

Defend Vietnam and the Soviet Union!

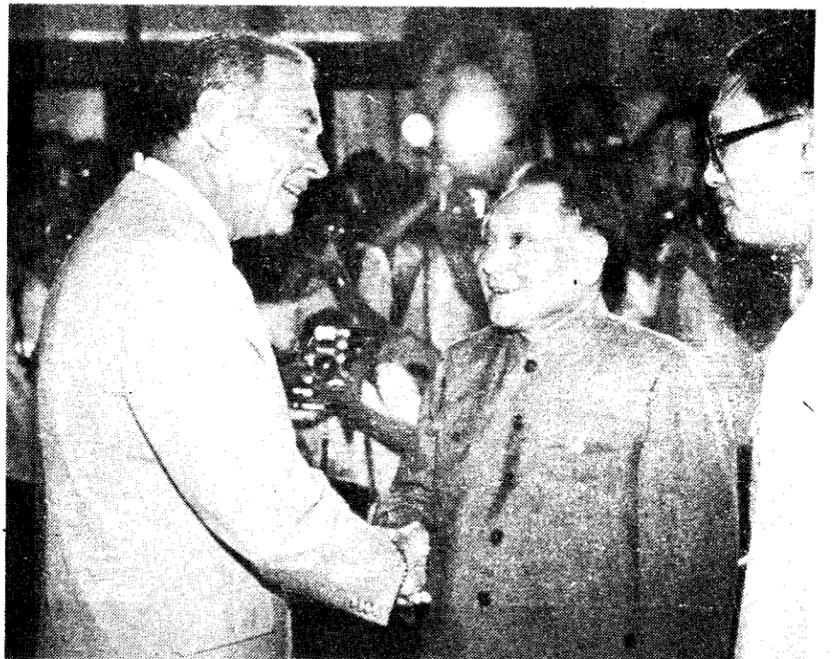
U.S./China Anti-Soviet War Axis

General Haig's announcement last week at the end of his China trip that the U.S. will arm Peking with "lethal weapons" is the most dangerous provocation against the USSR since this most provocative Reagan regime took office six months ago. It is not merely another finesse of "China card" diplomacy. The deepening U.S./China alliance has now become an openly declared anti-Soviet military axis—a deal for action against the Soviets and to "increase the political, economic, and, yes, military pressures on Vietnam" (*New York Times*, 18 June). Like the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, now recognized as the very first shots of World War II, the U.S./China arms deal may well be the direct prelude to WWII.

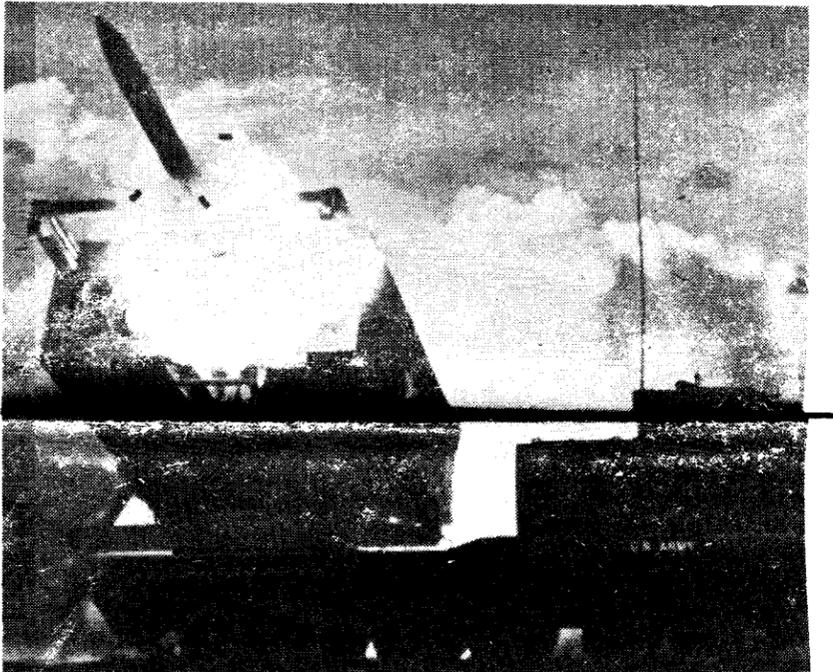
Joint American/Chinese military support to anti-Russian Afghans and anti-Vietnamese Cambodians is envisioned. The Chinese bless the Ameri-

cans to deepen their military commitment in El Salvador and against Nicaragua and Cuba. Surely an attempted military "roll-back" in Angola and Namibia, to be fronted by South Africa, is foreseen. But the one-family-run Saudi Arabia and the hated Zia of Pakistan are less than slender reeds. And as for Begin's Israel: whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. Considerable arm-twisting of West European allies and increasingly of an uneasy Japan are also in the cards if an effective Chinese/American bloc is to be consummated—at a cost of hundreds of billions of dollars from an economically weakened United States. And for what? It's a lot easier to hunt down and forcibly abort black welfare mothers ("Right to Life" notwithstanding) than to try the same on the Red Army.

Now Haig shouts in the face of the



Zimberoff/Sygma



Aviation Week

Haig and Deng seal anti-Soviet military alliance in big step toward WWII.

Soviets that two years ago—when Washington lost its "listening stations" in Iran with the mullah victory over the U.S.-backed shah—the U.S. built a super spy station embedded in the Sinkiang mountains near the Soviet border. The Chinese spy station is the

one place where U.S. imperialism can monitor Soviet missile tests from launch through flight over Siberia to dispersion of warheads. Together the Chinese Stalinists and their CIA "advisers" gather the most sensitive military *continued on page 8*

Bani-Sadr On the Run—Ayatollahs Blown Away

Iran in Chaos

JUNE 28—Last night Teheran experienced probably the most spectacular terrorist action of recent times. A large section of the political rulers of Iran were wiped out by a powerful bomb placed in a meeting of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP), the political vehicle of "imam" Khomeini. Among the 72 dead was top IRP leader, chief justice ayatollah Beheshti; Prime Minister Rajai was injured. While the action was attributed to an anti-clerical Islamic group, both leftist guerrillas and U.S. imperialism have also been accused of

responsibility. And in fact, the rule of the dominant clerical faction has been so oppressive that forces from just about any point on the political compass could have thought they had cause to plant the fateful explosive charge.

Little more than two years after the fall of the hated shah, Iran's "Islamic Republic" stands on the verge of total anarchy. Large-scale street fighting swept the country as Khomeini and the Islamic clerical fanatics drove "moderate" president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr out of office and into hiding. Supporters

of Bani-Sadr, notably the well-armed radical-Islamic Mujahedin guerrillas, battled *pasdaran* ("revolutionary guards") and the *hezbollahi* (clerical-fascist gangs). Fighting in Teheran, Shiraz, Meshed, Qum, Zahidan, Ahwaz and other cities left scores dead and hundreds injured. After the president went underground June 11, the mullahs launched a wave of executions of leftists and any prominent Bani-Sadr supporters they could get their hands on.

Now these reactionary terrorists-in-turbans are on the receiving end, as many of their key leaders were blown to smithereens. But if the mullahs weather this crisis and keep their hold on the state apparatus, they will extract a terrible vengeance on their enemies. The left will face a bloodbath as never before. More than ever, what is desperately needed in Iran is the working class mobilized to fight for its own class power. Proletarian revolution or bloody Islamic reaction: the choice is clearer in Iran today than at any time since the ouster of the Pahlavi dynasty. And the key is a Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution,

fighting for proletarian leadership of the oppressed rather than support to sectors of the ruling classes—whether shahs, ayatollahs or impotent "liberals."

"Islamic Revolution" Deepens

In the end, the only force willing to fight for the hapless Bani-Sadr, elected in January 1980 with 75 percent of the popular vote, was the left. In Teheran on June 20, 100,000 turned out for a demonstration called by the Mujahedin on behalf of the beleaguered president. *Pasdaran* opened fire to disperse the crowds while gangs of kill-crazy *hezbollahi* attacked with knives, chains and clubs. After a three-hour battle that left Teheran's Mossadeq Avenue looking like downtown Beirut, the several thousand Mujahedin militants were reportedly outnumbered by the fascist thugs, who were rushed to the scene in trucks. Nineteen were reported killed and 200 injured. Fifteen of those arrested were executed the next morning. Ayatollah Khomeini, the notorious "hanging judge" who had hurried back from a tour of the USSR, demanded *continued on page 9*

SL: Don't Tread on Us!

Australian SWP Thugs Attack Anti-Imperialist Contingent

SYDNEY—El Salvador protests are dividing into two camps in Australia as well, as the small-time reformists show their "concern"... to draw the blood line against revolution. Recently, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), little brothers of the American SWP, and the SWP-run Committee in Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean (CISCAC), in a desperate attempt to seal off the communists, launched one of the worst thug attacks here in years.

In the June 13 demonstration at Sydney Town Hall Square, SWP/CISCAC goons (with a little help from the Eurocommunists of the Communist Party of Australia) attacked the 70-man Anti-Imperialist Contingent as it was moving into the line of march. But despite the reformists' fists and kicks and their attempt to mobilise the cops against the left, they were not able to silence the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, sponsored by the Spartacist League. And a week later in Melbourne, three Contingent speakers managed to address the crowd of some 300 El Salvador protesters at City Square, despite renewed attempts by SWP/CISCAC to thwart them.

In the weeks leading up to the June 13 and June 20 Sydney and Melbourne marches, there had been a constant political struggle in planning meetings and public forums. SWP/CISCAC had consistently voted down or suppressed Spartacist motions calling for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" and repeatedly refused to allow an Anti-Imperialist Contingent speaker on the rally platform. But despite their best efforts to keep out revolutionary politics, they were afraid that many in the June 13 demo would be attracted to the Contingent call for a rally for leftist military victory, to be held in front of the U.S. consulate.

As the marchers were forming up at Town Hall Square, SWP/CISCAC went around denouncing the U.S.

consulate rally as a "provocation" and threw up two lines of goons organised into chains of heavies with linked arms to block off the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Four megaphones were lined up to chant in unison *into* our ranks in order to drown out Spartacist chants. Their goons started pushing even as the crowd was building, trying to provoke a fight then and there. As the march began and the Contingent moved out into the street, SWP/CISCAC thugs tried to block us off. Pushing them in front, we advanced toward the line of march until cops arrived.

Meanwhile, fist-swinging, kicking goons attacked Anti-Imperialist Contingent marchers from the side, ripping badges off demonstrators and trying to tear down our lead banner. Although the SWP/CISCAC managed to rip the banner calling for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents" (showing graphically where *they* stand), and despite continued SWP/CISCAC harassment all along the march route, the Contingent marched, militantly chanting, to the consulate to hold our protest outside the main symbol of U.S. imperialism in Sydney.

The SWP assault was a premeditated attack. Clearly they were willing to disrupt their own demonstration in order to prevent communist demands and slogans from being seen or heard. As our leaflet distributed the following day said:

"The CISCAC/SWP rally was in fact built in *opposition* to the call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents. Their demands for 'U.S. out' and 'Self determination for the people of El Salvador' camouflage their support for a negotiated deal with the junta and their *scandalous refusal to openly take a side in the civil war raging in El Salvador.*"

Members of the International Socialists (IS), who in days previous had claimed to support military victory of the Salvadoran leftists, stood with the



Sydney, June 13: Reformists cannot silence supporters of military victory for Salvadoran left.

SWP/CISCAC as they launched their thug attack.

The SWP is evidently feeling some pressure. For years they have attempted to ignore the SL as "irrelevant ultra-leftists," but in the last two weeks they have spewed out: a full-page printed leaflet against the Spartacist League; a full-page article attacking the SL in the 17 June issue of *Direct Action*; and a second, four-page printed leaflet trying to spread the lie that "Sectarians Try to Disrupt Sydney El Salvador March." Cynically they excuse their bloody attack by saying the Contingent refused to take "the place assigned to them" in the march. This refers to their brazen attempt to force the Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march at the end of the line. But even this bogus argument is a complete fraud as their attempts to provoke a clash started well before the march began.

Politically their attempt to justify anti-communist exclusionism is just as

lame. Our slogan, "Defence of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador," they write, is a "left" cover for imperialist propaganda." Some cover! What kind of imperialist calls for this? The SWP's refusal to raise demands in defence of the deformed and degenerated workers states, the ultimate and declared targets of U.S. imperialism's worldwide anti-Soviet drive currently focused on El Salvador, is an attempt to cosy up to labor reformists and bourgeois politicians for whom this is anathema. A main speaker at previous CISCAC rallies was Don Chipp, whom an *Australasian Spartacist* article dubbed "El Salvador dove, Vietnam hawk, Imperialist turkey." SWP/CISCAC hero Chipp was formerly minister for the navy during Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.

The SWP complains a lot about the front-page photograph in the *Washington Post* of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 Pentagon protest, claiming that the prominent coverage was due to the fact that the *Post* "is one of the chief organs of U.S. imperialist 'liberalism'." So now imperialist liberals not only like the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union," but yearn to put pictures of leftist militants demanding "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" on their front pages! What the SWP/CISCAC

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H-Block Protesters Revile Prince

With cries of "Stuff It, Charlie!" and "Brits Out of Ireland!" 5,000 protesters "greeted" Charles Mountbatten, Prince of Wales, when the heir to the British crown arrived at New York City's Lincoln Center June 17 to see the Royal Ballet. The jeering demonstrators marched to the sound of skirling bagpipes, waved banners and banged dustbin lids to protest the British murder of Irish Republican hunger strikers in the H-Block cells of Northern Ireland's Long Kesh concentration camp.

