

Carter/Khomeini/UN Whitewash Imperialist Crimes

Anti-Soviet Hostage Deal

Carter and Khomeini seem to have had enough of the hostage crisis. Their representatives are busy cooking up a UN deal to ransom the hostages from the U.S. embassy where they have been held since November 4, in exchange for a formal UN commission allegedly to "investigate the crimes of the shah."

In the U.S. the hostage issue has been eclipsed by Carter's open war drive against the USSR over Afghanistan. Afghanistan poses the class question pointblank: which side are

you on, U.S. imperialism or the Soviet Union? From the beginning of the mullahs' drive to power we have said the rule of these fundamentalist clerics would be as reactionary as the shah's, and in the crunch as committed to anti-Sovietism.

A few months ago when people in this country were buying up Khomeini dartboards and "nuke the ayatollah" T-shirts and generally screaming for Iranian blood, we pointed out:

"Carter's 'moderation' is motivated not so much by concern for the

hostages as by anti-Soviet strategic calculations. The fact is that the U.S. desperately wants an anti-Soviet Iran."

—"No to Carter's War Threats!" *WV* No. 245, 7 December 1979

When Carter and Brzezinski call for an anti-Soviet holy alliance of the U.S. with "the Moslem world," they are looking straight at Iran. And with the invasion of Afghanistan, the mullahs are looking back. So now the hostages have become an obstacle to a budding anti-Soviet alliance, an

obstacle not so much for Carter and Khomeini themselves as for their followers. Stalin's henchman Molotov was once quoted as saying that fascism was a matter of taste. Well, when Jimmy smells an anti-Soviet deal, the lives of his own employees become a matter of taste. So the president and the imam have cooked up a diplomatic charade at the UN.

The UN commission is a face-saver for the Iranian government. For 15 *continued on page 9*

No to the Draft! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Fight Carter's War Fever!

It's a long way to Kabul (from Washington, that is), but Jimmy Carter has launched Cold War II over Afghanistan. "Human Rights" is an empty battle cry: victory for the "free world" means bride price and the veil, usury and feudal serfdom. And Soviet intervention is just the pretext: the CIA was arming the Islamic tribesmen, while the drive to beef up the U.S. war arsenal began well before Afghanistan. Stationing nearly 600 nuclear missiles in Europe, preparing to arm China, seeking to provoke food riots by embargoing grain to Russia, and trying to wreck the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer, U.S. aims are clear: it is Truman's "containment" and Dulles' "rollback" all over again. Carter believes that god has anointed him world gendarme against atheistic Communism, and he is threatening Armageddon over the Persian Gulf.

To back up his bluster, however, it is necessary to militarize American public opinion, which since the Vietnam debacle has acted as a brake on new imperialist adventures. So in his swaggering "state of the union" tirade January 23, the U.S. president announced steps to reintroduce the draft. Brandishing conscription has little immediate military value, but it plays a key role in building patriotic war fever. So far Carter has had some successes in whipping up anti-Soviet hysteria in the population: witness the apparent attempt by New York air controllers to force a crash landing by an Aeroflot jet carrying Russian ambassador Dobrynin. But what about the *draft*, the focus of many early Vietnam protests? Can the Pentagon convince the "me generation" to go to war for "fiercely independent, Islamic Afghanistan"?

Politicians and the media turned toward the campuses to find the answer to this question. According to the pollsters, student opinion is about evenly split on the draft. But the opposition is hardly silent. Anti-draft demonstrations have occurred on a



Heinz/Plain Dealer

Spartacus Youth League in Cleveland anti-draft demonstration, February 9, calls for defense of USSR against American imperialism.

scale not seen since the dying days of the anti-Vietnam War movement: in Berkeley, 2,500 jammed into the University of California's Sproul Hall Plaza; at Columbia, 1,000 gathered in front of Low Library; hundreds more rallied at Michigan State, the University of Illinois, UCLA and numerous other colleges and universities. But unlike the '60s and early '70s, when opposition to the draft was fueled by hatred for U.S. imperialism's bloody slaughter in Vietnam, today's protests are narrowly focused.

The privatist attitudes of many current demonstrators were captured by a Princeton student's sign proclaiming, "There Is Nothing Worth Dying For." The almost apolitical character of the recent anti-draft protests is the responsibility of the organizers, including various self-proclaimed socialist and even "communist" groups. Aware that their flimsy coalitions would blow apart in a minute if the fundamental issues were posed, they have tried to avoid any mention of Iran, Afghanistan or Russia. Moreover, the majority of anti-draft

protesters refuse to confront Cold War anti-Sovietism. When a U.S. general recently challenged an anti-draft organizer on ABC TV whether he would defend the United States, the latter answered lamely, "That's not the issue." But it is. And in the absence of a clear anti-militarist, anti-imperialist program the present movement will be politically dominated by those opposed only to a *peacetime* draft, thus feeding the fortunes of Kennedy liberals. Unless, of course, Carter manages to cut the ground out from underneath it by backpedaling slightly (as he did in last week's press conference), saying he is only for registration.

No mass movement against conscription ever has been or ever will be built by ignoring the wars for which it is to supply the cannon fodder. And instead of submerging our political program like the fake-lefts, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) have polarized a number of the recent anti-draft mobilizations with our banners demanding: "No to the Draft! No to Carter's War Drive! Hail Red Army! Smash Islamic Reaction!" In addition, the SYL organized rallies around these slogans at the University of Chicago, UCLA, San Francisco State, the University of Michigan, UC Berkeley and Oberlin. For many students our unflinching defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, despite the Stalinists' bureaucratic domination, was the *first honest answer they had heard to Carter's "Human Rights" demagogy and anti-Soviet war drive.* The SL/SYL alone refused to duck the issues.

But to the Maoists, trying to hide their *support* to American imperialism against Russia over Afghanistan by pretending to oppose the draft; to social democrats, eager to latch onto the coattails of liberal Democrats, the Spartacist slogans were a red flag, driving them into a conniption fit. The

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Militant Gets 47% in ILWU Vote

SAN FRANCISCO—While both major cliques within the bureaucracy of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 in San Francisco suffered a serious loss of support in the recent union elections, opposition candidates running on a class-struggle program did extremely well. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, were elected to the Local 10 Executive Board for their sixth consecutive term, and Gow was re-elected a convention and longshore caucus delegate. Even more spectacularly Rex Reinhart, who was endorsed by the "Longshore Militant" and ran in agreement with its program in his bid for vice president of the Local, received a resounding 47 percent of the runoff vote—the largest vote ever received by a class-struggle candidate in the ILWU since World War II—although all sections of the bureaucracy supported his opponent, John Carr.

Growing resistance within Local 10 to years of employer attacks on the workforce has generated increasing interest in the program of the "Longshore Militant." This resistance, spearheaded by the intervention of Gow and Keylor, manifested itself in 1978 when San Francisco was the only major port to vote the contract down. In markedly larger numbers longshoremen are opposing the steady-man system, under which the union hiring hall is eroded: over 80 percent of those newly trained

for steady jobs have refused them, while a number of long-time steady men have also abandoned these jobs.

There has also been a notable upturn in membership job actions around such issues as safety and contract violations, despite attempts by local officers to suppress these actions and submit all issues to arbitration. Even the bureaucracy, under pressure from the membership, was forced to pull job actions during the election period to protect its base of support, although this was a hypocritical—and temporary—election ploy. Now that the elections are over, the job actions are over.

It is rare that a relative unknown in union politics makes it into the runoff for a major office. The broadest indicator of the growing interest in the "Longshore Militant" program is the fact that Reinhart chose to run on it and to stand by it despite redbaiting attacks on him. And there is no doubt that the support which Gow and Keylor gave Reinhart was a key reason for his outstanding showing.

Particularly significant in Reinhart's victory were the "Longshore Militant"'s forthright internationalist stands on such issues as Afghanistan and the Soviet Union when Carter was trying to whip up war hysteria. At the same time, the union leadership, in a significant break from its Communist Party-influenced origins, was making a bid for bourgeois respectability by undertaking a boycott of goods to Iran.

And the Herman bureaucracy's condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan marked the first major policy statement ever issued by the ILWU criticizing the Russians.

In the face of Gow and Keylor's principled opposition to Carter's anti-Sovietism and his boycott of Iran, it took guts for Reinhart to link his campaign to the "Longshore Militant." His program (see accompanying election leaflet) made no bones about the fact that it would take a working-class political offensive to put the ILWU on a course for victory. As Reinhart wrote:

"I have been endorsed by the *Longshore Militant* and agree with their program. I'm also for a workers party to fight for a workers government because I'm convinced that the Democrats and Republicans will never help us. As long as the ruling class is in power the worker will get the shaft through taxes and inflation. I've received some flak from the brothers about getting teamed up with Gow and Keylor. But I have found them to be completely honest and dedicated to the betterment of the union."

Shaken by the support to the "Longshore Militant" of this younger longshoreman widely liked on the docks, and by his success in the primary election (28 percent of the vote), the Local 10 bureaucrats launched a vicious redbaiting campaign. Both leadership cliques lined up behind Reinhart's opponent, John Carr, and insulted black members' intelligence by urging them to vote for Carr simply because he

is black. But these tactics backfired.

The votes reflected what many members have been saying with their feet for the past two years as they have been walking off the job to protest safety and contract violations. Fed up with the passivity of the old leadership which has crawled before the PMA (employer association) attacks since the 1971 strike, and seeing the opportunity to register an emphatic protest vote, hundreds of members voted for Reinhart, knowing full well he stood with Gow and Keylor. Now the "Longshore Militant" must consolidate this victory by going forward to recruit a core of militants who can provide a basis for a genuine class-struggle leadership in the ILWU. ■

Chicago City Workers:

All Out With Firefighters!

CHICAGO—A militant fire fighters strike has become a full-scale war in this crisis-ridden city, as Mayor Jane Byrne moves to gut the fire fighters union and end city worker opposition to her budget-slashing regime. City Hall has recently employed strikebreaking measures against transit workers and teachers, in both cases with the indispensable help of sell-out business-union leaders. Now the firemen are on the chopping block, and Byrne has hired hundreds of new "trainees" while announcing that all strikers will be fired. Having promised during her election campaign that she would give the firemen a contract, Byrne now says she "will never again" negotiate with the union.

In the face of this attack, as well as a \$40,000 per day fine and a media campaign about "strike victims," Chicago firemen have stood firm. But some other city unions have allowed their members to scab, while Chicago police, with whom the Chicago Fire Fighters Union and AFSCME are in a bargaining coalition, are herding scabs and intimidating pickets in their role as guardians of capitalist "law and order."

City workers must not continue to let their unions be picked off one by one! Stop the scabbing, break the alliance with the strikebreaking cops and bring all city unions out now in powerful united strike action to stop Byrne's anti-labor assault! ■

—Campaign leaflet of candidate supported by "Longshore Militant"

Elect Rex Reinhart Vice-President

I'm asking for your support. I would like to state that I will not go along with the officers on actions I don't think benefit the union, and will forcefully bring them up at membership meetings. For instance, both presidential candidates supported Dianne Feinstein, a major strike-breaker against the city workers. I would have attempted to block their endorsement. The membership must get involved in defending itself and its jobs.

We are presently involved in a dispute with Local 34 over transfers. This cannot be resolved as long as we are tied up in court because of the lawsuit brought against Locals 10, 34, and 91 by fifteen longshoremen working as clerks. They should drop this suit. Gow and Keylor's slogan "not longshoremen vs. clerks but ILWU vs. PMA" makes sense; we should be in a joint fight over jobs. Divide and conquer is one of the employers chief weapons and we should not fall into that trap.

Although our contract doesn't run out for another year and a half, let's discuss what we're after. Instead of going in with a long list of demands we ought to stick with basics. Last year Marine Terminals doubled their profits with less man-hours. It follows that we should go for a shorter work shift with more money.

My career as a Holdman was ended the day I got buried in coffee. Since then I've been on the Dock Preference Board, so I have a particular interest in job protection for the disabled and older men. No limit on Dock Boards! We all know that there is plenty of work. Besides

clerk jobs, there are stick jobs and container pier jobs called "lasher" jobs.

The S.E.O. program is no real improvement because it brings a 9.43 board into the hall. It encourages "super availability" of steady men as much as before. They are subject to firing or penalties if they don't go along with 9.43. Training for all should be had through a program covering all longshoremen and not requiring steady duty for the companies. Abolish 9.43/S.E.O. steady man system!

Be prepared for a coastwide strike because PMA has become relentless in their attacks and is staying up nights trying to figure out how to eliminate us. Labor itself is under constant attack. The supermarket workers are fighting for their job security; also the oil workers.

