

Russians Fed Up

Carter on Cold War Rampage

With his "state of the union" address on January 23, Jimmy Carter has openly threatened U.S. military action against the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf. Carter may enjoy this role of tough-talking Cold War militarist, goading the Soviets over Afghanistan and driving toward World War III. But the Russians are fed up. They have had enough.

The Russians are fed up with the direct military threats of the Carter Doctrine, the probing for military "facilities" and bases all along their unstable border. Fed up with the nuclear loading of NATO, the "modernizing"

continued on page 8

U.S. warships, including nuclear-powered carrier Enterprise, on maneuvers. Crew on deck spots out Einstein's famous

Sipa

Afghan Ultra-Rightists, Maoists Seal Anti-Soviet Bloc in Blood

Attempted Murder of German Spartacist

FRANKFURT, February 2—A near-fatal knife wound left German Spartacist spokesman Fred Zierenberg fighting for his life in a Frankfurt hospital. The premeditated murder attack occurred January 25 at a teach-in on Afghanistan called by the Frankfurt University student association. In the cold-blooded assault by several dozen Afghan mullah-lovers and their "leftist" lackeys—Turkish Maoists and members of the "Fight Back" organization of American soldiers from the U.S. volunteer army stationed in West Germany—several members of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany) were badly hurt.

The attackers concentrated on

the leader of the TLD intervention, Comrade Zierenberg, jumping him and knifing him in the back. As a result of internal hemorrhaging Zierenberg's right lung partially collapsed and he had to be operated on immediately to save his life. He remained in critical condition for four days. A second TLD comrade was beaten unconscious while a third was knifed in the abdomen. In the flurry of knives, fists and boots, other comrades received less dangerous injuries. But Zierenberg, a 31-year-old radio-TV technician and father who has been a trade unionist for ten years, remains in an intensive care unit a week later. Criminal charges are being brought against the assailants, whose carefully

planned attack was intended to maim and kill.

The TLD had been granted five minutes speaking time at the teach-in by the student association (AStA) chairman. Islamic fanatics of the General Union of Afghan Students (GUAFS) and their friends of the Turkish Maoist group ATIF/ATÖF had sought to inflame the audience with chants of "Death to Trotskyism!" When the TLD speaker attempted to come forward to the podium, goons ganged up behind our comrades while others blocked the stairs to the platform. At least four thugs were sent after each TLD supporter and then, at a signal from the "Fight Back" group, the homicidal attack was launched. Knives were



Fred Zierenberg

WV Photo

employed against the men while the TLD speaker, a woman, was savagely kicked in the abdomen. Our comrades managed to fight their way out of the hall. After regrouping, they withdrew chanting "Down with NATO, Hail Red Army!"

Members of the Spartacusbund present in the meeting hall actively assisted in defending the TLD comrades. But as knife-wielding goons sought to silence our comrades for good, supporters of the "state-capitalist" Socialist Workers Group (SAG) and the ex-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund (KB) sat by without lifting a finger. These cowards should be ashamed to show their faces in public.

continued on page 5

Why Defend Tony Scotto?

New York, N.Y.
December 21, 1979

Editor
Workers Vanguard

Dear Sir and Brother:

Referring to your article, "Who Got Tony Scotto—and Why?", I was surprised and disappointed in the analysis you made, and your position on the Scotto affair. You begin with the vital principle of defending labor and its organizations against government and police interference, but in this case the effect of mechanically applying this sound principle is to protect a labor racketeer. There must be a limit, which should be decided by an organization's members and labor in general, beyond which class solidarity is defeated when the protection we afford an individual helps permit a continuation of crimes against a union's members, and is a smear against labor's overall integrity. The murderous Tony Boyle of the United Mine Workers was not worth protecting from even the FBI's justice. We should not be absolved of the responsibility of using the principle of class solidarity in individual cases by withholding a united defense of the individual under attack.

The question of whether or not Scotto's crimes are serious enough to deny him a labor defense is debatable. His members, ideally, should have thrown him into the harbor for his greed a long time ago. Yet, the relative few who remain working on the docks after the exchange of thousands of jobs for the guaranteed annual wage to those remaining are thankful to Scotto.

Are the crimes Scotto is being prosecuted for only a frame-up job in order to cripple a powerful union by getting its militant leaders? I don't think that this is the simple truth that the article in *WV* makes it out to be. The value of the article is in emphasizing and reaffirming the principle of the integrity of the class line, but the first two-thirds of your analysis attempts to whitewash and exonerate Scotto, a man known to New York workers as a crook, and read like a rehash of the sickeningly liberal coverage in the New York dailies written during the case.

Fraternally,
Jim Lavarello
Railroad Clerk

WV replies: Your letter questioning our defense of Tony Scotto against a massive Justice Department effort to railroad the Brooklyn docks leader raises fundamental issues about the meaning of the struggle for trade-union independence. True, labor militants are not obliged to automatically solidarize with each and every representative of the workers movement and the left who comes before the capitalist courts. We do not have to go to bat for Teamster heavy "Tony Pro" and his enforcers every time the feds bring them up on another extortion and murder charge. And although we vigorously opposed the intrusion of the U.S. Labor Department into the 1972 United Mine Workers election, we did not call for freeing ex-UMW president Tony Boyle, later convicted of ordering the assassination of his union rival Yablonski. Such murderous common criminals should not be walking the streets.

But these are extreme cases of capital crimes against the working class. More usually the government seeks to hamstring the labor movement under the guise of "protecting" the rank and file from officials who use goon tactics, take bribes from employers, loot the union treasury, etc. After all, what are Tony Scotto's alleged crimes: being on the take to the tune of several grand a year, barely enough to make a halfway decent income. On this basis the government could lock up sizable chunks of the union bureaucracy. What about Jimmy Hoffa? The case against him was similar in many respects to that brought against Scotto. Or Frank Fitzsimmons, I. W. Abel, etc.? In suggesting that the indicted ILA leader is indefensible you use the same arguments as the reformists whose program consists of dragging the bosses' state into labor affairs on the grounds that the current leaders are crooked. And thereby you rip the guts out of the principle of union independence, which you claim to uphold.

Almost from the inception of the American labor movement, the government has used the issues of "corruption" and "racketeering" to spearhead attacks on the unions. This was the case with the Taft-Hartley Act, the legal basis for the "red purge" in the late '40s which barred communists from holding union office. And it was extended in the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, under which Scotto is charged. Landrum-Griffin was the result of a two-year vendetta by a Senate

"select committee" set up on a resolution by Joe McCarthy, hardly a friend of the workers. Under chairman John McClellan and staff counsel Robert Kennedy this committee targeted the militant Teamsters. When jailing IBT president Dave Beck wasn't enough they set up the conviction of his successor, Hoffa, whose first-ever master freight contract raised the spectre of a nationwide truck strike.

As far as the particulars of the Scotto case are concerned it is at best naive to question whether the government was centrally motivated by a desire to cripple a powerful union. Twenty-five years ago they tried to decertify the New York ILA on the grounds that its president, Joe Ryan, was a crook. Today the federal government has already spent millions to get Scotto on charges of accepting \$200,000 in payoffs; all this out of concern for honesty? As the 1980 contract expiration approaches, numerous other leading ILA officials are facing similar charges. In fact, the strategically placed International Longshoremen's Association, which has a history of frequent strike activity, is one of the country's most policed unions. Fully nine of the 30 applications of Taft-Hartley back-to-work injunctions since 1947 were directed at the ILA!

The ILA leadership of Gleason and Scotto is viciously bureaucratic and anti-communist. But that does not relieve union militants of the duty of defending them against anti-labor persecution. Besides, on many "bread and butter" issues, they are better than their "progressive" counterparts. You point out that Scotto traded away thousands of jobs on the New York docks for the so-called guaranteed annual wage. There is no disputing that. It was not the ILA, however, that first gave waterfront employers the right to slash gang sizes virtually at will, but rather the West Coast ILWU of pro-Stalinist Harry Bridges! ILA strikes in 1959, 1962, 1964 and 1968 were fought against company attempts to automate away jobs, and it was not for several years after Bridges agreed to the decimation of his workforce that the ILA leaders ended their halfhearted resistance.

The logic of your arguments ultimately leads to dividing the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy into two camps, the hardened business unionists like Scotto on the one hand and slicker-talking Reutherite "reformers" who somehow are more deserving of support. Yet the Sadlowskis and Millers who use such demagoguery are the very ones who violate the integrity of the class line by dragging out Landrum-Griffin and running to the capitalist state. Once in office they prove just as willing to trample on the democratic rights of the membership as those they replace. The real issues here are the class issues. Union corruption goes hand in hand with subordination of the labor movement to the bourgeois order. The answer is not to replace the crooks with "honest" reformists who only sell out at the bargaining table. And longshoremen who refuse to fink show more class instinct than those "leftists" who rely on the cops and courts of the class enemy. Yes, labor must clean its own house—by throwing out all the "labor lieutenants of capital." ■

DSOC and the Dehumans

East Windsor, N.J.
January 8, 1980

Comrades:

After resigning from the NCLC in 1973 during Operation Mop-Up, I strongly supported the Spartacist League for years, yet at the same time encountered in myself a consistent resistance to becoming politically active with your organization, a resistance which I chalked up to personal languor or to my bizarre and frightening experience with the Labor Committee. Finally, this past fall, I began to help in the organizing of a Friends of the Spartacus Youth League chapter at Livingston College (Rutgers) in New Jersey. At that point, I quickly came to understand the source of my previous passivity and found myself repelled from the SL. I've done a great deal of thinking since October and am now taking a step that would have seemed out of the question just six months ago—I'm joining the D.S.O.C.

I still agree to a great extent with your political perspective. But I cannot work with an organization that perpetually dooms itself to marginality.

Wake up, Spartacists. Your style and tone repel many potential supporters. You've got much to offer, but the way you package it (practically) vitiates the whole thing. What you call "polemical" is obnoxious and counter-productive. There is debate, and then there is *your* style: overkill. With your vocabulary*, the

DSOC-types will out-organize you more often than not.

Your interventions are "disruptive, dehumanizing, and destructive," as most of the left claims. The message gets lost. It's too bad; your political perspective is valuable, which you know. But you are under-achieving the potential of your own organization by coming on so super-super-Hard. You think it's a virtue, but it's not; the only result is that, although you are *not* sectarian, you *sound* sectarian, and so you don't get the hearing you otherwise could, people close their ears.

Come on, wake up, comrades, or stay irrelevant. I, and many like me, cannot live in your world. Irrelevancy is a slow road to nowhere.

Steven Welzer

*From one recent issue of *WV*: "slimy," "cretins," "vicious," "idiots," "criminal betrayal," "sewer socialism," "swamp," ... on and on...

Muammar el-Qaddafi

January 25, 1980

This is to inform you that we are breaking ALL connections with the Stalinist and Imperialist Agents inside the Trotskyist movement. The January 18 issue of the *Bulletin* will be your last.

David North
WL PC

WV replies: You have us perplexed—which are we, imperialist or Stalinist agents? And why now? Well, Workers League mentors Qaddafi and Khomeini support the CIA-backed Afghan reactionaries; we headline, "Hail Red Army!" But we have not cut off your subscription to *Workers Vanguard* (which you renewed only last month) for fear of being tainted with Arab oil money.

P.S. Agents are supposed to receive pay. Please take this up with our putative sponsors.

"Red Army" Cancels Subscriber

Antigo, WI

Hello,

Recently I sent you (on Jan. 5, 1980) a money order for \$3.00 for a subscription to *Workers Vanguard*. I'd like to cancel the subscription, and have my \$3.00 refunded.

Your headline 'Hail Red Army!' was too much for me, as a socialist, to take. To advocate the *invasion* of an independent country, such as Afghanistan, by an hegemonistic superpower like the Soviet Union is *not* the position of socialism, in my opinion. Workers in Afghanistan and the USSR should repudiate the invasion and take up arms to defeat the Red Army. Workers in the U.S. did not gain when U.S. imperialism invaded Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. The case is the same with the Soviet bureaucracy's invasion of Afghanistan which has done nothing but whip up war flames. Good luck in your endeavors but count me out.