The tuxedoed upper crust dining at the \$1,000-a-ticket feed inside peered at the largely Irish-American demonstrators through plate glass windows. No doubt they felt more secure knowing that New York's Mayor Koch had spent \$300,000 to station 1,300 horse and foot cops to protect the bonnie prince from the wrath of the crowd. The British press waxed indignant about the disrespect the "mob" in New York showed to the chinless inbred scion of England's parasitic royal family, but Charlie got no more than he deserved.



WV Photo

The demonstrators chanted, "The Prince of Death Must Go!" and "There's Blood on Your Hands!" The Spartacist League also marched in the protest, carrying signs with slogans such as "Smash H-Block!" "British Troops Out of Ireland!" "Reagan

Hands Off El Salvador, Thatcher Out of Northern Ireland!" and "For an Irish Workers Republic!" For good measure SL signs added, "Abolish the Licensing Hours and the House of Lords!" "Abolish the Monarchy!" and "Recall the Fate of Charles I."

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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

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

No. 284

3 July 1981

WORKERS VANGUARD

Militant Caucus Gains in Rouge Elections

It'll Take Class-Struggle Leadership to Make UAW a Fighting Union!

DETROIT—Last month local elections were held in the United Auto Workers (UAW), but nowadays the smug union bureaucracy is offering nothing but takeaways to the ranks. While union president Doug Fraser sits on the board of directors of Chrysler, some 20 to 25 percent of Detroit's auto workers are laid off—and most of these unemployed know they might never find a way back into the factories. Plant after plant has been closed while first Chrysler and now Ford blackmail the remaining workers with the threat of more job losses. "Friend of labor" Democratic mayor Coleman Young has even imported Felix Rohatyn of New York City's "Big MAC" to do a similar job of wage-gouging on Detroit's city workers. Meanwhile race terrorists like the Klan and the Nazis have been given a green light to move against blacks, while the cops escalate their own racist attacks on minorities. And the Reagan government is moving to cut back unemployment and welfare benefits and even social security.

In today's America, the labor reformists not only cannot deliver on the crumbs they used to offer, now they *give back* past union gains in order to enforce the bosses' austerity program! And the economic crisis has meant that those parties and forces in the labor movement who promise social change through reform of capitalism have withered. Trade-union reformism has nothing to offer. Thus in the United Mine Workers, "reform" bureaucrats Arnold Miller and now Sam Church have lost all credibility as they repeatedly tried to sell devastating takeaway contracts. Only the ranks' obstinate 110-day strike in 1977-78 and a 72-day strike this year, *against their own leadership*, managed to stave off defeats which could destroy the union. In the United Steelworkers dissident "Fightback" leaders Ed Sadowski and Jim Balanoff did not lift a finger against plant closings and failed to challenge the ENA no-strike agreement despite earlier tough talk. They became so unpopular that Sadowski lost the national election in 1977 and Balanoff couldn't even get re-elected as District 31 director this spring.

In the UAW River Rouge elections also, rank-and-file members cannot find any real difference between the incumbent Solidarity House gang and assorted out-bureaucrat challengers. Many of the reformists of years past are now out of the picture: the old United National Caucus and allied Independent Skilled Trades Council around Pete Kelley have virtually disappeared. This time around, ISTC leader Al Gardner, head of the Local 600 Tool and Die Unit, endorsed Rouge president Mike Rinaldi for reelection. General Baker, former leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, ran this time on the slate of former Local 600 president Walter Dorosh. But despite Rinaldi's miserable record, the Dorosh slate with its Reutherite rhetoric was thoroughly trounced (12,000 to 5,000) in the presidential race at the largest UAW local.

But a United Front Slate (UFS) was fielded to revive the bankrupt reformist tradition at Local 600. It was backed by Jim Rothe's "600 Organizer" and the so-called Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), supported by the Ann Arbor cult/sect Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)

of Peter Sollenberger. The UFS was a typical lowest-common-denominator electoral lash-up of various fake "militants" which quickly fell apart. Their candidate for president quit before the election complaining of being "used," and came out for the incumbent Rinaldi! And their first vice-presidential candidate gooned for Rinaldi against the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) at a demonstration at Ford headquarters!

The RMC, a class-struggle caucus, ran Frank Hicks for president and Charles Dubois for first vice president—receiving 1,681 and 1,090 votes respectively. It was the RMC which led the fight to drive out from the Rouge two Klan-hooded foremen who paraded through the Dearborn Assembly Plant; they also took the lead in mobilizing Rouge workers for the 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square, heavily built by the Spartacist League, that kept the Klan from celebrating the Greensboro massacre in Detroit on 10 November 1979.

The Rouge Militant Caucus doesn't believe that class struggle stops at the plant gates, and fights for international working-class solidarity. It brought people from the Rouge to Washington May 3 to march with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent for a left-wing victory in El Salvador against the bloody American-backed junta. And it called for military defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism. This contrasted sharply with the UFS, which lines up explicitly with the Solidarity House bureaucrats. The "600 Organizer" of Jim Rothe wrote in October 1980, "We support free and democratic trade

unions in Poland like UAW president Doug Fraser"! Like Fraser, who like Victor Reuther and his CIA friends under the cover of "free and democratic trade unions" are trying to organize counterrevolution in Poland! The CMDUAW/RWL, meanwhile, marched with the pro-Democratic Party PAM in Washington May 3.

The CMDUAW's guru Sollenberger is a pretty funny bird for a union group to be hooked up with; his RWL publishes 3,000-word articles defending *scabbing*. Bloc partner Rothe is a more run-of-the-mill labor reformist: he just calls crossing picket lines a "tactical" question. But what sets these ballot-box hustlers spinning is when class-struggle militants organize the ranks for militant *action* to fight layoffs and racist attacks. Rothe opposed the November 10 anti-Klan demonstration while the RWL/CMDUAW denounced it as a "fraud." And when the Rouge Militant Caucus tried to organize sit-downs to stop layoffs at Ford, the CMDUAW echoed the bureaucracy by denouncing it as a "gimmick" and "just a wildcat out of the blue" ("Local 600 Fighter," 5 March)! Rothe and CMDUAW won't take action without Fraser's sanction—and *that means no action at all*.

Reformism can't deliver because capitalism can't deliver. Industrial Detroit has become the best symbol of the decay of U.S. capitalism: Dodge Main leveled, major plants working at one-third capacity or shut down, the number of workers at Ford Rouge down from 35,000 to 20,000 since 1973. And the "U-Ain't-Working" UAW is the best example of the bankruptcy of trade

unionism without a revolutionary perspective. Forty years ago, Leon Trotsky wrote that in this epoch:

"Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution."

—"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

For the trade unions to go forward, resolute struggle against capitalist rule is required. Such a struggle means the forging of a vanguard revolutionary socialist (Trotskyist) party to finally abolish capitalism and establish workers' rule.

With a respectable voting base, the RMC now has its work cut out for it. They face the task of winning the most advanced and class-conscious workers to the program of proletarian power. There are many auto workers, particularly among the black proletariat, who realize they have no future under racist U.S. capitalism. The RMC must drive home the crucial difference between a class-struggle program and the dead-end of the bankrupt labor reformists, and recruit from among these subjectively revolutionary workers those who will unflinchingly defend the class line, from Detroit to El Salvador to the Soviet Union. It is only such militants who will prove capable of leading auto workers to victory in the class battles that lie ahead. ■

Coleman Young's Anti-Union Tax Hike

In a special election held on Tuesday, June 23 Detroit residents voted 3 to 2 to raise the city's income tax as part of a three-pronged plan by Mayor Coleman Young and the Michigan state legislature to bail the city out of imminent bankruptcy by making the largely black population pay for it. Phase Two and Three involve wresting wage concessions from the 30 municipal unions and draining union pension funds into long-term city bonds to the tune of \$125 million.

This special election, backed by a high-powered propaganda campaign, was in large part a referendum on Young himself and represents the vote of confidence he is now using to go after the black city workers. Young is demanding that AFSCME agree to a two-year pay freeze in return for a one-year ban on layoffs, which means giving up two 6 percent wage raises scheduled for each of the next two years which were won through a bitter strike just last summer.

We reprint below a leaflet distributed to the city workers by the Detroit Spartacist League before the Tuesday elections:

The auto bosses, bankers and Democratic Party politicians who run Detroit are out to bust the city workers unions with the same concession blackmail they pulled at Chrysler. The June 23 vote on the tax hike is just a referendum on

UAW's Doug Fraser supports Coleman Young's wage-slashing tax hike.



Young's racist union-busting plan to make the workers pay for the bosses' financial mess. Vote no, but remember: Whether or not Young gets the OK from the voters, the pay cuts, layoffs and slashes in city services are coming. The only thing that will stop them is a strike by city workers.

Coleman Young says he is out to "save" Detroit. He says a "yes" vote on June 23 is a vote for "freedom," to save Detroit from "outsiders" and "bigots."

What cynical demagoguery! The "outsiders" are all *with* Coleman Young! His assault on city workers was planned by the notorious New York union-busting financier Felix Rohatyn and Ford Motor Co. executive Fred Secrest. The auto barons, businessmen and financiers have contributed tens of thousands of dollars to the "Vote Yes-Detroit Committee" because they would like to swell their corporate profits and turn

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French CP Capitulates to the Atlanticist Mitterrand

We Trotskyists Defend the USSR!

EXCERPTED FROM *LE BOLCHÉVIK*
SUPPLEMENT, JULY 1981

On the night of June 23 dramatic last-minute negotiations between the PS [Socialist Party] and the PCF [Communist Party of France] arrived at a "governmental agreement" permitting the PCF to occupy four seats in the Mitterrand government. The "governmental agreement" and the entry of Communist ministers is a "historic event" all right: the PCF has dropped even the pretense of defending the USSR against Western imperialism's Cold War offensive. The agreement represented a major capitulation by Marchais & Co. to the PS' anti-Soviet positions:

- Now the PCF echoes Mitterrand's pro-NATO call for nuclear "equilibrium," equating the Pershings of NATO imperialism with the Soviet SS20s, necessary for the defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Warsaw Pact.
- A straight-out call for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan where they confront CIA-backed forces of Islamic reaction.
- Jumping on the NATO bandwagon over Poland.
- Topping it off, what amounts to a no-strike pledge in the factories in the name of "governmental solidarity."

The day after the PCF ministers embraced the Mitterrand government, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France [LTF] held a picket line in Paris—the only one in France—protesting an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet meeting on Afghanistan and the PCF's groveling repudiation of any semblance of Soviet defensism. The meeting, called by the SP, the CFDT [PS-led union federation], the OCI [Internationalist Communist Organization]-dominated student union and others, called for Soviet troops to withdraw from Afghanistan and for support to the Afghan reactionaries. The spirited picket line raised the slogans of "Victory to the Red Army in Afghanistan!" "We Trotskyists Defend the Soviet Union!" "Communist Ministers in NATO Popular Front: Betrayal!" and "Members of the PCF: Reject Abandonment of Soviet Union!" The picket attracted considerable attention, including from CGT [PCF-led union federation] bureaucrats leaving work at the Bourse du Travail.

Eight months ago the PCF leadership was pointing out that every time the PCF had supported a popular front—in 1936, '44 and '72—the bourgeoisie won: "three times is enough!" No, it is three times too many, and now they are at it again! But unlike 1936 and 1944 when

the CP "merely" had to guarantee the suppression of workers' demands in struggle—"you have to know how to end a strike" and "strikes are the arm of the trusts"—this is different. In exchange for second-rate ministerial portfolios, the PCF has explicitly lined up with the pro-NATO cold warriors against the Soviet Union precisely in this period of renewed anti-Sovietism, when Reagan wants to teach Cuba and the USSR "a bloody lesson" by massacring Salvadoran workers and peasants, when U.S. imperialism prepares to arm the ferociously anti-Soviet Peking bureaucracy! If CP militants, fed up with Marchais' lies and the CP's groveling before Reagan's Cold War

democrats and bourgeois forces, doesn't this mean that we should reject the popular front in principle? Doesn't the popular front demoralize and disarm the workers (in order to guard its bourgeois bloc partners) in exchange for illusory promises of social reform? Don't popular fronts in power end up opening the gates to reaction (Franco, Pétain, Pinochet)? The PCF leadership studiously avoided these questions, of course, because they raise the spectre of Trotskyism.

