

Near East Cold War Axis Threatened

Imperialist Murderers Weep for Sadat

It was not only Anwar Sadat who got blown away in Cairo two weeks ago: the American imperialists fear that their anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East may also lie in rubble amid the overturned chairs on that reviewing stand. To be sure, Washington wants to bank on Sadat's appointed successor, Hosni Mubarak, to enforce the *Pax Americana* embodied in the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. But Reagan clearly wouldn't stake his life on it. For the funeral he sent ex-presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter, who surely would not have been missed if something went wrong in post-Sadat Cairo.

At the funeral, "dignitaries" like mad bomber Menachem Begin and the late shah of Iran's son Riza Pahlevi mourned for their lost brother. The Egyptian population, physically barred from the funeral, conspicuously did not mourn. In the southern town of Asyut more than a hundred "Muslim fundamentalists" were killed by police after defying a government ban on demonstrations outside mosques. The political situation in Egypt was captured in an anecdote reported in the *Wall Street Journal* (16 October). A fortuneteller is asked, "What do you see in your heart for the future of Egypt?" "Not now," she replies, "there are security men everywhere."

With strongman Sadat gone the U.S.



Karim/AI Akhbar

U.S. imperialist lackey Anwar Sadat caught with his security guard down. Almost anyone in the Near East could have pulled the trigger.

is making a desperate effort to strengthen its control over this linchpin of the Near East in the most naked manner. With much fanfare new arms shipments are being speeded to Mubarak. The controversial AWACS radar plane—flying out of Cairo West Airport, already

buzzing with American aircraft—is now patrolling Egypt's western border. And next month U.S. and Egyptian troops are scheduled to take part in highly publicized land/sea/air joint war games called Operation Bright Star. Asked about this militarist display, U.S. vice

president George Bush replied that if this is a "provocation," so be it. Meanwhile, Washington is trying to whip Egypt and its sole regional ally, the Sudan, into a war with the No. 1 U.S. Near East target of the moment, *continued on page 8*