I have been endorsed by the *Longshore Militant* and agree with their program. I'm also for a workers party to fight for a workers government because I'm convinced that the Democrats and Republicans will never help us. As long as the ruling class is in power the worker will get the shaft through taxes and inflation. I've received some flak from the brothers about getting teamed up with Gow and Keylor. But I have found them to be completely honest and dedicated to the betterment of the union. Being militant does not mean making rash moves, and I will seek the approval of the membership before anything is done. However, the best defense is a strong offense.

1. We need to get rid of the compulsory arbitration sections of the contract and use job actions to

protect ourselves and other workers.

2. To protect our jobs against further mechanization, we need a 6 hour shift for 8 hours pay and no extended shifts. We must have manning scales on all jobs.
3. Keep all boards and gangs. No cuts in the number of men on boards. Keep the stop line.
4. Abolish the 9.43 and S.E.O. steady man system.
5. Strict enforcement of safety rules and conditions.
6. No lawsuits against any union. Calling the government into our internal affairs violates the street code. The courts are just like the cops in another form.
7. Use the unions' power to organize Labor/Black/Latino defense guards to protect picket lines and the workers movement against racist and anti-union groups like the KKK and the Nazis.
8. Support workers on strike or locked out. No working behind picket lines. No raiding.
9. Stop supporting the anti-union Democrats and Republicans. Oppose U.S. government imperialist war adventures in Iran and elsewhere. No more lives of the sons of workers lost for economic gain. For a political party of working people based on the unions which will begin the fight for a working people's government to take over Big Oil and other businesses that use our natural resources and run them for people's needs instead of profit.

Rex Reinhart
January 29, 1980

WORKERS VANGUARD

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For Mass Picketing at Harvester!

CHICAGO, February 7—Some 1,000 International Harvester (IH) strikers massed outside company offices today at the Melrose Park, Illinois plant. Chanting "No Forced Overtime" and carrying an effigy of hated IH president Archie McCardell, the militant crowd made crystal clear its determination to continue the 100-day strike against company takeaways.

In December the United Auto Workers (UAW) settled with the Caterpillar Tractor Company, where workers had also been on strike. The Caterpillar contract includes a mandatory overtime provision, as did the agreement signed with the country's other major farm machinery manufacturer, John Deere, in October. The failure of the union leadership to call out workers at all three companies in a united fight for voluntary overtime throughout the agricultural implements division leaves Harvester workers to struggle alone against a company eager to reverse this important trade-union gain.

UAW Local 6 vice-president Dave Ryan told the rally that Harvester was prepared to surrender the demand for mandatory overtime. However, when Ryan announced that IH wanted the right to hire part-time workers, this announcement was greeted with boos and catcalls. A non-union part-time workforce not only would constitute a potential reserve of scabs, but could be driven to work unlimited overtime and undercut the contract in dozens of other



UAW Local 6 strikers hang IH president Archie McCardell in effigy. WV Photo

ways as well. Sentiment in the ranks also ran high against other company take-away proposals, such as IH's demand that seniority rights be restricted in job bidding, with the aim of pruning the workforce of high-seniority, "less productive" employees.

The strike has been carried forward thanks only to the determination of the rank and file. The UAW International would dearly love to find some means of compromising over mandatory overtime. They never wanted a militant strike over an issue that is so potentially

explosive within the union. From the beginning they hoped to isolate the Harvester workers by settling first with John Deere and Caterpillar—neither of whose contracts provided for voluntary overtime.

As Chuck Marino, a member of Local 6 who addressed the rally, put it in an interview with *WV*:

"The International is following us because it knows the Harvester rank and file are not going to accept mandatory overtime. They would be selling if they thought we were buying. They don't see themselves as leaders against mandatory overtime. If they did, they'd have led GM, Ford and Chrysler against mandatory overtime a long time ago. They'd have fought, instead of [UAW president] Doug Fraser just supporting a bill in Congress. He supports this rotten, stinking bill, which the Democrats use for window dressing when they want to say how pro-labor they are. Sure, Fraser supports the 35-hour week, Fraser is for outlawing mandatory overtime, supposedly, but Fraser does nothing for the UAW that means anything. I had an uncle who worked in a UAW-organized foundry for 25 years, for Chevrolet, and in 25 years of service he never worked less than 50 hours a week. So we have a situation where the UAW works more mandatory overtime than any other industry, probably, in the country, and they're supposed to be leading a fight against mandatory overtime!"

Unfortunately, most of the striking UAW local leaderships have capitulated to the International's weak-kneed policies. Two of the rally speakers, Marino

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Outrage Spreads Through Left over Knifing

German Spartacist Leader Recovering

German Trotskyist Fred Zierenberg has been released from the hospital after barely surviving an attempted murder attack. On January 25 he came within inches of death as a result of a knife-stabbing in the back during an attack on the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency) by Afghan reactionaries and assorted foreign Maoists (Turks, Iranians, Irish, American soldiers) at a Frankfurt University teach-in on Afghanistan. From his hospital bed Comrade Fred thanked the many supporters and well-wishers who responded quickly to the shocking premeditated assault, which also left several other comrades of the TLD less severely wounded (see accompanying letter).

A statement condemning the criminal attack "despite political differences we may have with the TLD" has been endorsed by hundreds of signers, among them at least eleven public employees union (ÖTV) officials, several teachers union officials and numerous individuals and groups including the Iranian Students Association (CISNU-Vanguard); Julius Dahlhaus, SPD (West Berlin) leadership; Peter Brandt, son of former SPD chancellor Willy Brandt; Bekir Saydan, general secretary, Federation of Kurdish Workers Circles in West Germany; Otto Schily, a lawyer who has defended the "Red Army Faction" ("Baader-Meinhof Gang"); Association of Vietnamese Students in West Berlin; Erich Wulff, chairman, Vietnam-West German Friendship Society; West Berlin "Falken" (SPD high school organization) leadership; historian Ossip Flechtheim; Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM) national conference; Spartacusbund; West Berlin Technical University Student Parliament; Hanns Eisler Singing Group of West Berlin.

Separate protests were also made by the Initiative Committee Against Turkish Fascists and Iran Coordinating Committee in West Berlin and the Assembly of the Anti-Strauss Initiative in Frankfurt.

The right-wing murder attempt was covered in half a dozen major West German newspapers. As we reported in our last issue, the TLD—which is pressing murder charges against the would-be assassins—successfully held its own forum on Afghanistan the following week despite further threats of violence. The forum, entitled "Hail Red Army! Down with Islamic Reaction!" was defended by a tightly organized



Kommunistische Korrespondenz
German Trotskyists call for united defense after murderous attack (Mordanschlag) by Maoists, Islamic reactionaries.

squad of more than two dozen marshals, most of them active unionists.

Meanwhile the frenzied Muslim clerical-reactionaries and their Maoist accomplices issued a vicious leaflet defending their bloody assault. Labeling the TLD "counterrevolutionary police agents," it claimed nobody was knocked unconscious, nobody was stabbed—indeed, nobody was seriously hurt at all. A special supplement (14 February) to the TLD's *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* replied to this new provocation: "We have received from two foreign students a clear indication of how systematically the attack on the TLD was planned. They both accidentally sat near our comrades and, about half an hour before the assault, each received a 'tip' to sit further away." The supplement mocked the reactionaries' attempt to portray the cold-blooded attack as a figment of the imagination "with the doctors and nurses of a Frankfurt hospital as accomplices!"

Although the GIM (German section of the United Secretariat [USec]), under pressure from the ranks, formally endorsed the TLD protest statement, a disgusting article in the GIM paper (*Was Tun*, 2 February) equivocated: "The TLD doesn't make it easy for anyone to defend them. Within the left it is known for disturbing meetings of other organizations through its provocative behavior." But categorical statements of solidarity with the TLD against reactionary terror were issued by the Berlin and Tübingen GIM locals, the Swedish USec section (*Internationalen*, 1 February) and the Bolshevik Faction expelled from the Swedish USec last October. Even the semi-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund published a two-column article which was far less weaselly in defending the Trotskyist TLD than was the "Trotsky-

ist" GIM leadership: "Even though the TLDers occasionally act provocatively and have often gotten on our nerves as well, this does not change in any way the fact that the Stalinist organizations involved, using thoroughly cynical arguments, have advocated murderous terror against Trotskyists."

The would-be assassins must be punished. The TLD continues its aggressive campaign to publicly expose the practitioners of bloody terror in the service of reaction and imperialism. We call on all those committed to defense of democratic rights and the workers movement to send protest statements to: Postfach 1 67 47, 6000 Frankfurt/M 1, West Germany, and contributions earmarked "Fred Z." to: Postscheckkonto, Frankfurt/M, 937 74-605 (Wolfgang Hohmann), West Germany. ■

Frankfurt, 14 February

Dear friends and comrades,

Many thanks for your generous support in the form of flowers, contributions and protest statements. After two-and-a-half weeks in the hospital following the knife attack I am now at home, but it will be another two months before I can work again. Now that the Mao-Stalinist bandits are trying to justify the murder attack by totally distorting the truth it is all the more necessary not to let up: the conditions of an "Islamic Republic" must not prevail at Frankfurt University. Islamic and Maoist terror must not be allowed to determine what opinions are heard at teach-ins. Don't permit any limitations on the freedom of propaganda for the left and workers movement!

Fred

All the President's Thugs

The Hidden History of the Secret Service

Last July 16 a heavy-set man walked into the "delegates only" section of the convention floor at Detroit's Cobo Hall where a national convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) was in session. There he accosted delegate Jane Margolis, an executive board member of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco), asking her to take a walk. Margolis refused and turned away; moments later the man returned with two cohorts, grabbed her by the arm and dragged her screaming from the convention floor. In a back room Margolis was manacled, interrogated, threatened with arrest and held incommunicado while the convention proceeded.

Who were these men? FBI agents? Cops? The local "Red Squad" run amok? No, this unprecedented assault on a union official was carried out by the U.S. Secret Service, the president's private police. Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak that afternoon at the phone workers convention, and the agents' job was to make sure no voice of labor dissent was heard.

The attack on Jane was no fluke—the political use of the Secret Service has recently come to attention as the 1980 presidential campaign heats up. In a 10 February article, "Candidates Disagree on the Value of the Secret Service's Protection," the *New York Times* documents instances of Secret Service abuse from physically intervening to "protect" Richard Nixon from reporters' questions during his last year in office to its computerized "enemies list" including more than 14,000 names.

And the Margolis case was not the only one in which labor was the target. The *Times* article reports how last summer Secret Service agents were busy strong-arming picketers from the International Association of Machinists (IAM) protesting Carter's "let 'em walk" energy policy. With the president's popularity ratings plummeting, unionists demonstrating against oil price decontrol were forcibly segregated from crowds greeting Carter's riverboat cruising down the Mississippi. "If people had picket signs that were pro-Carter, they went right up front," said IAM's lawyer Joseph Rauh. "If they had anti-Carter signs they were cordoned off on the side so they couldn't be seen" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 December). After the IAM filed a formal complaint, agency director Stuart Knight admitted the harassment.

When the Secret Service mugged Jane, it touched off a wave of protest telegrams from CWA members against this outrageous, blatantly illegal government invasion of a union convention to forcibly drag an elected delegate from her legitimate post. And Margolis' subsequent court suit against Secret Service chief Knight can become an important weapon in defense of the



Frank Johnston

"His Majesty's Secret Service": If you're a union militant, black radical or socialist, their "enemies list" may include you.

union movement and democratic rights as Carter's stepped-up Cold War drive brings increased attempts to induce a Cold War/McCarthyite political climate in the U.S. reminiscent of the 1950s.

Myth of the Secret Service

Embedded in the firmament of American patriotic mythology is the image of the tireless and fearless Secret Service agent on the motorcade limousine running board, eagle eyes darting from one potential danger to another, interposing himself between his incorrigible flesh-pressing boss and the crush of admirers who may conceal that little man with a handgun, a bad relationship with his mother and the suicidal need for mass notoriety. The Secret Service likes to be thought of as a crew of unsung all-American heroes.

As the last line of defense of the hallowed "institution of the presidency," the U.S. imperialist chief's private army has long been cloaked in secrecy. American capitalism has erected a battlement of laws making the president a virtual king-for-four-years, and singling out threats against presidents as federal crimes with draconian penalties. Following Watergate, liberal pressure led to exposure of a few of the past crimes of a panoply of spy outfits, but the Secret Service was hardly touched. Indeed, even as pious politicians were

touting meaningless cosmetic "reforms" of the CIA/FBI in 1974-75 (now being tossed aside under the pressure of renewed Cold War), the Secret Service was being pressed to *step up* its intelligence work in the aftermath of the Squeaky/Sally attacks on Gerald Ford.