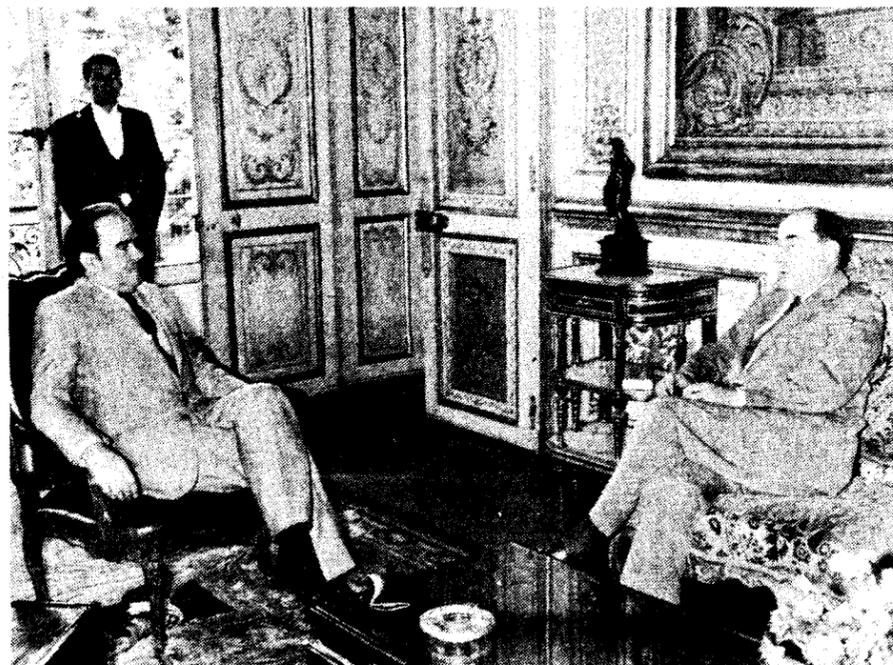
It is only the Trotskyists who have forthrightly and consistently denounced the disastrous consequences of the popular front for the working class! Our aim in calling for a savagely critical

And of course from the beginning it was impossible to vote for Mitterrand for his program of anti-Sovietism and alliance with the bourgeoisie, including the Gaullists. Even after Vitry some Communist militants, in particular around the group *Le Communiste*, wanted to vote Marchais only for class independence and against Mitterrand. It is easy to understand the desire to vote against Mitterrand and for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism: the problem is that you cannot vote for the chauvinist campaign launched after Vitry and at the same time for working-class independence. Vitry is opposed to everything Communists stand for.

But this capitulation, this disgusting betrayal, is neither new nor qualitative. Communist militants who are attracted to the *Le Communiste* group and who think that the leadership of the PCF is no longer simply opportunist but has become reformist, who even think—Trotskyist heresy!—that it is time to call for a new party, must ask themselves some questions. The popular fronts in the '30s-'40s coincided with periods when the French bourgeoisie needed an alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy. So the PCF did not have to choose between loyalty to its "own" bourgeoisie via the popular front and the Soviet Union. Was PCF ministers' support to the massacres of Sétif and Madagascar after "Liberation" any better than Vitry? Was PCF ministers' support for sending French troops to Vietnam better than the PCF's current support for NATO and the *force de frappe*? Marchais can come out in favor of a "good" popular front to the recent Central Committee meeting. The fact is that in every popular front the losers are the working class.

No, comrades, the decisive betrayal by the PCF goes back much further. It goes back to the factors behind the PCF's support to the first popular front in 1936. The decisive betrayal of the Stalinist parties goes back to 1933, when the German CP, with the agreement of the Communist International under Stalin, took the line of "after Hitler us," thus allowing Hitler to take power without a shot being fired by the most powerful CP in Europe. The Laval-Stalin pact (accepting French "national defense") consolidated this betrayal for the CP, eliminating the last obstacles to its support to its "own" bourgeoisie under the popular front. Ever since then the line of the PCF has been fundamentally the same. The question is not Marchais' present disgusting antics, his willingness to support imperialist-backed counterrevolution in Afghanistan and the introduction of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe for a seat next to Dreyfus [ex-chairman of Renault]; the question is Stalinism.

Our opposition to Stalinism has nothing to do with whimpering Eurocommunists like Elleinstein or Fiszbin. In fact, after vigorously denouncing them for social-democratic class collaboration, the PCF leadership has... adopted their program! They refuse to support the Red Army against the barbarous Afghan reactionaries, who want to imprison women in veils, shoot school teachers and flay Russian prisoners—and all this in the name of "human rights" no doubt! They abandon Moscow and Leningrad to imperialist dreams of nuclear first strikes and give backhanded support to John Paul II and Walesa. No wonder Fiszbin demands an immediate Party conference: for all his polemics against the Eurocommunists at the latest Central



Der Spiegel

Marchais (left) and Mitterrand at the Elysée Palace: French imperialism's twin labor lieutenants.

campaign, decided to rip up their party card, as did many after May '68, it would be a step in the right direction.

How Did It Happen?

But it is not enough to hate the social-democratic and Eurocommunist traitors and want to defend the USSR against imperialism. You have to know how, and to do that, understand what has happened.

Last October the PCF was singing a different tune. You refused support to the NATO supporter Mitterrand. You denounced the PS for seeking a bloc with the Gaullists and even verbally recognized that every time the PCF had supported a popular front the bourgeoisie had won and the workers movement had lost. It was for this reason that the Ligue Trotskyiste de France projected critical electoral support to the Stalinist bureaucrat Marchais if the PCF continued on that course. We looked for a chance to vote for a working-class party that was not in a bloc with bourgeois forces and, in the midst of the bourgeoisie's hysterical anti-Soviet drive, supported the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and opposed the Pershings. At the same time we never had any illusions where the notoriously chauvinist PCF leadership would line up in a decisive conflict between their own imperialist bourgeoisie and the Soviet degenerated workers state. Marchais' long-standing support to the *force de frappe* (nuclear weapons)—a policy going back to the historic vote for the military budget of the Laval government in 1935—defines the Stalinist PCF as the left tail of French imperialist militarism.

The PCF's initial left rhetoric raised interesting questions for PCF militants. "If our party made serious errors in '36, '44 and '72 by allying with the social

electoral support for Marchais if the PCF continued its original positions was to be able to demonstrate to PCF militants that these questions—class independence, the popular front, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist-restorationist forces—led logically to a consistent revolutionary program, the program of Trotskyism.

Vitry: Turn the Bulldozers Against the Bourgeoisie!

The racist attack against immigrant workers in Vitry demonstrated that the PCF leadership had no interest in conducting a campaign of even partial and deformed class independence from the bourgeoisie. Vitry was not *merely* a disgusting display of racism (as the liberals and [Eurocommunist] Elleinsteins would have us believe) but effectively sabotaged workers' struggles by setting French and immigrant workers at each others' throats. This was the central point for us as proletarian revolutionaries: the PCF chauvinist campaign concretized by the Vitry atrocity dealt a real blow to common action by French and immigrant workers in plants such as Renault and elsewhere.

This campaign showed that Marchais was willing to go to any lengths to prove his loyalty to the bourgeoisie. *Vitry was in fact a prelude to the Communist ministers' entry into Mitterrand's NATO popular front.* Increasingly, all-sided chauvinism (hostility to immigrant workers, "produce French" propaganda, campaign of opposition to "Kraut steel," etc.) became the only clear political statement of the PCF campaign, making it impossible for any self-respecting militant, much less a revolutionary, to vote for Marchais.

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Fake-Trotskyists Hop on NATO Bandwagon

USec Calls for Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan

Syigma

The title read: "For an End to the Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan! For the National Rights of the Afghani Peoples!" A communiqué by NATO's foreign ministers, perhaps? Or another U.S. State Department brief for some United Nations debate? No. This is a new appeal coming out of a May meeting of the International Executive Committee of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) as recounted in *Internationales* (18 June), organ of its Swedish section, the Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF).

Everyone in the world knows that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would be a big step toward the triumph of bloody counterrevolution in its most barbaric form—the enslavement of women to the veil, pre-capitalist exploitation of the peasantry, physical extermination of the country's small modernizing intelligentsia. Everyone knows this would mean a fanatically anti-Soviet government on the southern border of the USSR. Western imperialism has therefore made the demand for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan a major focus of its current Cold War offensive. That is why the French Communist Party (PCF) had to reverse its previous support for the Soviet presence in Afghanistan to obtain a few minor ministries in a NATO-allied government. *And that is also why Ernest Mandel's USec, too, has recently changed its line.*

Unlike Marchais' PCF, the USec has not actually reversed its position, since it never supported the Soviet intervention against the Islamic reactionaries to begin with. Moreover, a large minority of the organization, whose most prominent spokesman was Tariq Ali, joined the imperialist "Soviet troops out" chorus from the outset. The Mandelite center hedged the question. While strongly condemning the Soviet intervention, it stopped short of the outright *counterrevolutionary demand* for withdrawal. A USec majority resolution in late January 1980 stated correctly:

"In the conflict between the reactionary coalition and imperialism on the one side and the Soviet troops and the [left-nationalist] PDPA government on the other, the demand for Afghan national sovereignty in the name of the right of peoples to self-determination would be nothing but a democratic guise for the aims of reaction and imperialism. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops would in no way assure any freedom for the Afghan nationalities to decide their own course. It would only open the way for the installation of a reactionary regime oppressing the workers and peasants, a regime beholden to Washington, which would consolidate Washington's position in the region."

—*Intercontinental Press*,
3 March 1980

What, then, has changed since these words were written? Certainly not the war in Afghanistan. The issues there have remained substantially the same since the massive Soviet intervention in late December 1979. What has changed is the USec. The rightward motion of the European-based Mandelite current is so rapid that it now calls for what little over a year ago it characterized as "a democratic guise for the aims of reaction and imperialism"! Throwing overboard the remnants of New Leftism, the European USec sections are talking about liquidating into the pro-NATO social-democratic parties of Francois Mitterrand, Tony Benn and Helmut Schmidt. Its pro-imperialist line shift on Afghanistan gives the lie to any claim that such an entry would be designed to win working-class militants to Trotskyism, a decisive element of which is the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

In fact, according to the KAF account, the USec's new line on Afghanistan is even more counterrevolutionary than the stated position of Mitterrand or Tony Benn. Mandel & Co. are not just calling for withdrawal but for actual support to some of the anti-Soviet guerrillas: "Instead, the progressive forces which grow out of the national struggle against the occupation must be supported," says the paraphrase in *Internationales*. "Progressive forces"?! The landlords, moneylenders, tribal



Afghanistan posed Russian question pointblank.

chiefs and mullahs fighting the Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies would be judged reactionary by the standards of Genghis Khan! Hoping to gull the innocent, the USec invents a "third camp" in Afghanistan: "These progressive forces are forced to struggle against both the occupation power and the right-wing rebels and imperialism, the resolution states." But all talk about "progressive" anti-Soviet forces fighting in Afghanistan cannot hide the USec's support to imperialist-backed feudal counterrevolution.

The reformist American Socialist Workers Party, which surprisingly initially supported the Soviet intervention, anticipated by a few months the Mandelites' rightward line shift. Only a few USec sections, notably the sluggish Swedish KAF and the remote Australian SWP, still oppose the criminal call for withdrawal. But given the rapid social-democratization of the USec as a whole, even their minimal posture of Soviet defensism over Afghanistan is but a faint echo of the not-so-distant past.

And when the Red Army intervention

triggered an explosion of Soviet defeatism in the European USec sections, we asked:

"Is there anything left of the primitive leftist energies which once characterized the young USec cadres who built barricades in the Paris streets in May '68 and carried Vietcong flags in the radical 'mobilizations' over Vietnam? Or have 'the children of '68' grown up through years of tailing popular frontism into ordinary anti-Soviet social democrats?"
—"Third Camp" Fever in the USec," *WV* No. 253, 4 April 1980

The recent pro-imperialist line shift on Afghanistan is a large step in the USec cadres' becoming ordinary anti-Soviet social democrats, followers and would-be successors of Mitterrand and Benn.

It is now clearer than ever that only the international Spartacist tendency upholds the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states, through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. Now more than ever, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" ■

Committee meeting, it is their line that Marchais is carrying out!

The PCF leadership has for a long time been pulled between its loyalty to the Kremlin and its desire to ally with the "progressive" bourgeoisie in a popular front in the name of "socialism in French colors." The Eurocommunists have resolved this dilemma by simply seeking an alliance with the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic lackeys. Today they point the way for the PCF leadership. Where will Marchais, Fiterman & Co. stop?

For a Revolutionary Opposition to the Popular Front!

The Mitterrand government not only promises more nuclear missiles, it also promises capitalist austerity. And the Communist ministers will have more than their share of the dirty work to do. To the extent that their positions are not laughably minor, they are dangerous. Fiterman will break railway and subway workers strikes and keep the NATO munitions rolling, too. Ralite will administer cuts in social services and health care.

Meanwhile, the "governmental agreement" binds PCF militants in the plants

hand and foot. The CGT vies with the CFDT to assure Mitterrand, Delors & Co. that the "social peace" will be respected. [CGT head] Ségué's position on the 35-hour week is not different from [CFDT leader] Maire's: the 35-hour week by... 1985. Where is the militant action that Ségué and Marchais promised us? It doesn't exist! The CGT tops are so dead-set against strike action that they have even refused to advance any precise demands!

We say no to the "social peace"—tear up the governmental agreement in the plants! We can expect nothing from the "new majority" except what we wrest by our own power. Fighting for even the most elementary needs of the working class means a break with parliamentarism and the popular front. Today Marchais goes further than Thorez ever dared: his line is "you have to know how to prevent strikes!" And should the workers fight against policies implemented by CP ministers, we can only be proud that "strikes are the arm of the Trotskyists!"

"Far" Left?

But not for the "far" left. The OCI openly called for a vote for Mitterrand in the first round. And as for the LCR

[Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire], it has come out against strikes against the government on the grounds that they will only "aid the right." As if a prostrate working class weren't the biggest gift we could give the reactionaries! [LCR organ] *Rouge* headlines, "The PC and the PS are the majority, the bosses must give in!" Politely?

Krivine & Co. are now thinking of joining the social-democratic parties, and not just in France. Perhaps he wants to follow in the footsteps of his pal Régis Debray, ex-guerrillaist turned "socialist" courtier, and become a "Trotskyist minister." It is clear that the LCR and the rest of the "far" left have nothing in common with Trotsky or Trotskyism. Legislate the 35-hour week into existence? Confronted by the popular front in the '30s, Trotsky raised an extra-parliamentary perspective: committees of action, a general strike, workers militias, expropriation of the bourgeoisie. A workers government is not a PC-PS government, it is what the Bolsheviks set up in October 1917!