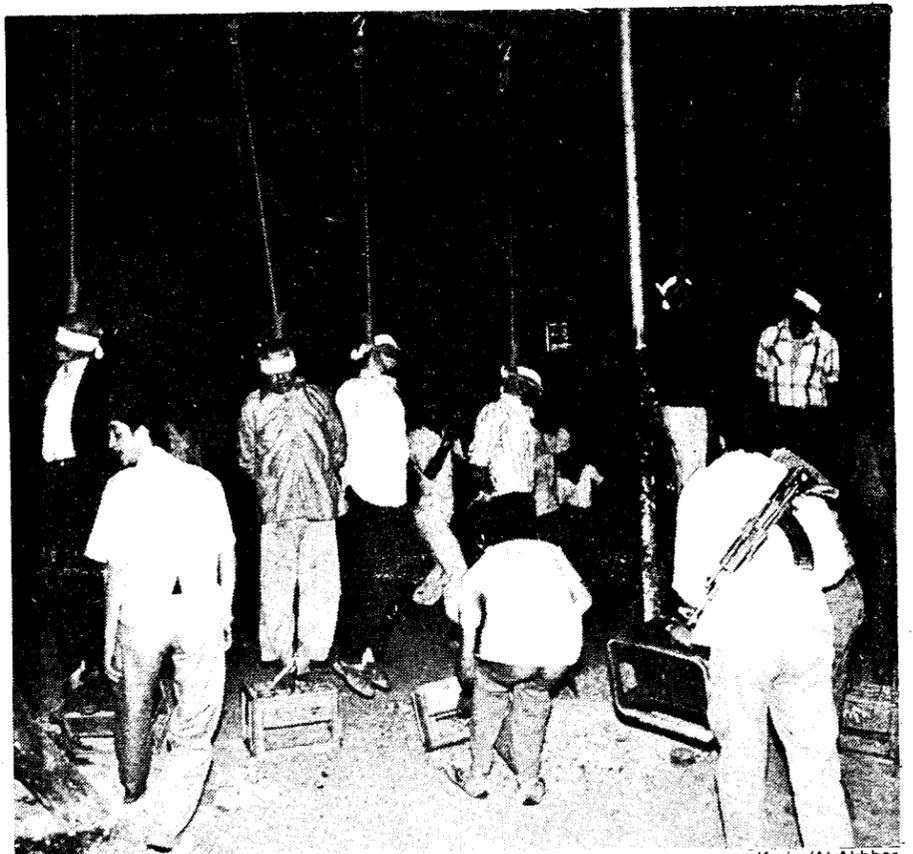
Mullahs' Blood Frenzy

After two and a half years of the "Islamic revolution" in Iran, the reactionary Khomeini regime is coming apart. The stalemated war with Iraq, which has dragged on since September 1980, and fighting by Kurdish rebels, who control large parts of a couple of provinces, are not even the most serious of the mullahs' problems. The ruling clerical Islamic Republican Party (IRP) has been decapitated by deadly accurate bombings, state administration is in chaos, the economy in shambles, and there are reports of unrest in the military. Now Khomeini's Pasdaran (militiamen) are having frequent shoot-outs with Islamic guerrillas who've turned against their "imam" of yesterday. Besieged on all sides, Khomeini's

clerics are staking their survival on mass killings. Since June over 1,800 have been executed—more executions in Iran in four months than were reported in the entire world during 1980. The mullahs' *jihad* is aimed primarily at the Muslim-populist Mujahedeen-e-Khalq (People's Crusaders), closely allied with former president Bani-Sadr in exile.

Exhorted by Khomeini to "exterminate the heathens," the blood-crazed Pasdaran shoot on the spot anyone wounded or captured in street fighting. According to Mujahedeen leader Masoud Rajavi, now in exile outside Paris with Bani-Sadr, some 200 schoolchildren jailed for pro-Mujahedeen activities have been executed. Khomeini even

continued on page 9



Karim/AI Akhbar

More executions in Khomeini's Iran than in the entire world last year.

SL Protests S.F. Cop Smear

A press conference was called October 15 by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) to protest the vicious San Francisco police attack on the September 27 Bay Area demonstration against Salvadoran junta chief Duarte. At the conference several victims gave the lie to the cops' story that the violence came from the demonstrators, including the Spartacist League (SL). Witnesses vividly described the cops' brutal dispersal of the demonstration and the unprovoked clubbing of fleeing protesters and passengers waiting at a bus stop. Eleven of the victims, including a mother and her 15-month-old baby, filed a million-dollar claim against the city for their injuries; other victims are pursuing individual legal suits.

In response to baiting queries from reporters, CISPES spokesman Tina Courtland and other speakers testified again and again that the violence on September 27 came exclusively from the police. However, at a small picket line the next day in front of a luncheon for the Salvadoran ambassador, a few CISPES supporters, among them members of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), attempted to exclude the Spartacist League and said they were "spreading the word in the El Salvadoran community" that the SL supposedly provoked police into attacking the anti-Duarte demo. How? By chanting our slogans for military victory to leftist rebels in El Salvador! Thus, to cover their political vulnerability on their left flank, the reformists echo the same cop slander which they have publicly denounced as a pack of lies!

CISPES is clearly feeling the pressure from many of their supporters who can't understand why they refuse to call for a leftist victory in the Salvadoran civil war. Quite a few independents at the anti-Duarte demonstration, in fact, picked up and carried the SL's signs for military victory. But the popular-frontists of CISPES, appealing for support from

imperialist liberals whose aim is to preserve "reformed" capitalist rule in the region, spread fatal illusions about a "political solution" with the bloody junta that is waging a war of extermination against the combative workers and peasants. With their despicable whisper campaign they resort to the same lie Reagan and Haig use against Salvadoran guerrilla fighters: that the



Ringman/SF Chronicle

San Francisco cops riot against anti-Duarte protesters on September 27.

rightist violence is "provoked" by the left. These slanders are an insult to the tens of thousands murdered by the junta. And the cynical liars who push them are inviting further cop assaults against the entire left.

We reprint below a letter from the Bay Area Spartacist League to the San Francisco *Examiner* protesting the cop slanders which appeared in that paper.

October 13, 1981

San Francisco, CA

To the Editor:

The September 29, 1981 *Examiner* contained an article entitled "Police deny they turned Salvador protest into

riot." In the article Deputy Chief of Police George Eimil tries to defuse the widespread outrage against the brutal police assaults on the September 27 anti-Duarte demonstrators by making false and damaging charges against the demonstrators themselves, including the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League. This effort to blame the victims for the

brutality of the racist police will not wash.