Yours,
Mike Brandow

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8 February 1980

Carter's Pope Revives Inquisition

Ulster has its Ian Paisley; Iran's got Khomeini; and the Inquisition is alive and well in Rome. This past December the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, better known in its salad days as the Holy Office of the Inquisition, was unleashed by Pope "John Paul II" Wojtyla against Catholic liberals. Last week the Dutch bishops, summoned to the Vatican for a special synod to renounce their free-thinking ways, capitulated and signed a document reaffirming conservative church doctrine. But the modern-day Inquisition's prime target is Father Hans Küng, well-known Catholic liberal theologian and professor at West Germany's Tübingen University.

On December 18 the Vatican announced that Küng could "no longer be considered a Catholic theologian" and forbade his teaching. Described by detractors as a "crypto-protestant liberal," Küng has been in hot water with the Roman hierarchy for over a decade because of his questioning of the dogmas of church and papal infallibility, the virgin birth of Christ and even whether Jesus was really god or not (shades of the Arian Heresy!). In a recent article entitled, "Why I Remain a Catholic" (*New York Times*, 28 January), Küng comes out for "catholicity" with a small "c" and against "Roman legalism, centralism and triumphalism...."

With the accession to the Throne of Peter by conservative Polish cardinal Wojtyla, product of the most reactionary bastion of Catholicism in Europe (outside Ireland), the crackdown on Küng and other "dissident" Catholic priests was pretty much inevitable. That Küng himself had launched a major attack on Wojtyla in October—calling him among other things doctrinaire, out-of-it theologically, a "personality cultist" media superstar and a closed,



President's pope meets imperialist chief.

Leifer/Time

dictatorial type—was of course purely coincidental. When the Tübingen theologian says, "I think the time is over when some bureau in Rome can decide who is a Catholic and who is not a Catholic," one wonders what church Küng thought he was born into—the Unitarians?

After all that Vatican II nonsense of the last couple of decades, the "theology of liberation," mushy liberal pot-smoking priests, etc., the Vatican now reappears in its hoary trappings of repression, dogmatism and sinister inquisitional practices. A recent *New York Review of Books* (7 February) article, "Vatican Heresy Trials" by Thomas Sheehan, expressed the growing disillusionment and shock with which many Catholic intellectuals now view Wojtyla: "Is he the staunch

defender of human rights...? Or is he a new Torquemada on the Tiber?"

The "Küng affair" raises the question of church-state relations in an immediate way. As Marxists and defenders of democratic rights we oppose any attempts to remove Küng from his teaching post at Tübingen, a state university, just because the pope and the Curia don't approve of him any more. Under the Vatican's Concordat with Bonn (signed by the Nazi regime in 1933 and taken on by West Germany), Catholic bishops have the right to veto Catholic teachers in theological schools (Lutheran prelates have the same right for Protestant faculty), even though the teachers are hired and paid by the state. Ironically it is the Ministry of Science of the state of Baden-Württemberg that is supposed to bow to Vatican obscur-

antism by firing Küng.

But why is the state paying to have any brand of religious propaganda taught? We say it shouldn't; nor should there be any special rights accorded to the Vatican at all. In this we are hardly being more radical than the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck, whose consolidation of a pan-German state required his *Kulturkampf* (battle of the creeds) against the entrenched power of the Catholic hierarchy. Ultimately, of course, Bismarck found the latter a necessary ally against the growing strength of German social democracy and organized labor and called off the attack. Elsewhere in West Europe, as well, separation of church and state is far from accomplished—from the established Lutheran churches of northern Europe to the Roman Catholic primacy in the south. As seen in battles over the right to divorce and abortion in Spain and Italy, this is no abstract question.

What particularly concerns communists is the aggressive counterrevolutionary appetite of this vigorous Polish pope. Telling radical-minded Latin American clerics to stick to their catechisms, he calls on the church in East Europe to fight for "respect for the rights of the nation and for human rights" (see "Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism," *WV* No. 234, 22 June 1979). Karol Wojtyla obviously seeks to whip up Catholic militancy against communism in a way not seen since the days of Leo XIII. In this he finds eager allies in Washington, and not only with fellow countryman and anti-Russian fanatic Zbigniew Brzezinski. His "American connection" was just strengthened by the appointment of hard-core Cardinal Baum of Washington, D.C. to a high position in the Curia. This pope is quite clear on where his divisions are going to come from—the Pentagon. ■

Baluchi Militant Malek Towghi:

"I Congratulate the Spartacist League"

Editor's Note—The following remarks by Malek Towghi were made at a Spartacus Youth League forum at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on January 25. Towghi, an Iranian Baluchi who has opposed both the Pahlavi dictatorship and the present Shi'ite clerical Khomeini regime, is seeking political asylum in the U.S. (see PDC letter).

I have been here for three years and I have been a keen observer of progressive groups. All the other groups I have come across have given me enough excuses to be disappointed, and this is the only group I have always difficulty finding some excuse to be opposed to. Let me congratulate you. When you first opposed Khomeini, I was one of those Iranians who participated in disturbing your meeting. And after a month—after Kurds were being butchered, after Turkomans were butchered, after Azerbaijanis and Baluchis and Arabs were intimidated and killed, and after the whole theocratic reactionary actions of Khomeini became open—I was sorry....

One point which has been on my mind, that is Mengistu's Ethiopia and the Eritrean and Somalian problem. Again this is the only group, as far as I know, who from the very beginning has

been as clear as I have been about Mengistu's credentials and who protested the Somalian and Eritrean peoples' betrayal by so-called leftist groups. I remember when I came to this country, all these Iranian and Arab and American leftist groups had tables about Eritrea...and suddenly, as soon as Mengistu became owned by the Communists, they started not only forgetting about the Eritreans [but] spreading rumors about them that they were reactionaries. I again congratulate you for your consistency in recognizing Mengistu.

And I was really surprised [about] Afghanistan... I'm a Baluchi, and my land is in danger of being occupied [because] Mr. Carter and some Americans are very anxious to "save" us. When I read *Workers Vanguard* I was not only surprised, I really wept. Because a bigger tragic drama is being staged in the name of "saving" that people and Islamic revolution in Afghanistan. And I was really happy; I congratulate you....

And I found [out] something about what they call racists. In the recent Iranian presidential elections, one of the candidates was ousted by Khomeini—you know for what? Because his ancestors were Afghans. I really curse those people who equate anti-Khomeinism with anti-Iranianism.

Kurds are Iranians, Turkomans are Iranians, Iranian Arabs are Iranians, Baluchis are Iranians.... And please try to understand that [it's] those other leftist groups who have been flirting with fascist Iranians, who have been flirting with the fanatic Khomeini, and not the Spartacist League. They should learn...and if they had some ideological courage they should recognize that they have been making serious mistakes and those mistakes actually mean encouraging Khomeini. And encouraging people like Khomeini means killing the Kurds, means butchering Baluchis, means strangling Iranian Arabs, means annihilating the Turkomans....

Yes, I'm an Iranian. I'm a Baluchi; I'm one of the two Baluchis in this country. I applied for asylum during the shah's days. It was rejected.... At this point, my problem is Khomeini—an Iranian-created problem and not an American immigration technicality problem. Because after one month I stopped my flirtation with Khomeini—and I could not do otherwise, because my people were being killed, because human beings were being killed, those national minorities who have suffered centuries of oppression and annihilation and insult and intimidation, [and] I knew what was going to happen—and as a result the Iranian embassy refused to renew my passport.... ■

Cyrus Vance
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Judge Adolph Angelleli
Immigration and
Naturalization Service
333 Mt. Elliott Street
Detroit, MI 48207

Elementary democratic rights demand that Malek Towghi's appeal for asylum be granted. A recent immigration hearing ruled that Towghi and his family could be deported to Iran or Pakistan. This action would place Towghi in extreme peril. He has courageously spoken out against the despotic regimes of both the deposed shah and Khomeini, particularly with regard to their attacks upon oppressed minorities. As a well-known opponent of Islamic fundamentalism, this Iranian Baluchi could very well fall into the net of Iran/Pakistan cooperation against "dissidents." We stand with Malek Towghi's fight not to "walk to my own slaughterhouse" in Khomeini's Iran or Zia's Pakistan.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99, Canal St. Sta.
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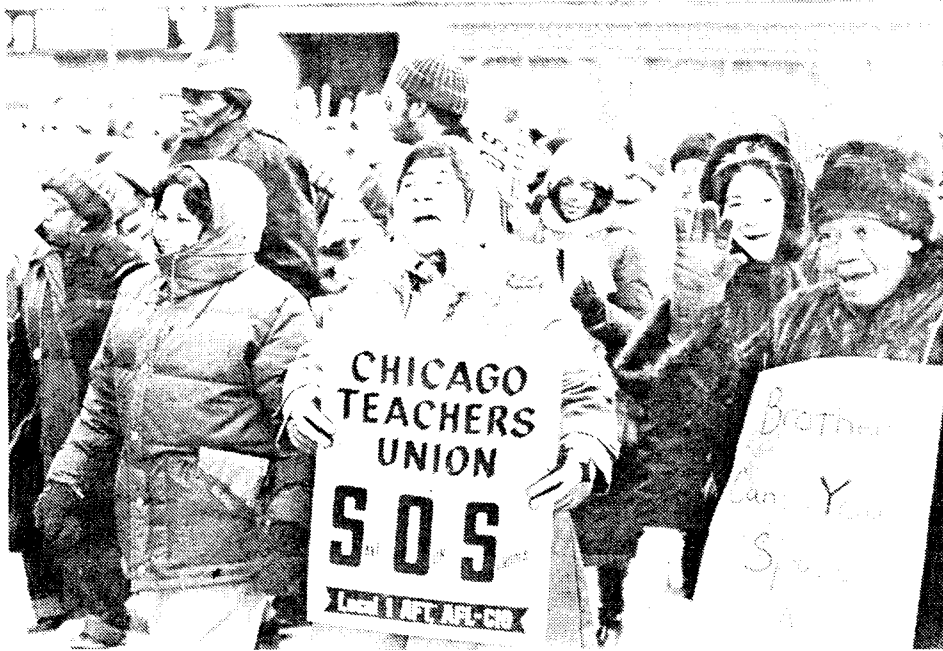
Mayor Byrne Tears Up Contract— Chicago Teachers Strike

CHICAGO, February 4—The city's school teachers formally voted to strike last night after not being paid for nearly a month. The union is staying out in defiance of a court order issued today ordering them to return to work. The strike follows a boycott begun January 28 to demand back wages and cancellation of a vicious \$60 million in school budget cuts. These cuts, imposed on demand of the big banks who are supposed to "bail out" the bankrupt school system, mean 2,000 layoffs and closure of 34 schools. They not only attack the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and various maintenance unions but are a direct blow to what remains of minority educational opportunity in Chicago. Some 80 percent of public school children are non-white, and the cutbacks fall most heavily on the poor black population.

The present school crisis began in November when several big banks suddenly refused to underwrite further school loans because the heavily indebted Board of Education's credit rating had fallen too low. The newly formed "Chicago School Finance Authority" and the bankers dictated terms for continued financing: the Board of Education must trim \$60 million from its budget and board members replied that this meant laying off at least 1,600 teachers, shortening the school year and renegotiating the contract signed with teachers last fall. Meanwhile, school employees stopped receiving their paychecks.

The teachers strike intersects a threatened walkout by Chicago firemen who are demanding the union contract promised by Mayor Jane Byrne in her election campaign. This poses the possibility, for the second time in two months, of uniting all city labor against the attacks from City Hall. The crisis comes in the wake of December's Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) strike, a powerful mobilization by bus drivers and rail rapid transit workers. The disgruntled transit workers, disarmed by the timid capitulation of the ATU leadership, went back to work on a court order December 21, the same day school employees first missed their paychecks.

Now more than ever the powerful ATU must lead all city unions in a joint



Chicago teachers rally. Bankrupt Board of Ed. hasn't paid them for a month. WV Photo

strike to smash the school and other service cuts, reverse wage and job slashings and win decent contracts and union representation for all public employees.

Calamity Jane Attacks Blacks, Labor

Mayor Byrne, working on behalf of big business and the banks, has avidly flung herself into the assaults on labor and the black population. Although her election one short year ago was hailed as a victory by liberals and fake-lefts, "Calamity Jane" has stridently supported the school cuts, refused to stop cutbacks in health care for the poor at Cook County Hospital, vilified teachers for refusing to work without pay, attacked white-collar workers as "loafers" who abuse sick days and reneged on campaign promises of a negotiated contract for the Chicago Fire Fighters Union.