The parliamentary framework is a dead end. Even without the presence of Jobert, Dreyfus, etc., a PC-PS coalition would promise only capitalist repres-

sion and austerity with a rose-colored veneer: "democratic" cops, "democratic" expulsion of immigrants, "democratic" layoffs and a "democratic" *force de frappe*. It is not on the basis of a parliamentary bloc between these two eager servants of crisis-ridden capitalism that a workers government prepared to expropriate the capitalists and break their resistance, not politely asking them to go away, will come into being. For this the working class must create organs of proletarian power (soviets) as the basis for its rule, under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party.

The PCF gave up any claim to this role long before it formally dropped the dictatorship of the proletariat from its program. Militants of the PCF: Defend the gains of October! The PCF is no place to be a communist! If you break with Mitterrand's "Communist" errand boys, if you want to defend the Soviet Union, if you want to build a truly revolutionary Leninist party, you will be confronted with the question of Trotsky, the true continuator of Lenin; Trotsky who built the Red Army to defeat the bourgeoisie in the imperialist intervention. We Trotskyists are the party of the Russian Revolution! ■

USec's Turn to Social Democracy

Following Socialist candidate François Mitterrand's victory in the May French presidential elections, the absence of an explosive upsurge of class struggle was deafening. Commentators remarked that it was a long way from the mass radicalization of May '68, and farther still from the victory of the first popular front in May '36 which erupted in a grandiose general strike. Then a centrist leader proclaimed "everything is possible" and Trotsky announced, "the French Revolution has begun." But today virtually the entire French left, from social-democratic and Communist Party reformists to the ostensibly Trotskyist trio (LO/LCR/OCI) agree that everything is *not* possible and do their best to hold back the masses, in order not to "aid the right."

The contradiction between this pusillanimous response and Trotsky's revolutionary communist program was dramatic. Where the Trotskyists in the 1930s mercilessly denounced the class-collaborationist roadblock of the popular front, which treacherously ties the workers to sectors of the bourgeoisie, today the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—French section of the United Secretariat [USec]) called Mitterrand's election achieved with Gaullist support a "First Victory" (*Rouge*, 15-21 May). The USec's Spanish LCR was even more rapturous, announcing "Mitterrand Won: Oh, là, là, c'est magnifique!" (*Combate*, 14-21 May). French LCR leader Alain Krivine even *withdrew* an earlier call for a general strike, in order not to embarrass their new "comrade president."

This flagrant capitulation to the social-democratic wave was neither new nor a particularly French disease with the USec. Rather it expresses the increasing social-democratization of the pseudo-Trotskyist followers of Ernest Mandel in recent years. In Germany, an initial bare majority in the USec's Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM) against voting for Helmut Schmidt's SPD in the 1980 elections was overturned by placing the section in receivership to Mandel, whose lieutenants pushed through a pro-SPD position. The increasing strength of the

Labour "lefts" around MP Tony Benn in Britain has already led various centrist Trotskyoids there to submerge themselves in the Labour Party, and the USec's International Marxist Group (IMG) is looking to liquidate into this milieu as well.

Entrism Sui Degeneris

This general reorientation has produced what could be called the USec's "British turn" to social democracy. An article by the IMG national secretary in *Intercontinental Press* stated: "It is becoming necessary for substantial numbers of revolutionary socialists to join the Labour Party...." Internally, an IMG bulletin reported that "in Western Europe as a whole" the USec was investigating "the possibilities of fighting for Trotskyist ideas among the ranks of workers in these [mass Communist and Socialist] parties." The entrism perspective is indeed being pursued throughout West Europe. In Sweden the USec representative at the KAF congress in May called for entry into the social democracy, even though the latter had just expelled the "Offensiv" group (linked to Ted Grant's loyalist Trotskyist tendency in the British Labour Party) as being too "leftist." In Italy, an internal bulletin of the USec's LCR argued that "future factional work" in the Communist Party is "the organizational channel through which the most interesting processes for building the party can appear."

Thus the European Mandelites, plagued in recent months with disarray and disorientation, are poised for a liquidationist plunge into the mass reformist parties of the sort which marked the political destruction of the Fourth International nearly 30 years ago. The policy of "entrism sui generis" authored by Michel Pablo posed a period of long-term entry into the social-democratic and Stalinist parties in hopes of pressuring the bureaucracies to the left. No longer were independent Trotskyist parties necessary to lead proletarian revolutions, the Pabloists reasoned; "blunted instruments" were sufficient. This subsequently blossomed

Fake-Trotskyists tail Mitterrand (left).



Francolon/Gamma

into political support to the Castro regime in Cuba (labeled "unconscious Marxists") and a series of petty-bourgeois "vanguards." Now the Pabloist/Mandelites have come full circle.

The USec has been a federation of rightward-moving centrist and deeply reformist sections for some time. It has nothing to do with a democratic-centralist Trotskyist international. Endlessly chasing after the "main chance," rather than intervening with the Bolshevik program, the militants from the barricades of 1968 have grown tame with time and the accumulation of USec betrayals. But as the Krivines and Tariq Alis now seek the company of the Benns and Mitterrands, a number of revolutionary-minded militants have rejected the centrist swamp in order to fight for Trotskyism. This is so threatening to the USec tops that they have resorted to the crudest political expulsion in Britain to purge 16 members of

the Communist Faction (CF) (see article page 7).

In addition, several comrades have recently resigned from the French LCR and German GIM in solidarity with the international Spartacist tendency. Together with the CF, which now has fraternal relations with the iSt, this represents the greatest single accretion of USec cadre to the banner of authentic Trotskyism yet seen in Europe. We excerpt below the resignation by comrades Bernhard and Claudius from the German GIM; an accompanying article describes the struggle of comrade Demo, an auto worker militant in the CGT labor federation, against the anti-Leninist course of the LCR. These militants have chosen sides to fight for international proletarian revolution. Their experience points the way to others who refuse to follow the Mandelites' long march from Che to Mitterrand. ■

Trotskyists Break From United Secretariat

LCR Auto Militant Joins LTF

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the United Secretariat is quite comfortable with Mitterrand's popular front in France, proclaiming itself the "third" component [after the PCF and PS] of the new majority while pretending that the "fourth," bourgeois, component isn't part of this alliance. But it's Jobert [Gaullist Minister of Foreign Commerce] and Faure [Left Radical Minister of Justice] who have the ministries and it's the MRG [Left Radicals] and the "left" Gaullists who will get the seats in parliament while the LCR only constitutes the fifth wheel on the cart. For LCR members who don't want to collapse into the social democracy, who refuse to be in

the same majority as Jobert and [Left Radical] Crépeau, who want to fight at the side of the other workers against the bourgeoisie and Mitterrand's popular front there is an alternative—the revolutionary program upheld by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France.

Recently a worker at the Renault-Cléon car plant for ten years, and a member of the CGT who has been a member of the LCR for two years, resigned from the LCR in solidarity with this program. Comrade Demos began his opposition to the class-collaborationist politics of the LCR last October. In a document printed in the internal bulletin of the Rouen branch he criticized the LCR's political support to "Union dans les Luttes," a collection of Eurocommunists, dissident Communist Party members and social democrats who campaigned for an electoral accord between the PCF

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Resignation From GIM

"The greatest honor for a genuine revolutionist today is to remain a 'sectarian' in the eyes of philistines, whimperers and superficial thinkers."

—Leon Trotsky, *Writings* [1929]

After more than a year of programmatic opposition to the headlong rightward course of the GIM and United Secretariat we are convinced that there is only *one* perspective for comrades who want to struggle for the international proletarian revolution: to get *out* of this bankrupt organization; for a serious discussion with the *Trotskyist League of Germany*.

Ronald Reagan's Cold War offensive, prepared by Carter, poses the question of the defense of the social gains of the October Revolution against imperial-

ism (despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, which must be overthrown by the proletarian political revolution) as the dividing line for Trotskyists, just as it was in Trotsky's last political struggle—against the petty-bourgeois opposition of Shachtman. But the GIM presents itself as the appendage of petty-bourgeois pacifism instead of struggling against imperialist war and the threat against the workers states. ("The main enemy is at home.") After an interlude of over ten years in various "new mass vanguard" movements, after jumping on and off one bandwagon after another (guerrillism, feminism, anti-nuclear power, etc.) the GIM threw the switches again most recently after Strauss ran for election—back to its home station, the social democracy. Trotskyist politics continue to go by the wayside or end up under the wheels. The slogan is "united-front orientation" vis-a-vis the SPD, and the GIM itself is degenerating

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British IMG: "Sparts" Under the Beds!

The leadership of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), is continuing to purge the organization of insidious creeping Spartacism. Following the mass political expulsion of 16 members of the Communist Faction (CF) (see *WV* No. 282, 5 June 1981), the IMG is continuing to browbeat its membership, backing up its threats with further expulsions. The leadership's howls against "infiltrators" and "secret plots" must seem pretty empty to members who know the CF cadres as long-time IMGers whose oppositional program developed during more than a year of political struggle. While the reasons for the hysteria are clear—to make the IMG "safe" for Labour Party entry and to inoculate the ranks against left criticism—the methods are hardly likely to instill confidence among a membership which has never been permitted even to see some of the key faction documents.

Against the rightward motion of the centrist IMG, the Communist Faction led the only political resistance. The heightened Cold War mood has had powerful corrosive effects on the IMG's core cadre, which entered political activity as the "children of May '68." The pressures have generated a sharp rightward drift, demoralization and significant defections from the IMG. Latest rumor has it that long-time IMG "star" Tariq Ali was "lapsed" recently for non-payment of dues, though he continues to present himself as a "Fourth International" spokesman. The IMG has staggered from crisis to crisis with one failing get-rich-quick scheme after another. Years of incessant factional warfare (at the peak the IMG counted six organized tendencies) never escaped a framework of centrist impressionism and served only to dull the political senses. But with the Communist Faction it was different. Their lightning-swift bureaucratic expulsion, on explicitly political grounds, contrasts with the sluggishness the leadership displayed in dealing politically with their challenge. The questions posed will not be disappeared by any bureaucratic purge—they are the questions of the day.

The Russian question emerged as the

cornerstone of the Faction program. But it was the IMG's prostration before the mullah-led "Iranian Revolution" which first provoked comrade Harney—whose ten years in the IMG includes stints on the Central Committee, Political Committee and Control Commission—to initiate the fight in late 1979. As Harney put it recently:

"Perhaps I didn't know a lot about Iran at that time, but one thing I knew was that there was no way a movement led by feudalistic Persian-chauvinist religious fanatics like Khomeini was going to 'open up' the road to proletarian revolution!"

The IMG had abandoned its overtures toward various small-change state-capitalist groupings and was making its bid for the big time: Tony Cliff's state-cap Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Tariq Ali, main advocate of a swan dive into the Cliffites, authored *Socialist Challenge's* front-page headline, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" Even after the IMG pulled back from blocking with the imperialists in calling for withdrawal, Ali insisted, "I am unrepentant on Afghanistan" (*Socialist Challenge*, 6 March 1980).

At the February 1980 IMG national conference, comrade Harney presented his document, "So You Thought Defense of the Soviet Union Was Not a Central Issue?" In it he argued:

"When the Soviet bureaucracy ordered the Red Army into Afghanistan, they unwittingly triggered a programmatic time-bomb that has been ticking away in the IMG. As part of our 'regroupment project,' the IMG leadership has been playing down the issue of the defence of the USSR, treating it as an entirely secondary, expendable part of our programme. . . . When the leaders of both major tendencies argued that defence of the USSR is not a burning issue today, they revealed how far they have already moved towards the SWP's position. Defence of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution is always a central question for Trotskyists." [original emphasis]

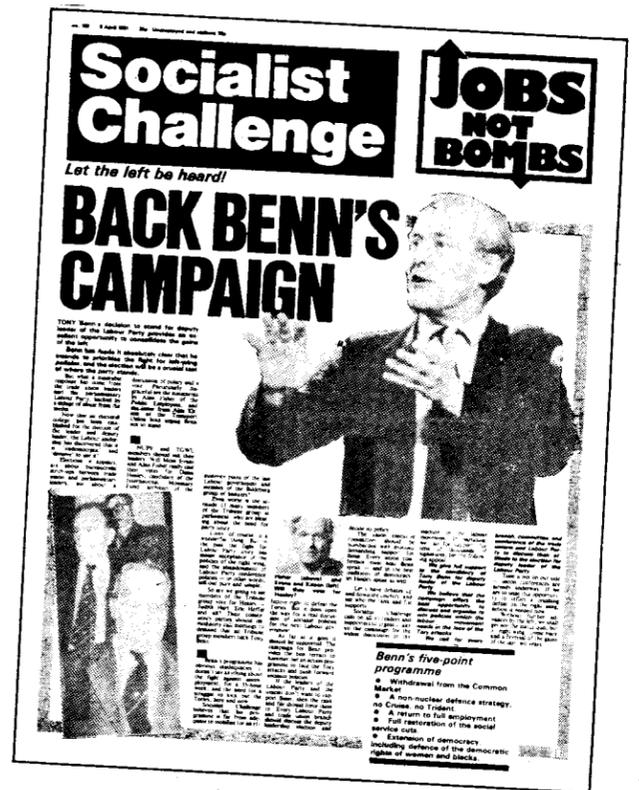
At the conference, Harney's position supporting the Red Army presence in Afghanistan received 20 percent of the delegate votes, while a resolution moved by him demanding recognition that defence of the Soviet Union is a principled question for revolutionaries—thus repudiating the political basis of the SWP fusion project—was passed by a larger margin

than any other resolution presented to the conference.