Eimil claims the September 27 anti-Duarte protest "was turned violent by a few familiar groups of trouble makers." Referring to us as the "Spartacus Group" he says we were among those "who were there Sunday to cause trouble, [and] their purpose was to be violent and to cause violence." According to the October 1, 1981 *Examiner* Eimil escalated his charges at a meeting of the San Francisco Police Commission, saying there was no trouble until groups from the Spartacus (sic) League and others started it. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League were certainly present at the demonstration to voice our protest against Reagan's

right-wing butcher Duarte.

In fact there was indeed provocation and violence on September 27. The provocateurs were the ultra right-wing cult followers of Reverend Moon who staged a pro-Duarte provocation. They were protected and given encouragement by the police. *The real violence came from the San Francisco police.* By raising his charges Eimil hopes to justify and excuse the police riot that occurred. But there is another equally sinister aspect to his accusations.

By falsely labeling the Spartacist League as a group which shows up at demonstrations to "cause violence" Eimil brands us as outlaws, and targets us for harassment and violence. Moreover his lurid account of small groups of agitators, well prepared and intending to use weapons, is murderous in its implications.

The efforts of the Spartacist League in California and elsewhere are to organize a workers party to struggle for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. We have a right to organize. We have the right to advance our views on El Salvador, to call for military victory for the leftist insurgents. We have the right to denounce Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

The massive police presence at the anti-Duarte demonstration occurred because Ronald Reagan did not want his murderous ally and puppet Duarte to be embarrassed. The repeated charges by mounted police against the demonstration that Sunday were not just aimed at the Spartacist League or Eimil's alleged "agitators." Above all the police attacks were intended to disperse the protest.

Eimil is trying to start a witchhunt. The people of California should beware of those who aim to deny the right of assembly and to muzzle free speech by creating an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria and intimidation.

Al Nelson
For the Spartacist League

Too Many Peoples' Congress

Well, we told you so. We said the "All Peoples Congress" which inhabited Detroit last weekend would be a "three-ring circus of class collaboration," a grab bag of sectoralist groups at each others' throats and, above all, "sucker bait for the Democratic Party." While various left groups would vie for a say in running the show, this would-be popular-front zoo would be run from behind the scenes by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP). Its purpose: to bring in a new Jimmy Carter (see "All Peoples Circus: Front for the Democrats," *WW* No. 290, 9 October). And that's the way it was.

Front for the Democrats: After months of huckstering, the Marcyites managed to herd some 1,300 people into Cobo Hall. "They came to fight Reaganism," was the *Detroit Free Press* (17 October) headline, reflecting the APC's program of backhanded support to the Democrats. WWP mouthpiece Larry Holmes called for "surrounding Congress" until the Democratic House majority votes down the Reagan cut-backs. APC endorser Paul O'Dwyer, formerly Democratic NYC City Council president, spoke from the podium. And another backer, Detroit black Demo-

cratic Congressman John Conyers, put forward a motion to "impeach Reagan." *Marxists* call to bring Reagan down through-labor action.

Weekend of the Living Dead: The political zoo at Cobo Hall included everything from New Leftovers like the "Red Balloon" to RCPers in Maosuits with their photos of "Chairman Bob" Avakian, to "pyramid tower" mystics to the "Disabled Peoples Liberation Front." We predicted that this potpourri of competing sectors and single-issue groups had to explode. Sure enough. "Right-to-life" reactionaries screamed at abortion-rights speakers. A speaker who said he was "black, gay and a man" was booed. At the high point the chairman called for a plebiscite on the WWP gimmick/program: "All stand who support the National Days of Resistance!" The room exploded with shouts of "Discrimination! People in wheelchairs can't stand up!"

The worst example was when a right-wing black nationalist speaker attacked those who "sleep with people of their own sex." As many in the room protested this attack on homosexuals, the chair bureaucratically cut off the microphone and threw the offender out

of the meeting. The next day the black nationalist bigots returned, lined up by the podium and demanded an open mike. The chant was then taken up by the various left groups. Workers World slithered out of the situation only by ending the confab on the spot and marshaling everybody out the door!