As a measure of its insulation, agency chief Knight is the only administration official with the nerve to call for Congressional consideration of "preventive detention" legislation. "Presidential protection" is the timeworn pretext for readying political concentration camps: after the 1971 repeal of "emergency" detention provisions of the Internal Security Act, it was the prime excuse for maintaining the "Administrative Index" (ADEX) list of prospective radical roundup victims (see "What Is the ADEX File?" *W/V* No. 151, 1 April 1977).

The dearth of hard information about the Secret Service, shielded from most of the standard liberal muckraking by the presidential halo, is testimony, in part, to the strong esprit de corps within this relatively small, homogeneous elite palace guard. And they have plenty of consorts in the cover-up. One agent approvingly wrote some 45 years ago, "Where the safety of the President is concerned, the great papers and press associations of the country cooperate to suppress news and often the stories they voluntarily 'kill' are the best of the year" (Wilkie, *American Secret Service Agent*). While its meagre published history consists mainly of self-congratulatory and unrevealing memoirs, some of the very people the Secret Service are supposed to protect have been more frank. Sara Delano Roosevelt, FDR's mother, reportedly once surveyed a living-room full of Secret Service agents and VIPs and opined that "Franklin should never have gone into politics. Look at these strange people around him all the time. Why, they look like a lot of gangsters" (Reilly, *Reilly of*

the White House [1947]). "Franklin" completed the image by motoring in a bullet-proof limo seized from Al Capone for taxes. And Truman himself said the Secret Service made him feel like Capone (U.E. Baugham, *Secret Service Chief* [1962]).

Behind the Myth

As late as last year, Secret Service boss Knight claimed that there had never been an allegation of "abuse of power" against the agency in its 113-year history. This is a bald-faced lie. The Secret Service was started by that gang of professional crooks and murderers, the Pinkertons, whose record of provocation and terror is notorious—from the frame-up executions of the "Molly Maguires" to the murder of strikers in the McCormick-Harvester strike that culminated in the 1886 Haymarket bombing. And from its 19th-century origins in the infamous rent-a-cop agency through its days as the Treasury Department's G-men until today, the Secret Service has been up to its elbows in the business of class oppression.

As the only federal spy agency in existence before 1908 (aside from military intelligence), the Secret Service under the guise of "presidential protection" began to build an apparatus to perform a variety of dirty tricks. Among its acts of provocation were an 1893 effort to infiltrate Coxe's "army" of the unemployed, which was brutally beaten on arriving in Washington. Its repressive activities apparently culminated during the Spanish-American War, which marked the emergence of the U.S. as an imperialist power. William McKinley turned the Secret Service over to the War Department and hundreds of civilians were placed under surveillance, many arrested and some held for court-martial as alleged Spanish spies. McKinley, however, was assassinated in 1901.

During World War I Treasury Secretary William McAdoo had hopes for major expansion of the Secret Service, but instead the agency was eclipsed by the burgeoning FBI. From then until 1963, the Secret Service was heard from only rarely, at such times as its assaults on the IWW prior to the Palmer Raids, or its promotion of a red-subversion scare around the time of the 1932 "Bonus Army" which was trampled by General Douglas MacArthur's troops. But in general J. Edgar Hoover had successfully reduced this competing spy agency to a shrinking circle of thugs around the president. Shrinking until Dallas, 1963.

Following the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy, the Warren Commission gave the Secret Service a new lease on life. Ironically, after Dallas two agents in JFK's entourage received gold medal awards. And charged by the Warren Commission with insufficient efforts to anticipate politically motivated threats to the president's life, the agency responded by investigating tens of thousands of people, including thousands of left activists.

From a 450-man, \$5.8 million budget operation in 1963, the agency had swollen to 1,650 members with a \$115 million budget by 1977. It provided the National Security Agency with "watch lists" for the interception of internation-

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Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

\$25,000 Needed

PDC Launches Fund Drive for Margolis Suit

When Carter's Secret Service invaded the Communications Workers of America (CWA) national convention last July 16, they didn't expect much of a fight in defense of the rights of labor. When they manhandled, handcuffed and dragged Jane Margolis, an elected delegate representing thousands of phone workers, off the floor, they thought these Gestapo tactics would go unprotested. When the Secret Service gagged Margolis and attempted to silence her criticisms of the anti-labor policies of the "Human Rights" president, they thought they would not have to answer for this egregious and unprecedented violation of fundamental constitutional and democratic rights. These Praetorian Guards turned political censors thought they could get away with it, making intimidation and suppression of political dissent and criticism easier next time.

But the Secret Service was wrong. They underestimated Jane Margolis and they misjudged the temper of the labor movement. Jane is a fighter and well-known labor leader. Currently a steward and Executive Board member in CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, she has also served on the Executive Board of CWA Local 9415, Oakland. For seven years Margolis has been a leader of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in the CWA, and this was the second CWA national convention where she served as an elected delegate. Immediately after she was seized by Secret Service agents, over seven hundred phone workers signed telegrams of protest.

Jane has retained noted trial attorney Charles Garry to sue the Secret Service.

Outraged at having their union and democratic rights trampled upon, members of CWA Locals 9410 and 9415 formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) to support the suit. UCASSH has already generated significant support and numerous endorsements from CWA locals and other unions throughout the country and from many prominent individuals committed to the defense of democratic rights.

But where does a phone worker get the money to sue the government? The federal government can mobilize enormous resources, including legions of Justice Department lawyers paid for at taxpayers' expense. They can render any legal action—no matter how just the cause or clear-cut the issues—a long and costly battle. In this society no worker can hope to take on the federal government and its secret police agencies without broad financial support. Whether or not the Secret Service gets away with it depends on you and your support.

This is no ordinary lawsuit: the independence of labor from coercive state control is at issue. If the government's secret police agencies can silence this union leader on the floor of her own convention, then no section of the labor movement is safe from suppression. When Carter addressed the CWA convention his austerity and anti-labor policies had plunged his public standing to a historic low, beneath even that of Vietnam War criminal and Watergate gangster Richard Nixon. Now Carter's anti-Soviet Cold War drive has been accompanied with demands to "unleash" the FBI/CIA, to put a lid on Watergate/COINTELPRO exposures.

Detroit, July 16, 1979: If Jane Margolis can be dragged off the convention floor of her own union, then no unionist is safe from government harassment.



Jon P. Fishback

The Margolis case takes on added importance in the context of these calls to return to the days of the McCarthy era.

In the words of James T. Farrell, who spoke out in defense of the Trotskyist leaders railroaded to jail under the Smith Act in 1941: "It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free." It is to champion those cases and causes whose victorious outcome is in the interests of all labor that the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) was formed. In accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, the PDC stands in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense established by James P. Cannon. From fighting for the freedom of framed-up L.A. black student Philip Allen to saving the life of endangered Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz, the PDC has sought to reassert the principles of anti-sectarian class-struggle defense.

The PDC is now launching a major fund-raising campaign on behalf of the Margolis case and UCASSH. We call upon all those committed to the defense

of the fundamental constitutional and democratic rights at stake in this case, and all those committed to the defense of the independence of the labor movement, to send a contribution to UCASSH today. They need and deserve your support. ■

Enclosed is my contribution

of \$ _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: () _____

Organization: _____

Union Affiliation: _____

Make checks payable to:
Union Committee Against Secret
Service Harassment or UCASSH

UCASSH
P.O. Box 12324
San Francisco, CA 94112

Partial List of Endorsers of Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment

Gary Adkins, Executive Board, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
AFSCME Local 1695, University of California, Berkeley
Tom Alba, Executive Board, CWA Local 1150, New York
Christopher Alston, pioneer member UAW; former President, Local 429, UAW
American Postal Workers Union, San Francisco
Blanche Bebb, Executive Board member Hospital & Institutional Workers Union, Local 250
Bob Blauner, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley; member AFT Local 1474
M. Burawoy, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
Tom Burns, President, CWA Local 9201, Portland, Oregon
Marge Clouser, Executive Board member CWA Local 9410, San Francisco
CWA Local 9201, Portland, Oregon
CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Illinois
Frank Donner, Attorney
Dianna Doughtie, Business Agent, AFSCME Local 2700; member

Contra Costa Central Labor Council
Richard Fraser, New American Movement
Earl Gilman, Executive Board, San Francisco Chapter, SEIU Local 535; member San Francisco Central Labor Council
William Goodman, Attorney, Detroit, Michigan
Fernando R. Guerrero, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
Bill Hampton, December 4th Committee; Hampton/Clark lawsuit
Paul Harris, President, National Lawyers Guild
David Herreshoff, Professor, Wayne State University
Jerome L. Himmelstein, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
IBT, Chauffeurs Local 265, San Francisco
G.T. (Jake) Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer, OCAW Local 1-5
Randall Johnese, Field Representative, SEIU Local 535; member, Alameda Central Labor Council

Frank Luzzarro, Executive Council, AFT Local 3157, San Diego
Gerald Lefcourt, Attorney
Sidney Lens, Author
Henry M. Levin, Professor, School of Education, Stanford University
Walter Lippmann, Chairperson, Human Rights Committee, SEIU Local 535
Jeff Lustig, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley; AFT Local 1474
Gretchen Mackler, President, AFT Local 1528
Jeffrey Mackler, Board of Directors, Hayward Unified Teachers Association/California Teachers Association/National Education Association
Robert Meeropol, *Socialist Review*; younger son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco
Kate Millett, Author
Lynne Morel, Steward, Chevron Negotiating Committee, OCAW Local 1-5
Howard Myron, Chief Steward, Long Lines Division, Local 9415, Oakland
Charles D. Najbergier, Executive Board, SEIU Local 535
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 228, Pasadena
National Lawyers Guild
Richard Rubenstein, Antioch Law School, Washington, D.C.
Bernard Sapiro, President, District Council #2, Printing Specialties

and Paper Products Union, Los Angeles
Henry Schmidt, Retired International Vice-President, ILWU; leader of 1934 San Francisco General Strike; defendant in Bridges/Robertson/Schmidt lawsuit
Peter Dale Scott, English Department, U.C. Berkeley; AFT Local 1474
SEIU Local 535 State Executive Board
John Snow, Bargaining Committeeman, UAW Local 600
United Electrical Local 1412
Doron Weinberg, Constitutional Rights Attorney, San Francisco
Jewell White, President, CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Illinois
Robert F. Williams, Author, *Negroes With Guns*
Bruce Wright, Statewide Executive Board, United Professors of California; member AFT Local 1588, Los Angeles
Howard Zinn, American Association of University Professors, Boston University Chapter
CWA Stewards endorsing as individuals:
Local 9410, San Francisco: 28
Local 9415, Oakland: 1
Local 11502, Los Angeles: 11
Local 11513, Los Angeles: 1
Local 1150, New York City: 1
Local 4015, Plymouth, Michigan: 1

Organizations listed after individuals are for identification purposes only.

"The accusations [of CIA interference in Afghanistan] are a crude ruse to cover up Soviet imperialism...."

—State Department spokesman
Hodding Carter III, *New York Times*, 3 January

"Moscow was correctly condemned by the UN for its hegemonic intrusion into a nonaligned, neighboring state and it should withdraw."

—*Guardian*, 6 February

"The invasion of Afghanistan by about 100,000 Soviet troops is a blatant and vicious act of imperialist aggression that must be resolutely condemned and opposed by all progressive people."

—Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), *The Call*, 14 January

"In blitzkrieging Afghanistan the Soviet social-imperialist (socialist in words, imperialist in deeds) has exposed its true imperialist nature."

