's "Guardian Angels," a band of lumpen teenagers who roam the subways looking for trouble...to stop it, they say. Hardly a reassuring sight. Passengers eye them warily, for the Angels look as if they could just as easily shake you down as catch a mugger. But such is the level of fear and violence in New York City that the Guardian Angels are media heroes and have become a lightning rod of "law and order" sentiment.

Despite the fact that most of its members are Latin or black, we have insisted that this subway gang has a real potential for feeding into cop bonapartism (see "Guardian Angels: Subway Vigilantes of Racist Law and Order," *Young Spartacus* No. 86, November 1980). The liberals, initially standoffish, have now taken up their cause. A fundraising bash for the Angels at a posh Upper East Side disco was attended by NY City Council president Carol Bellamy and others. A *New York Times* editorial (17 January) called them "older Boy Scouts" and announced, "We salute the red heretics—warily." Mayor Koch, who had earlier denounced them as "vigilantes," has now reversed his position. And on January 16 Police Commissioner Robert McGuire, after months of negotiations,

announced a plan to give the Angels "patrol training" and official, police identification cards.

Things in New York City are so bad that the ruling class is giving official sanction to a youth gang to run wild on the subways with special IDs—a hunting license to bully and beat! The head of this leader cult, Curtis Sliwa, used to get his kicks by riding the rails at night, acting as a decoy for a heavyweight bone-crusher and bashing brains in. Once the Angels get the official okay, what's to stop any enterprising hoodlum from cashing in? It's already happened—last week two youths in red berets who said they were Guardian Angels were arrested for hurglarizing a token booth.

This official sponsorship of vigilantism is ominous and necessarily racist. In deeply racist U.S. capitalist society, the main victims of such formations will be blacks and other minorities. But while the punks in red berets are living it up, the thugs in blue are not so happy. Transit cops see the Angels as a threat to their monopoly on officially sanctioned violence. Tensions which have been mounting came to the flash point February 13 when a fight broke out between the "Angels," the transit cops and some passengers. Naturally, the victims were subway riders who got beat up and pushed around.

It happened on the "A" train, after 12 Guardian Angels got on at the East New York stop and spread throughout the cars. The Angels began messing with a

Feel any safer when this gang gets on the train at Times Square?



WV Photo

drunk who was sprawled across some seats; a second passenger objected and a fight broke out. It got worse when the rest of the Angels' "patrol" came running to "seal off" the car, blocking the car doors and impeding the passengers' entrance at the next stop. As the fracas got bigger, transit cops on the train radioed ahead for help. When the train pulled into the Utica Avenue Station, the fight spilled out onto the platform and eleven Angels were arrested.

Fearful the brawl would nix their deal with the city, and trying to drum up popular support, the Angels held a midnight protest march February 17. Some wearing mock shackles on their wrists and charging they had been "set up" by the transit cops, they marched to Brooklyn central booking where the arrests had been made. Although they spent the rest of the week petitioning commuters for support for their subway patrols, Sliwa was careful not to get too

alienated from the men he may soon be working with. "We don't want a confrontation, we want to offer an olive branch to [transit cop PBA leader] McKechnie," he said (*Daily News*, 17 February).

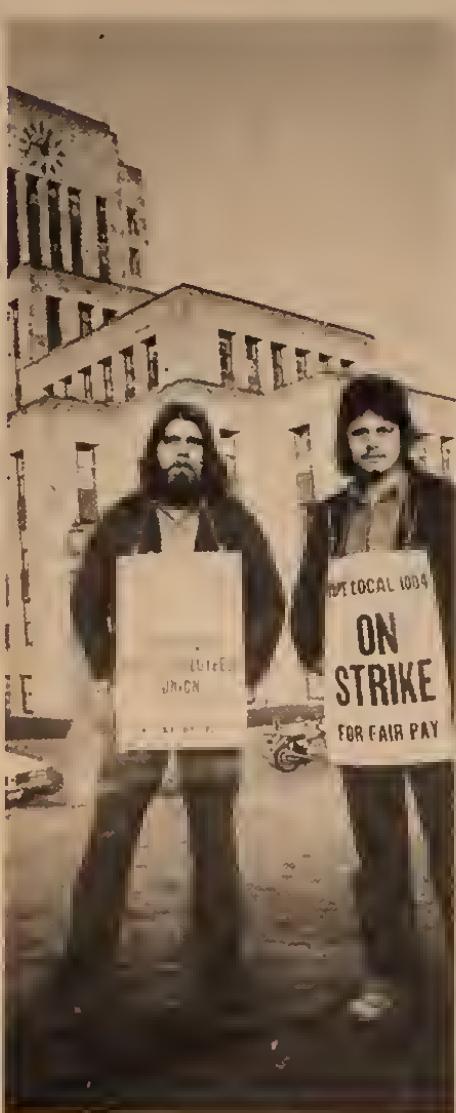
So instead of helping little old ladies cross the tracks, it turns out these "Boy Scouts" have started beating up the passengers. Big surprise—lumpen gangs with official recognition act like lumpen gangs. Their real potential is to become a paramilitary auxiliary to the cops in terrorizing the ghettos. And anyone who thinks a largely minority group can't play this role should look at Haiti's Tontons Macoutes. One doesn't need much imagination to see what their role in the next transit strike would be, or what they might do to turnstile-jumpers the next time fares are raised. Far from being "guardians" and protectors, they are a threat to the life and limb of the citizenry of New York, in particular minorities and the working class. ■

All Out to Smash Union Busting in B.C.!

VANCOUVER—Just over two weeks ago 11,000 phone workers electrified the labor movement here as Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) members occupied every key B.C. Telephone Co. center (see "Sit-Ins Sweep British Columbia Telephone," *WV* No. 274, 13 February). Hundreds of TWUers vowed to stay until B.C. Tel signed a contract, but the occupations ended on February 10-11 when the union leadership treacherously bowed not to superior forces but to a B.C. Supreme Court contempt citation. TWUers were reduced to two pickets at the entrances of buildings they had held only hours before. But the bitter strike continues, along with a four-week-old province-wide walkout by municipal workers.

Hanging a sword of Damocles over the head of the union, Justice Kenneth McCreith threatened to impose massive fines and possible jail terms as he delayed sentencing until a contract is finalized. Meanwhile, the courts have launched a blistering attack on over 10,000 striking members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), slapping down 75 injunctions! The entire labor movement must rally behind TWU/CUPE and demand that the injunctions and contempt citations be scrapped—if necessary, by general strike action. Drop the charges! Bust the union-busters!

The TWU leadership's response, however, has been complete capitulation. Following the retreat from B.C. Tel buildings, union president Bill Clark "completely and sincerely" apologized to the judge (*Vancouver Sun*, 17 February)! But militant unionists were not so ready to play the bosses' tune. The day after the ruling, 200 workers in Kamloops blocked supervisors from entering a phone center and in Prince



Spartacist Canada

Strikers in front of Vancouver City Hall.

George 80 cars were parked at a B.C. Tel entranceway.

B.C. Tel management has only been emboldened by the TWU tops' legalist kowtowing. Thus the company agreed

to accept mediator Ed Peck's report (whose minimal and inadequate terms are all the TWU wants), but only if B.C. Tel is granted a whopping rate increase—on top of a 12.5 percent hike given only weeks ago! Management's arrogance led the latest federal mediator to simply quit, and even the federal minister of labor denounced the B.C. Tel demand as "bizarre" (*Vancouver Sun*, 19 February).

The employers' offensive can be defeated! The workers of B.C. are fed up with shrinking real wages as food prices skyrocket and housing costs jumped 46 percent last year alone. Thirty thousand unionists are on the bricks right now, the public truly hates the phone company and there is much sympathy for CUPE's cause. Effective mass picketing, backed by a province-wide strike if the cops move in, could decisively turn the tables and win solid victories: a big wage boost, unlimited COLA, the unfettered right to strike and the smashing of all anti-labor legislation. The militancy is there; what's desperately missing is a leadership ready and willing to fight.

Clark & Co. backed the sit-ins but pulled the plug province-wide when TWUers in several cities occupied B.C. Tel on their own. B.C. Federation of Labor president Jim Kinnaird, knowing that there's a hot summer ahead as more than 100,000 workers face contract battles, has been mouthing militant rhetoric, trying to keep some credibility. Two weeks ago he mumbled about a "general work stoppage" as he declared "industrial relations war." But at a rally of 1,500 unionists on February 18 he could propose nothing more than a vague "escalation of picketing" and a partial "boycott" of the Labor Relations Board. While telling "the government

and employers of this province to go to hell," Kinnaird's strategy is essentially to pressure the Employers Council (which doesn't particularly like B.C. Tel) and the government for a settlement.

The bottom line is the trade-union bureaucrats' efforts to get the right-wing social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) back into power. Kinnaird may fondly recall his brief stint as a deputy associate minister of labor in Dave Barrett's NDP government, but the tens of thousands of workers whose strikes were busted in 1975 have a different view. What awaits the labor movement was amply demonstrated on February 17 when Vancouver mayor Mike Harcourt, a prominent NDPer, crossed a CUPE picket line at City Hall! While Harcourt, who received the fulsome backing of the reformist Communist Party in the last election, insisted that he had to "carry on the people's business" (*Vancouver Sun*, 18 February) CUPE strikers nailed him with chants of "Scab, scab, scab!"

The strike-breaking NDP is no answer to the strike-breaking Socreds. The working class needs a party that fights to defeat union bashing, that will take on the capitalists and their courts. But such a party will never be built by the pro-capitalist labor fakers. It will take a new union leadership, committed to a class-struggle program, to break the power of the bourgeoisie once and for all.