Anti-Communist Front Groupism: They held themselves hostage in their own pop front. Pretending that "there's nobody here but us APCers" in order to entice stray liberals and union bureaucrats, the Marcyites excluded themselves politically. Not once did the WWP speak in its own name at the conference; they even forced *Workers World* salesmen out onto the sidewalk with the "Sparts" to maintain the appearance of "evenhanded" anti-communist exclusion of the left press! But SL salesmen dominated, selling some 350 copies of *WW*, *Young Spartacus* and hot-off-the-press pamphlets on *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*. Last June 6 in New York, WWP goons were repelled when they tried to keep the Spartacist League from protesting outside Marcy's "Fight Reagan" pop front rally. Here they could only grimace and bear it, in order

not to blow their "respectable" cover.

We also predicted that there will be "others preaching slightly more militant policies" to prettify the WWP's front for the Democrats. So there were, particularly the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). The RWL acts like they want to imitate Trotsky's description of centrism word for word. On Friday night they only had copies of their months' old, now defunct paper known to our readers as the "*Flinching Scab*" and were pushing their leaflet, "A Program of Action for PAM" (the WWP's predecessor front group to the APC) which called on the APC to make it a "real 'National Days of Resistance'." Only after considerable Spartacist heckling was the RWL shamed enough on the second day to bring out the current issue of its newspaper, which contains a few criticisms of the Marcyite operation. Just as predictably, *Workers World* did not sell the last issue of its paper either, the one which admitted Polish *Solidarność* is counterrevolutionary. The liberals might not like that, you see.

"Against War and Fascism"? For years the main Marcyite front has called

continued on page 11

Trotskyists Say: "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

Nationalist "Peace" Movement in West Germany

FRANKFURT—Three hundred thousand protesters took part in a national peace march October 10 in the West German capital of Bonn. It was the largest demonstration in the history of the federal republic, far more than originally expected by the two small church-related organizations which initiated the protest. The huge size was a clear indication of the widespread fear of war aroused by Washington's massive arms build-up and global provocations against the Soviet Union. In particular, opposition has been set off by the planned introduction of neutron bombs and installation of a new generation of medium-range ballistic missiles in West Germany by 1983. With "détente" gone, "mutual deterrence" now out of fashion and the Pentagon talking of a "limited nuclear confrontation" in Central Europe, even sectors of the bourgeoisie are worrying that Reagan intends to fight out a nuclear World War III on and over German soil. Meanwhile, most of the left is acting as the best builders of this social-democratic-dominated movement.

West Germany is currently caught up in a pacifist/nationalist mood captured by the popular slogan "Ohne uns!" (Leave us out of it). This sentiment was shown at a Lutheran church synod in Hamburg last June when up to 100,000 demonstrators poured into the streets with Christian-pacifist slogans for "peace without weapons." A more militant expression came in September when Reagan's Dr. Strangelove, General Alexander Haig, received a "warm reception" on his arrival in West Berlin. Instead of thousands of anti-Communists welcoming him to the "showcase of the West," Haig had to be hidden all day long from 80,000 demonstrators while angry youth tried to storm city hall protesting this visit by the NATO warmonger. While most of the "peace movement" demands are directed at the West (a common graffiti is "To Be or NATO Be") there is also a strong dose of "anti-superpowers" German nationalism. At the Haig demonstration, both a U.S. and a Soviet flag were burned.

In West German ruling circles, nervousness was expressed over the mushrooming "peace movement." Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Helmut Schmidt talked of the infiltration of "sinister elements" while opposition Christian Democratic (CDU) leader Helmut Kohl warned against a "popular front" between left Social Democrats and Communists. However, ex-chancellor and long-time SPD chairman Willy Brandt pleaded for "understanding" of the motives of the youthful protesters. He had seen a lot worse things, Brandt remarked, than Germans demonstrating for peace. Moreover, the Bonn demonstration was firmly under the control of "respectable" personages. On the podium sat Lutheran pastors, two ex-NATO generals, several top Social Democrats, a leader of the Free Democrats (FDP) and even a "peace researcher" from Franz-Josef Strauss' CDU. There were no incidents on October 10, and the arch-conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine* commented that it seemed more like a church convention than a protest.