The capitalist press gave her high marks for strikebreaking during the recent transit strike. And while going easy on the maintenance and construction unions which traditionally make only "handshake" wage agreements with City Hall (and which flatly refused to pull their members from the schools in support of the teachers), Byrne has

established a "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining" to delay and emasculate any contracts won by presently unrepresented city employees.

Byrne was elected by the black voters of Chicago though she never promised anything but opposition to school busing. Her administration now perpetuates the policies which made the city's schools the most segregated in America. The avaricious bankers, Mayor Byrne and the Illinois state legislature simply do not care whether the large majority of black children in the school system get an education or not. If the budget cuts don't come through, the schools will simply be closed. In a declining economy, with no place for them anyway, black youth are more expendable than ever.

And as the guts are ripped from black education in Chicago, various supposed black "leaders" see only a chance to maneuver for increased influence within the Democratic Party machine. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who has mounted a "Recall Byrne" campaign, calls first and foremost for appointment of a black police superintendent and black superintendent of schools. The solution to the present crisis is not a few more token black faces in high places or replacement of Byrne with another pro-big business mayor, but to link Chicago's

black masses with the labor movement to smash the attacks from City Hall.

Bring Out All City Labor!

Chicago is also saddled with the same sort of cowardly union leadership which capitulated to Big MAC in New York City. Robert Healy, president of the Chicago Teachers Union, kept teachers working for a whole month after the first payless payday, approved an intolerable "compromise" plan of \$42 million in school cuts which was promptly rejected by the bankers, and only led the January 28 boycott after an overwhelming teacher vote threatened his re-election in May if he didn't do something.

Accepting the inevitability of teacher layoffs, Healy has demanded only that the burden be "shared" by administrators and maintenance workers rather than fighting for the necessity to unite with maintenance workers and bring them out in a fight against all cuts. And though he has sometimes blustered that the CTU contract must not be changed without union agreement, Healy has known from the beginning that the layoffs to which he has already capitulated are contract violations.

There is no way to stop the attacks on working people without challenging the power of the banks and corporations who run the city. Militant teachers must unite with other sectors of the Chicago labor movement to fight for cancellation of the school board debt and expropriation of the banks without compensation. United strike action of all city unions must fight all cutbacks. (But there can be no "unity" with the cops, who will be mobilized to scab-herd as they did during the transit strike. The Firefighters Union and AFSCME must cancel their current "bargaining coalition" with Chicago police!)

A fighting program for Chicago labor would also demand decent contracts for all public workers, an end to "handshake" agreements and patronage, no use of union funds for bailouts, and city-suburb busing to achieve school integration. Further, the unions must break their ties to the Democratic Party, through a struggle to build a workers party to fight for a workers government and break the stranglehold of the banks once and for all! ■

Out 90 Days Against Forced Overtime

Victory to Harvester Strike!

CHICAGO—After more than 90 days on the picket lines, United Auto Workers (UAW) members striking against International Harvester Company (IH) in Illinois and surrounding states are holding out alone this month following settlement by the union with the Caterpillar Tractor Company. With the Harvester strike entering its fourth month, the company is the only one of the nation's three large agricultural implement manufacturers which has not reached agreement with the UAW.

The main issue in the bitterly waged strike is mandatory versus voluntary overtime. Harvester president Archie McCardell, who came to IH in 1977

from the non-union Xerox Corporation, has launched a massive cost-cutting campaign designed to make the company more competitive with its major rivals. He boasts that he has already saved \$500 million, principally by abolishing 11,000 "excess" jobs. Now McCardell wants to eliminate the contract's voluntary overtime provisions, which Harvester workers, alone of all UAW-organized companies, continue to enjoy.

Although Harvester eagerly points out that both the John Deere and Caterpillar settlements provide for mandatory overtime, IH workers are determined to hold out and retain their

right to refuse the grueling 50- and 60-hour week to which UAW members are often subjected in the auto industry. Caterpillar workers had in fact hoped to dump mandatory overtime this round, and though the overall vote in favor of the contract was large, in some locals such as Local 215 at Davenport, Iowa, the vote was extremely close because union members were reportedly upset about the overtime clause.

The Harvester management and workforce have dug in for a long fight. Negotiations have been suspended since December 15, and union members say they don't even expect settlement until April or May. With the company

announcing a \$225 million loss for the quarter just ended and reductions in management salaries for the duration of the strike, McCardell has threatened that the union must make concessions or "future job increases would almost have to be non-UAW." (But McCardell is happy about Carter's anti-Soviet grain embargo, which he claims eases the company's situation by decreasing the demand for agricultural equipment!)

Harvester is attempting to continue minimal production with management scabs in its plants, and has hired the Landy Trucking Company, a professional strikebreaking outfit based in

Attempted Murder...

(continued from page 1)

The attackers' murderous methods are the traditional weapons of Turkish right-wingers and fascists, which have also been taken up in battles among the Turkish Stalinists. But this is the first time in recent memory that they have been used against the German left. All working-class organizations—unions, left groups—and individuals who claim to speak on behalf of labor must denounce this vile attempted murder!

Protest Meeting

Numerous West German bourgeois newspapers covered the unprecedented terrorist attack, including the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Neue Presse*, *Abendpost* and the West Berlin *Wahrheit*, organ of the East German Socialist Unity Party, reported that "thugs had attacked counter-demonstrators who came out for the Afghan revolution," referring to "a statement by the Trotskyist League."

The response of the TLD and the international Spartacist tendency was immediate. In addition to bringing attempted murder charges against the would-be assassins, posters were pasted up throughout the Frankfurt University campus denouncing the murder attack and the mortal threat it represents to the entire left and workers movement. Above all the TLD insisted on holding its previously announced forum on Afghanistan at the university the following Tuesday, despite threatened disruption by the GUAFs. The previous week the Afghan ultra-rightists had jostled TLD salesmen, shouting: "You should get what's happening to the Russians in Afghanistan: dismemberment!"

With careful security preparations the TLD forum, "Hail Red Army! Down with Islamic Reaction!" was held as planned on January 29. More than two dozen militarily organized trade unionists guarded the meeting. Those attending were submitted to a complete body search and checked by a metal detector for firearms and knives. To its credit the Spartacusbund took part in defense of the meeting, as did the Kommunistische Liga. The KB issued a press release condemning the attack on the TLD and calling on organizations to which the knife-wielding assailants belonged to expel them, but did not join the defense guard. The cowardly evaders of the GIM (German section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat), however, repeatedly hung up the telephone when called to request their presence in the

defense team. Due to rank-and-file pressure ten GIM members finally showed up that night but refused to attend the forum or take part in the joint security preparations.

In the meeting a statement of solidarity was read from Oskar Hippe, who had been a member of the Spartacusbund of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa

ed in the common defense and noted that more than 50 militants had turned out despite the Islamic reactionary/Maoist threats. The danger was all the more real because on several occasions in the past Turkish Maoists and fascists had undertaken common actions in Germany on the basis of virulent anti-Sovietism. TLDer Carola Schirm re-

Korrespondenz noted: "The Muslim fanatics who played the leading role in the attempted murder of Comrade Fred, together with Carter, the CIA and Khomeini share one thing: maintaining the old order of exploiting the working masses, whether under the sway of Islamic reaction or direct imperialist domination."

Down with Islamic Reaction!

The near-fatal knife attack reveals sharply that there is no middle road in the class struggle. Over Afghanistan the choice is crystal clear: either support to Islamic reaction and its CIA money-men, or a clear position in favor of victory of the Red Army, against the feudal bands, and for the extension of the social gains of the Russian Revolution to Afghanistan. As thousands of anti-communist fanatics leave Afghanistan, West German government officials report that hundreds of them—"people who once had money or position in their country," i.e., the former elite—have congregated in Frankfurt. The TLD has drawn the fanatical hatred of these reactionary Muslims and their Mao-Stalinist acolytes because it has long been known for implacably opposing the theocratic mullah regime of Khomeini and calling for military defeat of the feudalist tribal rebels in Afghanistan.

The attacks on the TLD are not isolated incidents. On January 5 a Turkish trade unionist, Celalettin Kesim, bled to death in Berlin after receiving knife wounds from Turkish Muslim fanatics. The TLD actively participated in building a January 11 protest demonstration against this murderous atrocity in West Berlin, as it had earlier marched in Frankfurt on December 8 in a demonstration against another knife attack by Turkish fascists against workers who had refused their leaflets. The TLD's record in defending foreign workers, whether victimized by reactionary compatriots or the West German state, is unequalled on the German left.

With its successful Afghanistan forum the TLD made clear that the attempt by a handful of religious fanatics and their Stalinist accomplices to turn the Frankfurt campus into an "Islamic university" will not succeed. Maoist lifer soldiers for U.S. imperialism cannot expect to hide behind claims of "left solidarity" for they are acting as straight-out provocateurs for the class enemy. Like pro-Khomeini Iranian students who last year attempted to disrupt forums sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League of the U.S., their counterparts in Germany will learn that the voice of authentic Trotskyism will not be silenced. ■



Numerous West German bourgeois newspapers covered the unprecedented terrorist attack, including the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Neue Presse*, *Abendpost* and the West Berlin *Wahrheit*, organ of the East German Socialist Unity Party, reported that "thugs had attacked counter-demonstrators who came out for the Afghan revolution," referring to "a statement by the Trotskyist League."

Luxemburg during the German Revolution of 1918-19 and one of the founders of the Trotskyist opposition to the Stalinized Communist Party in the 1920s. Silvia Lenz, chairman of the meeting, thanked those who participat-

ported on the brutal attack the previous Friday, stressing that "We intend to find the assailants and see these knife attackers in jail or in Kabul." And Gustav Steiner of the editorial board of the TLD newspaper *Kommunistische*

Melrose Park, Illinois, to ship scab materials. The union reports that at the Libertyville plant there have been confrontations with riot police and that few of the Landy truckers have escaped without broken windshields. But at the large Melrose Park plant outside Chicago convoys regularly go through under police protection.

Despite this and other forms of intimidation—including injunctions to severely limit pickets, vandalism of the union hall, and a \$1,000 fine levied by the city of Melrose Park for the barrel fires which pickets were using to keep warm—members of UAW Local 6 at Melrose Park are spirited and determined. Members of skilled trades unions who were crossing UAW picket lines have been confronted and educated in union solidarity, and sentiment has been building for the kind of mass picketing which stops scabbing cold—such as occurred earlier in the strike when 100 pickets stopped a scab train attempting to enter the plant.

Militant tactics such as immediate mobilization of mass picketing are

crucial if the union is to break its deadlock with the company. But the Harvester locals must demand full back-up from the UAW International, which is particularly important to undercut the vicious anti-picketing injunctions. Caterpillar and John Deere workers must be brought out to reopen their contracts and win the right of voluntary overtime throughout the industry. Solidarity House has no stomach for this kind of class war. As one worker commented at a December 12 demonstration sponsored by the union outside IH headquarters in Chicago, "the International is worried. If we win, they won't be able to say that it's impossible to beat mandatory overtime."

A united rank and file under class-struggle leadership can beat the company's takeaways. Caterpillar workers showed the way when they walked out October 1, forcing the International to sanction their wildcat and intersecting the Harvester strike to break the defeatist strategy of one-at-a-time "pattern" bargaining. UAW militants must demand a united fight to win

voluntary overtime, jobs for all through a genuine shorter workweek with a big pay boost, and reversal of all current

attacks on UAW—not only in the agricultural implement industry but in auto as well! ■



Chicago: Bitter International Harvester strike against forced overtime now enters fourth month.

They All Hailed Khomeini, Now Which Side Are They On?