—Communist Workers Party, *Workers Viewpoint*, 9 February

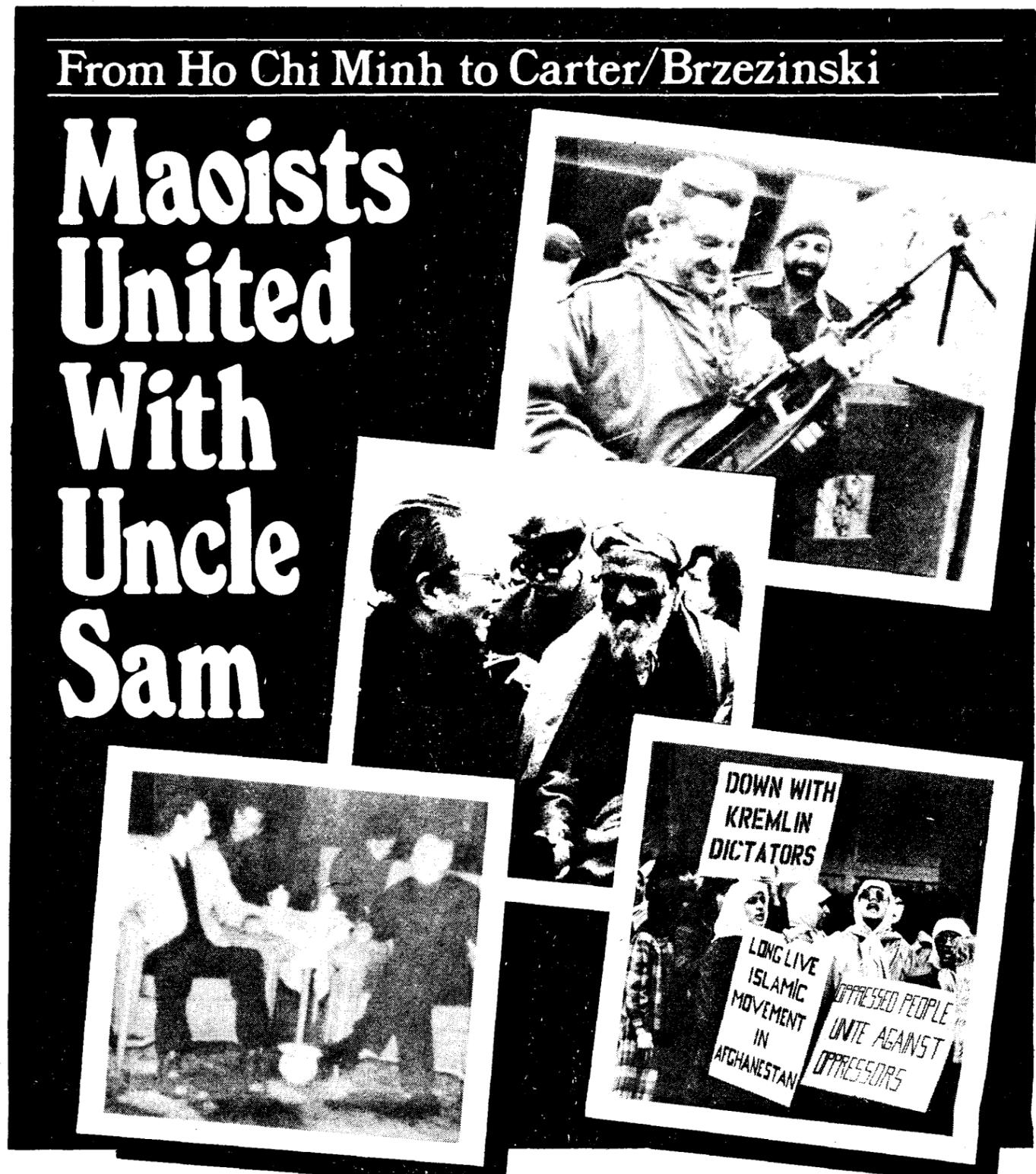
Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates better than anything else the real contours of the world political landscape.

The United States' response to Russia's Afghanistan intervention has removed all diplomatic cover from the flowering alliance between American imperialism and Maoist/Stalinist China. Immediately, U.S. war minister Harold Brown was dispatched to Peking where he called for "complementary actions in the field of defense as well as diplomacy." A few weeks later Washington openly agreed to rearm the People's Liberation Army with modern weaponry. The *New York Times* (25 January) reported: "The United States in a major policy shift related to the Afghanistan crisis, announced today it was willing to sell military equipment to China for the first time."

Afghanistan has also torn the veil from the Western Maoists' direct support to Jimmy Carter and the imperialist war machine. Most blatant were those who bill themselves as official spokesmen for the Peking bureaucracy. The Klonsky family's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML) proclaimed that "the strategic Russian plan for global domination... was brought closer to fruition when Soviet troops marched into Kabul" (*Call*, 7 January). And in each successive issue of their yellow rag the Klonskyites seek to rival the Hearst and Murdoch press in their unbridled anti-Sovietism. They openly support the Pentagon and vociferously attack the present administration from the right, asking, "Can Carter Moves Stop Soviet War Machine?" Their answer:

"The continuing compromise and vacillation of the U.S. imperialists in response to Soviet expansionism was evident in what Carter could have, but did not do, following the invasion."
—*Call*, 14 January

According to the CP-ML Carter's crimes consist of "so far refus[ing] to give direct aid to the Afghan rebels" and refusing to lift a "ban on sales of sophisticated arms to China for that nation's self-defense," as well as failure to impose a "total embargo of all strategic materials trade with the USSR." Now that at least two of these three conditions are being met, one would think the Klonskys would be satisfied. But no. After Carter's bellicose "state of the union" speech they grant that it "appears" the U.S. commander-in-chief "has at last discovered the



From Ho Chi Minh to Carter/Brzezinski

Maoists United With Uncle Sam

Reaction down the line. From the top: Brzezinski at the Khyber, Chinese foreign foreign minister with Afghan rebels, Islamic demonstrators at Soviet consulate in S.F., Mike Klonsky goes to Peking.

aggressive, expansionist character of the USSR." But they still tax him for "three years of White House policies that have amounted to appeasement of the Soviet Union!"

But it is not just Peking's parrots. All manner of dissident American Maoists (and a slew of social democrats) are calling along with Carter/Brzezinski for Soviet troops out of Afghanistan. Unlike the craven Klonskyites, many of these groups still try to adopt a "third camp" posture. Thus the pro-"Gang of

radicalism," the *Guardian* (16 January), emphasized that "the main blow has to be delivered against...the U.S." Nevertheless, it contends that "Moscow has converted it [Afghanistan] into a pawn in the global chessgame the revisionist leadership of the Soviet superpower is playing with U.S. imperialism..." On the other hand, former *Guardian* editor Irwin Silber, traditionally less anti-Soviet, speaking for his National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs, said Afghanistan "is not a sign of a new wave

Soviet Union in the name of "Third World" nationalism. But today over Afghanistan it is the American ruling class which invokes rhetoric of "hegemonism" and "superpowerism" against the Soviet degenerated workers state. Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who deny that the USSR is a proletarian state (although bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves—some more, some less willingly—on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism. There are and can be no

Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates better than anything else the real contours of the world political landscape. Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who deny that the USSR is a proletarian state (although bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves, some more, some less willingly, on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism.

There are and can be no neutrals in the renewed Cold War.

Four" Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of Bob Avakian headlined, "Superpowers Square Off Over Afghanistan" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 11 January). But when it comes down to brass tacks, all the difference between the pro-Peking, pro-Tirana and unattached Maoists gives way as Washington calls for a crusade against Soviet "hegemonism."

For those soft-core Maoists who cling to memories of the New Left, Afghanistan presents anguishing problems, as does just about every other major problem of the class struggle. The perennial bellweather of "independent

of Soviet intervention." Meanwhile, the tail on the Maoist running dog of U.S. imperialism is the handful of Shachtmanite grouplets who chime in with their condemnations of the "state-capitalist" USSR gobbling up yet another tiny country (remember "poor little Finland").

Today the remnants of the New Left "anti-imperialists" of the 1960s have reunited with their "own" imperialist masters. During the mid-'60s, when Washington was more hostile to Peking than toward the Kremlin, a new generation of radicals arose who opposed the

neutrals in the renewed Cold War.

Maoism and Munich

While a number of ostensibly Trotskyist groups try to belittle the significance of the Afghanistan crisis (and the decisive importance of the "Russian question"), saying as did the American Socialist Workers Party that "the issue is not Soviet intervention," the rest of the political spectrum has been sizing up the new global alignment in historic perspective. But where authentic Trotskyists insist that Carter/Brzezinski's new Cold War is an

imperialist drive aimed at wiping out the gains of the October Revolution, the Maoists are calling for a new "anti-fascist alliance"...with the imperialists and against the Soviet Union. The *Call* (21 January) sums it up:

"Simply stated, past alliances and traditional ideologies are no longer the cutting edge in demarcating friends from enemies in the international arena. Today, a worldwide united front against hegemonism is taking shape and becoming a living reality."

The CP-ML calls Carter's previous policies "reminiscent of the early appeasement by Western nations of rising fascist military power in pre-war Germany."

The adventurist/hysterical Communist Workers Party (CWP, formerly Workers Viewpoint Organization) also makes the bizarre Munich analogy. The CWP believes that post-Mao China has reverted from socialism to just another "relatively weak third world country." But in the face of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the CWP's squabble with the current gang in power in Peking is buried and it warns that the "U.S. is trying to set China up for the biggest Munich ever." It criticizes Carter for continuing to "appease the Soviet Union with half-steps like the grain embargo..." But if these are "half-steps," then the CWP should desire a full-scale imperialist onslaught against Russia. It just doesn't say it out loud like the *Call* does.

Seeing an opening to score against their historic rivals, the Klonskyites, the Avakian RCP published an article attacking their Peking-endorsed competitors' blatant social-chauvinism. Despite its formal "two superpowers" position, however, the RCP praises the "resolute struggle of the Afghani people for their freedom" (passing over in silence the imperialist aid flowing to the Islamic rebels). And the Avakianites still describe the Soviet Union as "a fascist state" (*Red Papers* 7). But if this is true, by Stalinist logic the RCP ought to bloc with Carter against the USSR, just as Stalin demanded a "united front against fascism" with the imperialist allies in World War II.

In the last analysis, all of the Maoists have come down on the side of U.S. imperialism and for "punishing Soviet hegemonism." And this has definite consequences. How can any Maoist group legitimately oppose the draft, for instance. The CP-ML, at least, is well aware of the problem. They only present a thin veneer of opposing conscription, simply questioning why it is necessary since the U.S. already has 50,000 troops in Korea (*Call*, 4 February). But for the RCP, CWP, CPUSA-ML, et al., to say they are against the draft is pure hypocrisy. After all, how can you call for greater NATO preparedness against the "polar bear" without giving the generals the manpower they need?

But the counterrevolutionary crimes of the Maoists flowing from the U.S./China alliance will not stop there. With all their analogies to Stalin's policy in World War II, it should be remembered what treachery the Stalinists committed then. In the United States there was support to the CIO no-strike pledge, opposing and even recruiting scabs to break the 1943-44 coal miners strikes, breaking the 1944 Montgomery Ward strike, supporting internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps and support for atom-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The CP of Browder and Foster literally became finks for the bosses and FDR—and in the name of waging the "war effort." And don't forget how they turned in Trotskyist seamen to the Coast Guard and beat the drums for the prosecution of the Minneapolis Teamster and Socialist Workers Party leaders, in order to "exterminate the Trotskyite Fifth Column from the life of our nation" (*Daily Worker*, 16 August 1941).

In Europe, where they had real weight in the working class, the Stalinists literally disarmed the proletariat after

having waged the resistance struggle, in order to head off revolution and "continue anti-fascist unity" (i.e., accept the hegemony of American imperialism). Today the small American Maoist sects don't have the weight to carry out betrayals on even a fraction of the scale of those perpetrated by the CPUSA. But we can expect the worst: Maoists becoming outright provocateurs, testifying to new HUACs, etc., all in the name of forging their "united front against hegemonism" with Wall Street, the Pentagon and the White House.

Guardian Bellweather

As usual when the Afghanistan question arose, the *Guardian* avoided taking a position for several weeks while testing the waters. Finally in their 16 January issue they came out with a front-page editorial. While rather limp compared to the fire-breathing pro-imperialism of the hard-line Peking camp followers, in the end its position came down on the same side of the fence:

"Moscow was wrong to invade Afghanistan and its 50,000 troops should be withdrawn. The USSR cannot justify limiting the sovereignty of socialist Afghanistan, regardless of pretext. The principal motivation for the adventure was big-power hegemonism carried out in contention with U.S. imperialism, not advancing the class struggle or 'defending' Afghanistan."

So what is all this talk about the "sovereignty" of "socialist" Afghanistan? Neither is Afghanistan a nation (but a state composed of various nationalities and tribes), nor is it socialist. It is a petty-bourgeois regime which has been closely allied with Russia and is now being drawn ever more firmly into the Soviet orbit. The *Guardian* tries to pretend that revolutions should not be extended by foreign invasion. But as we pointed out in our last issue (see "Resolutely Denounce Maoist Running Dogs..." *WV* No. 149), the same hue and cry was raised by the bourgeoisie in 1959 over China's invasion of Tibet. Of course, Jack Smith learned his "Marxism" from Irwin Silber who took it straight from Stalin's lips in his famous interview with Roy Howard: "The export of revolution is nonsense." But *this* nonsense has nothing in common with Lenin, who wrote explicitly:

"The victorious proletariat...having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production would confront the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their States."

—V.I. Lenin, "The United States of Europe Slogan" (1915)

Moreover, when civil war is raging, a liberal attitude raising national self-determination to the ultimate principle can become downright criminal. Consider Hungary in 1919. In good part due to its own errors, the Soviet regime of Bela Kun alienated probably a majority of Hungary's peasantry and national minorities. The passive opposition of the petty-bourgeois masses to the Budapest-based workers government contributed to the victory of Admiral Horthy's white army, backed by the imperialists, and with it the extermination of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. Stalin's later caveat against exporting revolution to the contrary, during the four-and-a-half months of Soviet Hungary's existence the Russian Bolsheviks did everything in their power to link up with it. Lenin specifically ordered the Ukrainian Red Army to advance into Galicia and Bukovina, a step "essential for contact with Soviet Hungary."