Victory to the strikers! Defend the unions! Mass picketing to shut down B.C. Tel and all struck facilities! All out to defeat strike-breaking and union-busting! Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government! ■

Militant ILWU Steward Wins Reinstatement

OAKLAND, February 19—International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 members enthusiastically applauded the announcement at their membership meeting that Tim Chapman, a Militant Caucus member and house steward fired over nine months ago by Kaiser Aluminum, today won an arbitration award of reinstatement with full back pay. Local officers and members repeatedly congratulated Tim and praised

the persistent way he conducted his case. Union members were especially pleased by the back pay award, estimated at \$15,000 to \$16,000, because it will help discourage the bosses from attacking the union through its stewards.

WV asked Chapman how Kaiser workers feel about the victory. He described a phone call he received from a co-worker after the union meeting: "This guy just called to tell me they put up a big sign on a machine saying

'Welcome back Chapman, \$16,000 richer' and said he was going to get a T-shirt reading, 'Union wins, company loses'."

Chapman had just been re-elected to a second term as steward last May and was actively fighting job eliminations and company safety violations when management set him up on a two-man machine, eliminated his helper and then fired him for "insubordination." Chapman's firing was one of a series of disciplines and discharges of union stewards from at least seven different warehouses. In a similar case Ellis Johnson, fired steward at Heublein, also recently won his job back.

Chapman told *WV*, "We'll take arbitration when it's the only thing left, but it's not a solution. Even when the company knows it doesn't have a case they can frame up an unwanted activist or steward who's being effective and remove him from the plant for up to two years. And meanwhile you're out for a year not knowing if you've got a job, savings gone, and the rest of the plant is scared. The company does it to try to frighten people off."

He added, "And even when the unions win an arbitration, lately the companies have been going to court to get it overturned or delayed. The union can't afford lawyers to keep up with the company lawyers, and the laws are on the side of the companies anyway. We've been winning some lately, but why let the union be attacked in the first place? If the union responded in a militant way from the start we wouldn't have this happening. That's why I'm in the Militant Caucus—it's got a program for fighting the companies."



WV Photo

Tim Chapman

The Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the ILWU, has consistently fought for effective strike action to counter the escalating bosses' offensive. At the time of Chapman's firing last year, the Caucus issued a leaflet calling for "a well-organized job action led by the union leadership using the full power of the union [which] will win back our steward's job and stop the coming attacks on the rest of us." The reinstatement of Chapman is not only a victory for the union, but it emphasizes the need for class-struggle leadership to mount an effective counteroffensive against the bosses. ■

Militant Caucus: Strike in '81!

Howard Keylor Elected Delegate to ILWU Convention

SAN FRANCISCO—Militant Caucus candidate Howard Keylor won election on February 13 to the ILWU's Longshore Caucus, which sets union policy on upcoming contract bargaining for West Coast dock workers. Campaigning for a solid strike against the bosses' "takeaway" offensive, Keylor was also elected delegate to the bi-annual International Convention of the ILWU to be held in April in Hawaii. Keylor received 254 votes, placing ninth out of ten delegates elected. Fellow Militant Caucus member Stan Gow, who was elected two years ago as convention delegate, received 209 votes placing fourteenth.

Running on the same Militant Caucus class-struggle program that recently got him and Gow re-elected to the ILWU Local 10 Executive Board for the seventh year in a row, Keylor beat out the local's newly elected vice president, two former presidents, two dispatchers and one business agent. Significantly, both Gow and Keylor showed stronger hacking than long-time do-nothing *Peoples' World* supporter Leo Robinson. Thus the current round of elections indicates a desire on the part of the membership to elect militants who will fight for the union in this important contract year.

Mugabe's White Officers Crush Nkomo Guerrillas

Tribal Clashes in Zimbabwe

Three refrigerated railway cars rolled into Bulawayo loaded with the corpses of black guerrillas. White-officered black regular army troops had used mortars and helicopter gunships to put down the rebels. The resolute chief of state had declared he was ready to "descend on them like a hammer"—and he did. However, this time it wasn't Ian Smith fighting a last-ditch battle for white Rhodesia, but the "Marxist" leader of the "new Zimbabwe," Robert Mugabe.

Though nominally allied in the Patriotic Front, Mugabe's ZANU and Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU have not suppressed their tribal differences. On February 6 tribal antagonisms exploded between Mugabe's predominantly Shona forces and the Ndebele-speaking guerrillas loyal to Joshua Nkomo. In a week's fighting outside of Zimbabwe's second-largest city, three battalions of the "integrated" army split along tribal lines and Mugabe ordered the elite white-led Rhodesian African Rifles in to crush them. Two of the rebellious battalions were disarmed and a third (Nkomo-loyal) agreed to a cease-fire after being threatened with aerial and artillery bombardment.

Last November intertribal fighting took 60 lives; this time 300 died—mostly Nkomo guerrillas killed by the African Rifles. The shooting seems to have been started by Nkomo forces after rumors that Mugabe's troops were going to disarm them. With the end of Smith's rule, the basis for the fragile unity between the two tribes is gone, and in the latest outbreak there were reports of civilians massacred for speaking the wrong language. For his part, Nkomo attempted to conciliate; after a meeting with Mugabe he stated "...we are working well together" (*New York Times*, 14 February).

Mugabe's Shona majority swept the

British-supervised elections, which were the culmination of a series of imperialist "majority rule" schemes to ease the white settler regime out of office. Whites were guaranteed sufficient seats in parliament to give them an effective veto over any legislative attempts to implement even democratic reforms such as "one man, one vote." Nkomo, leader of the Ndebele wing of the Patriotic Front and former head of the anti-Smith nationalist forces, was humiliated by assignment to a nominal cabinet post and last month was demoted to minister without portfolio.

True, Smith and Muzorewa were gone, but the imperialist-orchestrated deal left intact the foundations of white colonial settler order—the police, the judiciary and the white-led regular army. Troops of the former colonial power were brought in to supervise the elections and the construction of a national army from the former guerrillas. In effect, a new set of black faces has taken over the administration of Rhodesian capitalism. This was clearly shown when black workers responded to the Mugabe victory with a strike wave. Mugabe denounced it as criminal and told the strikers to use the existing grievance procedures—Ian Smith's anti-labor laws!

The question of land is key. Millions of rural blacks presently labor for the 5,000 white commercial farmers (who own half of the land) or barely scratch a living from arid tribal trust lands. In addition to the rural unemployed, there are tens of thousands of guerrillas awaiting demobilization with nowhere to go. With one-quarter of government spending going to military payroll, there is no way to accommodate all of them into any new army. Despite the desperate need for land distribution, Mugabe has once again proved his loyalties—the

small amount of land so far acquired for resettlement has been purchased for hard cash. Mugabe needs money and is presently lobbying for over \$1 billion in aid and loans from the IMF, World Bank and imperialist donors in preparation for a conference to be held next month in Salisbury.

The more enlightened elements of the American bourgeoisie realize that stabilization of a neo-colonialist capitalist Zimbabwe requires U.S. dollars. A *New York Times* editorial (18 February) praised Mugabe's "course of reconciliation and pragmatism" (read: bringing in the army to crush the guerrillas) and gave its blessing to financial assistance. But with Reagan seeing Communist subversives behind every bush, he probably won't give very much to a "Marxist" bourgeois nationalist like Mugabe. Even though Moscow still doesn't have an embassy in Salisbury—Mugabe hasn't forgiven the USSR's support to Nkomo—the Andrew Youngs are gone and the White House is seeking closer ties with the racists in South Africa as a bulwark against "Soviet expansionism." Reagan's UN representative has been quoted as saying that racial dictatorship is not as onerous as Marxist dictatorship.

Most of the left gave uncritical political support to Mugabe. For example, the British International Marxist Group hailed "VICTORY" in a banner headline when the new Zimbabwe leader was elected and ran a heroic center spread on "Robert Mugabe In His Own Words": "Describes himself as a Maoist-oriented Marxist.... enjoys... the singing of Bing Crosby, Elvis Presley and Pat Boone" (*Socialist Challenge*, 6 March 1980). After a year of Mugabe's strikebreaking rule, *Socialist Challenge* (27 November 1980) now whines: "Independence has not brought

the benefits of full democratic rights to the people of Zimbabwe, despite other gains that have been made." In the face of tribal warfare, they offer not revolutionary Trotskyism but calls on the competing nationalists to unite: "...the Mugabe government and both party leaderships [must] not only denounce the interparty faction fighting, but take steps to prevent it."

The complete destruction of the white colonial settler state in Zimbabwe would take a mass upsurge which could easily escape the control of the Mugabes and Nkomos. That (and not economic considerations) is why they want to keep the white officer corps and 20 percent white parliament. Moreover, neither Mugabe nor Nkomo is capable of accomplishing even the primary nationalist task of unifying a nation—for them it's a turf fight to decide which tribe and which leader will dominate.

Redistribution of land, emancipation of women, an end to tribal conflicts and mobilization against the imperialist apartheid regime to the south are the tasks of the day in Zimbabwe, and that means workers revolution. As we wrote when Mugabe came to power ("Strikes Hit Zimbabwe-Rhodesia," *WV* No. 256, 16 May 1980):

"The only hope for the Zimbabwean African masses lies on the road of permanent revolution, through a revolutionary upsurge centered on the 5 million-strong black proletariat of South Africa which would sweep away not only that bastion of apartheid terror but the neo-colonialist remnants of imperialist domination throughout southern Africa. To be sure an isolated workers state in Zimbabwe with an unchallenged apartheid regime next door could not maintain itself for more than the short term. But a black workers revolution which began in Zimbabwe, led by a Trotskyist party, would almost certainly detonate a mass upsurge by the powerful South African proletariat. ■

International Women's Day 1981 Spartacist Forums



Revolutionary Russia, 1917: Women demonstrate for pay increases to soldiers' families.