With the outbreak of the Iran/Iraq war, the IMG's line led to defense of Khomeini's "holy war" against the "infidel" Iraqis. This was challenged by IMG cadre Tony Vandzler in his document, "Iran: 'Best Defenders' or Revolutionary Defeatists?":

"For Leninists the wars of the exploiters are an opportunity for the oppressed to rise up and throw off their shackles—not to reinforce them. If there is any 'gain' of the past two years of turmoil in Iran it is only this—the Khomeini regime has not yet consolidated itself fully and the Iranian capitalist state is less stable than under the Shah. This should be our point of departure—and that calls for a sharp struggle, with no mincing of words—against the politics of those who seek not to overthrow that state, but to strengthen it."

By fall 1980 it was clear that the Cliffites were not interested in the IMG's overtures, even with Soviet defensism buried. So the leadership turned its attention to a new target: the "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" (CND). Although (or because) disorientation was rife in the IMG over this new turn, the document submitted by Har-



Spartacist Britain

Spartacist contingent denounces pro-NATO Labourite lefts in London march against Cruise missiles, June 1980.

ney and seven other IMGers was suppressed. While the leadership urged trade-union and Labour Party branches to back the campaign "against the missiles," the Harney document, "Warning! Disarmament Slogans Only Disarm the Working Class," argued that "it is emphatically *not* our job to build CND":

"In view of our leadership's wild enthusing over our 'successes' in this field, it will no doubt come as somewhat of a shock to many comrades to discover how *unambiguously opposed* to 'disarmament programmes' were Lenin and Trotsky. We will, of course, be accused of being 'sectarian'—so were they; of being 'abstentionist'—so were they; of putting forward 'abstract' and 'lifeless' proposals—so were they. They did, however, lead a 'mass movement' that *succeeded* in disarming the bourgeoisie; the Bolshevik revolution." [original emphasis]

The document pointed to the real target of the European Cruise missiles: the Soviet Union.

At this point the Communist Tendency was formed, with supporters in eight IMG branches. The IMG leadership was becoming increasingly uneasy. By this time they had discovered a new "main chance": the rift in the Labour Party. They threw themselves into becoming the best boosters for "left" reformist Tony Benn. From this point forward, the left oppositionists' days in the IMG were numbered. The Communist Tendency members proposed motions in their IMG branches demanding repudiation of a *Socialist Challenge* article which offered explicit support to Benn's reformist program "as far as it goes." The motion, which passed unanimously in one branch, read in part:

"*Socialist Challenge* has given its political support to Benn's call for a 'non-nuclear defence strategy' for British imperialism. Support for ANY policy for capitalist defence spending is a violation of the historic principles of the Communist movement expressed in Liebknecht's slogan 'Not a penny, not a man, to the imperialist government'."

The IMG Executive Committee admitted in a letter to the Hemel Hempstead branch on 22 April 1981 that the *Socialist Challenge* statement "doesn't at all express our position on how revolutionaries can take advantage of the Benn campaign. The sentence

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U.S./China War Axis...

(continued from page 1)

intelligence to use against the Russians: missile range, accuracy, payload, communications guidance.

The shift to an announced military alliance opens the way for Peking to modernize its arsenal with U.S. guidance systems for strategic weapons, anti-tank missiles, fighter planes, a delivery system for its primitive nuclear weapons and every kind of combat hardware. Just how much of this war machinery the Chinese military can absorb and pay for in the immediate future is not now known. But next month, their generals will be taking the short march to the Pentagon with a considerable shopping list.

Even Cyrus Vance, Carter's hapless Secretary of State, called the deal "needlessly provocative and smack[ing] of bear-baiting" (*New York Times*, June 24). But the baited Russian bear responded with deliberately measured language in a *Pravda* article under official signature, calling the arms agreement "highly dangerous," and "an escalation of reckless policy" (*New York Times*, June 28). The Russians have warned many times of the consequences of the U.S. arming China with strategic weapons. And this week again Russia warned simply and without bluster that

"nobody should doubt that the Soviet people, who have good nerves and powerful means of curbing aggression, will not yield to provocations and will be able to stand up for themselves, to defend the interests of their friends and allies."

The Russian perception of the U.S./China axis is well known. Few things this side of an actual U.S. military adventure against the Soviet Union, Cuba or the Eastern bloc could be as provocative as the arming of China. The view from the Kremlin is that China is even more likely than the U.S. to squeeze the nuclear trigger in a bout of fanatical anti-Soviet frenzy and miscalculated geo-political strategy. And the Soviets may well be right. It is more than their traditional fear of encirclement by hostile powers that accounts for their obsession with China. Mao and his heirs have seemed quite crazed in their view of nuclear war. The most recent *Pravda* article, for instance, notes that "Peking has its own interests to pursue, namely to set the United States and the Soviet Union against each other so as to be able to dominate the world after a nuclear conflict." And this view of China is not new. Khrushchev recalled a conversation with Mao Tse-tung as they sunbathed at poolside in Peking in 1954:

"Mao replied by trying to assure me that the Atomic bomb was a paper tiger! 'Listen Comrade Khrushchev,' he said. 'All you have to do is provoke the Americans into military action and I'll give you as many military divisions as

you need to crush them—a hundred, two hundred, one thousand divisions.' I tried to explain to him that one or two missiles could turn all the divisions in China to dust. But he wouldn't even listen. And obviously regarded me as a coward."

—Khrushchev Remembers, 1970

The U.S./China war axis is certainly a sinister and strangely complementary affair. Reagan and Haig dream of being the victorious survivors of a nuclear war against Russia due to high-tech "Star Wars" weapons superiority, while their Russian-hating allies in Peking nurture survival fantasies based on technological underdevelopment—sheer numbers.

It was Carter and Brzezinski who launched the present thrust toward war with the Soviets, and Reagan has escalated it dangerously. There are some things the Russians cannot abide, and Reagan knows it. When Harold Brown, Carter's defense secretary, went to China to point the way toward overt military collaboration, we wrote:

"It is simply too dangerous for the Russians if the U.S. doomsday machinery is placed in the hands of the Chinese. For the Russians playing the China card is no diplomatic game; it is a matter of life and death."

—"Russians Fed Up," *WV* No. 249, 8 February 1980

For the Russians, taking out the Chinese strategic weapons is not at all unthinkable. Last January, Leonid Brezhnev pounded a desk in Paris and laid out the Chinese tripwire for World War III. He was quoted by the president of the French national assembly as saying:

"Believe me, after the destruction of Chinese nuclear sites by our missiles, there won't be much time for the Americans to choose between the defense of their Chinese allies and peaceful co-existence with us."

—*New York Times*, 30 January 1980

Vietnam, Poland... the World

When China gets the guns, China intends to use them. As Haig and the Peking leaders exchanged smiles, toasts and condemnations of the "main enemy," Soviet "expansionism," they also agreed on the regional "danger." Russia's ally Vietnam is the more immediate target in the global war against "Soviet hegemonism." The U.S. imperialists long to punish Vietnam not only because of the Vietnamese military victory—historic evidence of U.S. decline—but also because an attack on Vietnam fits into Reagan's overall anti-Soviet containment strategy. Reagan/Haig are looking to demonstrate American military power. The targets are Afghanistan, Vietnam, El Salvador, and perhaps Angola/Namibia.

So when Haig went from Peking to a meeting of ASEAN in Manila it was Vietnam in his sights. A State Department official said the U.S. "will seek, if we can, to find ways to increase the political, economic, and yes, military pressure on Vietnam" (*New York Times*, 18 June). Given the recent rise of attacks against the Vietnamese on their borders, the U.S./China war axis may be planning another attempt at a "bloody lesson."

The 1979 invasion of Vietnam by China should have been a watershed for Maoists who had been born into political life as supporters of the Viet Cong against U.S. imperialism. But those pseudo-leftists who didn't back China outright wailed over the spectacle of two "socialist countries" at war with each other. At the time the Spartacist League emphasized that China was acting de facto with U.S. complicity, demanding "China Don't Be Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism," and calling on the Soviet Union to honor its treaty with Vietnam. Now the overt U.S./China alliance has confirmed that analysis. Thus a future attempt to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson" will more likely be a combined imperialist and Chinese attack on a deformed workers state, part of a wider U.S. military thrust against the Soviet Union.

If Vietnam is the immediate target, it is Poland which casts the darkest shadow over the China arms deal. The precise military results for China cannot be known until the weapons are actually in Peking's hands. Thus more than one commentator has treated the announcement as a mystery while some speculate that it might be a mistake which could get Haig into trouble with the White House. But the announcement was intended as a *political* provocation precisely calculated and of global proportion.

Consider the timing and effect of the announcement. Since April when Caspar Weinberger spoke about the "linkage" between China arms sales and a possible Russian invasion of Poland, U.S. liberals have talked about holding up arms to China as a "deterrent" and "bargaining chip" with the Soviets. That is why Vance is screaming about the China arms deal as playing all the U.S.' China high cards in "no trump." He means that now the U.S. has nothing more to offer the Soviets in the way of a deal.

But he mistakes the Reagan purpose completely, which is not to deter the Russians, but to provoke them. The announcement is thus finely tuned and calculated to urge the Russians toward an invasion of Poland. Reagan and Haig want nothing more than to see Russian tanks roll into Warsaw and Gdansk. They want to see the Russians dragged into a massive bloodbath in Poland while their troops are tied down at the Chinese border. So go ahead, says Reagan. There is no SALT. No bargains over Chinese guns. Nothing.

Reagan's goading of Russia over China is part of a strategy of global confrontation. He is now talking openly of the "end" of Communism, while pushing for nuclear end-game. Last week, against the background of the China arms deal, multimillion-dollar weapons packages for Pakistan ("non-proliferation" be damned), the Rapid Deployment Force, the build-up of strategic and conventional forces in Europe and a projected trillion-dollar war budget, Reagan made the general case. "Communism," he said, is an "aberration...not a normal way of living for human beings." We are seeing "the beginning of the end" (*Washington Post*, 19 June).

While the talks were going on in China, Reagan spoke of Poland as the "first beginning cracks" in Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. The comment was supposed to be "off the cuff," but it was quite calculated. As bourgeois Russia-expert Hedrick Smith wrote in the *New York Times* (18 June): "That kind of remark from an American official is likely to harden the Kremlin's resolve to curb the movement for liberalization in Poland and possibly push ahead with military intervention despite the upheaval that is likely to ensue." When liberals like Cyrus Vance wail that Reagan has misplayed his foreign policy hand, that he has too early and too provocatively "played the China card," they assume that he is engaged in a game of diplomatic pressure tactics. In fact it is a big step toward war.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Where does the U.S. anti-Communist war strategy leave its "Chicom" ally? "You can't say that China will be Marxist forever," an American official recently told nervous Southeast Asian ministers at Manila. Indeed, any "security" China imagines it can purchase

Marcyite Exclusion Attempt Fails

SAN FRANCISCO—The would-be toughs of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF) thought they could violently suppress Spartacist League revolutionary criticism of their popular-frontist creature, the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) at its "first open meeting" here on June 18. They found out differently.

The YAWF goons, stationed outside the meeting hall to "patrol" Spartacist salesmen, and other YAWFers hovering in the rear of the room never got a chance to grab the three-foot wooden clubs they had stashed within easy reach. After a 20-minute presentation motivating PAM's "All-People's Congress" scheduled for next September, the first person called on in the discussion was a Spartacist. He attacked YAWF/PAM's class-collaborationist scheme to channel growing discontent with Reagan reaction behind the liberal Democrats. In less than a minute, the chair was hysterically trying to cut the SL spokesman off, YAWFers in the room began jeering and heckling in an attempt to drown him out, and a four-man YAWF goon squad moved in to physically silence him.

But Spartacist supporters, including several burly trade unionists, immediately rose and cut off the YAWF thugs. One SL supporter advised the lead Marcyite, "Don't do that. Why don't you look around, think about it and go sit down." Only

a momentary glance around convinced the YAWF bully boy of the wisdom of this course, and he and his cohorts did as they were told.

A number of Spartacists were subsequently called on by the chair, and focused the rest of the discussion. Unable to physically silence us, YAWF grew increasingly hysterical, interrupting and cat-calling. At one point, the meeting's chairman even tried (unsuccessfully) to silence a Spartacist speaker by rushing into the audience and placing her hand over his mouth! Unable to withstand our political exposure and making a disruptive mess of their own forum, the meeting's organizers abruptly cut off discussion and rushed to adjourn the meeting.

Compared with YAWF, which has never had much of a presence on the West Coast, the Spartacist League represents a sizable and respected force in the Bay Area left. We have a well-deserved reputation for respecting and insisting on workers democracy in public meetings of the left, our own as well as all others. After YAWF/PAM's cordoning off of the Spartacist-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington May 3, and their failed attempt to prevent the SL from protesting Marcy's counterrevolutionary support to imperialist liberals at a WWP meeting in NYC June 6, we warned those who would exclude and attack the communists: "...if you try to silence our revolutionary message with fists, boots and broken bottles, then you are again at risk."

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with a U.S. military alliance will backfire. American imperialism is hostile to the expropriation of capitalism everywhere. The Reagan government particularly is anxious to see the eventual restoration of capitalism in China. And their handling of the issue of Taiwan is the tip-off.