In late July, just before the end, Lenin was forced to inform Bela Kun: "We are aware of Hungary's grave and dangerous situation and are doing all we can. But speedy assistance is sometimes physically impossible. Try to hold out as

continued on page 8

Bitter Memories of Life in Kabul

"The Sun Never Shines on Afghan Women"

The Afghanistan conflict is one of the first shooting wars in which the oppression of women has been the central social issue. Even American bourgeois journalists have been struck by the barbaric enslavement of women which the reactionary Afghan rebels defend. "It's called the bride price," began a recent Wall Street Journal (8 February) article headlined: "Afghan Communists Battle Poverty, Poor Hygiene, Entrenched Attitudes."

The New York Times' James P. Sterba pointed out that "it was the Kabul revolutionary Government's granting of new rights to women that pushed orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villages of eastern Afghanistan into picking up their guns" (New York Times, 9 February). As one of Brzezinski's "freedom fighters" told him, "The Government said our women had to attend meetings and our children had to go to schools. This threatens our religion. We had to fight."

In a recent presentation in New York Phyllis Anwar, speaking from personal experience, brought home the bitterness of women's oppression in Afghanistan of the mullahs and khans. Comrade Anwar was the first foreign woman married to a native Afghan to refuse to put on the veil when she lived there in the 1940s. We print below excerpts from her remarks.

I spent three years, back in the 40s, living Afghan-style in Afghanistan. When you think about a Moslem country you think about the oppression of women, but there is more to oppression in Afghanistan than just women—there's plenty to go around.

Women's veils there make an Iranian veil look silly. They're made up of 30 yards of muslin folded into half-inch folds. The veil is enormously heavy, without even eye slits. And eight-year-old girls wore this veil at the school where I taught—which by the way had to be called a hospital to fool the mullahs. So here were these kids traipsing over dusty roads in a black cover. In a country which should be a haven for TB sanitariums, the women have a very high rate of tuberculosis and practically never have the sun shine on them.

The bride price is part of the business of passing down fortunes. A man as a rule can't marry until he's in his 30s, as it costs a lot of money. He always wants a 14- or 15-year-old bride. It is not considered at all unusual for a 60-year-old man to take a 14-year-old bride when he's worn out some poor woman and wants a new wife. You know a man can divorce a woman—I was once divorced this way—by sending her a postcard that says three times "I hereby divorce you" and it's done. If a woman wants to divorce a man, he supposedly has to return her dowry money to her family, but since they're all so poor he has of course already spent it. So he simply makes her life so miserable she's perfectly willing to give up that money and then she can have her divorce—and then go back to her family where she's a household slave because she's now too old to ever get a husband again.

On the day I came to Kabul there was a demonstration. The mullahs were demonstrating because they felt that the veil was inadequate—men were looking at women's ankles, from which they could tell if the women were rich or poor, young or old, and this was disturbing to the mullahs. They wanted the women to wear balloon pants, the kind uneducated Afghan men wear, but the variety with feet in them, like kids' pajamas, and then they should wear clogs and that way the men wouldn't be so interested in looking at their ankles.

It isn't really a life for the men either. This matter of the oppression of women is a very serious matter for men, particularly in the city where you don't have farm animals available. So in the city there is a great blooming of part-time or temporary homosexuality with emphasis on pretty young boys. There you don't have to worry about your little girls going down to Times Square. They're safe, except at the hands of the house servants. But boys are liable to get kidnapped. Many high-class members of the government were known for having stables of pretty young boys.

There is every kind of oppression. In 1950 I saw a chart put out by the UN on yearly average income and Haiti and Afghanistan were at the bottom. \$50 per capita per year. That's bad enough in Haiti—it's perfectly terrible in Afghanistan, where winters start about the first of January and go on for months, cold and lots of snow. Then there is religion. Afghanistan is the reverse of Iran—Sunnis are the majority and the oppressed minority are the Shia. A Shi'ite could not progress in the government beyond the level of school superintendent, no Shi'ite could serve in the foreign service, and so on, and they all lived together in a ghetto in Kabul.

All religious laws were enforced by the government, and half the school time when we were there was religious education. When it's fast time and you forget and walk out of the building with a cigarette in your hand or you take a drink out of the brook—which is lethal to do—before you die you'll get a good beating. And police do it right then and there on the spot.

Those of our relatives who have come here moved heaven and earth not to have to go back. When I was there many women said to me that they would be willing for anybody to take over Afghanistan, including Russia, because it couldn't possibly be worse under anybody else. Of course, they don't say that to the men, because they know where their bread and butter comes from. But the women, while they're ignorantly religious, were really so desperate they were willing to take anything. I'm sure in their hearts they're mighty happy to see the Soviet soldiers come. ■

Young women of Kabul reject the veil.



General Zia and "Free World" Olympics

Jimmy Carter's new hero in his crazed anti-Soviet crusade is Pakistani military dictator Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. This "soldier of Islam" is a nasty cross between the deposed shah of Iran and a Khomeini with atomic weapons. It was because of the nuclear ambitions of the Islamabad regime that the U.S. Congress cut off its massive military aid to Pakistan years ago, letting its Peking ally do the job instead.

But with the new "Carter Doctrine" Zia has again become an ally of the "Free World" and was offered \$400 million in immediate military aid for openers. Dismissing the offer as "peanuts," Zia wanted even more baksheesh—and with no "human rights" strings attached. Last month a cocky Zia laid it on the line for some squeamish American correspondents:

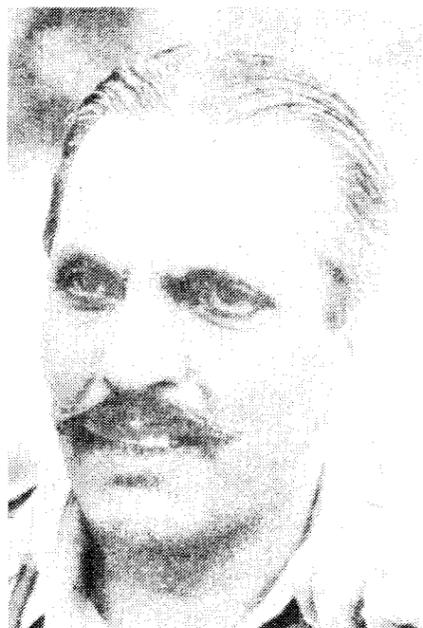
"Forget about your Western ideals and Western standards of freedom and democracy. You are in a Moslem developing country. And Islam says if somebody says anything against your integrity, against your religion, against your everything, chop him—teach him a lesson."

—*Washington Post*, 21 January 1980



AP
Left: Pakistan, bastion of the "Free World"; Right: Brzezinski's "soldier of Islam," General Zia.

Zia "chops" hard and often. His Islamic army raped and massacred tens of thousands of Bengalis during the 1971 civil war in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and has brutally suppressed minority peoples such as the



Economist

Baluchis—one of those "fiercely independent and deeply religious Islamic peoples" that Carter wants to "save" from atheistic communism.

Scuttling his hypocritical "Human Rights" bombast, Carter has come up

with a list of sites for his alternative "Free World" Olympics that includes Zia's Pakistan. Of course, if they were allowed to participate at all, women athletes would have to compete separately and in purdah (veiled). Who knows, Zia might even enter some Pakistani mullahs to "chop"—tongues out of blasphemers and heads off infidels. Along with executing former prime minister Ali Bhutto, accused of such decadent Western vices as drinking, Zia has introduced an Islamic code of "justice" prescribing flogging for adulterers and cutting the hands off thieves.

Another of Carter's choices for an alternate Olympics site is Pinochet's Chile. Perhaps Carter has in mind holding the games in the Santiago stadium where thousands of leftists and trade-union militants were held and many hundreds killed after the 1973 coup? We are opposed to Washington's attempt to pull off an anti-Soviet boycott of the Moscow games. But if ever there were a place fitting for Carter's "Free World" counter-Olympics, it is surely the bloody Santiago stadium. ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

long as you can." But the military campaign did not succeed, to the great misfortune of the socialist cause. Likewise the Red Army was unable to cross the Vistula at Warsaw in 1921, thus preventing a link up (by direct invasion of Poland) with the German proletariat. But had the Bolsheviks managed to save the Hungarian Soviet Republic, imperialist spokesmen and social democrats throughout the world would have denounced "Soviet Russian imperialism" for trampling on the national sovereignty of the Hungarian people.

The key to the *Guardian's* position is that "the price, however, is the conversion of independent, basically non-aligned Afghanistan into an extension of the Soviet political system." We recall for our readers that back in October 1979 the *Guardian* supported the "progressive" Kabul regime, already militarily dependent on Soviet advisers and arms, against the feudalists rebels. When a left-nationalist bourgeois regime is fighting reaction, the *Guardian* can support it. But when there's actually a possibility that feudal-capitalist property relations will be overthrown, when the power of the mullahs can in fact be broken, when women might be liberated from the veil—then these petty-bourgeois radicals are against it. For these dregs of the New Left, counterrevolution from within is preferable to social revolution from without!

The Taraki/Amin regime proved unable to carry out its program of limited democratic reforms in the face of the feudalist-Islamic insurgency. And this petty-bourgeois national government, based on a section of the old officer corps (the April 1978 "revolution" was a leftist military coup), was, of course, organically incapable of effecting a social revolution. In the imperialist epoch there is no middle road—either it's the power of the landlords, usurers and mullahs or the power of the proletarian state. Only now, when the armed forces of the Soviet degenerated workers state are dominant in Afghanistan, has a social revolution (albeit bureaucratically deformed) become possible.

Bitter Fruits of New Leftism

For years the New Left considered the "Russian question" a scholastic topic of

dispute among the irrelevant "old left." (The *Guardian* continues this attitude today, and still can't decide the class character of the Soviet Union.) To early SDSers the Cold War was dead, Russia was part of the rich white man's world, a co-partner with the United States for conservatism on a world scale. The real struggle was between the "Third World"—China, Vietnam, Cuba—and U.S. imperialism. Carl Oglesby, perhaps the most prominent New Left "theoretician," wrote in his book *Containment and Change* (1967) that the Chinese Revolution "had nothing at all to do with communism," but only with "independence" struggles. On Vietnam he said that "one should be able to show somehow that the issue of the Vietnam war is not Western freedom versus Eastern slavery, but foreign versus local control of Vietnam." Generalizing on the global situation, he said:

"With the Soviet Union, we have gone from confrontation to detente. The relationship is no longer defined by its anger and uncertainties. Its bitterness has lost the old edge, become blunted by the mundane securities of daily usage. Direct military collision is feared and avoided equally by both sides, crises are referred to hot lines instead of war rooms, and one sometimes wonders if there is not something still springier in the air: a slow convergence of political aims. The European Cold War no longer finds Russians and Americans peering at each other through gun-sights. Instead we have the experience of virtually integrated aid programs in Afghanistan [!!] and India."

Thirteen years later it would be hard to think of a statement more wrong in its impressionism.

The myriad Maoist sects have long since come to terms with the Peking/U.S. alliance which has been developing ever since Nixon's trip to China in 1972, while the United States was raining bombs on Vietnam. In the face of such events as Chinese support to the CIA-financed South African-led invasion of Angola in 1976, many pulled back, seeking to return to the good old days of "anti-imperialist unity." But in Angola it was war-by-proxy between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Now it's face-to-face over Afghanistan and there is no escaping. They must choose their camps.

American Maoism had its origins in the grafting of New Leftism and Stalinism. This was embodied in the Vietnamese Revolution, in which a successful struggle against American imperialism was carried out under

Stalinist leadership. To the impressionist New Leftists, the "Third World" Vietnamese Stalinists seemed qualitatively more revolutionary than the Soviets. From here it was only a short step to embracing Mao's theory of rival superpowers.

But with the heating up of the Cold War and the emergence of a Washington/Peking axis, the Maoists have come full circle. To attempt to steer a middle ground between American imperialism and "Soviet social-imperialism" has served only the most vile and reactionary ends. Thus the Maoists, putting aside their internal squabbles, united behind Khomeini. After all, wasn't he anti-Carter, anti-Brezhnev and a man of action who fought for "national liberation"? So those who a decade ago were cheering the heroic Vietnamese today back a religious fanatic who wants to turn the clock back to the seventh century—and whose "anti-imperialism" is about to be dumped in favor of a new anti-Soviet alliance with Carter.

There is no middle ground. The events in Afghanistan only underscore the fact that those who refuse to defend the Soviet Union against American imperialism will inexorably be driven into the arms of the State Department and NATO. While Stalin once subordinated the proletarian revolution to an alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, for Maoists the popular front against "Soviet social-imperialism" can only be constructed as a bloc with the most vicious, anti-Communist sections of the ruling class.