Women and Revolution

Wednesday, March 4, 7:00 p.m.
Harvard University
Phillips Brooks House
Cambridge, Mass.

Wednesday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.
Brandeis University
Wulliger Lobby
Boston

For more information (617) 492-3928

Khomeini's Iran: Women in Veils, Workers in Jails

For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: D.L. Reissner,
Editorial Board
Women and Revolution

Thursday, March 5, 7:30 p.m.
U of Chicago
Ida Noyes Hall
Chicago

For more information (312) 427-0003

Trotskyism: The Only Road to Women's Liberation

Speaker: Diana Coleman,
Spartacist League
1980 candidate for
San Francisco
Board of Supervisors

Friday, March 6, 7:30 p.m.
UC Extension
55 Laguna, Room 202
San Francisco

For more information (415) 863-6963

Saturday, March 7, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley
Kroeber Auditorium, Room 160
Berkeley

For more information (415) 835-1535

Saturday, March 14
Los Angeles
(time and place to be announced)
For more information (213) 662-1564

From Bra-Burning to Book-Burning:

Feminists Join "Moral Majority" Anti-Pornography Crusade

Speaker: D.L. Reissner,
Editorial Board
Women and Revolution

Friday, March 6
7:30 p.m.
Cross Currents
3206 N. Wilton
Chicago

For more information (312) 427-0003

Friday, March 13
7:30 p.m.
Oberlin College
(Room to be announced)
Oberlin

For more information (216) 775-5245

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SL Debates
Sojourner Truth Group

Trotskyism Exposes Anti-Soviet Blindspot

CHICAGO—"In the current conjuncture, the Russian question dominates American political life—beginning with the Carter campaign for 'Human Rights,' which was actually directed against the Soviet Union, and currently manifested by Reagan's campaign to rearm America against the 'Soviet monolith.' So this issue, which the New Left always thought was incidental and a topic of discussion only among old Stalinists and 'Trots,' remains of epochal significance." Thus began Spartacist League (SL) spokesman Ed Clarkson in a recent debate here with the Sojourner Truth Organization (STO) on "The Polish Events and the Russian Question." Held on February 7 at the Blackstone Hotel, the event drew an

audience of 175 people who participated in the lively discussion period. Among those present were "Third Camp" social democrats, ex-Maoists of the "Trend," left-wing Iranian students and industrial workers from several Midwest cities.

The very fact that the debate took place sparked interest, confronting two rather distant points on the spectrum of the American left. Sojourner Truth is an eclectic local syndicalist collective left over from the New Left. STO founder-leader Noel Ignatin's main claim to fame is that as an SDS honcho a decade ago he was the best-known "theoretician" of the view that the bulk of the American working class is bought off by "white skin privilege." The SL, on the other hand, is the American section of



Ed Clarkson for the SL: "Gains of proletarian revolution remain." WV Photo

the international Spartacist tendency, which has fought since the early 1960s for the rebirth of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Normally, the STO and SL have little intersection. But following the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan and now with Poland boiling, even workerist groups which sought to bury themselves in the plants can't avoid taking a position on the nature and role of the Soviet Union—touchstone for would-be socialist revolutionaries for more than six decades.

In the debate, Sojourner Truth leader Peter Berger alleged that "in terms of conscious movement towards communism," the Soviet Union is "no more advanced than the United States, and

probably less so." This absurd claim, loaded with reactionary pro-imperialist implications, is derived from Berger's anti-Marxist view that the USSR is "state capitalist." Spartacist spokesman Clarkson counterposed Trotsky's position that "Stalin had usurped, politically, the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but that nevertheless the gains of the proletarian revolution remain" on the economic level. Clarkson called for political revolution to oust the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states, while defending the gains of October against counterrevolutionary forces. Pressed for STO's program for Polish workers, Berger's only answer was to "smash up the mess"—lumping

A Real Blast From the Past

What is the Sojourner Truth Organization?

Noel Ignatin's Sojourner Truth group is one of the more esoteric spin-offs from the explosion of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the main organization of the New Left. With the expulsion of Progressive Labor at the June 1969 split conference, SDS explicitly rejected a working-class orientation, however deformed. The rump SDS consisted of two wings, the Weatherman group of Bernardine Dohrn and Mark Rudd, and RYM-II headed by Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian. Ignatin, a Chicago-area radical activist and former member of the Communist Party, was one of the leading lights of RYM-II.

In the aftermath, the anti-PL lash-up soon dissolved into competing clique-organizations, each around its own honcho, supposedly differing on the

"central question" of how best to tail after black nationalist and "Third World" movements. Weatherman led the charge with some proto-terrorism (which only succeeded in killing its own members), while the Avakian-led Revolutionary Union and the Klonsky family's October League began their running dogfight over the China franchise. In late 1969/early 1970, Ignatin's group of a dozen or so in north Chicago coalesced into the Sojourner Truth Organization (STO). It's still there today.

STO based itself on Ignatin's 1967 article, "White Blindspot," which argued that white workers have material interests in preserving capitalism: "The U.S. ruling class has made a deal with the mis-leaders of American labor, and

through them with the masses of white workers" (original emphasis). Put more succinctly, he claims that white workers are bought off because "they have more to lose than their chains; they have also to 'lose' their white-skin privileges...." In the guise of fighting "color-blind" CP-style "black-and-white-unite-and-fight" reformism, Ignatin places race above class and argues essentially that all white workers are part of a labor aristocracy. In a 1974 article, "A Golden Bridge," he referred to blacks who scabbed on the Great Steel Strike of 1919 as "heroic!"

The Ignatin cult is a bizarre, idiosyncratic opportunist sect. Alone of all the degeneration products of SDS, it never made any pretense of going national. Politically heterodox, they were even willing to dabble in the taboo texts of Trotsky. But above all the STO is anti-Leninist, stuck together around "broad areas of agreement" rather than programmatically based. They hold the reactionary position that trade unions are simply "bourgeois institutions." At the same time, STO members work within the unions, often supporting reformist bureaucrats such as Norm Roth at Harvester. As syndicalists they claim to be even harder on Stalinism than the Trotskyists, but socially they are part of the broad ex-New Left Stalinoid milieu.

In the early '70s virtually the entire STO membership went into the factories to persuade workers to divest

themselves of "white-skin privilege." They tried some union certification schemes and some decertification schemes, some pro-seniority fights and some anti-seniority fights. But mostly they engaged in washroom militancy and damn little talk of socialism, so that by mid-decade more than two-thirds of their members had drifted away. Since then most of STO's efforts have been directed at studying "state capitalism" and support work for pork-chop nationalists. At a 3 November 1979 Chicago demonstration for the Pontiac prisoners (victims of Attica-style persecution) these champions of "democracy" in the USSR physically assaulted and attempted to exclude *Workers Vanguard* salesmen.

Under the pressure of U.S. and Maoist anti-Sovietism, the Sojourner Truth Organization has come to a new area of "broad agreement"—the USSR is "state capitalist." (Ignatin's reputedly Soviet-defensist sidekick Don Hamerquist, the former Gramscite oppositionist in the CP, conveniently absented himself from the SL-STO debate.) Vietnam and Cuba are reportedly now under close scrutiny, while Ignatin declares the U.S. nearer to communism than Russia. It's a long way from waving NLF flags and cutting cane with the Venceremos Brigade, ain't it? And don't forget Max Shachtman, who went from refusing to defend the USSR in World War II to supporting the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion and U.S. intervention in Indochina. ■

together the Stalinist betrayers of the revolution with such historic proletarian gains as collectivized property.

In one respect the discussion was particularly revealing, as the STO "analysis" is a mirror opposite of the Trotskyists'. Trotsky made an analogy between the Soviet Union and the trade unions: both are headed by a class-collaborationist bureaucracy, but nevertheless remain institutions of working-class power. STO accepts the USSR/unions analogy...and concludes that both are capitalist! Clarkson remarked: "Now this has the virtue of both logical consistency and pointing out the totally counterrevolutionary implications of the policy of 'state capitalism'." Willing to contemplate the destruction of the Soviet Union, they are indifferent to union-busting at home (Ignatin told the SL in a taped interview: "I'm for an open shop"). A steel worker supporter of the Spartacist League summed up the exchange:

"October 1917 meant that the working class won something... The speaker from the Sojourner Truth Organization took 30 minutes and said, no we didn't—we don't have unions, we don't have deformed workers states. We've been fighting for 200 years, for nothing? Well, that's absolute crap. This is not a debate, it's a massacre. The problem with the STO is they have no belief in the revolutionary potential of the working class. It was nice in the New Left—red flags, big demonstrations. Well, now times are tough, Reagan's here. So give up? Hell no! There is a fight in the working class that's going to go on. The key point is you can never win any victories if you don't defend what you have."