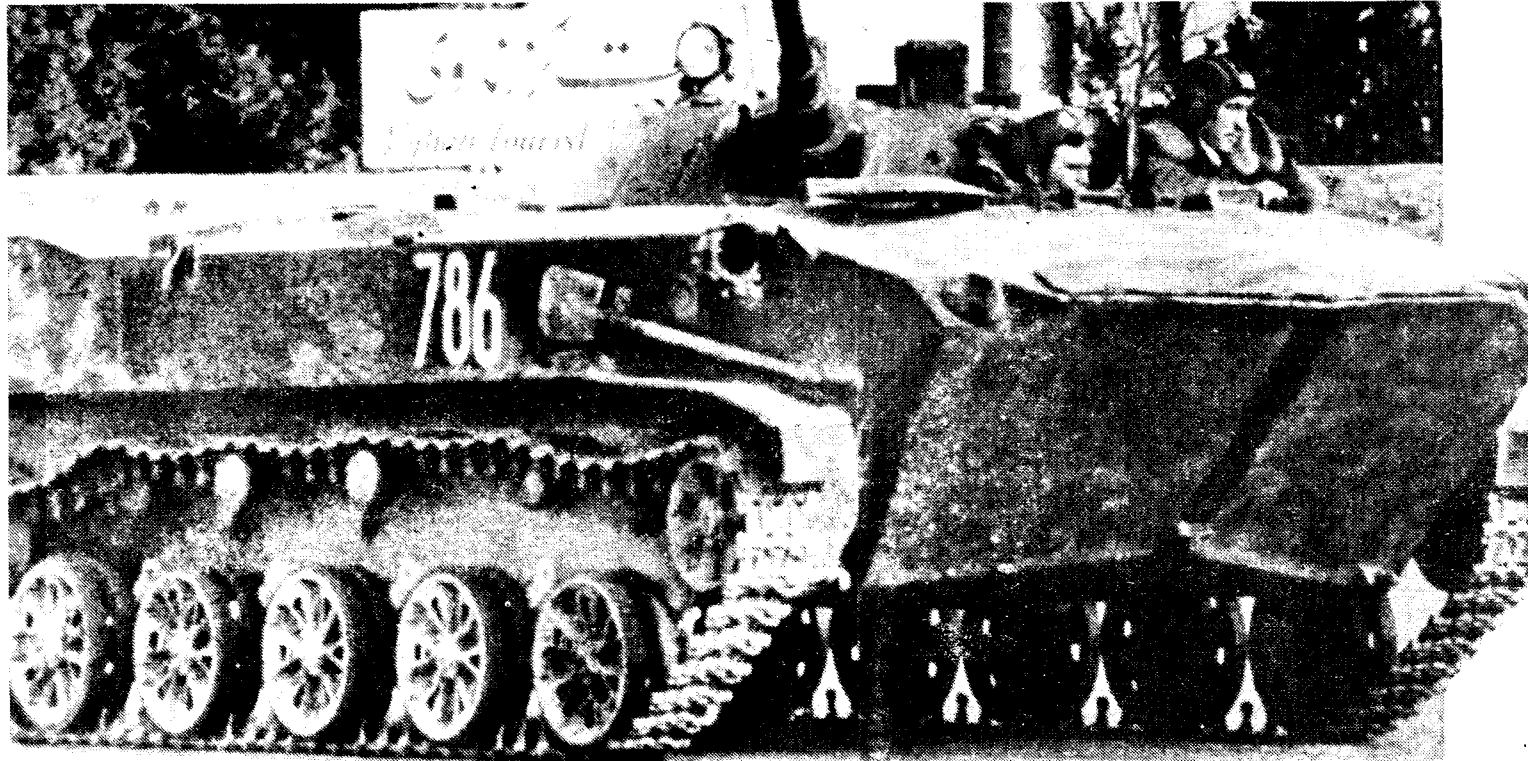
When the Carter administration seized upon Soviet troops in Afghanistan to launch a new Cold War drive, the issue of defense of the USSR against imperialism became posed more sharply and urgently than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. Once again the "Russian question" has been thrust to the fore as a decisive criterion separating revolutionary Marxists from all the waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressures of the bourgeoisie. Against the chorus denouncing so-called "Soviet aggression" against poor Afghanistan, *Workers Vanguard* headlined, "Hail Red Army!" With thermonuclear war a not-so-remote possibility, we came out unambiguously for the victory of the Soviet army against the reactionary tribal revolt in Afghanistan, and for the defense of the Russian degenerated workers state against imperialism.

The capitulation of much of the left to the hue and cry over Afghanistan has not gone unnoticed by the bourgeoisie, fueling the imperialist war drive. With evident satisfaction the *London Times* of 10 January headlined, "British Left Condemns Intervention by Moscow." And all the media played up denunciations of Moscow's move into Afghanistan emanating from Enrico Berlinguer, Santiago Carrillo and Eurocommunists in the French Communist Party (PCF). After initial hesitation PCF chief Marchais endorsed the Kremlin's policy, but on his return from a fence-mending trip to Moscow nevertheless joined Carrillo and Berlinguer in criticizing the Kremlin's banishment of the traitor Sakharov.

Not unexpectedly, the only Western Stalinist parties to stand at attention were Gus Hall's CPUSA and Alvaro Cunhal's Portuguese CP. In a speech delivered in New York City on January 24, Hall declared that "the decision made three months ago to deploy 572 additional Cruise and Pershing missiles in West Europe—missiles that can reach and obliterate all Soviet cities—is nothing but an act of encirclement," which threatens "the very existence of the Soviet Union." It's been a long time since Hall acknowledged that U.S. imperialism poses a threat to the USSR.



Soviet Central Asian soldier fights Islamic reaction in Afghanistan.



Lochon/Gamma

AFGHANISTAN, COLD WAR AND THE LEFT

Faithfully following the Kremlin line, year-in, year-out the CPUSA has preached liberal pacifism ("détente means jobs," etc.).

Of course, Hall hasn't abandoned the pipe dream of a long-term deal with imperialism, taking heart in the "loud voices among the ruling class who strongly favor peace, détente, increased trade and peaceful coexistence," (read, Teddy Kennedy). And the U.S. Stalinists haven't given up on their petty popular frontism: to counter Carter's campaign of sabotaging the Moscow Olympics the CPUSA now has a group called "Sports for the People," which wants people to write Washington with their slogan, "Let's Play Ball!... and run and swim and jump."

The Maoists, seasoned drummer boys for the Pentagon, are hailing the Afghan reactionaries as "freedom fighters" and urging the U.S. to step up its counterrevolutionary attacks and threats against the USSR. Peking's franchised party here, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, (CP-ML), lines up with the extreme right wing of American imperialism, warning in its *Call* of 14 January that "Defense" Secretary Harold Brown was pursuing a "policy of appeasing Soviet expansionism." (Apparently only Dr. Strangelove-Brzezinski will do for them.) And in the *Call* of 28 January, the CP-ML called Carter's retaliatory measures against the USSR, including the grain embargo intended to starve the Russian people, "positive in that they present obstacles to Soviet aggression, which is the main threat currently to world peace."

What Do the Trotskyists Say?

Given the rottenness of the rest of the left on Afghanistan and Carter's renewed Cold War offensive, the emphatic Spartacist line naturally attracted attention. In a survey article, "How U.S. Left Views Afghanistan," the pseudo-independent radical (actually confused

ex-Maoist) *Guardian* of 23 January singles out our position:

"The Trotskyist sect the Spartacist League (SL), never one for half-way measures, outdoes the SWP in support of the Soviet invasion. In one of the year's memorable headlines, the SL's newspaper *Workers Vanguard* proclaims: 'Hail Red Army!'"

Given the importance of the Russian question and Soviet defensism in the origins of the Fourth International, the naive would expect this to be the standard, almost knee-jerk reaction from people who call themselves Trotskyists. But, scandalously, over the test of Afghanistan, most of them capitulated. Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) came down all over the map, some on opposite sides, others in between, and some taking two, three, many lines within a few weeks' time. The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which during the Vietnam war refused to call for military victory to North Vietnam, now comes out on the side of the Soviet-backed Kabul regime. On the other side of the factional fence, many of the Mandelites, who formerly uncritically tailed the Vietnamese Stalinists, are today condemning a "Soviet invasion" and weeping over the "national/democratic" rights of the Afghan Islamic rebels.

It's not surprising that the Mandelites, in particular, are unprepared to deal with the issues that are posed over Afghanistan. For the last several years Mandel & Co. have been tailing the Eurocommunists who in turn have tried to duck the issue of Soviet defense by pretending that a military showdown between the U.S. and the Soviet bloc was out of the question. In his latest opus, *Revolutionary Marxism Today* (1979), Mandel parroted this neo-Kautskyan wishful thinking, asserting:

"I would deny that we are entering a new Cold War situation in which imperialism, more or less allied to Peking, is preparing an aggressive drive

against the Soviet Union and in which the Soviet bureaucracy therefore has to defend itself by becoming more 'anti-imperialist'."

Seldom has this fake-Trotskyist impressionist guru been proved more wrong and willfully blind. If the learned professor Mandel were lecturing at the "Free" University in Berlin and NATO missiles were arching overhead on their way to Moscow, no doubt he would then finally announce his discovery that a new Cold War had begun.

Over Afghanistan the main Mandelites groups scandalously demonstrated the aptness of Trotsky's characterization of centrism as "crystallized confusion." The French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire initially tilted heavily against U.S. imperialism, writing in *Rouge* of 4-10 January: "In this situation, it is a question of opposing all forms of imperialist retaliation against the Soviet state and of condemning the aid which it is providing to the reactionary Islamic guerrillas." But then the Eurocommunists in the PCF began issuing their denunciations of the Soviet intervention and the very next issue of *Rouge* (11-17 January) thundered, "we condemn without reservation the Soviet intervention." The following week *Rouge* decided to split the difference, condemning the intervention but opposing the demand for withdrawal! The LCR's Spanish counterpart managed to do the same trick in a single editorial of its newspaper *Combate*, first attacking Carrillo for "joining the hypocritical imperialist campaign demanding withdrawal of the Soviet troops," but then calling on the Kremlin to "prepare the withdrawal of its troops!"

IMG: Dancing to Carter's Tune

While the French and Spanish Mandelites slipped and slithered around all the hard programmatic positions involved, the British International Marxist Group (IMG) came out with an

openly *counterrevolutionary* line. In the 3 January issue of *Socialist Challenge*, IMG leader Tariq Ali wrote a back-page major line article under the banner headline, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" That just happens to be the main slogan of Margaret Thatcher and Jimmy Carter. It also is the line of the smarmy "state capitalist" British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, into which Tariq Ali in particular has been trying to liquidate.

Cliff split from the Trotskyist movement at the time of the Korean war, refusing to defend the deformed workers states against imperialist attack. (When British imperialism sent its troops into Northern Ireland in 1969, however, the Cliffites refused to demand their withdrawal.) Considering the origins of the Cliff tendency and the IMG's appetites to broker a grand "far left" regroupment based on the SWP, it seems hardly accidental that the *Socialist Challenge* article on Afghanistan cited above accused Moscow of trying to establish a regime in Kabul modeled after "the Kim Il Sung regime in North Korea."

Evidently this reactionary line ran into some heavy weather in the IMG leadership, for the 17 January *Socialist Challenge* suddenly did a 180-degree about-face:

"The possibility of a full-scale civil war has now opened up. Socialists will be forced to say which side they support in such a military conflict.

"We dissociate ourselves utterly from the bureaucratic and reactionary motivation behind the Soviet invasion, but in the present situation a call for the immediate withdrawal of troops would be tantamount to being in favor of the victory of the rightist forces and the reversal of any gains by the Afghan workers and peasants in the last decades."

But what about two weeks ago? Nowhere in this editorial is there a word of self-criticism of the IMG's previous line of "Soviet troops out!" For the Pabloists, there is no yesterday, only a tomorrow. Instead of explaining why its line has changed, *Socialist Challenge* simply prints without comment two letters from readers criticizing the Tariq Ali article for "dancing to the tune of the U.S. state department," and "joining the imperialist chorus." Readers are left to wonder *when* and *why* "socialists will be forced to say which side they support."

The IMG tries to duck taking a position in the civil war by denying that "the Islamic guerrillas in the country had definitely proved a serious threat to the government." If ever there was "Third Camp" evasion this is it. But it is hardly original. In the 1939-40 faction fight in the American SWP, over the question of defense of the USSR after Stalin had invaded Poland and "poor little Finland," James Burnham, one of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois opposition, denied that the entry of the Red Army into Poland had sparked a civil war and thereby refused to take sides. In his "Open Letter to Comrade Burnham" Trotsky replied:

"Your citing the absence of civil war in Finland is only an accidental conjunctural argument. Should the civil war unfold, the opposition will attempt not to notice it, as they tried not to notice it in Poland, or they will declare that inasmuch as the policy of the Moscow bureaucracy is imperialist in character 'we' do not take part in this filthy business."