The "sellout of Taiwan" has long been a hot issue between U.S. bourgeois liberals and the far right. So far the Reagan administration, sensitive to the Taiwan issue with its natural constituency, and Deng & Co. who for internal political reasons cannot appear to be "soft on Taiwan" have submerged the issue of Taiwan to their overriding anti-Sovietism. Despite wrangling among U.S. liberals and conservatives, the anti-Soviet war drive is a bipartisan consensus in the bourgeoisie. The U.S./China axis was developed steadily from Nixon/Kissinger through Carter/Brzezinski to Reagan/Haig.

This administration remembers the maps from the 1950s with rings of containment around the USSR and they are out to make it real. From Japan, through Asia and the Middle East and into Europe, Reagan is surrounding Russia with firepower meant to contain, isolate and ultimately destroy the USSR. In this conflict there can be no neutrals. Trotskyists unconditionally defend against imperialism the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state and the remaining social/economic conquests of the October Revolution!

In 1969, the SL noted the "objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China" ("Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League"). All of the Stalinist bureaucracies, whether Russian, Chinese—Mao or Deng—or Vietnamese share the anti-international conception of "socialism in one country." In its name they stab one another in the back seeking deals with imperialism for illusory national "advantages." The Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is one of the most conciliatory outfits imaginable. But there are limits, as Hitler found out.

Socialist revolution in the capitalist West is indispensable in order to destroy imperialist militarism—and to sweep away the Haigs, Weinbergers and Reagans who would incinerate the world in their anti-Soviet crusade. And in the degenerated/deformed workers states not simply economic advancement but survival itself demands that the workers, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, oust the Stalinist betrayers who bind them to the class enemy. As the U.S./China war axis threatens to turn the Cold War nuclear hot, one had better believe that the very existence of the planet depends on this. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

that another 35 be executed by evening.

According to Teheran radio, on January 22 six leftists held in Evin Prison, the infamous dungeon where the shah had jailed and tortured his opponents, were executed. The victims included Mohsen Fazel, a leader of the eclectic Stalinist Peykar group; and Saiid Soltanpour, a well-known playwright-poet and supporter of the left-populist Fedayeen (Minority). Soltanpour, a prominent opponent of the shah whose arrest produced international protest, was condemned to death for having "bad records"! A few days later the government announced that five Bani-Sadr supporters had been executed and eight Baha'is, adherents of an Iranian-founded religious sect regarded by the Shi'ite clerics as heretics, had also been put before the firing squad. By the end of the week 60 victims, mainly leftists, had fallen to the mullahs' killing machine.

Yet at the very moment that the ayatollahs celebrate their bloody ascen-

dancy, they are blown to bits by the terrorist bombs of... Shi'ite Islamic fundamentalists, perhaps. On June 27, Khomeini's chief military aide, Hojatolislam Sayed Ali Khomeini, had his tirade in a Teheran mosque cut short when a booby-trapped cassette recorder exploded in his face. This was just for openers. The following night as ayatollah Beheshti addressed a weekly meeting of the Islamic Revolutionary Party, a bomb in a nearby trash bin turned the building into rubble. In addition to the chief justice, at least 20 members of the Majlis (parliament), four cabinet ministers and six deputy cabinet ministers met their maker.

The government attributes these bombings to a shadowy organization of Shi'ite fundamentalists. The official news agency, Pars, reported a note found in the wreckage: "This is the first gift of Forghan." Forghan is reputed to be a group of ultra-dogmatic Islamic clerics who oppose mullahs participating in political life, sort of an Iranian version of Jehovah's Witnesses with bombs. There have also been rumors of links to former Savakis (members of the shah's murderous secret police). Despite the turmoil in the Khomeinist ruling circles, this dramatic terrorist act cannot decisively alter the balance of political forces to the benefit of the exploited masses. The fate of the mullahs' regime will be decided not by well-placed bombs, but by class struggle in the factories, fields and streets.

The rout of the "Western moderate" Bani-Sadr and his coterie dramatically exposes the left's illusions in the "Islamic revolution." Although elected by an overwhelming majority of the vote, he was never more than a semi-secular figurehead. Real political power has always been the monopoly of the mullahs who placed themselves at the head of the mass movement which toppled the hated Pahlavi monarchy. Their "Islamic revolution" which the left in Iran and internationally hailed uncritically was based on a priestly caste which organized through the mosque, propagandized and rallied from the minarets and terrorized its opponents with the *pasdaran* and *hezbollahi*.

With their control of the Majlis, backed up by the submachine guns of the *pasdaran*, the Islamic fundamentalists were able to chop away at Bani-Sadr's official powers. When he tried to appoint his prime minister according to the "Islamic Constitution," his clerical rivals simply changed the rules of the game and used their parliamentary majority to install their own man.

One of the reasons Bani-Sadr survived in office as long as he did was because of the protection of the imam Khomeini, whose backing was crucial in his electoral victory in the first place. He would whine to his mentor Khomeini and occasionally snipe at his fundamentalist foes, but only inveighed against "dictatorship" when his own neck was next on the chopping block. Remember it was Bani-Sadr who promoted the "Islamification" of the universities, a campaign of terror aimed at driving the left out of their strongholds. And when it came to suppressing the just struggles of the Kurds, Turkomans and other oppressed nationalities in Iran, he proved himself as rabid a Persian chauvinist as Khomeini or Beheshti. Before the reactionary border war with Iraq broke out, Bani-Sadr declared: "First of all, we must purge Kurdistan of armed political groups in order to be able to face the [Iraqi] Ba'ath regime."

But these services on behalf of clerical reaction and Persian chauvinism were not enough to save him. The turning point came when he called for nationwide protests against the government's closing of his newspaper, *Islamic Revolution*, along with five others. The next day a hundred thousand people streamed into downtown Teheran to demonstrate support to Bani-Sadr. Perhaps even more significant was the fact that the Teheran bazaar—the small



Islamic "Revolutionary" headquarters in rubble. A Forghan conclusion?

shopkeepers who in the past have been staunch supporters of the clerics—shut down the same day.

Obviously alarmed by this show of opposition to the ayatollahs' rule, Khomeini denounced Bani-Sadr's call for anti-regime protest and threatened to deal with him "as I have dealt with the shah." The next day the imam sacked Bani-Sadr as commander-in-chief of the military, his last remaining position of power. Not one military commander rallied to his chief's defense. The presidential palace was besieged by *hezbollahi* chanting "Death to Bani-Sadr!" And that was the last day the president of Iran was seen in public. His taped messages from underground still profess his loyalty to Khomeini and his willingness to return to face trial provided he be granted three hours of radio time!

The Myth of a "Progressive Bourgeoisie"

If the ayatollahs had the power to easily sweep away Bani-Sadr, it is in large measure because of the criminally opportunist policies of the Iranian left. When Khomeini's reactionary Shi'ite clerics were leading a mass movement against the bloody dictatorship of the shah, the entire Iranian left supported the "Islamic revolution" and the new regime. At that time only the international Spartacist tendency warned that the mullahs' rule would be just as reactionary as the shah's and insistently counterposed a proletarian revolutionary alternative. We wrote: "This is not a victory for the working masses. Today, Iran belongs to middle-class Islamic reaction in a bloody alliance with a section of the same officer corps which has dealt out decades of death and oppression on behalf of the Pahlavis" ("Mullahs Win," *WV* No. 225, 16 February 1979).

The pro-Moscow Tudeh party, which bowed before the "imam" as its allies in Kurdistan were targets of terror bombing and its own Arab comrades in the Khuzistan oilfields had their strikes broken by *pasdaran*, is still trying to hide behind Khomeini. The cynical Stalinists had no illusions about Bani-Sadr's power; they knew he was a loser. But their own fantasy of an everlasting "détente" with the Islamic fanatics is a dangerous pipe dream. The recent banning of the Tudeh press, *Mardom*, was just a small warning of things to come. And if the Tudeh leaders think that ayatollah Khalkhali's recent "friendship mission" to Moscow will mean friendship with them, they should recall Chiang Kai-shek, who in the mid-1920s at least professed to be a radical bourgeois democrat.

The fall of Bani-Sadr has all but forced the rival Fedayeen guerrilla organizations onto opposite sides of the barricades. Last year this radical populist organization split, with the Minority more critical of the regime. Since then the Fedayeen Majority has moved close

to the Tudeh as Khomeini's loyal left servants, while the Minority found itself in a de facto alliance with the Mujahedin as reluctant opponents of the dominant IRP. The Minority reportedly participated in the pro-Bani-Sadr protests, fighting the fascist *hezbollahi*.

Nonetheless, the Fedayeen Minority are caught in a fundamental contradiction. They believe in some kind of "anti-imperialist, democratic" revolution that is not socialist. Their "two-stage revolution" dogma dictates that they must support some bourgeois-democratic force. But where are the bourgeois democrats in the "Iranian revolution"? Compared to a Beheshti or Khalkhali, Bani-Sadr might look like something of a bourgeois democrat. But even this "moderate" clericalist politician was no force at all in resisting the feudalist reactionaries. Iran today offers but the latest proof that the "progressive anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie, which according to Stalinist doctrine must carry out a "democratic" revolution before the proletariat can establish its own class rule, is a fiction and a suicidal illusion.

What is needed in Iran is a Trotskyist party which hammers home that proletarian revolution is the real alternative to capitalist bonapartist rule upholding the social backwardness and imperialist subjugation, whether this takes the form of shah monarchy, Shi'ite theocracy or a military dictatorship. Such a communist vanguard would organize workers militias to defend the left, champion the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination, agitate in the armed forces against the reactionary nationalist war with Iraq, calling instead for a class war against the bourgeoisie on both sides of the Shatt-al-Arab, and fight for the liberation of women from the veil and other forms of feudal-bourgeois oppression. Trotskyists struggle to win subjective revolutionaries from all the tendencies of the Iranian left to the program of permanent revolution. Not shah or ayatollah or general, but a workers and peasants government! ■

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IMG...

(continued from page 7)

could be taken to imply that we give some sort of support to Benn's overall programme, as opposed to specific points. This was wrong." The letter continued:

"But what shocks us is your demand for a public repudiation of this statement on the basis that it represents 'a gross concession to Benn's social democratic patriotism.' This thoroughly hostile reaction could only imply that you think that *Socialist Challenge* and the IMG are actually supporting Benn's programme in a consistent fashion."

What?—publicly account for errors? Perhaps the error wasn't serious enough? Or maybe it wasn't an error...

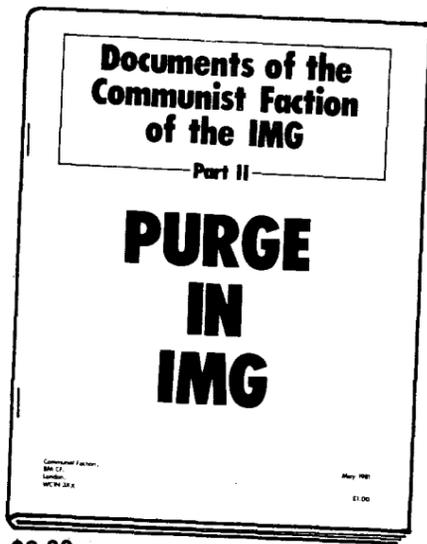
The Labour Party entrism course had been decreed by the leadership in advance of a membership discussion. An IMG document stated: "In Western Europe as a whole the Fourth International is urging supporters in the mass Communist Parties and Socialist Parties to investigate the possibilities of fighting for Trotskyist ideas among the ranks of the workers in these parties." This is of a piece with French USec honcho Alain Krivine's statement that his group considers itself the "third component" of the Mitterrand governmental majority.

The letter to the Hemel Hempstead IMG also contained this ominous warning: "Is the Hemel branch under some sort of pressure from the Spartacists?" This signaled the leadership's intentions toward the Communist Tendency. The situation was coming to a head. The tendency announced the formation of the Communist Faction. One week later they were expelled en masse.

Three days later, the Political Committee came out with a "Dossier on the Expulsion of the Communist Faction." Along with the full panoply of misstatement, innuendo and slander, the "Dossier" contains the IMG leadership's first attempt at a comprehensive reply to the CF politics. Only when they had done their best to guarantee that nobody was left inside the organization to defend CF positions did the IMG leadership feel competent to attempt a political response—much of it an attack on documents the membership has still never seen. The tone of the "Dossier" is mock cloak-and-dagger and it isn't hard to discern the IMG leadership's relief at having found an organizational pretext for getting rid of a faction whose *politics* had already been made quite clear and quite identifiably "Spart" (or would the IMG like to claim there was anyone else on the British left that hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan from a Trotskyist standpoint?) "In the view of the PC the political and organizational clarification of the nature of the CF represents a gain for the organisation" says the "Statement from the Political Committee," because now preconference discussion will not be "diverted" into considering the CF's political positions. The main point of the "Dossier" is to

intimidate future left critics in advance.

The pretext for the expulsions was the testimony of one Phil Edwards of the Wolverhampton IMG. The "Dossier" features his statement, full of dim-witted inaccuracies and lies, where he describes signing a "contract" with the Spartacist League of Britain (SL) for joint work based on the program of the Communist Tendency and the international Spartacist tendency's nine points for revolutionary regroupment. Edwards claims: "I read this and I signed. I signed in order to find out what was going on. I had made up my mind earlier on this." But did this oh-so-loyal IMG'er confide in his leadership about his little spy gambit? Not a word—until he decided



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to turn in the CF as Spartacist "agents." We wonder: if he lies to the IMG leadership, and he lied to his fellow CF members, whose curiosity is he really satisfying?