"The Polish Events and the Russian Question"

Although Poland was listed as a main topic of the debate, Berger said not one word on the subject during his presentation. Challenged during the discussion period to take a stand, an STO supporter remarked with snotty workerism: "We may not have a program for Poland, but we assume that the workers in Poland without the help of the Sparts will be able to see their way forward towards revolution." Stung by SL criticism, Berger blurted out in his summary: "It's obvious what our program for Poland is; it should be implicit from my remarks.... As Voltaire said about the *ancien régime* in France, 'Smash up the mess!' Destroy the bureaucratic state apparatus! Tear apart the secret police! Place the industries under the control of the population." So Berger and the STO include in the "mess" they want to "smash up" not only the Stalinist secret police but also nationalized industry. And their supposedly classless answer ("people's control" of industry) denies the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For Trotskyists, the workers uprisings in East Europe provide dramatic

proof, in the actual laboratory conditions of class struggle, of the class character of the deformed workers states. SL spokesman Clarkson pointed out:

"First of all, Poland does not behave like a capitalist state. It is inconceivable for any capitalist state to be in virtual economic crisis for seven years without one layoff, without one bankruptcy, without one contraction of production. It's also impossible, and one would find out volumes by talking to the workers at Chrysler about this, for a capitalist enterprise to actually go out and get loans to meet the workers' demands....

"Secondly, the bureaucracy—that is, the Polish United Workers Party, I believe that's what it's called—displays none of the social reserves or institutional strength of a capitalist class. The workers rise, and it melts. It's impotent. And this was most graphically illustrated in Hungary, where in a more polarized situation, in the course of the Hungarian Revolution in '56, 70 percent of the membership of the Communist Party went over to the side of the Hungarian soviets. No 'state capitalist' has ever sufficiently explained this question: What the hell is 70 percent of the 'capitalist class' doing marching in the soviets with the workers?...

"The workers do not address the bureaucracy as an alien class, but rather as what they are—as untrustworthy, venal labor fakers, trade-union bureaucrats. They are not addressed as the bosses. Some of the leaders of the 1976 strike are currently factory directors in Poland. It's a very strange 'social class'."

Since Sojourner Truth views Poland as a capitalist country, Berger saw no danger of counterrevolution. As for the clerical-reactionary Catholic hierarchy, he dismissed it as a "factor of stability" and firm ally of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Clarkson, on behalf of the SL, pointed to the existence of real overt and covert counterrevolutionary forces in Poland: Rural Solidarity, "whose demands are essentially a call for flat restoration of capitalism in the countryside"; and Pope Wojtyla's Catholic church, which is currently playing a waiting game. But the Spartacist speaker also noted the other side in this contradictory situation, that "in the space created by the workers' uprising it would be possible to accrue the valuable elements which would constitute a proletarian party—a Trotskyist proletarian party." Its program:

"It must be, on the part of the Polish workers, to differentiate out the clerical-nationalist elements in the Solidarity [union] movement—split that movement and direct it toward a defense of the proletarian property forms that exist there....

"The only hope for the Polish proletariat at this point in time is to spread the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy to the East and into East Germany, and the social revolution against capitalism into the West."

Capitalism Without Capitalists?!

The STO's "state capitalist" position on the Soviet Union was first spelled out in Noel Ignatin's 1978 pamphlet, *No Condescending Saviors*, which borrows heavily from the theories of the now

Does STO think the victorious Vietnamese revolution only produced new form of capitalism?



Pan-Africanist renegade from Trotskyism, C.L.R. James (known in early publications of the Fourth International as J.R. Johnson). In the February 7 debate, Berger regurgitated this "analysis" by stringing together an endless series of out-of-context quotations from Engels and Lenin. He led off with Engels' famous remark in *Anti-Dühring*, the favorite of all "state caps," on statification as the inherent tendency of capitalism:

"The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine, the ideal collective body of all capitalists. The more productive forces it takes over as its property, the more it becomes the real collective body of all the capitalists, the more citizens it exploits."

Berger's conclusion: "It is my contention that the Soviet Union represents the fulfillment of the tendency recognized by Engels, that the Soviet state is the ideal personification of the total national capital, one in which workers remain wage workers, proletarians."

As an SL spokesman remarked in the discussion, "there's something fundamental in the world that's changed since Engels wrote...the Russian workers made a revolution. That's the most historic event in the history of humankind." Moreover, Engels never conceived (as the "state caps" do) of a bourgeois state with a single national capitalist—and thus the elimination of competition, the motor of capitalism (see "How 'State Caps' Render Engels More Profound" in this issue). Berger's arguments to buttress his anti-Marxist theory consist, first, of the discovery that wage labor exists in the USSR:

"Russian workers do not work to build the communist future, or to give free scope to their natural and acquired powers, in Marx's words. They work for money."

The second element consists of complaints that life under the Stalinists

is oppressive. Thus he claimed in his presentation:

"If the notion of a workers state as a transitional form is to have any meaning whatsoever, it must be gauged not by how many hydroelectric power stations it has built, but by the conscious movement towards communism made by the working class constituted as the nation. How does Russia measure up to this yardstick?"

Berger then indicted the bureaucracy for oppressing women and non-Russian nationalities, for spawning a standing army and monstrous secret police; it denies its subjects elementary rights of organization which "exist, more or less, in Western bourgeois society"; and the very "idea of income equality is regarded as more subversive even than it is in the West." His distinctly pro-imperialist verdict:

"I submit to you that according to the standards I have set forth, which are the only standards appropriate to a Marxist, the Soviet Union is no further advanced than the United States, and probably less so."

"Wage labor in the Soviet Union"? Even under a "healthy" proletarian state such relations would be maintained until the early stages of socialism. The STO's idealist syndicalist notions, Clarkson pointed out, deny the materialist analysis of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*. And they certainly don't prove the existence of a capitalist class in the USSR. A Spartacist comrade noted in the discussion:

"When Khrushchev was booted out into retirement, he was given \$350 a month pension and a small cabin in the country. That is not a capitalist class. It is simply a bureaucracy which has appropriated more of the good things of life to itself, but it doesn't live in another way than the poorest junior sweeper in a Russian factory."

As for Berger's catalogue of Stalinist crimes, this was cribbed straight from *The Revolution Betrayed*. But they didn't lead Trotsky to conclude that capitalism had been restored, that there was nothing left of the conquests of October in the Soviet Union for the workers to defend. An SL spokesman recalled Trotsky's analogy with a doctor looking at a diseased liver: "If a doctor came up and said, 'Oh no, that's a diseased liver, I want nothing to do with it,' what kind of a doctor is he?"

Soviet Workers Wouldn't Permit Capitalist Restoration

Historically, Berger sees a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union somewhere around 1921-23:

"In Lenin's eyes, the country was devastated economically, the proletariat no longer existed as a class, the leaders were forced to turn to foreign capital to build an economic base. They were not afraid to do this because the proletariat wielded power through a new state apparatus."

But, he added, "this new state apparatus in fact did not exist." Clarkson pointed

continued on page 8



Only SL has program to combat clerical-nationalist influence among Polish workers.

How "State Caps" Render Engels More Profound

Peter Berger, like all other "state cap" theorists, latches onto the passage in Engels' *Anti-Dühring* about the tendency toward statification of a developed capitalist economy. This passage is irrelevant to the Russian question per se since the collectivized Soviet economy clearly has its origins in the proletarian revolution of 1917 and is *not* the product of the organic evolution of an advanced, monopolized capitalist society. Historically, no advanced capitalist country, not even Nazi Germany in World War II, has come anywhere close to the total statification of industry.

Nonetheless, it is important to resolve the question of whether Engels in *Anti-Dühring* (on which Marx closely collaborated) projected the *theoretical* possibility of state capitalism. He did not. Let us look at the controversial passage in its entirety:

"The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine, the ideal collective body of all capitalists. The more productive forces it takes over as its property, the more it becomes the real collective body of all the capitalists, the more citizens it exploits. The workers remain wage-earners, proletarians."

This much Berger quotes, but he leaves out the rest of the passage. Let us see why:

"The capitalist relationship is not

abolished; it is rather pushed to an extreme. But at this extreme it is transformed into its opposite. State ownership of the means of production is not the solution of the conflict, but it contains within itself the formal means, the key to the solution." [our emphasis]

What exactly did Engels mean that if the state takes over all means of production, the capitalist relationship "is transformed into its opposite"? Unfortunately he doesn't specify. But a careful reading of *Anti-Dühring* as well as of Marx/Engels' other writings on economics leads to a conclusion exactly the opposite of the "state capitalist" theorists.

According to the basic Marxist understanding, capitalism is a system in which all the elements of production are commodities. What then is a commodity? *Anti-Dühring* itself provides an unambiguous answer: "products made in a society of private producers more or less separate from one another." In this basic work, therefore, Engels and Marx are either guilty of an obvious self-contradiction—in one place defining commodities as "private products," in another projecting a single state capital—or they mean that if all the means of production become state property, these *cease* to be commodi-

ties, that is, the laws of capitalism cease to apply. The latter is the case.

As Marx carefully explained in *Wages, Price and Profit*, the laws of capitalism are integrally bound up with competition between different capitalists and the equalization of the rate of profit in different branches of production. The division of social product between consumer goods and producer goods is *not* planned in real (use value) terms, but is the result of innumerable market transactions motivated by profit maximization. For example, an increase in money wages will lead to an increase in money demand for consumer goods, thus initially driving up their prices relative to producer goods. The rate of profit in the consumer goods sector becomes relatively higher than in the producer goods sector. Capitalists in the consumer goods sector will therefore bid labor, raw materials and equipment away from the producer goods sector. The net result of all these market transactions will be a change in the relative output of consumer goods and producer goods.