SWP: No Soviets, No Mullahs

As the most uncritical "Trotskyist" cheerleader of Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" in Iran, it was somewhat unexpected that the American SWP of Jack Barnes should come out for the Soviet-allied Kabul government against the Islamic rebels in Afghanistan. Moreover, in order to square this position with its overall political pos-

ture, the SWP is forced to massively deny reality. Thus according to the *Militant* of 18 January, if you think the Afghan tribesmen are "Muslim rebels" opposed to an 'atheist' regime" you've been duped by "another of Washington's falsifications." Sure, Jack, they're really Zionists, right? Why such an absurd position? Because if the mullah-led forces in Afghanistan are reactionary, then the equally Islamic Khomeinist forces next door in Iran might be considered reactionary too.

The SWP denies that there are any ties between the Afghan rebels and the "Iranian revolution" even though newspapers have reported how the anti-Soviet forces are armed and sheltered in refugee camps just inside the Iranian border. Barnes & Co. go to great lengths to maintain this fiction. Even though the Iranian foreign ministry and now-president Bani-Sadr explicitly condemned Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and solidarized with the Muslim tribesmen, the *Militant* (25 January) piously proclaimed that "Khomeini himself did not speak out against it" (the Soviet action). So what will they say now that the ayatollah himself has broken his silence, denouncing Moscow and pledging Iran's "unconditional support" for the Afghan rebels (*New York Times*, 5 February)? Silence is probably their best refuge.

And these social-democratic fake-

Trotskyists go to the point of absurdity to duck the Russian question. In the same 18 January *Militant* article cited above, the SWP states baldly, "the issue is not Soviet intervention...." Is that so? Is the SWP going to tell us that Carter and Brzezinski are going to launch a new Cold War drive simply because the radical-nationalist Kabul regime sought to implement some reforms—and the presence of 80,000 or so Soviet troops is irrelevant? We say victory to the Soviet Army against the CIA-backed reactionaries; the SWP, which doesn't want to get too far away from the Democratic Party "doves," denies it is an issue. Likewise, over the Chinese invasion of Soviet-allied Vietnam in early 1979 the SWP denied that defense of the USSR was involved in any way.

WSL: Hullabaloo Over Self-Determination

Of the sundry centrist grouplets who claim to oppose the USec's Pabloist revisionism from the left, almost all raise a heart-rending cry about "violation of the Afghan right of self-determination" by the Soviet intervention. Typical in this respect is an article entitled "For an Independent Soviet Afghanistan" appearing in *Socialist Press*, the newspaper of the British Workers Socialist League (WSL):

"We condemn the invasion of Afghanistan, which involves trampling under

foot the national rights of the peoples of Afghanistan, and which will blacken the name of Communism in the eyes of the multi-millioned Muslim masses of the East, impeding the struggle for socialist revolution." [original emphasis]

To distinguish its line from the scandalous IMG position (see above), the WSL throws in a few words about "critical support" to the Soviet Army against imperialism, but this is purely formal and empty.

To be sure, Trotskyists recognize the right of self-determination for all nations. But whom does this apply to in Afghanistan—the dominant Pathans? And what of the Tadzhiks, the most urbanized, with close relatives on the Soviet side of the border? Or the Baluchis, who spill into Pakistan and Iran. Etc., etc. The meaning of the demand for Afghan "self-determination" is completely obscure in this case, and is intended to portray the USSR as an imperialist aggressor, against which backward nations or even semi-nations must be defended. In the civil war in Afghanistan the minuscule proletariat together with the radical-nationalist petty bourgeoisie allied with Moscow are pitted against the clerical-reactionary forces supported by the CIA, Khomeini, Pakistan's General Zia and the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking. It is a question of preventing the victory of counterrevolutionary forces and the

continued on page 10

In the Camp of Khomeini and the CIA

Morenoites Call For Counterrevolution in USSR

Of all the groups which lay claim to Trotskyism, the most grotesque response to recent events in Iran and Afghanistan has come from the Bolshevik Faction (BF) of Nahuel Moreno, exiled leader of the Argentine PST. A year ago, like most of the left, Moreno wildly cheered the victory of Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalist "revolution" against the butcher shah. Today the Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International—a rotten bloc between the BF and followers of Pierre Lambert's French OCI—joins Jimmy Carter in demanding immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It even calls for military support to the Islamic rebels jointly backed by Khomeini and the Pentagon.

But the Morenoites go further still. In the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) the BF postured as the far left wing, sharply criticizing capitulation to Eurocommunism and to CIA-supported causes in Portugal and Angola. Over Nicaragua they parade as heroic guerrillas, vaunting their now-defunct Simón Bolívar Brigade. Now, however, the gang of Morenoite political *bandoleros* suddenly calls for extending Khomeini-brand Islamic counterrevolution to the Soviet Union! Here is what their Italian group, the Lega Socialista Rivoluzionaria (LSR), has to say about the Afghanistan crisis:

"The counterrevolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy is discrediting itself by a criminal action against the Afghan people, trampling its right to independence, intervening on its territory without any justification. Defense against external action was not the motive in telling the USSR to intervene, but, on the contrary, an obvious attempt to reinforce its own control, to maintain the status quo in the area



Feudalist insurgents kill Communist school teacher.

DPA

shaken by revolutionary ferment. The possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders of the USSR is what terrorizes the Kremlin bureaucracy. The Soviet border populations, tied to those in Iran and Afghanistan by religious, cultural and racial ties, can be infected by the radicalization of the area, can become protagonists in an anti-bureaucratic mobilization within the workers state, laying the basis for a political revolution. This is what the bureaucracy is afraid of, this is why the USSR intervened."

—*Avanzata Proletaria*,
12 January

Moreno & Co. are evidently trying to rival the Maoists and Carter's superhawk Brzezinski in seeking to mobilize the Khomeinist Muslim fanatics against Russia!

This is no isolated "excess" by the Italian Morenoites. The Bolshevik Faction Declaration/Platform hailed the triumph of Islamic clerical reaction: "the Iranian revolution... has been the most spectacular example of an upsurge to be seen in recent years." And the Argentine PST proclaimed that the

continued on page 11

Fed Up...

(continued from page 1)

of China's arsenal. And now Carter's diplomatic blitzkrieg: grain embargo, official Olympic boycott, export ban, cultural freeze. And the cascading rhetoric of war: plans for a rapid deployment force, a draft registration and sky-high budget for the Pentagon. The Russians are made fair game as détente deals, Aeroflot jets and promised grain are stranded by Carter's Cold War rampage.

Zbigniew Brzezinski stands at the Khyber Pass rifle in hand on February 3, and thinks of Poland and Russia, of war and history. For a lifetime it seemed he had pushed and prepared for this war drive against Russia, and now with Jimmy Carter he was leading it. Surrounded by Pakistani tribesmen Brzezinski "jokes," posing for history: "It'll be a historic photo. Three weeks before the march on Kabul" (*New York Times*, February 4). Along the border he is hailed by reactionary Afghan rebels. Brzezinski gestures theatrically toward the mountains and reassures them: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side."

So in the mountains between Pakistan and Afghanistan, reactionary Afghan Islamic tribesmen hail Brzezinski whose direct target is Russia. They know where their arms are coming from. As revolutionaries, we are on the other side in this war in Afghanistan. We say: "Hail Red Army!" (see *WV* No. 248, 25 January), and we defend the Soviet Union against imperialism. For their part, the Russians have good cause to be fed up with the war drive at the White House. As the U.S. pushes for a nuclear confrontation with the Russians their very existence is threatened. But this war course was set before the invasion of Afghanistan, and the players who matter in this possible end game understand this very well. Carter's Cold War could turn hydrogen-hot in a hurry.

Without Afghanistan political excuses, Olympic diplomatic stunts or peace bravado, Leonid Brezhnev has pointed to the trip wires for nuclear war: China and Western Europe. Last week the British *Daily Mail* released a report of a Moscow meeting between Brezhnev and the head of the French National Assembly, Gaullist deputy Jacques Chaban-Delmas. Brezhnev pounded his desk again and again as he warned: "Believe me, after the destruction of Chinese nuclear sites by our missiles, there won't be much time for the Americans to choose between the defense of their Chinese allies and peaceful co-existence with us" (*New York Times*, 30 January). We believe him. And so should America. Old and sick, but not crazy, Brezhnev issued a reasonable ultimatum in his stormy desk pounding.

Russia "would not tolerate" the nuclear arming of China by the U.S. How can they? As early as 1978 Brezhnev said that "playing the China card" was a "short-sighted and dangerous policy" that the U.S. would regret. During the failed China invasion of Vietnam, it became obvious that not only was the U.S.-China anti-Soviet alliance sealed in Vietnamese blood, but also that Russia might have to knock out the Chinese missiles. It is simply too dangerous for the Russians if U.S. doomsday machinery is placed in the hands of the Chinese. For the Russians playing the China card is no diplomatic game; it is a matter of life and death. China is trip wire one.

On the other side West Europe is now armed with new missiles, missiles that Brezhnev was given to believe might be aborted under SALT II. With all the deliberateness of a cornered man, Brezhnev explained the problem: "There are now 30 minutes between the American missiles and our own. We

cannot accept that this delay be reduced to 6 minutes by new American missiles in Germany." Simple. The timing of assured retaliation is all. When the missiles go off in Germany aimed straight for all of the Soviets' major cities, the Russians need time to respond in kind. And to live with even relative security they need to know that the U.S. imperialists know they have that time. Military security is measured in minutes, even seconds. West Europe is trip wire two.

The U.S. imperialists have a dangerous habit of assuming that every government is as cynically full of bluff and bluster as its own. We recall that when the Chinese felt threatened by U.S. forces in Korea, they warned that if the U.S. troops came up to the Yalu River (the site of vital hydroelectric facilities), the Chinese would be forced to enter the war to push the U.S. back. This warning was dismissed by MacArthur and others as so much communist propaganda and oriental exoticism. But when the U.S. forces reached the Yalu, the Chinese kept their promise.

U.S. imperialism has not been very good at guessing the responses of governments and people under the gun of imperialism, nor at estimating consequences. The people of Hanoi were not demoralized by constant bombing, and the Russians will not turn against their bureaucratic leadership because Carter wants to deprive them of more meat in their diet through his grain boycott. The contrary is assured. It is aggressive, insulting stupidity which believes that the defenders of Leningrad will knuckle under to Carter's intimidation and threats. As one recent American visitor to the USSR noted in a letter to the *New York Times*, Carter doesn't understand the Russians—a "tough and unpampered people."

At last Afghanistan is getting into proper perspective. All the squawking about national sovereignty for "poor little Afghanistan" is designed to whip up a "Hate Russia, Fear Russia" siege mentality. (Afghanistan, after all, is a state and not a nation. And just when did the sanctity of state boundaries begin?) Even important sections of bourgeois opinion internationally and in the U.S. have become visibly worried about the danger of Carter's military provocations and his Afghanistan rationale for them.

George Kennan, in a significant "op ed" article in the *New York Times* (1 February, "Washington's Reaction to the Afghan Crisis: Was This Really Mature Statesmanship?"), worries openly about Carter's reaction to the Afghanistan invasion, "revealing a disquieting lack of balance.... A war atmosphere has been created." And over what? Over Afghanistan? Carter has said that the Afghanistan crisis is the most serious since World War II and is setting about to make this otherwise fake estimation a fact. Kennan takes the temperature of the war fever in Washington:

"Never since World War II has there been so far-reaching a militarization of thought and discourse in the capital. An unsuspecting stranger, plunged into its midst, could only conclude that the last hope of peaceful, nonmilitary solutions had been exhausted—that from now on only weapons, however used, could count."

Kennan is no "unsuspecting stranger" to Washington Cold War policy. He unquestionably speaks for much of bourgeois opinion when he cautions against Carter's "strident public warnings" to military action:

"We are now in the danger zone. I can think of no instance in modern history where such a breakdown of political communication and such a triumph of unrestrained military suspicions as now marks Soviet-American relations has not led, in the end, to armed conflict."