The underpinnings of Stalinism rest on the false doctrine of socialism in one country, the ideology of the narrow, nationalist bureaucracy that rests on the foundations of a collectivized economy but in fact is opposed to the program of proletarian revolution. The attempt to counterpose China (or Albania) to Russia as the socialist fatherland has proved a dead end. The rapprochement of China with American capitalism has demonstrated that the Maos and Dengs, under the guise of building "socialism" in their country, are as willing to sell out revolution as the Stalins and Brezhnevs—and prepared to join a global counterrevolutionary alliance with the main imperialist power, aimed at breaking the strength of the main anti-capitalist state power (the Soviet Union), besides. Increasingly confronted by the reality of these betrayals, the

Maoist movement has degenerated into a collection of politically irrelevant sects like Progressive Labor, macho cults like Avakian's RCP, or open apologists for U.S. imperialism à la Klonsky.

It is only revolutionary Trotskyism that has withstood the test of history. The Trotskyists have steadfastly defended the Soviet Union (and the other deformed workers states) against imperialist reaction while calling for workers' political revolution against the class-collaborationist Stalinist bureaucracies who undermine the defense of the revolution. Only the Trotskyists have fought consistently against the popular front and other class betrayals. And it is only revolutionary Trotskyism, as upheld by the international Spartacist tendency, that offers a program for world revolution through genuine proletarian internationalism. ■

Harvester...

(continued from page 3)

and Melba Stacy, a veteran of Harlan County, Kentucky labor wars and the wife of an IH striker, called for mass picketing at Melrose Park. However, the Local 6 bureaucrats have preached respect for court injunctions barring such militant picketing, the only means of quickly bringing the company to its knees. And ironically, while the Local's Education Committee is currently showing films depicting great union battles against the companies and their armed thugs, the Local 6 leaders steadfastly oppose putting *into practice* any of the tactics that built the labor movement.

What is critically necessary is the building of a class-struggle leadership that can provide a real opposition to Solidarity House. Such a leadership would call for mass picketing to halt scabbing and for reopening the Caterpillar and John Deere contracts, thus laying the basis for a union-wide fight to win jobs for all through a genuine shorter workweek with a big pay boost. Key to such a fight is a break with the Democratic Party, whose viciously anti-working-class character is being underscored by Chicago mayor Byrne's current union-busting spree. Instead of providing a platform for Democratic Party office-seekers, as Local 6 did at today's rally, the UAW must fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Hostages...

(continued from page 1)

weeks the mullah fanatics and their left idolizers hailed the taking of U.S. hostages as a deepening of the "anti-imperialist" Iranian revolution. For 15 weeks the mullahs appealed to the Iranian masses' justified hatred of the shah and his U.S. backers, promising to clean out the nest of spies that inhabit the U.S. embassy and to force the U.S. to return the butcher shah for trial. In Iran it has become increasingly evident that the taking of hostages was a *diversion* from the economic and social problems wracking the country. The people of Iran are tiring of rule by mullah madness; political circuses can have only temporary attraction for a people who need bread.

In this context, an early advocate of a deal with the U.S. on the hostages, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, is being touted as the rising star, with Ayatollah Khomeini's death-bed (?) blessing. As foreign minister, on November 13 Bani-Sadr came out for an international commission in exchange for releasing the hostages—a suggestion for which he was dumped from his post and replaced by Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, a "hard" on the hostage question. But after Afghanistan, Bani-Sadr won a landslide victory in the mullah-fixed election as he attacked the hostage-takers as a "government within a government."

In the U.S., the media is promoting Bani-Sadr—and no wonder. Having campaigned as an anti-Russian hardliner, Bani-Sadr echoed Carter's saber-rattling speech on Afghanistan: "How can we expect that the Russians won't get the idea of creating the same fate for Iran?" (*New York Times*, 8 February). And he has called for shipping military hardware to the Afghan rebels.

That his commission is centrally an anti-Soviet ploy was underlined last week when Irish diplomat Sean MacBride, a co-founder of Amnesty International and supposed friend of the USSR, was dropped by Kurt Waldheim from the projected five-man commission because "both Teheran and Washington were disturbed about what they regard as the closeness of MacBride's views with those of the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 16 February).

This UN commission cannot be anything but a whitewash. The idea that such a commission agreed upon by Carter and Khomeini could investigate the crimes of the shah and his U.S. imperialist backers is a cruel hoax being perpetrated against the people of Iran. Putting the shah on the Peacock Throne was part of U.S. strategic global anti-Soviet calculations. A deal based on an alliance between the Iranian mullahs and the U.S. imperialists is hardly in a position to "investigate." The mullahs can't reveal the crimes of U.S. imperialism and its Iranian gangs—because the mullahs are among the criminals.

This is not the first time the mullahs have seen the need to choose between U.S. imperialism and the "godless red menace." They made their choice when they backed the shah in the CIA-

Teheran embassy hostages.



engineered coup that overthrew the nationalist premier Mossadeq in August 1953 and reinstated the shah to the power he clung to for decades. Kermit Roosevelt, then head of CIA operations in Teheran, has written in his book *Countercoup* (1979)—suppressed after publication—that an "alliance with the mullahs" was the CIA's "first line of attack" against Mossadeq.

As Mossadeq had proposed reforms such as extending the vote to women, relaxation of the regulation of liquor sales, land reform and the nationalization of large companies—reforms which made direct inroads upon the feudal social privileges of the Shi'ite clergy—a wedge was driven between the National Front and the *ulema*. Then the CIA began funneling funds to the mullahs in preparation for the August coup. The *chaque-keshan*, lumpenproletarian gangs associated with the mosque who were the "enforcers" of mullah justice, grew enormously. Ervand Abrahamian graphically describes the role of the mullah-led mobs in the coup:

"As troops occupied government offices and thirty-seven tanks attacked the Premier's residence, thugs paid by the CIA and affiliated with the reactionary clerical leaders gathered mobs from the red-light district and marched through Tehran to provide the acoustical effects for the military coup d'etat."
—"The Opposition Forces,"
MERIP Reports No. 75/76

Since the fall of the shah, the problem for the U.S. has been how to maintain Iran as a bastion of anti-Sovietism. The problem for the mullahs has been how to consolidate a state power (in particular to crush the rebellious national and religious minorities). The mullahs' claim to be anti-shah and anti-CIA retains a powerful hold on the Iranian masses. In this dangerous deception the mullahs are given full-time aid by the reformist left.

As the mullah regime lines up over Afghanistan, the leftists who supported the Islamic fundamentalists are once again forced to stare into the face of its reactionary character. What will they say this time? Is the commission a sellout of "revolutionary" intentions? Or a further exposure by the mullahs of the CIA-shah connection? Or perhaps they will call for a more "revolutionary" Islamic commission independent of "superpowers" to investigate the crimes of imperialism.

One thing is clear: the "Russian question" now defines and dominates the politics of the left throughout the world, and particularly along the polarizing Russian border. The prob-

lems of Iran still remain super-heated in a society that is still in a state of semi-anarchy, with the most powerful and militant proletariat in the region and a population that remains armed on the streets. Iran's problems remain to be solved by proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party. In Iran that role can be played only by those who do not hail Khomeini, and who do hail the Red Army in Afghanistan. ■

War Fever...

(continued from page 1)

clash between communist internationalism and the reformists' support to their "own" bourgeoisie came out sharply at two recent events called by the nascent Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) in New York and Michigan. At a February 9 anti-draft rally sponsored by CARD at Times Square, the fake-lefts howled when



Anti-draft demonstration at Columbia University, January 30.

former Congresswoman Bella Abzug was met by militant Spartacist chants of "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!" At a subsequent CARD meeting several pacifists expressed horror at the SL/SYL presence in the demo, particularly over our prominent slogan "Hail Red Army!" (people might get the wrong idea), but backed off from an official exclusion.

Not so at CARD's Midwestern Regional Conference in Kalamazoo, Michigan February 16, where an alliance of Maoists and social democrats joined forces to physically bar SYL members from entering the conference room. The conference was dominated by the so-called Revolutionary Student Brigade, whose parent group, the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters" calls for "unified, collective action by the world community against Soviet aggression." The pseudo-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) sat on their hands as the SYL was excluded, but when they put forward a routine motion condemning U.S. threats over Afghanistan the Maoists voted it down, demanding that the USSR be condemned. The SWP/YSA finally voted for a motion condemning *all* military intervention in Afghanistan. Pacifist in form, this resolution is actually *political support to Jimmy Carter* as he threatens World War III over "Soviet aggression!"

The current differences over foreign

policy in the Democratic Party are only tactical shadings within the ruling class over how best to prosecute the imperialist drive against the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. This was expressed in Ted Kennedy's statement, distributed in flyers at anti-draft rallies, that "I oppose registration when it only means reams of computer printouts that would only be a paper curtain against the Soviet troops." And it's not just mainstream Democrats who are serving as counsel to the Pentagon. The despicable former SDS leader Tom Hayden warned protesters at a UCLA demonstration that other politicians are "playing with the politics of your patriotism," and "troops would be useless in Iran, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf." But what if they weren't "useless"? Radicals who form coalitions with such bourgeois politicians are paving the way to imperialist war.

In the tradition of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the SL/SYL opposes class-collaborationist alliances with the capitalist politicians and their "patriotic" tactical opposition to the draft. We say: Not one penny, not one man to the imperialist army—the butchers of My Lai and atom bombers of Hiroshima/Nagasaki! Because we seek to build a consciously anti-imperialist movement we have a basis to appeal to oppressed minorities in the U.S., many of whom opposed the Vietnam War as an attack by an imperial power against former colonial subjects. But the present anti-draft movement is overwhelmingly, almost exclusively, white and campus bound and may be easily bought off by

class privileges (e.g., student deferments). In contrast, for poor blacks facing depression-level unemployment in the ghetto, the army frequently appears as a step up economically and socially (leading to a heavily black military which the bourgeoisie considers unreliable, another reason why reinstating the draft is on the agenda). Poor and working people have no choice, and if conscription is imposed communists would oppose all socially discriminatory or privileged exemptions including the exemption of women and students.

So there's a lot of talk about reviving the '60s. Tired pacifists come out of the woodwork and college youth take a few halting steps toward what they perceive as radical politics, with pleas to "give peace a chance" and chants of "Hell no, we won't go!" To those who would repeat the impotent gestures of draft "resistance," we reply with our famous *Spartacist* headline from 1968: "You WILL Go"—to fight against imperialism and for socialism within the conscript army. Where the reformists built a class-collaborationist "peace" movement that disappeared as soon as U.S. troops left Vietnam, as Trotskyists we fight for a working-class program to overthrow capitalism—the source of imperialist war. And we fought for it then. During the Vietnam War our banner proclaimed, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" Today we boldly say, "Hail Red Army! Down With Islamic Reaction!" ■

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Life and Death on the Waterfront

On February 11 an explosion on an oil utility barge, the Peter Frank, in Bayonne, New Jersey caused the death of one worker and seriously injured another. Immediately the TV and press rushed to the scene to cover another disaster. But the media did not report that the yard where the explosion took place was a notorious anti-union employer whose wretched working conditions amounted to a death trap which sooner or later had to blow.

Jack Heyman, a seaman and trade-union militant of many years' standing, was working on a nearby barge when the explosion occurred, and he rescued another worker from probable death on the flaming Peter Frank. Heyman, a 1978 candidate of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus for secretary-treasurer of the National Maritime Union (NMU), is currently a member of Local 333, which represents many of the tug, harbor and barge workers on the East Coast. In an interview with WV, he tells the story behind the explosion.

WV: Could you describe the explosion?

Heyman: The barge I was working on was in the yard to be cleaned. The explosion went a few hundred feet up into the air, and much of the debris came down on my barge. People were running all over the place in panic, scared that

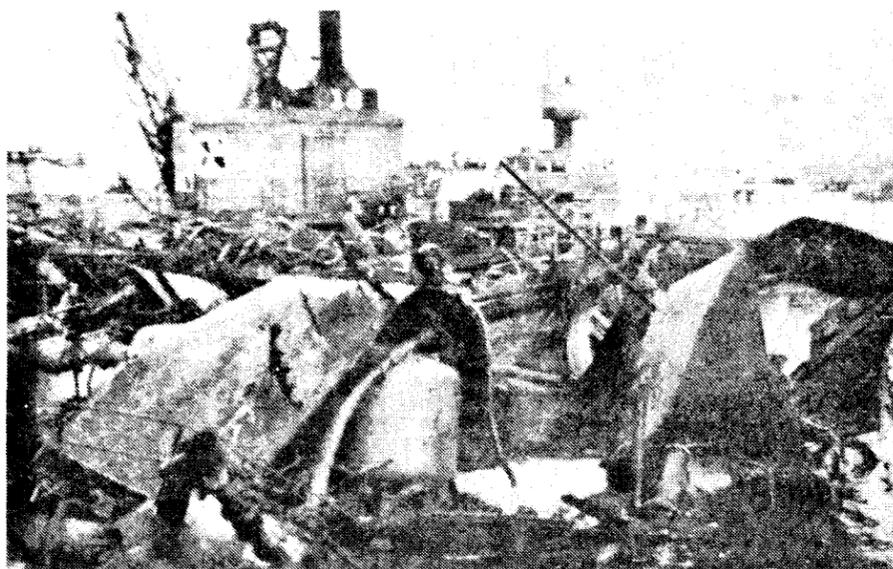


Jack Heyman

WV Photo

other barges in the area could go up. I had some training at the NMU school in firefighting and first aid, so I had a sense of—you know—what course of action to take.