But where all the means of production are state property, none of these capitalistic mechanisms work. An increase in total money wages, as in Poland today, will drive up consumer

goods prices. But there is *no automatic economic compulsion* to increase consumer goods production. The state is not interested in maximizing nominal "profits" in one branch of production at the expense of others. Thus during the first Soviet five-year plan total money wages increased greatly, leading to a sharp inflation of consumer goods prices. But this had little, if any, effect on real production. Stalin did not cut back production of tractors and machine tools because shoes and kitchen utensils had become "more profitable" to sell.

In a collectivized economy there is no economic mechanism or need to equalize the nominal "rate of profit" in different branches of production. And in the Soviet Union nominal "rates of profit" in various industries have been widely different for decades. Where the state is the sole owner of the means of production and the sole employer of labor, production will necessarily be planned in real terms. The division of social product between consumer goods and producer goods will be a conscious *political* decision, not the unplanned outcome of innumerable profit-maximizing transactions. That is why in *Anti-Dühring* Engels maintains that state ownership is "the key to the solution" for overcoming the irrationality of the capitalist system.

Debate...

(continued from page 7)

out that this defeatism is merely a variant of Kautsky's argument that since Russia was too backward for socialism, the Bolsheviks themselves were impelled to be the agents of capitalist development. "His actual argument is that in the course of winning the civil war against the imperialist interventionist troops, they lost the revolution. One wonders how they would have won!" The SL speaker also noted that the Berger/Kautsky argument is a form of reformism in reverse—the notion that one class can replace another as ruling class without a confrontation at the military level. And it presumes that the proletariat as a ruling class is impotent, that it will not even fight to maintain the gains of its own revolution.

As for Lenin's vaunted turn toward foreign capital, it was never more than a subsidiary element—a few Armand Hammers and nothing more. Potential investors objected to the constraints demanded by the Bolsheviks, and in any case were not interested in building up the strength of a revolutionary workers state. Clarkson noted:

"Berger gives a lot of quotes from Engels and Lenin about state capital-

ism. Essentially the argument is that Lenin needed to make the Soviet Union state capitalist as a transition to socialism. Now, 1) Lenin never said that state capitalism was the only aspect of the Soviet economy.... The socialized sector was the bulk of industry that had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviks as a result of the October Revolution, and in 1921 it was moribund and destroyed. So what really happened with the 'state capitalism' plans of the Bolsheviks? Well, in 1922, when Lenin calls a retreat to this phase of the NEP [New Economic Policy], he points out, 'We got 17 capitalist firms.' And that's as far as it ever went, as any student of Russian history knows."

What Berger tries to do, the SL speaker continued, is to invent "state capitalism" as a viable system. But it is a "capitalism" without its fundamental contradiction—a clock without the spring, as one Marxist critic put it—that is, with no over-accumulation of surplus value, no historic necessity for socialism, no role for the proletariat as a scientific force of revolution.

In making his "case" for capitalism without capitalists in Russia, Berger discovers a "tendency to accumulate capital" in the fact that "every five-year plan hatched by the bureaucracy has placed a lower priority on expanding the production of consumer goods than producer goods." There follows a recitation which amounts to a syndical-

ist equation of capitalism with speed-up: Stakhanovism introduced in 1935, piecework universalized after 1939, "1943 becomes the year of the conveyor belt," etc. This is combined with some pseudo-dialectics, so that "1943 also sees a crisis in ideology among the rulers of Russia," a crisis that is resolved by reorganizing the teaching of political economy. Berger summed it up thus:

"The process of catching up with world capitalism had enabled world capitalism to catch up with Russia. Not, to be sure, in the sense of restoring private property. That was impossible. The Russian workers would never have tolerated it. But through transformation of the bureaucracy into a new ruling class—the Marxist dialectic in its most profound sense."

An SL speaker from the floor trenchantly caught the lifeless quality of Berger's crackpot "economics":

"[They] are devoid of a kind of social reality. In 1943 there was a crucial discussion in the Soviet Union about the categories of the law of value? In 1943 there was the Second World War! There's a book by Tony Cliff, the English 'state capitalist'... on Stalinist China. He proves that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang had a state-capitalist society. And then Mao had a state-capitalist society. He takes all the figures for 1947, 1948, 1949, up to 1955, and the only thing that's missing is the civil war and revolution!"

work in a North Korean textile mill?... So why all this crap about 'state capitalism'? The difference with Vietnam was that it was extremely popular ten years ago among the petty-bourgeois left, and the Soviet Union is not so popular....

"That's the point on Poland: you don't have a program. Well, no program, no sense of a party. That's the history of Sojourner Truth basically. The problem [for the STO] is that there's always been a Trotskyist movement that has existed for the last 60 years, that has fought for the extension of proletarian revolution. Not Sojourner Truth, which either tail-ends Stalinist states where they're popular or abandons their defense when they're not."

As for doing nothing for Vietnam, when STO supporters were waving NLF flags, the Spartacist League was calling for "All Indochina Must Go Communist." Today Sojourner Truth has abandoned any defense of Vietnam, while against the 1979 Chinese invasion (with U.S. complicity) the international Spartacist tendency called on the USSR to honor its treaty with Hanoi.

Other Spartacist militants proceeded to demolish the STO's philistine parochial workerism. A member of the editorial board of the SL journal *Women and Revolution* exposed Sojourner Truth's pretensions to fight for women's liberation, pointing to the example of Iran and Afghanistan:

"So Khomeini has a clear program for women—they should suffocate under their wretched veils; they should die in the thousands from TB and dysentery; they should remain illiterate and they should keep quiet while their daughters are bought and sold like cattle. And STO supported him over the bodies of Iranian women. Because that's what

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On the Front Lines

In the discussion, the main and practically only argument put forward by Sojourner Truth supporters was the fraudulent claim that the SL "stands on the sidelines." An STO woman comrade:

"The hallmark to me of the Spartacist League in my 15 years of participation in the left has always been that whenever there's a real movement, a real struggle, the Spartacists are always on the sidelines throwing eggs.... It is intriguing to me that during the Vietnam War, the Sparts spent more time criticizing the Vietnamese than building the antiwar movement."

An SL supporter, a militant seaman, refuted this slander:

"I know what you did on Vietnam. You uncritically tailed the Stalinists, whom you claim to hate. Ten years later you suddenly raise a few criticisms of Stalinism. Do you think that the property relations in Vietnam and Cuba are any different than they are in the Soviet Union? How would you like to

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support for Khomeini meant. And let's get it clear: mullahs are not Mensheviks, and Khomeini is not Kerensky—their guns are pointed not only at the shah, but at the Kurds, at the Azerbaijanis, and the Iraqis as well.

"And similarly in Afghanistan, these phony Marxists find that their concerns over national sovereignty far outweigh the fact that at this moment the Red Army alone stands between Afghan women and the perpetuation of child slavery in that country. And if you look just over the border into Uzbekistan, where the Red Army intervened a mere 60 years ago, the literacy rate is now about 100 percent, as opposed to about 5 percent in Afghanistan.... But this is of no concern for the STO, because for them a woman being photographed in a black garter belt is a real outrage—but if you have to spend your life under a black chador, that's okay. And besides, 'who are we to tell the Afghan people what to wear,' right?"

A laid-off black Chrysler worker from Detroit criticized Sojourner Truth's dead-end nationalism in the factories:

"What's your program? Bust the seniority system, make white workers give up their jobs. No fight for jobs for all—you oppose that slogan! And what you held up as an example for me and other militant auto workers is DRUM, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Among other things, their program called for more black cops and more black foremen. The failings of DRUM were: it tried to organize auto workers on a racial basis, not a class basis. How can you have a sit-down strike with one-half the work force?... We can win with a revolutionary integrationist program. "In Detroit a group of militants a year ago organized black and white workers in the Rouge plant to drive out two foremen who went parading around the plant in Klan hoods. And they were successful! And they went on to help organize a rally against the Klan in downtown Detroit against the wishes of the black mayor.... Talk about 'white-skin privilege' to those Chrysler workers with 15 years seniority who are getting laid off with no hope of a job ever again!"

And a former worker at International Harvester near Chicago on the subject of "throwing eggs":

"I want to talk about Spartacist League supporters and members always being 'on the sidelines.' I was at Melrose Park [IH plant] when the C.B. Dennis defense [union guards for a black worker's family against racist nightriders] was going on. And I was out there for 11 weeks, and that didn't seem like the sidelines to me, sitting out there waiting for some crazy guy to come along and blow us away. That seemed like the front lines!"

Which Road?

As the discussion continued, supporters of Sojourner Truth became increasingly dispirited. Their last speaker from the floor ended her reply to the Chrysler worker: "I'm in favor of sit-down strikes. We have lines, we have positions, we have theories, but we also experiment in understanding how these theories can be implemented. And it's not always crystal clear. Oh well, fuck it." Berger, in turn, spent a good part of his summary complaining that SL supporters' political characterizations of STO were personal insults. Spartacist speakers stressed that these "state capitalist" theories had been around for 40 years, and that like Burnham and Shachtman their proponents end up as ideologues for American imperialism. The question, asked SL spokesman Clarkson, is: where are the members of Sojourner Truth going?

"Now, 13 years ago Ignatin was one of the leaders of RYM-II in SDS. He headed an organization that had several thousands of members, subjectively anti-capitalist. Since that time Ignatin and the Sojourner Truth Organization have managed to reduce themselves and that human capital to a parochial, American-centered group—of course, they started with parochial, American-centered conceptions, 'tis true—located within the limits of greater Chicago. For us, on the other hand, the question of Poland and the defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states is not academic. Because we are an international tendency, and for us it is not impossible, although we are small and modest, that we might in the course of our work run into some potential future cadres of what would be a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Poland....