There was good reason for the bourgeoisie not to be alarmed. The Bonn peace crawl, sponsored by nearly

1,000 organizations and a quarter of the SPD Bundestag (parliament) fraction, called simply for curbing the arms race, East and West, and for "serious" disarmament discussions. The slogans were harmless pacifist jingles, like "Everyone should get Hollanditis" and "Petting not Pershing" missiles. Even most of the self-proclaimed leftist groups present explicitly or implicitly accepted the framework of the Western imperialist alliance. The pro-Moscow Communist Party (DKP), for example, is a prime mover of the so-called Krefeld Appeal which calls on the federal government (i.e., the capitalist state) to

ers" (imperialist West Germany isn't one?!) and noted: "Naturally it's in American interests to threaten the centers of European Russia from European soil..." Another SPD "left," former Berlin mayor and now Lutheran pastor Heinrich Albertz, sounded this call even more sharply, saying that under present conditions Germany would be the "target range of the superpowers... and this in conditions of total dependence, without full sovereignty, without a peace treaty, in a divided country." It is this element which gives the "peace movement" a strong echo in the bourgeois parties as

Every war, however it may begin, menaces each of the warring nations. The imperialists know in advance that the pacifism of the Social Democracy at the first roar of cannon will be transformed into the most servile patriotism and become the most important reserve for militarism. That is why a most intransigent struggle against pacifism, unmasking its treacherous character, is the very first step on the road toward a revolutionary struggle against war."

—"Declaration to the Antiwar Conference at Amsterdam,"
Writings [1932]

For Class War Against Imperialist War!

Today the "Russian question" is at the center of world politics, from Afghanistan to El Salvador, as Reagan revs up his anti-Soviet war drive. Trotskyists, who stand on the historic achievements of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, and all class-conscious workers must unconditionally defend the social and economic conquests of the Soviet bloc states where capitalism has been overthrown. Thus when former NATO European commander Haig used West Berlin as a platform to launch an anti-Soviet slander campaign, the TLD demonstrated under the banner "Defense of the Soviet Union Begins in Berlin." On October 10, against the imperialist cheers for Solidarność (which has now taken up Radio Free Europe propaganda themes, acting as a company union for the bosses by calling for the International Monetary Fund to control the Polish economy), the TLD carried signs in German and Polish proclaiming, "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" and "Poland Must Not Go Capitalist!"

In contrast, the pseudo-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—German section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat") capitulates to the West German bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic lieutenants all down the line. In Bonn on October 10, the GIM limited itself to doing donkey work for the Epplers and Albertz, not even raising their own banners. And in the latest issue of their paper (*Was Tun*, 3 October) they perfectly echo the SPD "lefts" counterrevolutionary line on Poland: "The workers movement in the West cannot oppose the reactionary

continued on page 7



Spartakist

Social democrats denounce "the super powers;" TLD declares the main enemy is at home.

"take a position within the alliance" (i.e., NATO) against the nuclear weapons race. The only revolutionary opposition to the imperialist warmongers came from the 70-strong contingent of the Trozktistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency), which marched under a red banner proclaiming, "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

Social Democracy Calls the Shots

While the Lutheran church got the ball rolling and the DKP acted as waterboy, the main protagonist in the Bonn demonstration was the Social Democratic left wing. Most prominent was Erhard Eppler, the former minister of economic cooperation and loyal member of the SPD presidium. Eppler—a Christian-leftist intellectual, half-pacifist and half-ecologist—is 100 percent pro-NATO. He only objects to "land-based" Pershing missiles, while more militant "left" SPDers call for "reducing" the West German war budget by a billion D-marks. And in case there were any lingering doubts about his anti-Soviet credentials, Eppler proclaimed:

"The Europeanization begins not only on the Vistula, but also on the Rhine. In other words, a Soviet intervention in Poland would concern us all."