Afghanistan, Kennan points out, "is, after all, a border country of the Soviet Union." Recalling the spheres of influence that have been in effect at least since World War II (and in the case of

Russia and Afghanistan considerably longer), he writes that the invasion may suggest "defensive rather than offensive impulses." Yet in Carter's "distorted" view of Soviet ambitions Afghanistan is just the first domino in a takeover throughout Southwest Asia.

Cold Wars I, II and Always

When George Kennan characterizes Carter's saber-wielding policies as "immature" in his *Times* note for post-holocaust historians, he must do so with a heavy touch of personal irony. For it was the young George Kennan who 32 years ago—in his less "mature" persona as "Mr. X"—provided the ideological framework and even the vocabulary for Truman's Cold War doctrine of "containment." Kennan argued that the Soviets could be "contained" only by "the adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points" (quoted in Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War*). More recently Kennan has claimed he never meant this to be translated into the Truman Doctrine and that in any case he has learned his lesson. He now wants to instruct Jimmy Carter before it's too late.

The echoes of the Truman Doctrine were deafening in Carter's January 23 speech, and were probably consciously intended. On 12 March 1947 Truman demanded that "every nation must choose between alternative ways of life" and said it was America's responsibility "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures." Both Truman's and Carter's speeches are a bugle call to fight Communism with military "counterforce." The Truman speech centers on the eastern Mediterranean, Carter's on the Persian Gulf, but both divide the world neatly into American and Russian camps, demanding a wildly increased military budget and new military aid to America's allies against the Soviets.

No wonder there has been so much media comparison of Carter's line to that of the late '40s and early '50s, and so much talk of "Cold War II." Indeed a whiff of the stench of McCarthyism does seem to be blowing out of Washington, as the government whips up a new chauvinist hysteria—canceled passports, deportation of "aliens," a growing demand in Congress and editorial boardrooms to get the post-Watergate restraints off the CIA/FBI. The post-war witchhunt in the U.S. was not merely a reflex action in accordance with international policy. The Cold War "general staff" was worried not only about France and Italy but also Communist influence in the trade-union movement at home.

Like the Truman Doctrine, the Carter Doctrine was meant to mobilize public opinion by portraying the government's anti-Soviet strategy as an immediate crisis. For Truman the "crisis" was Greece; for Carter, Afghanistan. Truman's global mission for U.S. imperialism confronted a semi-isolationist public; he couldn't even get his peacetime draft through Congress. Carter faced the "Vietnam Syndrome." It was only the anger aroused by the seizure of embassy hostages in Teheran which allowed this syndrome of anti-government suspicion to be combatted and the reflexive jingoist backlash triggered by the Iranian mullahs redirected against the anti-mullah Russian intervention in Afghanistan.

But the problem with comparisons between Truman's and Carter's Cold War doctrines is that for anyone who knows anything about the world since 1947 (Kennan included), what is most important is the difference between the periods—not so much of tone or anti-Communist appetite, or even of method, but of objective historical possibility.

When Truman announced his plan

for a global assault on Communism, U.S. imperialism had only just come out of World War II as the hegemonic economic and political power. British imperialism had collapsed in fundamental ways in the Mediterranean and the U.S. was taking its place. The U.S. was so dominant economically that it was able to set up and maintain a relatively stable capitalist economy, with the dollar pegged to gold as the reserve currency. The Truman Doctrine therefore had as one of its goals the suppression of Communism (and all leftism) in Europe, particularly France and Italy, while it engineered the re-emergence of Germany and Japan as part of an anti-Soviet alliance. In short, U.S. imperialism was unchallenged among the imperialists, and it set about the business of establishing the "American Century"—an American-led capitalist world economy.

But the American Century lasted only some twenty years. In the period since the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine, the U.S. has slipped from a position of unchallenged authority to merely the most powerful of rival imperialists. This was signaled in 1971 when Nixon unhooked the dollar and let it float against other currencies. Today even schoolchildren understand that the price of gold (just now at \$680) reflects increasing centrifugal economic instability, posing the probability of increasing economic nationalism, trade wars, depression.

Business Week (21 January) put the problem of Carter's Cold War II strategy succinctly:

"Behind the seismic shift away from the dollar lies this fact: While the U.S. is now striving to rearm itself and rebuild the Western political alliance to fight a second cold war with the Russians, the country by itself cannot again muster the financial strength with which it fought the first cold war.

"...the world economy has become too decentralized ever to return to the old dollar-dominated monetary order—even under the guise of a reinvigorated American leadership fighting a new cold war. The U.S. must now depend on Europe and Japan to help it fight the new cold war, and it is not at all certain that they will agree to a new crusade."

Indeed, Carter's attempt to re-create U.S. hegemony runs smack up against the economic interests of other imperialist nations, thus heightening those very dangerous rivalries. For all of its arm-twisting, the U.S. thus far has encountered stiff resistance from its European allies. Helmut Schmidt, for example, knows perfectly well that Russia is not about to start a war in Europe. And the Germans, Japanese and French have considerable trade with the Soviet bloc. Only Margaret Thatcher, the iron maiden of Britain—which trades very little with Russia (and at a deficit)—has gone along enthusiastically with Carter's demand to "get Russia" because of Afghanistan. The attitude is summed up by a West German newspaper headline: "Berlin is more important than Kabul." Who can doubt it?

Imperialist defeat in Vietnam was the watershed in the decline of U.S. power. The attempts to lure the Russians into "disarmament" deals advantageous to imperialism in the name of détente were based on a perception of that weakness. The Nixon Doctrine of 1969, for instance, which focused on the Far East, based its strategic policy on U.S. imperialism's ability to fight Russia in one large-scale and one small-scale war simultaneously. But the Nixon Doctrine held that Russian influence could be contested effectively by regional butchers allied to and supplied by the U.S. The prime example was the shah of Iran, and when he fell, so did the Nixon Doctrine. The Carter Doctrine therefore proposes to replace this reliance on regional warlords with U.S. power directly. This means that the U.S. must be quicker to use nuclear weapons—for instance where the U.S. is 7,000 miles away and the Russians are across the border. It is no surprise that a recently released

Pentagon report (prepared before the Afghanistan invasion) calls for the use of "tactical nuclear weapons" in the Persian Gulf.

In one sense there has been a Cold War since 1917. What is new and dangerous is the Carter/Brzezinski attempt to regain the unquestioned domination of the world by threatening nuclear war with Russia. After decades of ethical-existential baloney about the "unthinkable" use of nuclear weapons, some Americans will ask: Would the U.S. rulers really drop nuclear bombs merely to gain perceived political advantage over the Russians? Isn't such a Cold War holocaust precisely the unthinkable? Unfortunately, it is not only eminently thinkable; it has already happened.

It has been known for some time that the decision to atom-bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not a matter of forcing the military defeat of Japan. The Japanese had already tried to surrender. The relevant memoirs of the central actors of the time confirm that the atomic bomb and its rush to completion were geared to "impress" the Russians, who were poised to invade Manchuria and North China. The bomb was meant to keep them from asserting influence in the Far East.

In this sense, the decision to drop the bomb was already made at Potsdam when Truman mentioned the "secret weapon" in a calculated private comment to Stalin. And the Russians understood what it meant. On August 6 the U.S. bombed Hiroshima. On August 8 the Russians invaded Manchuria. On August 10 Truman bombed Nagasaki. As General Grove indicated in his directives, they dropped two bombs because they had only two bombs in their arsenal. If they had had four, they would have dropped four.

The most politically perceptive statement on this historic event was made by Nobel prize-winning British physicist P.M.S. Blackett, who wrote that this fiery death for the Japanese civilians "was not so much the last military act of the Second World War as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia" (quoted in Bert Cochran, *Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency*).

Nuts in the White House...

This policy of macho gestures as a response to growing economic decay has the leadership it deserves. The question of political personality is obviously an important matter for men who do business with one another over the "hotline." But Marxists are also interested in political personality, centering for the reasons that Trotsky cites in his *History of the Russian Revolution* on "those traits of character which... throw a sharp light on the interrelation of personality and the objective factors of history."



Brzezinski at the Khyber: Poland on his mind, Russia in his sights.

Resolutely Denounce Maoist Running Dogs of Carter/Brzezinski!

The most enthusiastic "left" cheerleaders for Carter's new Cold War, hate-Russia crusade are predictably the Maoists. They have, after all, had years of practice championing the atrocities of Peking's anti-Soviet right-wing allies. For those who defended Bandaranaike's massacre of the 1971 Ceylonese youth uprising and the CIA-backed South African invasion of Angola in 1975, apologies for the reactionary Afghan rebels are just one more service on behalf of China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism. Yet there are reports that the unambiguously barbaric character of Peking's new-found friends in the Afghan hills has given some of these self-styled "Marxist Leninists" queasy stomachs and second thoughts.

As usual, Michael Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) is flat-footedly plodding along behind the current gang of bureaucrats in the Forbidden City. Unusually, however, the CP-ML felt it necessary to polemicize over this issue with "Trotskyites," including the Spartacist League. Slanderingly asserting that "part of Trotsky's ultra-'leftism'" was a call for Soviet military conquest of Europe, *Call* hack Carl Davidson made the following dishonest argument:

"This view of 'exporting revolution' was blasted by both Lenin and Stalin as

ridiculously and dangerously adventurous, even at a time when the Soviet Union was revolutionary. Now, some 60 years later and long after the Soviet Union has become a reactionary imperialist superpower, the Trotskyites are beside themselves with glee, apparently believing that today's Soviet expansionism is at last vindicating the views of their hero.

"The Spartacist League, a minor Trotskyite sect, gave the best example of this with a banner headline declaring, 'Hail the Red Army!'"

It is tiresome, but necessary when answering such inveterate liars as the Trot-baiter Davidson, to recall simple facts, such as that before the consummation of the Soviet bureaucracy's political counterrevolution in 1924, not only Lenin but even Stalin opposed the anti-Marxist doctrine of "socialism in one country." Moreover, they strongly favored the "export" of the Russian Revolution. When, in 1918, Lenin polemicized with Bolshevik ultralefts against an immediate Red Army offensive against the European capitalists, it was not over a difference of principle. "If there should be a revolution in Germany now," he wrote, "then it would be our duty to go to war even at the risk of losing" (quoted in Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*).

But for pro-Peking Stalinists it would probably be more relevant to recall that some years ago Mao himself ordered the "export" of the Chinese revolution... to

Brezhnev has observed that the Cold War policies of the Carter administration seem a matter of "emotional outburst" and this makes the U.S. "an absolutely unreliable partner in interstate ties... capable at any moment of violating its international obligations" (*New York Times*, 13 January). The accuracy of this appraisal is apparent. Even on the level of diplomatic horse trades by UN representatives the U.S. has the reliability of a horse thief. As a vote on the UN Security Council was about to be taken on December 31 calling for release of the American hostages in Iran, even a *New York Times* (1 January) reporter assumed a "deal" had been struck in which the Soviets would withhold their veto and the U.S. "would look the other way over Afghanistan." The UN representative for the USSR dutifully withheld his veto, but like its other promises sealed with a kiss over SALT II, the U.S. had no intention of keeping pledges to the Russians. One week later the U.S. representative introduced a resolution to condemn the Soviet Union over Afghanistan.

The personal instability of Jimmy

Carter reflects precisely this desire to act like a tough guy. During the Iran crisis, Carter simply could not abide appearing weak. But he is weak and cynical. The weak man who imagines he is strong can be quite mad—and very dangerous—if he happens to command megadeath hydrogen bombs. As Willie Carter put it recently on national TV upon his release from prison, "Uncle Jimmie is the most dangerous man in the world." Along with "Uncle Jimmie" is Zbigniew Brzezinski, who has always been for everything anti-Russian. And accompanying Brzezinski in Pakistan is a new sinister star in the Cold War firmament, Colonel William Odom of the National Security Council, once scorned as the "Brzezinski's Brzezinski," busy stomping on pockets of bureaucratic resistance to the Cold War measures.