"The question is, where are the members of STO going? They've thrown out Lenin and Marx on the state; they've thrown out, essentially, Marx's analysis of capitalism.... And all for what is essentially some empty-headed, petty-bourgeois café intellectual type of theorizing. Now unfortunately, comrades of the STO, these battles will not be fought out in cafés.... Just like it was in Germany, the destruction of the trade unions will result on a national level in the incapacity of the proletariat to struggle for at least a generation. And the defeat of the October Revolution and the gains therein will give the imperialist world bourgeoisie a boost in the arm that will make the class peace that followed the Paris Commune look like a historical incident.

"So it is rather time to grasp the nettle. Either confront the program of revolutionary Marxism, represented in the cadres and program of the Spartacist League, or at least retire! Look, you've been at this a long time, so there is some subjective impulse there that is valuable. But you better make a choice, because objectively you're already on the other side of the class line in theory, and if you do not change your course you will soon be there in tragic deed." ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

portrait of a Middle American conservative farmer is Major Major's father in Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*: "He was a long-limbed, God-fearing, freedom-loving, law-abiding rugged individualist who held that federal aid to anyone but farmers was creeping socialism." New Right fanatic Jesse Helms claims Reagan's cuts don't go deep enough. But about cutting subsidies to tobacco farmers, the senator declares that in North Carolina, "tobacco isn't a commodity, it's a religion" (*Economist*, 14 February)!

Reaganomics: The Credibility Deficit

Reagan campaigned as an economic superman, a veritable miracle worker. His administration would reindustrialize America, restore military superiority over the Russians, reduce inflation to a trickle, cut taxes by 30 percent, take nothing away from the "truly needy" and still balance the budget. No one can believe in this. It is hard to imagine Reagan believes it himself. Although the Reagan administration has been in office all of one month, its economic proposals and projections have been repeatedly contested by its own supporters and officials. The most problematical thing in analyzing Reaganomics is that the figures change literally from day to day.

Take taxes. This seems straightforward enough. Reagan's proposal to cut personal income taxes by 30 percent over three years (the Kemp-Roth bill) was undoubtedly one of his more popular or "populist" campaign promises. Many people believe that, whatever else happens, taxes will be lower. Look again. Amid all the tax-cutting talk, taxes have actually *been raised*. The proposed 10 percent income tax cut to begin next July (which may well be scaled back in Congress) would do little more than offset the increase in Social Security deductions of 10 percent which took effect beginning January 1. Meanwhile, higher money wages and salaries are pushing people into higher and higher income tax brackets, while inflation lowers real wages to below 1965 levels. When all is said and done, at the end of Reagan's first year in office the average tax burden is likely to be *higher* than under Carter.

Reagan's tax-cutting promises were associated with the new-fangled "supply side" economics. "Supply siders" like Arthur Laffer maintain that a big enough tax cut will stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and investment that national income will increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, thus balancing the budget. Reagan's economists assigned the "supply side" Claremont Economic Institute to estimate the overall effect of their taxation and budget proposals. The



Oer Spiegel

Welfare office in the South Bronx. No longer "truly needy."

Claremont people duly predicted that if Reagan's policies were carried out, by the end of 1982 the inflation rate would be cut to only 4 percent and national output would be growing at 7.5 percent (the U.S. hasn't experienced this rate of growth since the Korean War boom of 1950-51!). This forecast was so preposterous that GOP Congressional leaders persuaded Reagan to disown the Claremont fantasists lest they completely discredit his economic program.

Now Reagan says his economic policies will not really take effect until 1984, that is, almost four years from now. Not until then will the budget be balanced. Quite the contrary. Even with his massive social welfare cuts, Reagan is projecting a budget deficit for 1982 that is *60 percent higher* than Carter's (\$45 as against \$27.5 billion). Reagan said in his fireside chat on the economy earlier this month:

"We know now that inflation results from all that deficit spending. Government has only two ways of getting money other than raising taxes. It can go into the money market and borrow, competing with its own citizens and driving up interest rates, which it has done, or it can print money, and it's done that. Both methods are inflationary."

—*New York Times*, 6 February

Quite true. So while big business is wildly enthusiastic about budget-slashing for the poor, it is *not* happy with the proposed income tax cuts, given the massive increase in military spending. Reagan talks of restoring "freedom of choice" in economic life. In reality, the only choice in Reaganomics is whether the anti-Soviet arsenal of megadeath is paid for by higher inflation or higher taxes.

Fighting the War Budget

Right now Reagan is riding high, but he is likely to run into some stiff resistance from the workers and minorities. Furthermore, his popularity will decline as it becomes obvious that his prescriptions to inflict pain on the poor do not cure the cancerous U.S. economy. And unlike the Republican ideologues surrounding Reagan, the American people do not like the idea of suffering for the sake of Wall Street profits.

Right after Reagan was inaugurated, a *New York Times*/CBS poll reported that traditional right-wing Friedmanite solutions are still decidedly unpopular: 82 percent opposed any decrease in Social Security benefits, 52 percent supported an increase. More narrowly based social programs also continue to have broad support: 72 percent said unemployment compensation should either remain at the same level or be raised; the same percentage was for aid to college students. Even food stamps, long a prime target for right-wing and racist demagoguery, are by no means overwhelmingly unpopular. While 47 percent favored cutting the program, the same number opposed this.

As the conservative London *Economist* (7 February), which supported Reagan for the presidency, observed or perhaps warned: "Taking into account the beneficiaries of these entitlement programs, it is reckoned that 110 [million] people—*half the population of the United States*—now derives more than a quarter of their

income from the government. There is an obvious political problem in this unhappy statistic: many of these 110 [million] government dependents must have voted Republican and will not relish seeing their income shrivel, however much they believe in budget cutting" (our emphasis). Unlike that living laboratory for Milton Friedman economics, Pinochet's Chile, in the U.S. the labor movement has not been crushed. If Reagan breaks his campaign pledge and takes the ax to basic Social Security entitlement programs, he will have a very short honeymoon indeed!

A fight against the war president's war budget is necessary, but the labor tops and reformists have already promised not to wage it. They complain about the cuts but look to the Democrats to hold on to cherished government programs. The first point in fighting the Reagan cuts is to recognize what they are—part of the imperialist drive against the Soviet Union. The Reagan war budget of course is open to one of the reformists' favorite hoaxes: "less guns, more butter." But to pretend that U.S. imperialism will shift its priorities from the war drive to social services is to lie about the character of decaying U.S. capitalism. You can't duck the Russian question. For class-conscious workers the answer to Reagan's Cold War crusade must be to militantly defend the gains of the October Revolution while denouncing the Kremlin's dangerous illusions of "détente" with warmongers of the Reagan/Haig ilk.

The AFL-CIO tops meeting in Bal Harbor, Florida last week sounded empty rhetoric when they issued a statement on the Reagan budget saying, "Workers and the poor take a lion's share of the risk." The labor fakers made it clear that they accept the Cold War premises of capitalist austerity. Lane Kirkland explained that the AFL-CIO "continues to favor a strong defense," but hoped it would not be "a trade-off for domestic programs" (UPI, 19 February). Kirkland made an idle threat, saying that the programs Reagan sought to cut "were put forward in those times when part of Washington was on fire, burning, and similar episodes were happening in sections of Los Angeles, in Detroit and other parts of the country, and that long black summers were experiences of our past and many of these programs and concerns grew out of them" (UPI, 19 February). Of course, if the ghettos actually are driven beyond the flash point, these do-nothing misleaders will do nothing but fiddle with Reagan while the cities burn.

What is needed is not "more Miamis"—desperate, undirected explosions of discontent—but a powerful class mobilization, with organized labor standing at the head of the black masses in a fight against the bosses and their government, for justice and jobs for all. That struggle will never be undertaken by the Kirklands and Winpisingers, nor by those "guns vs. butter" reformists who refuse to fight the accelerating anti-Soviet war drive. This requires a new class-struggle leadership of labor and oppressed minorities. This is the task of the Trotskyists, who fight for workers political revolution to oust the Brezhnevite bureaucrats in Leningrad and for socialist revolution to sweep Reaganite reaction out of "Retrograd." ■

Welsh Miners Beat Thatcher

LONDON, February 22—As 25,000 Welsh miners struck last Tuesday, the "shadow of '74" was cast over the Tory government of Margaret Thatcher. And that shadow, the threat of the first national coal strike since the miners finished off the last Tory government of Edward Heath, was sufficient to force the first humiliating climbdown for the union-bashing Thatcher government since its election two years ago.

In response to a National Coal Board (NCB) proposal to close up to 50 pits, slashing thousands of miners' jobs, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) executive voted unanimously on February 12 to ballot the membership for national strike action if the closure threats were not withdrawn. As the NCB announced the first of the pits marked for closure—five mines in South Wales—miners in the region started walking off the job spontaneously.

The threat of an uncontrolled wildcat forced the hand of the regional leadership and three days later, February 17, every one of South Wales' miners was out on official strike. Transport and railway workers immediately honored the strikers' pickets and blacked [boy-

cotted] coal shipments. Flying pickets were sent to the power stations and to other mining areas. A day later all of Kent was out and the stoppages had spread to Yorkshire and Scotland to include 35,000 miners around the country. Clearly the mood of the miners was solidly for a fight as they defied not only their right-wing "moderate" president, Joe Gormley, but even "lefts" like Yorkshire leader Arthur Scargill and Scotland's Mick McGahey, a leading Communist Party member.