Another theme of the speeches was German nationalism. Trying to sound like a "Third World" demagogue, Eppler railed against the "world pow-

ers" (imperialist West Germany isn't one?!) and noted: "Naturally it's in American interests to threaten the centers of European Russia from European soil..." Another SPD "left," former Berlin mayor and now Lutheran pastor Heinrich Albertz, sounded this call even more sharply, saying that under present conditions Germany would be the "target range of the superpowers... and this in conditions of total dependence, without full sovereignty, without a peace treaty, in a divided country." It is this element which gives the "peace movement" a strong echo in the bourgeois parties as well. The SPD's yearning for "détente" reflects the interests of German capital, which is still interested in economically undermining the Soviet bloc (loans to Poland, the giant Siberian natural gas pipeline deal) rather than direct military confrontation. Thus Christian Democratic comments on the Bonn march were notably mild, and CDU top Helmut Kohl recently remarked, "We don't only have conflicting interests with the Soviets, we also have common interests."

The well-publicized divisions within the SPD are in good part a division of labor. While Schmidt tries to soothe Washington's complaints about growing anti-Americanism and neutralism in West Germany, Brandt acts as an elder statesman extending a hand to the youth and Eppler seeks the leadership of a large petty-bourgeois pacifist/ecologist milieu which has up to now been estranged from the SPD. With its reputation as a reform party tarnished after 14 years in bourgeois coalition governments, the economy going badly, the population jittery over Reagan's war drive and SPD votes threatened by "green" and "alternative" slates—the Social Democracy could use some cover on its left flank. In fact, Eppler is doing just what a bourgeois workers party is supposed to do. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago:

"The most influential pacifist force is the Social Democracy. In a period of peace it's not stingy with cheap tirades against war. But it remains tied to 'national defense.' That is decisive.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager), Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mark Kellermann, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

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

No. 291

23 October 1981

Not NBIPP/NBUF But Class Struggle Against Reagan Racism!

Dashiki Democrats: Part of the Problem...

"American Dream a Nightmare for Black People," read a sign at the September 19 AFL-CIO march in Washington, D.C. And in Reagan's America the nightmare is more and more a living reality. Black unemployment soars higher than ever (two and a half times the rate for whites) and joblessness among minority youth is now over 50 percent. Meanwhile they've closed down CETA jobs programs and cut off unemployment benefits after 26 weeks. They even deliberately set out to reduce the nutritional level of school lunches for ghetto kids by one third (declaring ketchup a vegetable!). And at the 1981 NAACP convention Reagan contemptuously invited blacks to "emancipate" themselves from the "bondage" of big government—by joining in wrecking every social program that ever gave a dime to the poor. It's not just the killer cuts. From Greensboro to Detroit, the race-terrorists are riding in the streets in broad daylight. Reagan's war on blacks, like his war on the labor movement, is the domestic face of the Democratic/Republican anti-Soviet war drive.

While Reagan strikes at the heart of black America, black people are leaderless as never before. This was symbolized in last year's elections when NAACP leaders sang "We Shall Overcome" arm in arm with Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter, and SCLC head Ralph Abernathy embraced KKK-endorsed Ronald Reagan. In the face of Reagan's attacks and Klan terror, the black misleaders sought to channel black anger into harmless apolitical expressions of liberal concern, like wearing green ribbons. They didn't even mobilize for the September 19 "Solidarity Day" march, although one hundred thousand black unionists came anyway. (In 1963 the Meanyite union officialdom, reflecting the racism and job-trusting mentality of a narrow labor aristocracy, turned its back on the civil rights march on Washington.) The official black leadership has led nothing since they led the 1960s mass civil rights movement to a dead end. Thanks to this misleadership, a mass militant movement for black freedom was channeled into reformist pressure for token legal equality and prevented from confronting capitalism.

Their whole strategy has been to tie black struggles to the Democratic Party. But the Democrats long ago bowed to the racist mobs and killed busing as they paved the way for the victory of Reagan racism. Seeing the bankruptcy of traditional black leadership, some



Ben Chavis peddles same old liberal reformism.

WV Photos

newcomers want to try their hand. Currently, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) led by Rev. Ben Chavis (of the Wilmington 10) and the National Black United Front (NBUF) of Rev. Herbert Daughtry are seeking to fill the vacuum. But they aren't so new after all: it turns out that NBIPP was started by those "black elected officials" (BEOs) who were supposed to keep the lid on the inner cities after the '60s explosions and are still trudging down the electoral road (with fewer and fewer posts every year). Daughtry and his NBUF are born-again "community control" hucksters now oriented toward street action as their poverty programs are cut out from under them. Both of these "militant" black pressure groups are nothing but shell games: they lead no struggles, no masses, and don't even have a program. What's needed to liberate oppressed blacks is not phony nationalist rhetoric but united class struggle.