The increasing instability of the capitalist world finds its expression in an increasingly unstable Jimmy Carter who wishes to impose a new Truman Doctrine on a world where the share of U.S. manufactures is less than a half and the value of the dollar less than one-third what it was in 1948. On a qualitatively smaller scale he can be compared to all the rulers throughout history who, as Trotsky says, see rainbows as they drown. And they do see them. Carter's vision of a Soviet Union with a master plan to take over the world through the Khyber Pass may seem to saner men quite nutty, or only an election scheme. But the problem is worse than that.

Of course, there has been a rush to stake out a less strident foreign policy, with Ted Kennedy leading the pack. Kennedy tries to surround Carter on all sides politically by blaming him for being too soft on the Russians in the past and too hard now. Recognizing that Carter is not being particularly responsible even from a capitalist perspective, Kennedy wants to pose as a more consistent, less frantic warrior against the Soviet Union.

In many ways Carter's unpopular "crisis of confidence" speech last July, which unsuccessfully tried to sell "austerity" to the American people, was a more accurate reflection of the position of U.S. imperialism in the world than his new Doctrine. From the U.S. side the

Tibet. The weight of the forces involved and the global consequences of that extension of the Chinese deformed workers state were different than in the present Afghan civil war. But the class character of the opposing forces was remarkably similar.

In March of 1959 feudal landlords, armed monks and rebellious tribesmen staged a revolt in Lhasa proclaiming the independence of Tibet. Peking rushed troops into Lhasa, and the uprising was suppressed in less than a week. Thousands of Buddhist monks, landlords, usurers and similar social refuse followed the Dalai Lama into exile in India and Nepal. The Chinese bureaucracy used this military intervention to break the power of the lamaseries and to implement much-needed reforms in this appallingly backward "Shangri-la." To ensure their hold Peking promoted massive Chinese immigration into Tibet and systematically imposed Han-chauvinist policies.

If one were to accept Davidson's liberal prejudices, then the Chinese military intervention to suppress the reactionary uprising would have to be condemned as "expansionist" and a denial of "independence for the Tibetan people." But Trotskyists regard this extension of the gains of the Chinese revolution, deformed as they are by Stalinist bureaucratic rule, as historically progressive. ■

policies labeled "détente" were based on a recognition of increased weakness, especially resulting from the long drawn-out defeat in Vietnam. This was associated with a mood of bourgeois pessimism.

Through détente the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin allowed the imperialist ruling class time to attack and erode the "Vietnam syndrome," the widespread resistance to military adventurism under the banner of the anti-Communist crusade. If America's rulers once again swagger and act as if the future is theirs, the Stalinists acquiescently believe that capitalism will more and more become circumscribed and finally die more or less peacefully. This is part of the ideological rationale behind peaceful coexistence. It is the political role of Stalinism then to stabilize this decaying capitalist system. Since the division of the world after World War II it has been a policy of the Russians to respect "spheres of influence."

The Stalinists in the Kremlin bought their sphere of influence at the price of literally disarming and sabotaging the possibilities of proletarian revolutions in Europe after World War II. And their policies of class collaboration have not deviated from that disastrous course. Thus politically, both the Kremlin bureaucrats and those in Washington fear proletarian revolution. For the capitalists revolution would mean the end of their economic and social system of class rule. For the Stalinists it means being swept away in a political revolution. But despite the Stalinists' illusions and the fathomless appetites to conciliate imperialism, the capitalists still have a need to reconquer the deformed workers states for capitalism. For working-class revolutionaries, the Carter Doctrine poses the Russian question pointblank.

In particular it objectively poses the question of proletarian revolution in America or the mobilization of a war against Russia. When Engels said that ultimately the choices for humanity would be between socialism or barbarism, he did not have in mind the dramatic possibilities of nuclear war. But contemporary history is presented

continued on page 10

Fed Up...

(continued from page 9)

with just such a choice. At its national convention in 1946 the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party adopted a document written by its national chairman, James P. Cannon, entitled, "Theses on the American Revolution." The document was revolutionary in its thrust and spirit, although it misjudged the conjunctural ability of U.S. capitalism (with the help of the Stalinists and social democrats) to emerge as the unchallenged force in "an American century." But we intend that its prediction on the Russian question and American revolution will prove to have been merely premature:

"The impending economic paroxysms must, under the existing conditions, pass inexorably into the social and political crisis of American capitalism, posing in its course pointblank the question of who shall be the master in the land. In their mad drive to conquer and enslave the entire world, the American monopolists are today preparing war against the Soviet Union. This war program, which may be brought to a head by a crisis or the fear of a crisis at home, will meet with incalculable obstacles and difficulties. A war will not solve the internal difficulties of American imperialism but will rather sharpen and complicate them. Such a war will meet with fierce resistance not only by the peoples of the USSR, but also by the European and colonial masses who do not want to be the slaves of Wall Street. At home the fiercest resistance will be generated. Wall Street's war drive, aggravating the social crisis, may under certain conditions actually precipitate it. In any case, another war will not cancel out the socialist alternative to capitalism but only pose it more sharply.

"The workers' struggle for power in the U.S. is not a perspective of a distant and hazy future but the realistic program of our epoch." ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

defense of the Soviet Union pointblank.

Parity Committee: Counter-Revolution Down the Line

Surely the most despicable reaction to the Afghanistan crisis among ostensible Trotskyists, however, comes from the "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth

International." The Parity Committee includes followers of flamboyant Latin American Trotskyoid honcho Nahuel Moreno and the more staid social-democratic French OCI headed by Pierre Lambert. Recently posing as militantly orthodox Trotskyists over Nicaragua, on Afghanistan the Lambertist/Morenoite bloc nakedly capitulates to imperialism. Where other pseudo-Trotskyist groups talk vaguely of violated "rights" of Afghanistan, a Parity Committee statement published in the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (19-26 January) does so in a particularly evocative way: "Using all the means of its colossal power against a small nation, the ruling bureaucracy detours the masses engaged in struggle against imperialism." Shades of Burnham/Shachtman on poor little democratic Finland vs. the Russian behemoth!

And where the IMG calls for Soviet troops out, the Parity Committee goes Tariq Ali one better: it calls for military support to the Islamic rebels!

"If it were a question of aiding the struggle of the Afghan people to realize their national and social aspirations in opposition to imperialism, the rulers of the USSR would only have to order their troops to leave their arms in the hands of the Afghan mass revolutionary movement."

Naturally, Lambert/Moreno also deny that the rebels are reactionary at all:

"The revolutionary wave born in Iran could only have destabilizing effects in Afghanistan. If religion can be taken up as an element of national affirmation, the movement which allowed the rebellion to develop against the central power is not—any more than in Iran—a 'religious' movement. It is part of the totality of the mobilization of the masses in this region..."

But even this is nothing compared to the Morenoite wing of this unnatural combination, whose Italian supporters have now called for extending Khomeini's clerical-feudalist movement *into the Soviet Union*—an open call for Islamic counterrevolution to overthrow the conquests of the October Revolution (see accompanying article)!

Iran and Afghanistan have become the acid test for those who claim the heritage of Leon Trotsky. Those who seek to flee from the obligatory defense of the Soviet Union at the crucial moment find that they are indeed marching to Carter's battle hymn. To them we reply in the words of J.P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism: "We always said the moment of danger will find the Fourth Internationalists at their posts defending the conquests of the great revolution without ceasing for a moment our struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now

UCASSH Needs Cash

The suit of phone worker militant Jane Margolis against the U.S. Secret Service—who dragged her off the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention floor last summer to prevent her from criticizing Jimmy Carter—is rapidly gaining notice and support in the West Coast labor movement. The battle being waged by the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) has scored gains in the past few weeks. The Margolis suit, which has already received the backing of locals and officers of the CWA in several cities, was recently endorsed by the Executive Board of Local 1412 of the United Electrical Workers, the Pasadena, California local of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the State Executive Board of Local 535 of the Service Employees International Union. The National Lawyers Guild has also added its support to the case.

In endorsing the UCASSH campaign, Hilding Martinson, business agent of United Electrical Workers Local 1412 in Oakland, said that the Secret Service's ham-fisted repres-

sion brought to mind the anti-labor witchhunts of the McCarthyite '50s. Executive Board members of Teamsters Local 9 in the Bay Area told UCASSH supporters that they were not surprised by the Secret Service's mugging of Margolis because their own local union is currently suing the FBI for illegal breaking and entry! Numerous rank-and-file unionists canvassed by UCASSH have proved to be already familiar with, and supportive of, the suit against government harassment of the labor movement.

When Carter's secret police dragged Margolis, an elected delegate from CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco, off the floor of her own union's convention to prevent her from denouncing Carter's anti-labor policies, they committed an outrage against the entire labor movement. Funds for this case are urgently needed, and opponents of government repression against the unions are asked to send donations to: Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, P.O. Box 12324, San Francisco, CA 94112. ■

that the hour of danger is at hand... it would be very strange if the Fourth International should renege on its oft-repeated pledge." Hail Red Army—Against Islamic reaction in Afghanistan and Iran! No to Carter's war drive! ■

Greensboro...

(continued from page 12)

The preachers could not succeed in re-creating the old liberal Civil Rights movement in part because its targets, the formal/legal structure of Jim Crow, have been largely dismantled, but also because even the marginal social gains of the 1960s are now being rapidly wiped out. For the masses of ghetto blacks, North and South, no strategy which fails to challenge the economic basis of racism in capitalist America can provide an answer to their oppression. Meanwhile, the resurgence of the Klan and random murder of black youths by kill-crazy cops underline why blacks cannot rely on the bourgeois state.

The liberal civil rights program is manifestly bankrupt, yet even the most militant of the black ministers do not transcend it. In an interview with *WV*, Rev. Ben Chavis recalled that the Wilmington Ten "went to prison because we defended ourselves against the Ku Klux Klan attack on a black church." However, politically Chavis seeks only to pressure the Democrats and the capitalist government. "I'm calling for a ban of the Klan," he said, "but a people's ban of the Klan." This simply echoes SCLC and CP appeals to those racist "guardians of law and order" who managed to absent themselves so conveniently from the Morningside Homes housing project in Greensboro that tragic day in November.

As for the CWP, this Mao-Stalinist cult-sect and its crazed adventurism will not be around long. With their martyrs they have now momentarily been able to attract a following among militants opposed to the pacifism of the SCLC and its reformist lapdogs. But the CWP has no program for power. Its ostentatious gun-toting is empty posturing: chanting "Death to the Klan," five of their members were slain November 3 while the KKKers got away without a scratch. Meanwhile they flip-flop wildly between extreme sectarianism—in past months physically attacking other left

groups, particularly the Spartacist League, who sought to mount protests against the murder of their comrades—and CP-style popular-frontist unity mongering.

The bravado of such small groups is dangerously adventurist. Genuine communists—the Trotskyists—fight for a program linking the struggle for black liberation to the power of organized labor, the only social force capable of *smashing* the fascist terrorists. In North Carolina, where only 7 percent of the workforce is organized, the struggle against the KKK must be linked to the struggle to break the open shops and organize the South. In this context the present Teamsters and ACTWU organizing drives in North Carolina are urgent. It is notable that four of the CWP victims of Klan terror were unionists trying to organize textile mills and hospitals in this notorious "right-to-work" state.

At today's march a team of *Workers Vanguard* salesmen distributed more than 800 copies of *WV* along with 1000 special supplements telling the story of a November 10 labor/black demonstration in Detroit to fight KKK terror. After the Greensboro massacre some 500 predominantly black workers and Trotskyists of the Spartacist League rallied to proclaim, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City." In particular the November 10 rally was marked by the participation of black and white workers from the giant Ford River Rouge factory who had recently driven KKK-hooded foremen out of the plant. This demonstration pointed the way forward to mobilizing the power of the unions—the real answer to fascist attacks.

Greensboro or Detroit—this is the alternative facing those who would stamp out the night-riding killers once and for all. ■

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Militant Seamen Say:

"Stop the Anti-Soviet Boycott! Keep 'Em Sailing!"

Jimmy Carter's revival of the Cold War has unleashed a wave of social patriotism in the American working class. Most recently, Teamster ground crews have stranded an Aeroflot jet at New York's JFK airport, while the anti-Communist leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has declared a total embargo of all Soviet trade. Even liberal bureaucrats like Steelworker Ed Sadlowski have lined up solidly behind Carter's policies in the Persian Gulf.