The memory of the last big ruling-class defeat in 1974 loomed large. The government immediately began to backpedal from its previous stands of no intervention and no increased subsidies. As the strike began to pick up momentum, clearly heading toward a national stoppage, Energy Secretary David Howell moved up the talks scheduled for February 23 by five days in order to propose increased state aid enabling the NCB to withdraw all closure threats and promising a clampdown on coal imports. The vague formula was sufficient for Gormley to swing a 15 to 8 vote in favor of a return to work in an emergency meeting of the NUM executive the following day.

But the mood of a protest lobby of



Sturrock/Report

One-day general strike in Cardiff, Wales, January 28, 1981.

militant miners from Wales and Kent outside the NUM executive was angry and suspicious. "The government is looking for a breathing space," said Kent NUM president Jack Collins. "They will get the men back to work and after the dust has settled they will pick us off one by one." The radical populist Scargill was booed and jostled and subjected to chants of "scab, scab" for failing to bring the strategic, 55,000-strong Yorkshire region out. "Gormley wants a purge and Scargill wants the presidency," observed one disgusted Welsh miner to a *Spartacist Britain* reporter. The following day, delegate meetings in South Wales voted for a return to work while Yorkshire and Scotland called off their proposed strike action.

In 20 years Britain's mining industry has gone from 700,000 men to 250,000. Areas like South Wales in particular, already hit hard by massive redundancies [layoffs] in steel are economically devastated. Meanwhile, the NUM begs the capitalist state for more government subsidies and calls for a reactionary protectionist ban on all coal imports. Import controls will do nothing to save miners' jobs, but only whip up chauvinist sentiment that ties the workers to their own dying bourgeoisie and sets

them against their class brothers overseas.

The miners' strike has had a real impact on the political situation in the country. For weeks the bourgeois press and political discussion generally had been preoccupied with the brouhaha over the supposed threat to parliamentary government posed by the Labour Party's recent decision to give the trade unions a decisive say in the election of the party leader, a decision which led to the split by the right-wing "gang of four." But when the coal miners showed their muscle last week, the ruling class really quaked in its boots. And for good reason. A national miners' strike could have triggered a general working-class offensive against the deeply hated Thatcher, whose monetarist economic policies (in part inspired by Reaganite Republican Milton Friedman) have brought about conditions not seen since the Great Depression of the '30s. Due to the cowardice of the Mineworkers leadership, including "leftists" Scargill and McGahey, the final fight with Thatcher remains to be had. But it will be had!

Down with the Tory government! No trust in the Labour bureaucrats! Build a Trotskyist Party! For a workers government! ■

Coal Miners to Reagan:

Don't Dare Cut Black Lung Fund!

"If we have to, we will close down every coal mine in this country," warned United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Sam Church at a protest rally in front of the White House on February 19. Church led about 75 members of the UMWA staff to the site to denounce Reagan's devastating cut in black lung benefits for disabled miners. It was virtually the only peep of protest from American union leaders against Reagan's massive anti-labor program.

No doubt Church feels the heat from the UMWA ranks, who do not appreciate watching their family

members suffocating with pneumoconiosis while Reagan tells them to eat coal dust. Coming not long before the March 27 expiration of the contract for 170,000 coal miners, Reagan may well have undermined Church's maneuvers to avoid a strike. But what is really needed to defeat the bosses' austerity scheme is a massive counteroffensive by the entire labor movement.

The labor traitors like Kirkland and Church must be ousted by a class-struggle leadership. Break with the Republicans and Democrats—We need a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Spain...

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"mad colonel's coup" was warning of a real military takeover if the generals—unregenerate (though not crazy) Francoists almost to a man—don't get their way.

King Juan Carlos, appointed by the defunct dictator, is being hailed as the savior of "Spanish democracy." But the fact that the *golpe* was not dismantled until after the monarch's intervention confirms that he is not a mere figurehead but the ultimate commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This time he ordered the high command to support civilian government. Tomorrow the king's authority to impose or sanction a "strong state" regime will be greatly reinforced. And the army has repeatedly hinted darkly or threatened openly to sweep aside the feeble parliament if the left grows in strength or Basque nationalist terrorists remain active. "Spanish democracy" could easily experience a bonapartist transformation, for the sinister forces and anti-democratic institutions of the Francoist dictatorship have never been truly rooted out. *Beware of kings who call off coups!*

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of the bizarre Cortes coup attempt is that

the working class did not act. The army stayed in its barracks while the armed national police—the *grises*, no less dangerous than the Guardia Civil—surrounded the parliament building. The unions and mass parties of the working class, notably the Eurocommunist PCE of Santiago Carrillo and social-democratic PSOE of Felipe González, ordered the masses to stay home. They argued that this was "an isolated incident that was apparently not supported by the armed forces." So what should the workers have done—waited until a serious coup effort came along and they would be met by a determined, united military wall of fire? This parliamentary cretinist policy is a program of bloody defeat. *Remember 1936!*

The responsibility for the present dangerous situation lies squarely in the hands of the González and Carrillos, who by their repeated refusal to call for general strike action during the dying days of the Franco era allowed the Francoists to preserve as much as possible of their positions of strength. The resulting "reinforced democracy" has left the workers politically out in the cold, while facing mounting unemployment and rampaging inflation. Already voices are being heard among the petty

bourgeoisie to "bring back Franco," while workers are streaming out of the PCE and PSOE by the tens of thousands in demoralization. The same crisis has hit the so-called "far left" as well, which only tailed after the PCE/PSOE reformists and had no alternative to bankrupt parliamentarism. It is deeply ironic that the chief reformist betrayers were among the hostages taken by the killers whom they had given a new lease on life.

The Spanish workers hate the Guardia Civil with a passion and bitterness that could open the door to revolution. Even a moderate-sized revolutionary propaganda group would have seized the crucial moment of this warning coup, seeking to mobilize the proletariat in the hundreds of thousands to deliver its own warning to the Francoist murderers. A Trotskyist leadership would have called for general strike action to frustrate the putsch; for the formation of union-based, non-party workers' militias to seize barracks and army convoys; for soldiers committees to polarize the army; for a march on the Cortes to disperse the fascists and putschists. Proletarian defense committees would lay the basis for soviet bodies that could sweep away the armed institutions that were the backbone of

Francoism, mobilizing for workers revolution. But in the absence of such action, it will be all the more difficult even to jail the Guardia Civil torturers who terrorize the Basque population and pose a permanent threat to the entire working class.

Recall the Kapp putsch in Germany, 1921, when the German working class rose up en masse to block the path of a small group of ultra-rightist militarists, opening the way for a new revolutionary crisis some months later. In Spain, had there been such an outpouring in October 1934 (when the ultra-right entered the cabinet) instead of an isolated uprising in Asturias, the course of Spanish history would have been much different and hundreds of thousands of proletarian lives would have been saved. It was this crucial failure that paved the way for Francoism.

On guard! Reaction has only shown one broken tooth, but it will bare its fangs again. The formation of workers militias is an urgent task of self-defense for the Spanish labor movement. The Guardia Civil and all special bonapartist political police must be liquidated. And this will be accomplished not by "democratic" monarchs or impotent parliaments, but through the struggle for proletarian revolution. ■

Central America...

(continued from page 12)

fully confirm our warnings. While liberals and reformists talk only of "self-determination" for El Salvador—refusing even to take clear sides in the civil war raging there—revolutionaries place the struggle in its global context. We demand: Military Victory to Salvador Left Insurgents! U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America! Defend Cuba and the USSR!

Lies and Threats

Amid all the war talk of throwing a "cordon sanitaire" around Cuba and "refusing to rule out" U.S. troops to Central America, on February 23 the administration finally released its "White Paper" on El Salvador, more than 100 pages of lies and distortions. Even the bourgeois press put the word "evidence" in quotation marks, as the only "hard" material in the document talks of promises of arms from East European regimes, Vietnam and Ethiopia. The rest consists of thank you notes to Castro for his "help" and "requests" to the Hungarian embassy in Mexico; offers of "advice and exchange of opinions" by Nicaraguan leaders and statements that the Sandinistas view "the cause of El Salvador as their own" are taken as proof positive of "indirect aggression."

Contrary to Reagan's recent comments, cooking up such fictitious "proof" as a justification for military intervention is actually a specialty of U.S. imperialism. Recall the Gulf of Tonkin incident (which only appeared as alleged blips on a radar screen), the basis for sending American troops to Vietnam; or LBJ's famous list of 50-plus "communists" (most of them in jail or out of the country) in Santo Domingo, his excuse for landing the Marines in 1965. But more than just debunking Washington's lies is called for here. If there were adequate Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan aid to the left-wing forces in El Salvador, there wouldn't have been the more than 12,000 victims of the junta butchers and rightist death squads in 1980! It is criminal that the Soviet ambassador in Washington can truthfully plead innocent to Reagan's charges. All the more so as it is increasingly clear that the U.S.' real targets are Managua, Havana and Moscow.

Already Reagan cut off \$15 million in economic aid to Nicaragua left over from the \$75 million authorized under the Carter administration, using the excuse of Sandinista arms supplied to the Salvadoran left. He even slapped an embargo on a scheduled shipment of 20,000 tons of wheat contracted for by the Nicaraguan government; if no alternate supplies are found, this will mean that bread will no longer be available there by the end of March. Washington's hard-line message has gotten across to Managua, which is now pushing for some kind of negotiated settlement with elements in the Salvadoran junta. Sandinista leader Tomás

Borge told the *New York Times* (16 February):

"In El Salvador, the guerrillas could not defeat the army and the army could not defeat the guerrillas. Things cannot continue like this. It is convenient neither for the Government nor for the guerrillas, neither for the United States nor for us. No defeat and no victory seems possible, so we feel that a political solution should be sought."