Edwards' statement is aimed at making the Spartacist tendency sound as weird as possible, of course. Even so, we come off sort of impressive. As soon as Edwards signed an agreement for joint work, he was welcomed in good faith. The whole internal life of the SL was opened up to him. He was treated like a member. He was told that the CF would be proportionately represented on the SL's leading bodies. Armed with this presumed tale of terror, he rushed back to the IMG to provoke the expulsion of the CF.

Nine CF members were expelled as "members of a separate party, viz, the international Spartacist tendency." All 16 were expelled as "members of a disloyal faction by virtue of the fact that they defend the statement of the CF dated May 12 1981 which clearly indicated that, in the view of the members of the CF it is necessary to build a separate party to that of the IMG and FI." The statement referred to (see *WV* No. 282) says nothing of the kind. In answer to the leadership's demand that the CF "unambiguously" answer the question, "do you consider the Fourth International and its British Section to be a revolutionary Marxist

organization?" the CF wrote:

"To the question of whether the IMG and the USFI [United Secretariat] are revolutionary Marxist, we reply: we have yet to lead the working class to power...."

"The leadership has suppressed our disarmament document for five months, and is witch-hunting members of the Communist Faction with Stalinist-style accusations of 'factionalism,' and demanding a 'loyalty oath' as the implicit price for the circulation of our document to the membership and our further participation in the discussion. While this behaviour is not in itself a decisive proof that the IMG and USFI are *not* revolutionary Marxist, it is highly suggestive that this is indeed the case."

The IMG leadership focuses its hysteria on one point which is simply made up. On almost every page of the "Dossier" and twice in the eight-paragraph article which appeared in *Socialist Challenge*, they repeat that the CF characterized the IMG as "counter-revolutionary." From refusing to grant the IMG leadership a vote of "revolutionary" confidence in advance of discussion to writing off the IMG as "counterrevolutionary"—this is not only not logical, it is wrong. And it was never the CF's position. But the IMG leadership must "quote" this "position" over and over again in its cheap attempts to rally organizational loyalty against the CF.

For the IMG and USec, the definition of the word "revolutionary" comes down to whom you want to sell out to. But for serious revolutionists, a real doubt of the revolutionary nature of a leadership is the only justification for organizing one's supporters as a *faction*. The CF made this point explicitly. In fact, even the IMG's own organizational rules admit that:

"A faction flows from the situation where it is held that other currents inside the organisation, generally the leadership, are threatening the existence of the organisation as a revolutionary force through programmatic revisions, not merely errors but betrayals of the class struggle... the revolutionary character of the current against which the struggle is being waged is at least called into question."

Supposedly, factions are permitted in the IMG. But IMGers beware! To "suggest" that the IMG may not be revolutionary is "disloyal." *And disloyal members are expelled!*

The Communist Faction, five of whose members were IMG members of more than *ten years'* standing, is called a bunch of "infiltrators" who sought to carry out a "wrecking operation in the IMG." And future left critics will be treated in the same way. The IMG leadership has now expelled another IMG member simply for raising a motion in his branch protesting the expulsions! This betrays a certain lack of confidence by the leadership, as does the motion passed in the Oxford branch forbidding IMG members to attend an SL public forum this month.

In the introduction to the "Dossier," the IMG leadership Spart-baits future oppositions in advance:

"The IMG is well aware of the sort of operations that the Spartacists run. We are fully conscious of the fact that they may well have left sleepers in our organisation with the aim of forming a second wave.... I think we may have increased confidence now that we have the right methods...."

The "methods" in which the IMG has "increased confidence" are political expulsion and sinister Healy-style slanders that the SL is a "weapon designed solely to smash up left-wing organisations." This is a delicate way of charging that the CF is not just not part of the IMG—perhaps it is not part of the workers movement at all?

The "Dossier" is an open-ended threat aimed at the IMG membership: don't dare object to the IMG's calls for Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, better not criticize the great Iranian revolution, and above all don't get in the way of our courtship of Tony Benn. This was the first political expulsion in the history of the IMG, but it isn't going to be the last. ■

Auto Militant Joins LTF...

(continued from page 6)

and the Socialist Party:

"The Call of the One Hundred is a call to reconstruct the popular-front Union of the Left 'in struggles.' Those who are nostalgic for the Union of the Left—Eurocommunists, Socialist Party members, nonaffiliated militants—have made an appeal to sign a petition. To amend this petition on struggles, the general strike, does not suffice to generate an anti-popular-front content. This is only, as Trotsky said, an appeal for a 'fighting popular front.' To say today that such a campaign is in contradiction with the divisive policies of the bureaucratic apparatuses is true. But on what basis? The intention of the majority of initiators and signatories is nothing other than the reconstruction of the Union of the Left (disarming the working class). The question for us is not to propose a united front on the basis of 'unity' in general. With such an intervention we appeal to the most backward elements of the working class. For the advanced workers it is a 'vague and confusing' intervention as the call for unity of the apparatuses becomes the principal axis of our program."

In a more recent document, "No, Mitterrand's Victory Is Not a 'First Victory' for the Working Class," comrade Demos exposed Krivine and company's present capitulation to the popular front: "Mitterrand's victory unmasked the LCR's real politics. To justify its support to Mitterrand it had explained that throwing out Giscard was the way to encourage workers' struggles. But now you can't find calls for strikes to win our demands anywhere in *Rouge* and even less mention of the general strike." For Krivine the task of the hour is... to vote: "Today our task is to reinforce and consolidate the united mobilization. Together we must impose a *parliamentary majority of the parties of the workers movement.*"

The LCR leaders have been accumulating the proof that its "dynamic" is one of parliamentarism: on May 4 at the Mutualité Krivine explained that "we aren't going to go on a general strike to bring down Mitterrand because the alternative would be Chirac, the right wing" while *Rouge* called for a sort of referendum on the 35-hour workweek (!) and an LCR spokesman exclaimed, "We aren't going to go for all or nothing" (*Libération*, 19 May). Indeed! The explanation for this right turn is quite clear. As Trotsky said, "The use of the general strike is absolutely incompatible with the strategy of the popular front which means an alliance with the bourgeoisie, that is the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie" ("The Hour of Decision Approaches"). Support the workers or support the popular front—you have to choose. Comrade Demos presented this choice to the militants of the LCR:

"Deceive, calm, demoralize and defeat the working class, that's the aim of the popular front.... If tomorrow the workers begin to fight at Cléon and oppose Mitterrand they will turn to us and accuse us of having hid the truth, of having strengthened illusions in Mitterrand and of being responsible for putting a bourgeois government into power.... 'Don't play into the hands of reaction.' Now that's a new formulation in our newspaper. Comrade Krivine should leave this argument to the bureaucrats who seek to prevent or break a strike. "Krivine continues a little later: 'Many workers ask us for guarantees that they won't be betrayed one more time. Well, the only guarantee is of course their own mobilization. But it is also necessary to have a strong revolutionary organization... capable of simultaneously avoiding opportunist or extremist undertakings.' What is this 'mobilization'? Marchais also talks about 'mobilizations' but it is to avoid calling concretely for a strike. What is this 'extremist undertakings'? I've heard that too often in the mouths of Renault bureaucrats to not prick up my ears at that. It is necessary to say

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clearly to the working class: it is the popular front which leads to reaction."

Comrade Demos also had to fight the proposal of Jerome, a leader of the Matti faction at Rouen, to do an entry into the Socialist Party, the ultimate conclusion of the opportunist policies of support to the popular front. With the LCR's current positions such an entry could only be a liquidation in the service of social democracy. But this "entrism" may soon be the official scheme of the United Secretariat. As shown by the expulsion of the Communist Faction of the IMG, the leadership of the IMG understands that the future choice for the members of its organization will be social democracy or Spartacism. We hope that other members of the IMG and LCR will also understand it and that they'll make the choice of Trotskyism and the international Spartacist tendency.

GIM...

(continued from page 6)

progressively into an external (so far) faction of social democracy.

The crisis of humanity is the crisis of proletarian leadership: this sentence from the Transitional Program is today more valid than ever before. But it gets clearer and clearer: the so-called "Fourth International" will never be able to solve this crisis. We have seen how this "Fourth International" became the apologist for the clerical reactionary Khomeini and how in Nicaragua, capitulating to the FSLN, the perspective for a Trotskyist party was sabotaged and its own comrades were denounced. We saw how the line of support to the bourgeois SPD/FDP coalition was rammed through and how now the pro-capitalist DGB and SPD trade-union bureaucracy is called upon to bring its influence to bear in Poland—which means nothing other than paving the way for the social counterrevolution. We have seen this International put out to pasture did not even manage to draw the class line in Afghanistan and take sides with the Red Army against the reactionary mullahs and khans, whose social program means only the enslavement of women, as well as the slaughtering and skinning alive of communist schoolteachers. But for us the question is at all times and in all cases the class standpoint: we had a side in Stalingrad and we have one in Afghanistan! We've had enough! We want to build a Leninist party which will lead the working class to the revolutionary seizure of power before it is too late—the GIM is nothing but an obstacle on the path to this goal.

Since the National Conference in February 1980 where a majority of the organization was *against* electoral support for the SPD, there have been a few changes in the GIM. Then, for the first time since Portugal, there were the beginnings of a halfway political discussion. But since the Extraordinary NC in June 1980 the GIM has been "homogenized" by the pro-SPD leadership on the SPD line....

In contrast to the unprincipled "middle swamp" of T5 we have tried to base our criticism of the GIM/USFI [United Secretariat] on the numerous recent examples of this organization's capitulation: in Nicaragua, Iran, Afghanistan, Poland—where it united with Heinz "All power to the madonna" Brandt (*Kritik* No. 27) and applauded "Rural Solidarity," an organization of small-time rural employers, representing a strong potentially counter-revolutionary force. We have sought the causes of the growing social-democratization of the GIM, which is logically bound to lead to liquidation into the SPD/Jusos/Falken [Jusos are the SPD youth, Falken the students and schoolchildren]....

For us it has become clearer and clearer that only the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) maintains and

continues the tradition of Trotskyism. At the time, the Revolutionary Tendency (predecessor nucleus of the Spartacist League/US) struggled against the capitulation of the SWP to Castro's Stalinism.... Whereas the entire international left outdid itself enthusing over the Iranian "Revolution" only the iSt pointed out the absolute irreconcilability of the interests of women, the national minorities and the workers with the reactionary Islamic movement and made the connection with the question of the proletarian seizure of power....

Comrades, Mandel said some time ago that one could only pray for the GIM. We can imagine something better. We want to struggle for the worldwide proletarian revolution and not be "partners in dialogue" for Glotz, Voigt and von Oertsen [popular social democrats] or sell reformist/pacifist fairy tales such as "Jobs not Armaments" (*Was Tun* No. 310, 14 April) until an imperialist war decides the question of socialism or barbarism in favor of the latter (see our document, "For revolutionary anti-militarism" in [GIM] *Rundbrief* No. 4, 27 March). Therefore, we are breaking with the GIM, which cannot be reformed, on a comprehensive programmatic basis. We are resigning from this rotten organization in order to take up contact with the international Spartacist tendency, with the TLD. We call upon all comrades in the GIM who want to see the proletariat in power to contact us to discuss this perspective.

Break with Pabloite opportunism!
Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!
Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Bernhard, Freiburg
Claudius, West Berlin

Australian SWP...

(continued from page 2)

reformists are really trying to do is to make the same argument as Stalin when he opposed workers revolution in Spain: to say that raising communist slogans could scare off the middle class, and thus the Trotskyists and other "ultraleftists" would have to be "liquidated" for the benefit of "democratic" imperialism.

Of course the SWP, which due to a historical hangover occasionally refers to itself as Trotskyist, is afraid to say this openly. Their leaflet even claims, "We fully support, not only their [El Salvadoran leftists'] military victory, but their political victory, and the creation of an FDR government." This from people who not only oppose raising this "as a slogan for the mass movement," but even try to rip down banners for military victory and attack those carrying them! As for their "political victory," the FDR is a popular front tying the leftist worker and peasant organisations to dissident Christian Democrat and "social-democratic" bourgeois politicians. This treacherous policy of class collaboration was the axis of Stalin's counter-revolutionary programme in Spain, and it is not surprising that the two-bit reformist gangsters of today resort to anti-communist thuggery to carry it out.

Having failed to silence the revolutionaries with violence, the little Scheidemanns and Noskes of the SWP/CISCAC are now relying on lies. But as the American Workers World/YAWF/PAM outfit led by Sam Marcy, would-be bedfellow of U.S. Democrats Bella Abzug and Teddy Kennedy, found out to their chagrin June 6, those anti-communist attacks can boomerang badly (see "YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo," *Workers Vanguard* No. 283, 19 June). We warn those counterrevolutionaries who would keep El Salvador protests safe for reformism by excluding communists: Don't tread on us! ■

Post Office...

(continued from page 12)

nothing and 200 militant unionists were vindictively fired by Bolger. Now Biller claims to be fighting for amnesty for the fired workers, but if he hadn't been a lousy scab herder in 1978 there wouldn't have been any fired workers. And if he's so hot to win amnesty for the victimized militants, why did he help scuttle a resolution at last year's convention which would have mandated "that the amnesty issue must be resolved with the reinstatement of all fired workers before any contract can be signed or agreed to"?

No Contract, No Work!