As people were fleeing the explosion, they were yelling, "The men are still on the barge." So I tried to get on the bow of the barge, but there was just too much smoke and flames. I worked my way along a barge that was next to the one on fire and did manage to get to the stern where I found one of the workers. He had managed to climb out of the engine room up the ladder. But any skin on his body not covered by clothing was completely burned off. His hair was singed and he seemed to be blind, or at least couldn't see for that moment. So I grabbed him under the arms and tried to



Parola/NY Post

Deadly wreck: barge Peter Frank after explosion.

drag him across the barge that was tied up next to the Peter Frank. Finally, I got help and we got him on the dock. His name is Juan Setias and he's now in the Cornell Hospital burn center.

WV: When did the rescue teams get there?

Heyman: It's a funny thing about the New York harbor. The bargemen and tugboatmen have radios on their units, and when there's ever any kind of emergency like this, it's spread out over the air immediately. There's a sense of camaraderie among waterfront workers, and so they were the first on the scene. There was much publicity about the Coast Guard and the Fire Department in terms of helping put out the fire. But in fact, credit should be given to members of Local 333 who were the first ones on the scene, not only to help rescue the guy who was injured, but also to help put out the fire.

WV: Obviously you've got to be safety-conscious in this industry. Government figures show that in 1975, there were 520 lost work days per each 100 workers due to occupational injury and illness in maritime, higher than any other occupational group.

Heyman: I've been sailing on the deep-sea ships, the tankers, freighters and also tugboats and barges for the last 12 years. I'm captain on the B-50 and most barges only have two-man crews. In fact, nowadays you find some barges that carry 150,000 barrels or more, which is as much as ships were carrying just a few years ago. So this particular aspect of the maritime industry has been hit very much by automation. And you know, when you talk about small manning scales, you're talking about a safety issue.

Just last week we pulled up to a terminal and we made our connections with the hose to load and they only had

one man on the dock. Now, this is really unsafe. We're talking about one man hooking up a hose, standing by the valve, and then having to run to a pump in case there's a spill or something to shut down the pump. And sometimes these pump rooms are a couple hundred yards away.

WV: What about this Standard Tank Cleaning company, where the accident occurred? What kind of place is it?

Heyman: Well, you know the whole oil industry is dangerous, but this one yard in particular was a death trap. You had conditions there that were indescribable. There was quite often welding going on in the middle of tank-cleaning operations. I was told that this isn't the first time there's been an explosion in that yard. Everybody on the waterfront knew this place was going to blow sooner or later.

WV: Was it union or unorganized?

Heyman: As far as I know, the company has always stifled any kind of union organizing drive. The tugboats and barges had once been organized by Local 333, but there was a raid by the Marine Engineers.

WV: So you are basically talking about a situation here where most of the workers had no union protection?

Heyman: That's right. Anybody who is represented by Local 333 has the right to refuse unsafe work and the union will back you up. On the other hand, workers that are at the complete mercy of the company have no recourse. Either you work in unsafe jobs or you're fired.

WV: You've been active as a militant in maritime unions for several years. What were your experiences in fighting to

unionize non-union ships, boats and tugs?

Heyman: You know, when you talk about organizing the unorganized, you're talking about the oil companies. They're the ones running the foreign flag ships, the so-called runaway ships. And the conditions that these guys work under could only be described as slave conditions. I mean, you see some ships with Pakistani, Indian or Filipino crews—these guys are making only \$100 a month, if that, and have no union representation whatsoever.

In the NMU—in fact I ran for office on the Militant-Solidarity Caucus slate—we ran on a program of organizing these ships. It's important because unless they're organized they pose a threat to all of organized labor. In fact, one of the consequences of the refusal of maritime labor leaders to organize the runaways is that the U.S. companies save millions in wages and impose these slave conditions by registering their ships abroad.

WV: There is now a Coast Guard investigation of this accident. What do you think of these federal agencies that are supposed to safeguard health and safety standards?

Heyman: You know, a lot of guys think that the Coast Guard or government agencies like OSHA are going to protect them, and union officials often build these same illusions. But recently, to give an example, there was a postal worker killed at the Bulk Mail Center in New Jersey. Then they had a federal investigation but shortly afterward another worker almost got killed. As for the Coast Guard, it's nothing but waterfront cops and an agency of a government run by big business, which is just going to follow the dictates of big business. Generally, what these agencies do is put the blame for industrial accidents on the workers and whitewash the companies' criminal role.

So the Coast Guard, while they were late in showing up at the explosion at the Peter Frank—in fact they just got there right before the cameras got there, the news media—they were pretty active in strikebreaking during the tug strike last summer. They were escorting scab boats and in fact themselves towed scab garbage scows throughout the strike.

Really, the only guarantee for safety and health on the job is a strong union safety committee that can shut down production when things are unsafe. It's not reliance on the government, but only the building of a strong militant labor movement that can defend our interests. And on the waterfront that's a life or death question. ■

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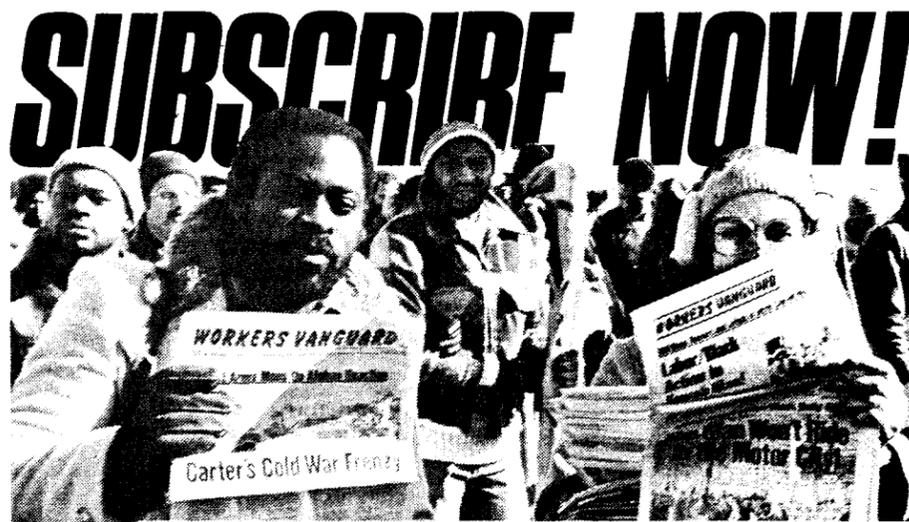
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Thugs...

(continued from page 4)

al communications and was intimately involved in planning and overseeing the police riot against demonstrators at the 1968 Chicago convention. The Secret Service also strong-armed anti-Nixon protesters during the 1970 pre-term election campaign, blatantly routing anti-war demonstrators at a Nixon-Billy Graham rally in North Carolina. It supplied information for politically motivated IRS audits.

After the agency's exposure for roping off IAM picketers from public view to give Carter a good press, a prickly assistant director John Warner blustered "We're not a political agency. Our guys are bipartisan public servants" (*New York Times*, 10 February). But the facts speak otherwise. The Secret Service was, of course, up to its neck in Watergate, from recommending Watergate burglar James McCord to be Nixon's campaign "security coordinator" to installing the White House tapes. But Nixon successfully invoked "executive privilege" to prevent agency testimony to the Senate Watergate

Committee.

The voices of liberalism have cried out for reform of capitalism's secret police—though never to get rid of them, of course. The lasting effect of such Congressional watchdog committees and other "oversight" measures can be gauged by the fact that under the impact of the Afghanistan and Iran crises, Carter has introduced legislation not only freeing the spy agencies from previous minimal restraints, but for the first time establishing an "official secrets act" making it illegal to expose the identities of undercover agents even where the agents commit crimes. And all along the liberals genuflected before the presidency.

So, too, the reformists. It was a sign of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party toward social-democratic reformism that they sent condolences to the widow Kennedy following the 1963 assassination. This reflected a more general attitude toward the government—these cretinist "consistent democrats" really believed if they just fought their lawsuits and acted "respectable," they'd be treated just like any other (bourgeois) party. Their touching faith in the capitalist government was

not shaken even by the 1976 revelations that the Secret Service had blanketed a Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention with every conceivable kind of electronic and physical surveillance.

According to information obtained by the SWP's "socialist Watersuit," the Secret Service tape recorded and photographed the entire 1971 YSA convention from positions inside a projection booth and under the stage of the convention hall. The 4 June 1976 *Militant* reports that agents recorded and photographed every person who spoke at the Houston meeting, spending the next three months matching pictures to tapes to put together an "information kit" on the SWP/YSA. The "kits" were then forwarded to Secret Service offices in San Diego and Miami for the 1972 Democratic and Republican conventions. Among other uses, they were to aid a proposed scheme of Nixon "plumber" G. Gordon Liddy to organize violence against radical protesters at the Republican convention.

Yet only months after this disclosure, SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo was still among the faithful, demanding Secret Service protection during his 1976 campaign! The undying

trust of Camejo and the SWP in the bourgeois army and cops to "protect" minorities and the left is well known (remember "federal troops to Boston" in 1974!). But one wonders why the Secret Service side even bothered with their hide-and-peek operation in Houston. Had it merely asked permission to attend the conference, undoubtedly the SWP social democrats would have said, "Come on in."

In sharp contrast to the rose-colored reformism of the Watersuiters is the present campaign against Secret Service harassment being waged on behalf of union militant Jane Margolis. This campaign, rooted in the labor movement, exposes and fights the real danger of the government's secret police. Particularly in this period of Carter's renewed Cold War, it is urgent that all unionists, socialists and those committed to democratic rights come forward to defend the labor movement against the state's attempts to muzzle it. We urge our readers to respond generously to the fund drive for the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (see accompanying article, page 3). Jane Margolis vs. the Secret Service is your fight. ■

British Steel...

(continued from page 12)

Poor old Ted Grant would seek to preserve the Labour Party three decades into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A Strategy to Win

Steel workers: don't let your strike be derailed by these traitors after so many weeks of bitter struggle and sacrifice! Here are the key elements of a strategy to win:

For mass picketing to shut down all production and movement of steel! As one picket put it outside Sheerness, instead of mass rallies in the streets the unions should organise "mass rallies" outside factory gates to shut down production and deal with scabs. Until recently virtually all the flying picketing has been organised from South Yorkshire; until 2,000 workers surrounded Hadfields on February 14, there have seldom been even 200 at any one site. Open up the pickets to all trade unionists and strike supporters, as has already been done in Scotland! One day of effective mass picketing at Hadfields closed that factory down. Leading "left" Yorkshire miners leader Arthur Scargill had led several hundred miners to join the pickets at Hadfields. Fine. But earlier he sanctioned the continuing handling of steel by Yorkshire miners, and even the transport of steel from pit to pit. Why doesn't "King Arthur" bring out all the Yorkshire miners on indefinite strike action! Add the tens of thousands of miners to the flying pickets! Mass delegations of strikers should be sent to Fords and BL plants and other major steel users to call on the workers not only to stop handling steel but to join the strike.

*No pay, no steel! Not one penny less than 20 per cent, without strings or productivity deals. As one Welsh striker said, "I don't want to go back and be doing two men's jobs for less money." All pay rises must be retroactive to the start of the strike. But 20 per cent will mean nothing to the 52,000 workers threatened with BSC's redundancy heap. Nor will it do anything to stop Wales from being laid waste by the government's industrial policies. The strike must officially demand: *No redundancies [layoffs]! Not one more job lost!**

Demand that the TUC call an immediate national general strike to smash the Tory/employer offensive! Of course Murray and his cronies can't be relied upon to lead such a struggle, but the TUC is the only body with sufficient authority to call a general strike right now. Yet they will only call it when they feel it breathing down their necks, and then will do everything in their power to

sell it out.