However, this anti-Soviet mobilization has not gone unanswered in the labor movement. We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) of the National Maritime Union (NMU). The M-SC also introduced a resolution at the January 28 New York port meeting of the NMU opposing the ILA's anti-Soviet boycott. Although the NMU bureaucrats ganged up to defeat the motion, a Caucus spokesman told *WV* that the M-SC was successful in achieving a rare united front against this anti-working-class boycott. A member of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), which is supported by the reformist Communist Party (CP), introduced his speech by noting that this was the first time in years that he was giving his wholehearted support to an M-SC resolution!

The NMU provides a classic example of the fruits of Cold War witchhunting. Once controlled by the CP, it became a bastion of anti-Communism following World War II when NMU president Joe Curran deserted his Stalinist allies and launched a vicious red purge, driving hundreds of militants out of the union. This paved the way for three decades of shameless collaboration with the bosses. Once the most powerful of the seamen's unions, the NMU today is but a shadow of its former self.

The efforts of militants in the NMU, the West Coast longshoremen (ILWU) and in other unions to combat the labor bureaucracy's vicious anti-Soviet poisons are crucial in the fight for genuine class-struggle unionism.

Morenoites/ USSR...

(continued from page 7)

mullahs' victory last February "has already won its place among the great revolutions of this century, comparable in importance to the prolonged Indochinese Revolution" (*Opción*, April 1979). In the press of the LSR this becomes explicit political support for the Muslim religious leaders, whose "profound integration with the people" makes them "the channel for mobilization, the leadership of the revolution":

"Above all the ties which exist between the ayatollahs and the masses are favored by the fact that the Shi'ite hierarchy is not imposed from above but elected from below and therefore fully recognized by the population."

—*Avanzata Proletaria*,
25 March 1979

These seemingly bizarre statements (for self-proclaimed Trotskyists) actually reflect a constant political line. No less sinister than the Lambertists' State Department socialist Stalinophobia, the

—BEACON SUPPLEMENT NO. 105,
28 JANUARY 1980

Last week longshore union leader Teddy Gleason predictably jumped on President Carter's anti-Soviet bandwagon and called for a boycott of all cargo to the Soviet Union because of the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan. American trade unionists must oppose this reactionary boycott and the war hysteria being drummed up behind it.

Why All the Fuss About Afghanistan

The propaganda being whipped up by the big-business press about the "national rights" of Afghanistan is pure bull. The rebels Carter supports want a backward Islamic state like their ally Khomeini in Iran. The rebellion began when the Afghani government tried to implement democratic reforms including abolishing the bride price by which women are sold like cattle and men have to pay the mullahs in order to have human sexual relations; cancelling the debts of poor villagers; redistributing land, much of it owned by the mullahs, the Islamic priests; and initiating a literacy drive. Those who rant about the Soviet army trampling on democratic rights are supporting Muslim tribesmen whose goal it is to keep women in veils, beat anyone who takes a drink, and ban music. Most of us in this union hall would be locked up under such a reactionary Islamic regime! The rebels are even murdering schoolteachers in a country which is 95% illiterate. The issue for workers is which side represents social progress—the Soviet-supported Afghani reform government or the Muslim fanatics. If the present Afghani government, which overthrew the old monarchy, and its Soviet allies win, it may not be paradise, but at least the country will be brought into the twentieth century.

Jimmy Carter doesn't give a damn about the "human rights" of Afghans or Iranians. His target is the Soviet Union. He is willing to support any anti-communist dictator, whether it be the crazy Khomeini or the murderous Shah,

Morenoites' anti-Soviet line on Afghanistan reflects their leader's *caudillo* mentality. From his political support to Perón in Argentina, to Torrijos in Panama, Velasco Alvarado in Peru and now the clerical-feudalist Khomeini in Iran, Moreno shows a peculiar predilection for bonapartist populist, bourgeois-nationalist regimes. Compared to the gray bureaucrat Brezhnev, ruling through a pervasive state apparatus, Khomeini appears as a charismatic, dynamic leader—a true man of respect for the would-be "Trotskyist Imam" from Argentina.

This inveterate political chameleon has hoodwinked a good many would-be leftists in his day. We urge our readers to consult the Spartacist tendency's *Moreno Truth Kit* for the true story of the unfrocked Peronist run amok. And to ponder the fact that at the first shot of a new Cold War the Morenoites drop all pretense of upholding the Trotskyist program toward the degenerated/deformed workers states: *workers* political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and *unconditional defense against imperialism*. Who knows, before long

who will line up against the Soviets. If Carter does intervene militarily in Iran, it will only be to keep the Persian Gulf "safe" for Exxon, Texaco, and Gulf.

Economy Goes to Hell— Carter Pushes Anti-Sovietism

Why is Carter embarking on this anti-Soviet crusade, doing everything from driving to bring back the draft to wrecking the Olympics to threatening war over the Persian Gulf? America is going to hell. Chrysler is bankrupt; the steel industry is going down the tubes; maritime has hit rock bottom; the inner cities are rotting and major school systems won't pay their teachers. Racism and the Ku Klux Klan are on the rise.

The Democratic and Republican Party politicians want us to pay for their crisis. Look at what Mayor Koch is trying to do to New York. Carter breaks strikes and tells the trade unions to forget about wage increases, to forget about spending on social needs, while he heats up the Cold War. And then he tries to make us buy it by appealing to "national unity." That's what lies behind the crocodile tears for the hostages in Iran—many of whom probably were CIA agents. And what better way for Carter, Kennedy, Reagan and big business to deflect the anger of American workers than by trying to set us against the Russians. The bosses always whip up anti-communism when they get in trouble. NMU old-timers remember the Cold War at the end of World War II when labor-faker Curran teamed up with the bosses' government to red-bait and drive out the guys who built the NMU.

The birth of the Soviet Union in 1917 was hailed by workers around the world. It was the first time in history that workers took power, eliminating capitalist private property and setting up a planned economy. The Russian workers ended wage slavery and unemployment, and took the first steps towards ending the persecution of ethnic minorities. These gains, although some have been eroded, still stand today. Sure, the Stalin/Khrushchev/Brezhnev gang long ago betrayed the

goal of liberating the working class of the entire world that inspired those who made the Russian Revolution. But the American bosses hate the Soviet Union for the same reason they hate the trade unions—they represent an obstacle to their crazed profit drive. To refuse to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist attack would be like refusing to defend our union against the shipowners on the grounds that the NMU is run by the likes of Curran or Shannon Wall—who are no less corrupt and dictatorial than the Brezhnev bureaucrats in Russia!

Carter is hellbent on getting re-elected on a platform of threatening nuclear war against the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union is not the enemy of the American working class. It's not the Russians who tell us to work harder in order to have even less to eat. Our enemy is at home. Instead of shedding our blood so Texaco, Gulf, and Exxon can get even richer, we need to fight the capitalists here. We need to build a workers government that will make the oil industry and the rest of the economy *work for us*.

A Labor Boycott?

Boycotts are weapons which labor can legitimately use at times to show solidarity with other working people. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus has demanded that the union refuse to carry scab cargoes and has called for boycotts of military goods to racist and oppressive dictatorships like South Africa and Chile. But while NMU officials have ruled such motions out of order, they whoop it up for the anti-working class trade embargoes backed by Carter, like the boycott of trade to Iran. NMU-contract ships are today carrying scab oil—oil workers at Gulf, Texaco, Arco and Shell are on strike. Refusing to handle struck oil is a basic act of solidarity with fellow workers, but supporting Carter and Gleason's anti-communist campaign only robs us of necessary jobs for an anti-labor cause. NMU seamen must oppose the anti-Soviet boycott and must demand an end to labor support for the big-business parties and their war drive! ■

our pseudo-Trotskyist impresario *sui generis* may form an "Imam Khomeini Brigade" in order to extend the clerical-feudalist "Islamic Revolution" into the

Soviet Union! It wouldn't be hard to mop them up—but their mullah allies might do the job even before the Soviet army could get around to it. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Armed Self-Defense the Issue

Thousands Protest Klan Murders in Greensboro

GREENSBORO, February 2—A tense atmosphere gripped this southern textile town today as nearly 8,000 demonstrators wound their way for four miles through the city chanting, "The Klan has got to go, We can't take it any more." A National Guard helicopter hovered overhead while hundreds of helmeted city police and highway patrolmen blocked off deserted streets along the parade route from the War Memorial to the Greensboro Coliseum. This massive show of force by the state was intended to intimidate the largest demonstration in the South against racism in over a decade.

In the wake of the hideous daylight massacre of five leaders of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) by Ku Klux Klan and Nazi terrorists here last November 3, the march took place amidst a hysterical anti-communist fear campaign. One day before the demonstration Mayor Jim Kelvin imposed a state of emergency prohibiting marchers from carrying arms, while Governor Hunt called out the National Guard and the state police. For the past month, the State Bureau of Investigation has been arm-twisting bus companies to cancel charters to Greensboro and trying to keep students from southern black colleges from attending the march.

But there was also another component to the witchhunt campaign: the leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) who called the march. Ever since the Greensboro massacre, the black ministers have worried aloud about the influence of left groups in the South. At a November conclave in Detroit, a delegation of North Carolina black pastors discussed "ways of responding to Communist organizing efforts." And an SCLC-initiated December 17 Atlanta conference against the Klan was intended to cut the ground out from under "extremist elements."

The Atlanta meeting was attended by various reformist organizations as well, including the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Communist Party (CP) and



CWP banners at February 2 demo. Klan massacre sparked anti-fascist march.

the Maoist Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML), all of whom dutifully pledged to subordinate themselves to the preachers, agreeing to remain within the "Planning Committee Guidelines," including "carrying signs and chanting slogans prepared and suggested by the February 2 Mobilization Committee." At the march the SWP (which says that votes to their milksop presidential candidate are the answer to the Klan)

showed up in force with a couple hundred supporters. The CP and CP-ML were also there, as usual buried in their various front groups.

The theme of the Greensboro march was supposed to re-create the 1960s Civil Rights movement. The liberal press did its part by highlighting the return to Greensboro of four black students whose lunch counter sit-in 20 years ago sparked the freedom rides.

Today one is a stockbroker, another a business executive, while a third administers a government anti-poverty program. With all the obscene hypocrisy of Jimmy Carter's "New South," a historical site marker now stands near Woolworth's commemorating the students' struggle—here in Greensboro, where three months ago five anti-racist militants were gunned down in broad daylight by the Klan!

But the black clergymen did not succeed in their goal of isolating the "extreme left" and re-creating the liberal/pacifist days of the Martin Luther Kings and Andrew Youngs. More than 1,000 people marched behind CWP banners and giant portraits of their martyred dead. The march was sharply polarized between those who followed the "turn-the-other-cheek" preachings of the ministers and the sizable number who defiantly proclaimed the right to self-defense. SCLC and Interreligious Foundation (IFCO) leaders had expelled the CWP from the planning committee and threatened to exclude them from the march if they did not promise to come disarmed. But in the end the CWP Maoists pressured their way into the march and onto the speakers' list.

Time and again throughout the day the ministers tried to impose their "non-violent" strategy. Just before the march was to begin, SCLC's Rev. C. T. Vivian pleaded with the marchers at War Memorial stadium to turn in any weapons and exhorted, "We've come to make a statement to America that can't be made with guns and bullets and knives." No arms were surrendered to parade marshals. As the marchers started off, led by about 100 students from Greensboro A&T, they had to pass through a gauntlet of state troopers and local police armed to the teeth with riot gear. Only those cretins who refuse to draw the lessons of years of cop attacks on Civil Rights demonstrations could have felt "protected" by this ominous show of force.

Entering the Greensboro Coliseum, the marchers' chants of "Fired Up! Death to the Klan!" were interspersed with gospel hymns, sermons and innumerable pleas to "ban the Klan." SCLC leader Joseph Lowery blasted the CWP for refusing to come unarmed. When the wives of the murdered activists came to the platform, they were greeted with thunderous applause, much to the embarrassment of the official rally leadership. Featured speaker Ben Chavis of the Wilmington Ten defended the courage of the fallen victims of Klan terror. But he was followed by the SCLC's Vivian, who sneered at the Maoists: "You're not the only ones killed." Vivian was roundly jeered for this remark.



North Carolina A&T students at head of the march.

continued on page 10

8 FEBRUARY 1980