At that same Detroit convention Biller's New York local submitted a motion "that this Convention assert its steadfast devotion to the principal [sic] of 'no contract—no work'" and make sure "that this fundamental principle is not treated by the Postal Service as an empty formula." But who made "an empty formula" of "no contract, no work" in 1978? And who is preparing to do the same thing today? At the June 25 postal workers' rally at the New York GPO, Biller's hand-picked successor as New York local president, Josie McMilian, told workers that on July 20 Biller and Sombrotto would determine "if Bolger has been bargaining in good faith or not." The meaning of that remark was made clear when local APWU and NALC bureaucrats tried to shut up workers chanting "no contract, no work!"

The leaders of the 1978 wildcat at the New York Bulk center, now known as the Postal Workers Defense Committee (formerly the "Good Contract Committee," the "Workers Unity" group and "Outlaw") has attracted some support among APWU and Mailhandlers union militants over the past several years. But the record of these hopped-up reformists, who are politically supported by the Maoist rump group Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, does not in fact offer anything to postal workers looking for class-struggle leadership. The Defense Committee has consistently backed every out-of-office bureaucrat and disgruntled loser who took the APWU to court over election results. The outcome of these suits has been to drag the capitalist state's Labor Department into the internal affairs of the union and to put control of New York Metro local elections in the hands of the same government that hires Bolger and the Postal Inspectors to harass and terrorize postal workers.

These supposed "radicals" have never presented more than a narrowly focused trade-unionist viewpoint in their publications. They have never openly challenged the APWU's reliance on "friend of labor" Democrats and Republicans by posing the need for independent class politics. Most importantly they have never aspired to be anything more than a left pressure group on Moe Biller. Last year they called for votes to Biller in both local and national elections. Defense Committee leader Kenny Leiner, who has twice won election as APWU mailhandler vice president, has been rewarded for his support to Biller with his own column in the union's *American Postal Worker*—in which nothing Biller does not approve of can appear. It would seem that Leiner & Co. are taking the same political path as Moe Biller himself—from reformist "socialism" to the mainline trade-union bureaucracy.

Postal workers occupy a strategic position in the economy. Without a smooth flow of mail, banks, insurance companies, stock brokerages, utilities and other mail-centered businesses would lose millions of dollars a day. Big business is visibly worried at the prospect of a postal strike come July. Yet Biller, Sombrotto & Co. have made no preparation to fight, much less win a bitterly contested strike. Reagan can threaten to pull a Nixon and send in the

army, but to paraphrase John L. Lewis, you can't sort letters with bayonets. Postal workers demonstrated in 1970 that they have the power to win their demands for job safety and security, for cost-of-living protection and for amnesty for the fired strikers. What is needed is above all a class-struggle leadership worthy of the workers they presume to lead. ■

Tax Hike...

(continued from page 3)

this black/labor town into a bastion of the open shop.

All opposition to this wage-cutting, tax hike proposal is labeled "racist." Yet during the city workers strike last summer, it was Young who handed the city over to the "outsiders" and racists of the Republican Party. Most of downtown Detroit was cordoned off from its black residents and Young told the striking city workers to eat beans "till hell freezes over!"

It was Young's police force that protected the Nazi bunkers on Vernor and Fenkell in 1977. In November 1979, Young threatened to *arrest* those who wanted to stop the Klan from marching in downtown Detroit to "celebrate" the massacre of five anti-fascist militants in Greensboro, N.C. The anti-Klan rally, initiated by Ford Rouge militants who had just driven two Klan-hooded foremen out of the their plant, and built by the Spartacist League, took place despite Young's threats and was the first mass labor/black anti-fascist mobilization in Detroit in decades. Coleman Young and his cops are the enemies of working people and black youth—and no amount of talk about "freedom" will change that!

Young and his banker buddies are getting lots of experienced help from the UAW and Teamster bureaucrats. The UAW gave Young's committee \$40,000 in auto workers dues money and loaned him Marc Stepp and Buddy Battle to push his wage-slashing. The AFSCME officials say they are opposed to Young's anti-labor referendum. But they did nothing while Young threw 4,600 city workers on the street over the last four years, and now Young's bragging about it! It was Lloyd Simpson who gave up three-man crews on garbage trucks. It was Simpson & Co. who rammed home the rotten contract last summer and refused to shut down Cobo Hall and Joe Louis Arena to win the strike. He didn't want to ruin Young's "party" for Ronald Reagan. The AFSCME bureaucrats are not to be trusted! They sell out the workers by chaining them to anti-labor Democratic Party politicians.

Detroit is decaying fast. A "yes" vote for Young's union-busting will not save Detroit any more than the millions of dollars squeezed out of Chrysler workers saved Dodge Main or Lynch Road. Young's "Chrysler solution" for the city means workers bleed while the corporations get tax breaks and the bankers suck the city dry. A strike by city workers with a militant leadership could stop the arrogant Young in his tracks. Linked with tens of thousands of auto workers, this could spark a counter-offensive by labor against the capitalist austerity drive. Make the bosses pay! Cancel the debt to the avaricious banks! No layoffs, no concessions, no cuts in city services! Expropriate the banks! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

SPARTACIST Bound Volume No. 1

Spartacist Issues 1-20
February 1964-July 1971

\$25.00

Order from/make checks payable to:
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Postal Workers in Nationwide Picket

Strike Against Reagan Postal Union-Busting!

On July 20 the contract between unions representing 600,000 postal workers and the U.S. Postal Service expires. With hard-line Postmaster General William Bolger virtually refusing to bargain, and with the two major postal unions led by newly elected presidents who came to office pledging more militant policies, the stage is set for a showdown in the biggest labor negotiations of the year.

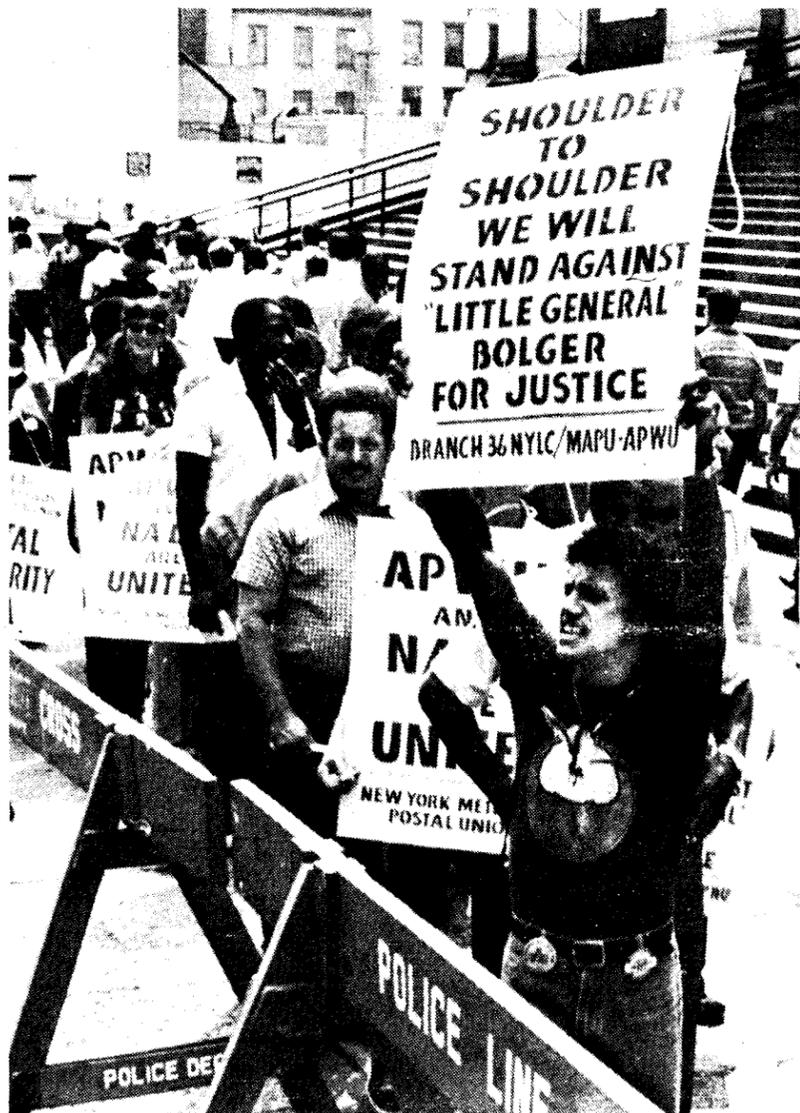
A nationwide picket was called June 25 as a "warning" by the unions. In New York about 3,000 postal workers marched in front of the GPO. But the official demands were limited to such half-hearted slogans as "2, 4, 6, 8—Bolger must negotiate." What is needed for the postal unions to win against the viciously anti-labor Reagan administration is a *solid national strike*, surpassing even the 1970 postal strike in militancy and solidarity. Postal workers have an opportunity to once again lead the American working class in struggle... or get badly shafted by a management that has no intention of being "reasonable."

Bolger, unaffectionately known as "the little general," is just the man to spearhead Reagan's union-busting offensive. In April, on the eve of scheduled negotiations for a new postal labor pact, Bolger unilaterally announced that there would be no bargaining. He outright refused to meet with union negotiators, using as an excuse the fact that two small unions, the Rural Letter Carriers and Mailhandlers, wanted bargaining separate from the big American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC).

After two months of management delays and appeals, the government's own National Labor Relations Board told the Postal Service that its petition for the NLRB to force the unions to form a unified bargaining unit was "a solution to which it isn't entitled." Bolger finally turned up at the bargaining table but "Stonewall Bill" is obviously in no mood for serious negotiations. He hopes to drag out the bargaining past the expiration of the contract and force takeaway demands on the postal workers.

Sitting across the table from Bolger are APWU president Moe Biller and NALC leader Vinnie Sombrotto. Both are long-time New York local presidents who won election as national presidents last year largely as a protest against the disastrous 1978 contract. Biller, a former Communist Party supporter and 22-year New York Metro local president, comes from the union's historic center of militancy, where young Vietnam vets and Maoist-backed dissidents launched a wildcat strike against the 1978 contract. Sombrotto comes from NALC Branch 36, where letter carriers launched the great postal strike of 1970. Both were talking militant last fall, pledging that if Bolger tried to put a limit on cost-of-living raises, there would be "no mail to deliver on July 21st" (*Union Mail*, December 1980).

The key issues at stake are on-the-job safety, job security in the midst of an automation drive and an unlimited cost-of-living allowance (COLA). The death by management murder of mailhandler Michael McDermott in 1979 highlighted the Postal Service's horrendous



Angry Postal ranks demonstrate in front of New York City's GPO, June 25.

safety record. McDermott was crushed to death in a conveyor belt on which management had deliberately removed safety cutoffs. As the *Wall Street Journal* (7 January) pointed out, the Postal Service has "an occupational injury rate that is one of the federal government's worst and more than twice as bad as private industry's." COLA and job security were also the issues in 1978. At that time a miserable contract was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership because it put a "cap" on the COLA and compromised the Post Office's traditional "no layoff" policy. After wildcats on both coasts were crushed, an arbitrator uncapped the COLA but ruled that all workers hired after 1978 would be subject to layoff. The unions now have pledged to keep the full COLA and fight to restore the "no layoff" clause.

1970 Strike Showed the Way

Before postal workers went on the pathbreaking, *illegal* strike in 1970 they were grossly underpaid and represented by what were little better than company unions. After the strike, wages increased and five weak unions merged to form the APWU. Another result was the Postal Reorganization Act, which established the semi-autonomous Postal Service in place of the Post Office Department, allowing legal collective bargaining with the federal government for the first time. The 1970 strike electrified the labor movement and also had a profound effect on young radicals, many of whom for the first time recognized in the postal workers' militant struggle the power of the working class in action.

"The great historic importance of the postal strike," the Spartacist League wrote at the time, "is that it is the first major strike against the federal government" (Spartacist leaflet, 23 March 1970). It started when New York City

letter carriers walked out, defying their national leadership. They were quickly joined by clerks and mailhandlers, not only in New York, but throughout the country. Despite deliberate strike-breaking sabotage by virtually every national and local union official, young and black militants took the lead, keeping the strike going for eight days and defying Nixon's attempt to break the walkout with army scabs. New York letter carriers burned NALC president James Rademacher in effigy and hung up signs reading: "Dump the Rat—We Have No National Leader."

Today, as in 1970, the main problem confronting postal workers is the lack of any real class-struggle leadership. When Moe Biller ran for president of the APWU last year his campaign brochure described him as "Leader of the 1970 Postal Strike and 1974 Bulk Strike." He obviously was hoping nobody remembered the truth. In 1970 Biller at first gave in to the massive sentiment among clerks not to cross picket lines set up by the letter carriers. But workers who were there remember booing Biller off the podium at the Statler Hilton Hotel for trying to get the strikers back to work later. Four years later, when workers in his local staged a wildcat strike to protest arbitrary shift changes, the *Daily World* (25 January 1974) reported that "Moe Biller, president of the New York Metro area postal union, went to the picketline of the New York Bulk and Foreign Mail Center here this morning to tell the workers to report to work."

In 1978 Biller again played the role of strikebreaker when Bulk workers honored his call for "No contract, no work" and set up picket lines when the contract expired. "Biller: Back the Bulk!" they chanted, but Biller went back to bed. Had he called out the New York local, a national postal strike would have become a de facto reality. Instead he did

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Army strikebreaker during 1970 postal wildcat: Sort the mail with bayonets?



New York Times