So don't let them! For joint co-ordinated regional and national strike committees! The steel strike committees in the various regions must be linked up nationally, subject to election and recall by regular mass meetings, to ensure full membership control over every aspect of the strike and over negotiations. Call a conference of elected delegates from all the regional committees to elect a national strike committee!

Every sector of the union movement which has outstanding claims or will be affected by the steel redundancies (like the miners) must come out now. Leyland workers: Don't wait for the layoffs! Steel strike committees must come together with other strike committees, stewards committees, local trades councils and other appropriate bodies to co-ordinate their activities. Joint committees of all striking unions could, both while fighting for and during a general strike, organise effective picketing and defence guards against scabs and strikebreakers and exercise control over the distribution of food, medicine and other essential supplies to the workers.

The steel strike is not just an isolated "industrial dispute" but a first-rate social and political confrontation threatening the very existence of the Tory government. Militants must demand that a general strike take up aims which meet the interests of the entire working class and the oppressed against the massive attacks of the government and employers:

Reverse the wave of redundancies—save the jobs at BL and BSC! For work sharing on full pay! For plant occupations against closures!

For a sliding scale of wages and pensions pegged to every percentage point increase in the cost of living and coupled with immediate across-the-board increases.

Reverse the cuts in social services and education—Labour's as well as the Tories! No to trade protectionism and racist immigration controls! Down with the anti-abortion Corrie bill!

Defend the workers' organisations! Bury the Prior Bill! Smash all the victimisations of trade-union militants—Reinstate Derek Robinson as BL Longbridge convenor!

Revolutionary Leadership and the Struggle for Power

But a general strike, whatever its immediate demands, also poses the question of power. The elected strike committees which are necessary to ensure victory against inevitable attempts at bureaucratic sabotage could, like the Councils of Action of 1926, become a focus for dual power. In a

general strike situation, they would be compelled to take over essential functions of the state like the operation of essential services and the maintenance of order in the workers' districts.

Given the pack of class traitors who currently are at the head of the labour movement, and the lack of a mass revolutionary alternative, it is clear that a general strike today could not lead directly to the workers' seizure of power. But it could succeed in achieving limited aims, and thereby open the road to a pre-revolutionary situation, as the reformists are clearly exposed as lackeys of the capitalists and as the most militant strikers come to recognise the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. As Leon Trotsky wrote during the 1926 general strike:

"This by no means implies, however, that the present strike is faced by the alternative of all or nothing... The more widely it develops, the more violently it shakes the foundations of capitalism, the more completely it sheds the treacherous and opportunist leaders, the more difficult will it be for bourgeois reaction to go over to the counteroffensive, the less will the proletarian organisations suffer, the sooner shall we reach the next, more decisive stage of the fight."

All the reformist bureaucrats and charlatans have their own pet schemes for propping up decaying British capitalism. And the fake revolutionaries tag along behind, all unwilling and unable to chart a course for the proletariat to confront and defeat the capitalist class. The Communist Party has sufficient weight in key sectors of the working class to pull sectors of the union movement numbering hundreds of thousands—car workers, miners—out on strike alongside the steel workers. Yet with 40,000 facing the sack at Leyland and CPer Robinson still outside the gate, it uses its influence to echo the Bennites' chauvinist protectionism, boost the TUC's empty anti-cuts campaigns and (as at Fords Dagenham) look the other way as scab steel is sneaked into the plants.

Joining the CP in criminal refusal to

fight for a general strike is the Socialist Workers Party, whose *Socialist Worker* lead article (9 February) blares that a "fightback" can "start" [!] with the TUC-initiated March 9 Sunday anti-cuts outing! And the SWP's *Real Steel News* takes up little beyond the 20 per cent pay claim as the goal for the strike—except to add its own voice to the crusade for import controls. The centrist International Marxist Group [IMG] finally decided to call for a general strike several weeks after militant steel workers began to do so—but it still sets its call safely off in mid-March, not today.

The problems of the working class will not be solved by putting Callaghan/Benn back on the Westminster benches, as all the labour traitors try to argue. The capitalists are ravaging the country: shutting down factories, sending millions of workers onto the dole queues [unemployment lines], squandering lives and destroying valuable productive forces in the name of profit. Only socialist revolution for a workers government can create a rationally planned economy and give British workers a future.

During their nearly two months of struggle the steel workers have quickly outstripped the right-wing bureaucratic trades unionism of their misleaders. They have demonstrated their readiness for militant struggle. But militancy is not enough. They are pitted against the entire capitalist class and its state, and they need a weapon to take on that enemy—a programme to unify the proletariat in struggle and a leadership which breaks from social-democratic Labourism to provide a revolutionary solution to the extreme social decay and crisis of British capitalism. Then they will be prepared for "the next, more decisive stage of the fight."

Victory to the steel strike—General strike now! Not Sirs, Callaghan, Scargill or Benn—For a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement! Forward to a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class! ■

NEW YORK SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Eyewitness Report

100,000 British Steel Workers on Strike!

Guest Speakers: Edward (Corky) Benedict
member, Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the NMU

Kevin Quirk
member, Militant Solidarity Caucus in the UAW, Local 906

Friday, February 22, 1980 7:30 p.m.
Room 121, Meyer Hall of Physics, New York University

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For further information: (212) 732-7880

WORKERS VANGUARD

Massive Steel Strike Rocks Thatcher

General Strike Posed in Britain

On-the-Spot Report

For the past month and a half more than 150,000 British steel workers have been fighting a bitter strike, the most important class conflict on the island since a Tory government was brought down by the 1974 coal strike. Yet the American press has maintained a virtually total blackout on this crucial battle, perhaps because the Thatcher government is Washington's only sure ally in Europe. We bring here to our readers an on-the-spot report from our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain.



Flying pickets call on Sheerness steel workers to come out, stop scab trucks.

LONDON, February 17—British steel strikers are today locked in a vital class battle against the Tory government and the capitalist class that it serves. Their strike, now in its seventh week and still increasing in militancy, threatens to spark an explosive class-wide offensive against all the Tories' anti-union and austerity policies. Its outcome could determine the social and political situation in this country for years. It must be won!

For the ruling class, the steel strike is a test case for the right-wing monetarist policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Secretary of State for Industry Keith Joseph. Josephism means 40,000 workers thrown on the scrap heap at nationalised British Leyland and more than 50,000 at government-owned British Steel. It means driving workers ever deeper into poverty in a desperate attempt to restore profitability to bankrupt British capitalism. And behind the Tories' pretence of "non-intervention" lies the mailed fist of the bosses' state.

Nearly 200 strikers have already been arrested on picket lines throughout the country; some have been brutally beaten. The militant strike committee at Rotherham has had its phones tapped. The strike has been threatened with court injunctions. And in response to the success of flying picket squads despatched from Rotherham and elsewhere, the Tories have tightened the provisions of the union-bashing Prior Bill.

This strike is a test for the working class. Defeat for the steel workers would mean a major setback for the whole class and would pave the way for unprecedented legal shackles on trade-union rights. But victory could turn the Prior Bill into a scrap of paper and provide a tremendous impetus to further class struggle. Thatcher remembers very well that Ted Heath's Conservative government fell in 1974 in an attempt to take on the unions. Hers could be next.

The phrase "General Strike" is on everyone's lips. All the ingredients are there, save an authoritative revolutionary leadership of the working class. The

stockpiles which were carefully built up by industry over the autumn and early winter are fast disappearing. The CBI [Confederation of British Industry] has warned that the country could "grind to a halt" by the end of the month. Meanwhile workers in other strategic industrial sectors stand poised for strikes of their own. Half of London's dockers are already out. Unions representing 20,000 water workers turned down a 19 per cent management offer, threatening to strike February 25. And even as British Leyland workers overwhelmingly rejected an insulting 5 per cent pay offer, management was declaring a *de facto* lockout of 40,000 employees. Meanwhile, the Ayatollah of BL, Sir Michael Edwardes, adamantly refuses to reinstate victimised Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson.

Militant steel workers have recognised the obvious link between their struggle and that at Leyland. For the past week and a half flying pickets have been despatched to the key parts plant at Castle Bromwich, which if shut down would soon affect the whole of BL. Yet still the union bureaucrats dither and delay, hoping to derail any possibility of joint struggle with the steel workers—and certainly of a general strike.

The Enemy Within

The steel strikers have had to overcome enormous obstacles to come as far as they have, not least their own "leaders." One Rotherham picket put it well: "The most dangerous enemy in this strike isn't Margaret Thatcher, Keith Joseph or BSC management. It's Bill Sirs." The strikers wondered aloud when the ISTC [Iron and Steel Trades Confederation] general secretary will get his knighthood for services rendered to the capitalists—they call him "Sir Sirs."

The *only* reason there has been effective flying picketing at all is that militant strike committees have ignored Sirs' frantic instructions to stop. While the membership demands 20 per cent without strings, Sirs keeps trying for a "compromise" far below that and tied

to job-loss productivity deals. While strikers have to scrape by hand-to-mouth on their meagre savings, Sirs and his fellow national bureaucrats sit on millions of pounds in the ISTC treasury with not a penny released for strike pay. (Now Thatcher is again threatening to cut off social security benefits to strikers' families by "deeming" that they had received union strike pay—even if they had not!)

Sirs waited five weeks to call out the private sector, then bowed to Lord Denning's ruling outlawing this extension of the strike. *Then* he tried to stop its resumption after the Law Lords reversed Denning's decision—only to be voted down unanimously by his own Executive. Having dawdled for so long before pulling out private steel, he waited only a few days to arrange a backstabbing, behind-the-scenes return to work for the large Hadfields private firm in Sheffield—a betrayal so blatant that the Rotherham strike committee ISTC members demanded his dismissal from office. Sirs quickly backed down this time, but he is a proven traitor. He can't even show his face in South Yorkshire without being heckled by angry strikers. Sack him!

And Bill Sirs isn't the only traitor. The craft and general steel workers' leaders have ignominiously tried to get a separate scab settlement with management—which the workers threw out—underlining the need for one industrial union throughout the steel industry. Moreover, despite pious promises at the beginning of the strike that steel would be blacked ["hot-cargoes" or boycotted], huge shipments keep coming into and being transported around the country, often with the connivance of top union officials.

Every initiative to broaden the strike towards a general strike has been stifled by the TUC [Trades Union Congress]. It forced the postponement of the all-out January 21 Welsh general strike until March, sanctioning a token one-day stoppage to blow off steam in the meantime. Since then Congress House has desperately manoeuvred against

angry Welsh miners, steel and railway workers in an attempt to junk the regional general strike altogether.

Meanwhile their friends on the Labour benches at Westminster have been campaigning, not for victory to the steel strike, but for government intervention to stop it! [Labour Party leader] Jim Callaghan and his gang want new wage controls; they don't even oppose the Prior Bill, only wanting to amend it. Tony Benn echoes Callaghan's programme for a new pay ceiling, while joining hands with the likes of Sir Michael Edwardes in his pleas for protectionist import controls.

Such controls will *not* save jobs, but merely set British workers against foreign workers as other governments retaliate with their own embargoes. Capitalist import controls are a policy for trade war, which inevitably leads towards real imperialist war, and must be flatly *opposed*. It is not in the least surprising that those labour misleaders who advocate protectionism also fall into lockstep behind the Iron Lady's Cold War mongering against the Soviet Union—in both cases they declare their willingness to serve up the workers as imperialist cannon fodder.

A party which genuinely fought for the working class would be straining every muscle right now to rally support for the steel workers, denouncing the Tories' attacks and using the platform of Parliament to campaign for a general strike. But the flabby social democrats of Westminster, right and "left" alike, are not lifting a finger in support of the steel strikers. Hardly surprising, since only one year ago *they* were on the government benches, slashing wages and trying to break the militant strikes of local government manual workers.

Another side to the capitalist wage-cutting/union-bashing drive is a big red scare and a witchhunt against "Trotskyist infiltration" into the Labour Party. The right-wing press is in a frenzy over "Red Robbo," leading Communist Party trade unionist Derek Robinson: "Red Robbo on the Run" (*Evening News*, 8 February), "End of Line for Red Robbo" (*Evening Mail*, 24 January). The most important shop floor leader in the big nationalised car manufacturer, Robinson was sacked last November for opposing Leyland's job-slashing plan. Clearly, for the ruling class, preventing Red Robbo's reinstatement is key to breaking the influence of the left in the labour movement.

Along with the campaign against CPer Robinson there is a hue and cry about "Trotskyists" in the Labour Party. When the party's National Executive rejected expelling Ted Heslin, a supporter of the centrist Workers Socialist League, the right-wing *Daily Mail* (24 January) blared on its front page: "Victory for Red Ted." Then there is the perennial witchhunt against Ted Grant's *Militant* group, Labour's "house Marxists," who for years have loyally administered the official Young Socialists. A stodgy Victorian caricature of Marxism, Grant's *Militant* group is utterly loyal to Labourism.

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