To encourage El Salvador leftists to take a similar stance, the Sandinistas recently shut down the Salvadoran "Radio Liberación" on Nicaraguan territory.

Balance Sheet of the "General Offensive"

The "general offensive" carried out last month by El Salvador's left-wing guerrillas failed to spark the hoped-for popular uprising or to defeat the U.S.-backed military junta's forces. The offensive demonstrated the military capability of the rebel forces, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), to take on the Salvadoran army throughout the country. But it also demonstrated that the FMLN is still too weak to defeat the junta's forces and that the population was not yet prepared to join in a massive insurrection. After ten days of fighting, in which leftist forces briefly held several key towns, the rebels called a "tactical retreat" to regroup their forces and prepare for the next round of battles. Thus the offensive was a failure as measured by the goals the FMLN leaders set for themselves: there was no mass rising and the rebels did not succeed in setting up a "liberated zone" in which to establish a rival government.

Since the offensive the guerrillas have been keeping pressure on the junta with hit-and-run tactics. A virtual press blackout has kept it out of the newspapers: only one TV channel reported it when guerrillas spectacularly blew up the Exxon refinery. But the main offensive being waged by the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) now is diplomatic, not military. According to the *New York Times*' Alan Riding, "If they fail in their next push, their leaders said privately, they hope at least to win a place at the bargaining table" (*New York Times*, 8 February). The liberal wing of the Salvadoran church, headed by Archbishop Rivera y Damas, is also urging a compromise between civilian junta head Napoleón Duarte and his former associate, FDR head Guillermo Ungo.

The "realistic" perspective of the FDR for a negotiated solution to the civil war poses a deadly danger to the Salvadoran masses. In the first place Reagan, eager to teach Cuba and the USSR a "bloody lesson" in Central America, is interested only in one kind of "solution" for the Salvadoran left: a "final solution." Delaying the necessary military day of reckoning with Reagan's puppets in the hopes of cutting a deal is both politically and literally suicidal. Moreover, even if some sort of negotiated settlement were possible, the bottom line for the bourgeoisie would be preservation of at least part of the gorilla officer caste. The military and paramilitary forces are prepared to massacre up to 200,000 workers and peasants to put down "Communist subversion." Any deal which would preserve even a part of this corps of sadistic murderers would simply prepare savage repression in the future. Just look at the actions of the "reform junta" installed by the U.S. in October 1979! No deal with the butcher colonels! Break with the bourgeoisie!

Which Way Forward?

The U.S. liberals and their reformist left boosters attempt to avoid at all costs the key question of Russia and Cuba. For the liberals the question posed in El Salvador is "What should be the policy of U.S. imperialism?" Currently they are focusing their efforts on House Resolu-



Cambio 16

Salvadoran FMLN guerrillas prepare the "final offensive."

tion 1509 to prohibit military aid or credit to the junta. They do *not* oppose economic aid to El Salvador, which junta front man Napoleón Duarte says is even more vital than guns in propping up the shaky U.S. puppet regime. They are tailed by leftists and Salvadoran nationalists in groups like the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) who have consistently (and unsuccessfully) tried to exclude supporters of the Spartacist League from recent El Salvador demonstrations. The reformists and nationalists object not only to our denunciation of the bourgeois politicians in the FDR popular front but even to our slogan of "Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents" because it might scare off some liberal Congressmen.

"Let the people of El Salvador decide" was the headline on a full-page ad recently placed in the *New York Times* and other newspapers by CISPES. But self-determination is not the question in El Salvador. In the early days of the anti-Vietnam War movement the liberals called for all "foreign" troops out of South Vietnam and tried to pose the class war in Indochina as simply a question of national self-determination. But North Vietnamese troops and Soviet aid were key to the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, which was also the scene of a showdown between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet bloc deformed workers states. As revolutionaries we would welcome the maximum in military aid by Cuba and the Soviet Union to the Salvadoran rebels. In the face of Reagan's war threats against Castro, we call on the USSR to come to the defense of Cuba with whatever means are necessary.

The struggle in El Salvador cannot be separated from the fate of the Nicaraguan revolution. Reagan has written Nicaragua off as lost to "Marxism"

despite the fact that the Sandinistas have been careful to preserve capitalist property and to share the ruling junta with bourgeois representatives. But the Nicaraguan capitalists, already deeply embroiled in coup plots and economic sabotage, are a point of support for counterrevolution, and the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) leaders know it. Just as Eisenhower's turn against the Cuban Revolution pushed Castro into the Soviet camp and forced radical nationalizations on the petty-bourgeois July 26 Movement, Reagan's hard line against Nicaragua may force the FSLN further than it wants to go on the road to expropriating the bourgeoisie. But if Washington forces the consolidation of a deformed workers state in Nicaragua, it will be because it plans to roll on into Managua with its ex-Somoza mercenaries after smashing the left in El Salvador. This is no abstract danger. The Sandinistas' attempt to conciliate imperialism and the local bourgeoisie could spell their own doom.

The crisis over El Salvador is not merely a question of U.S. big stick policies in the Caribbean/Central American region it views as its "backyard." For Cold Warrior Reagan, El Salvador is the front line in the battle against world Communism. The defeat of the guerrillas there would only whet his appetite for attacks and military threats against Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet-bloc states (first of all Poland). The military victory of the leftist rebels, however, would deal a stinging blow to Reagan's plans for global counterrevolution. Reagan has forced a showdown in which the alternatives in Central America are literally victory or death. And victory—workers revolution—depends on uncompromising class struggle, led by a proletarian Trotskyist vanguard, against all wings of the bourgeoisie in El Salvador and Nicaragua. ■

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Central America: Hot Spot of the Cold War

FEBRUARY 24—The Reagan administration threw its El Salvador offensive into high gear last week, and its real targets were immediately clear: Washington is challenging the Soviet Union and Cuba to a showdown in Central America. In this anti-Soviet crusade, Yankee imperialism has pointed a gun at the head of Sandinista Nicaragua, demanding it cut off aid to Salvadoran left-wing rebels. The U.S.' West European allies have been read the order of the day: they will be expected to stand at attention, whatever their yearnings for "détente." And the Pentagon is already funneling greatly increased military hardware and "advisers" to prop up the murderous junta in San Salvador. In the name of "stopping Communist expansionism," Ronald Reagan's Cold War bloodbath has begun in Central America.

The orchestrated campaign led off with closed-door Senate testimony by Secretary of State General Alexander Haig, following which Foreign Relations Committee chairman Senator Charles Percy blustered that the U.S. would not stand idly by while "outside forces—outside our hemisphere or within our hemisphere" attempted to

topple the Salvador junta (*New York Times*, 18 February). Next came a State Department memorandum, released Thursday, asserting that "the insurgency in El Salvador has been progressively transformed into a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers." The textbook, of course, was written not by V.I. Lenin

or even Castro but by J. Edgar Hoover. And on Sunday top presidential adviser Edwin Meece went on national TV to threaten a naval blockade of Havana ("U.S. to Cuba: We'll Blockade Over Salvador," *New York Post*, 24 February).

As we have underlined in recent weeks, the stakes in El Salvador go far

beyond the fate of the masses in that long-suffering Central American statelet. As it becomes the focal point in Reagan's Cold War drive, a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua is posed and the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union are directly at issue. The ominous events of the last few days

continued on page 11

San Salvador's main post office during guerrilla offensive.



Der Spiegel

Bay Area SL Overwhelms Anti-Trotskyist Exclusion

"For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!"

SAN FRANCISCO, February 14—Nearly 100 Spartacist League members and supporters marched in a demonstration of about 500 today through San Francisco's predominantly Latino Mission District demanding "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!" The march had been called by local Bay Area labor leaders and the "Committee of Progressive Salvadoreans." Behind our banners "Yankee Imperialism—Hands Off El Salvador!" and "Break with the Bourgeoisie—For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!" the Spartacist contingent, joined by members of the ILWU's Militant Caucus and Communications Workers of America Militant Action Caucus, was by far the largest organized group at the march. But this did not prevent the Communist Party hacks and Salvadoran

nationalists from attempting to split the march in order to "insulate" those in attendance from our revolutionary politics.

When the Spartacist contingent arrived at the march's starting point (outnumbering the march organizers present), a spokesman from the "Committee of Progressives" objected to various SL signs and slogans, such as "Defend Cuha and the USSR," "For Trotskyist Parties in El Salvador and Throughout Central America!" and demanded that they be taken down. SL spokesmen refused, insisting on our right to raise questions of political strategy for the Salvadoran revolution. When the Spartacist contingent chanted "U.S./OAS: Hands Off El Salvador!" and "Break with the Capitalists—Workers to Power!" the march organizers went into a frenzy.



WV Photo

SF, February 14: Spartacist contingent could not be excluded.

One CP honcho screamed that our chants and signs showed a "lack of respect" for the popular-front FDR coalition and would not be allowed. But lacking the forces to physically exclude us, the march organizers decided to split the march and huffed off, dragging their followers across the street.

WV reporters heard these frightened reformists trying to explain this cowardly sectarian split to their confused

followers: "Those people don't support the FDR—they're for workers revolution." Evidently, many in attendance did not see what was wrong with that, as nearly 100 pieces of Spartacist literature in English and Spanish were sold at the rally in the Civic Center following the march. The Spartacist contingent marked the end of the rally with a spirited and well-received chant: "Down with the Junta, Workers to Power!"