NBIPP: Black Unelected Officials

The National Black Independent Political Party held its "First National Conference" in Chicago, August 21-23. Some 600-plus attended, far smaller than the turnout in Philadelphia last November for what was billed as the NBIPP's "Founding Convention." That meeting broke down in squabbling over a charter, so election of officers and ratification of the document had to be put off to this summer. The Chicago conference was hailed by various opportunist leftists, notably the Socialist

Workers Party (SWP), whose *Militant* (4 September) cheered "Black Party Meeting: New Step on Freedom Road," and which is printing the NBIPP charter in installments. The statement does have some radical-sounding verbiage: its preamble opposes "racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation." It excoriates the Democrats and Republicans: "Both major parties have betrayed us because their interests conflict with ours." But when it comes to concretes, their attitude toward the Democrats is quite different.

NBIPP is the offspring of the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA), whose 1972 founding convention in Gary, Indiana drew 8,000 participants, featuring Gary mayor Richard Hatcher, Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs and Newark's Imam Baraka. Its purpose was to elect black Democrats. Ron Daniels, longtime NBPA leader, made this explicit at the Philadelphia NBIPP convention last year:

"We tried to lean towards progressive elements in the Democratic Party, such as [Detroit Congressman] Conyers and [California Congressman] Ron Dellums. We have in the past and will always have close working relations with them."

—"Black Party Hoax: No Answer to Reagan Racism," WV No. 270, 12 December 1980

According to the *Los Angeles Sentinel* (10 September), Daniels, who was elected NBIPP co-chairman at Chicago, "stressed, however, that the NBIPP is not about the business of electing blacks

to public office at this time." If so, it's only for lack of opportunity. This new "independent" party is really a bunch of black *unelected* officials looking for a new game. NBIPP's line was summed up by its banner at the September 19 march, which listed its goals as "Community Organizing, Institutional Development, Electoral Politics."

While various reformist pseudo-socialists are crazy about NBIPP, the feeling's not mutual. The organizers of the faltering black party may have trouble agreeing on a program, but they have unity on one item: "reds" will be tolerated only so long as they don't step out of line. In Philadelphia NBIPP leaders railed against "disrupters" and talked of a loyalty oath to exclude leftists. In Chicago they put up an anti-red clause which forbade holding elected position in NBIPP while belonging to another political party. The motion failed, primarily because it wasn't needed—most NBIPPers wouldn't be caught dead voting for a leftist, as Communist Workers Party (CWP) leader Nelson Johnson found out. He ran for national coordinator and was barraged with jeers, demands for his resignation from the CWP and obscene redbaiting about his supposed "bad history"—a reference to the bloody KKK/Nazi November 1979 massacre of five of his comrades in Greensboro. Johnson finally withdrew. A CWP woman from New York stood a good chance of winning a post until the black nationalist witchhunters asked her, "was she now or had she ever been..."

Of course, none of this stopped the SWP from praising the NBIPP conference as a "historic" event, even while mildly noting that the matter of support to "progressive" Democrats was "left open." A *Militant* (16 October) centerfold, "National Black Party, Emerging Leadership in the Struggle for Liberation," by SWPer Mac Warren, enthuses over NBIPP's "radical politics," declaring today's political climate "more favorable" and NBIPP leaders "politically more advanced" than the Lowndes County Freedom Organization or the Black Panther Party in the 1960s. What nonsense! In the first place, NBIPP founders are longtime black *bourgeois* politicians—pork barrel pols with no pork left to dish out. Both the Lowndes



Some choice for black people! 1980 NAACP conference welcomes Jimmy Carter (left); SCLC's Ralph Abernathy jumps on Reagan bandwagon.



Sloan/Newsweek

County, Alabama group started by SNCC and the Panthers were expressions of radical grassroots discontent going beyond the limits of the liberal civil rights movement. In fact, the SWP's main attack on the Black Panthers was for "ultraleft errors." Nobody could ever accuse NBIPP of *that*. This is an outfit where a candidate for office could cite as a character witness the "honorable" Ron Karenga, whose right-wing cultural nationalist U.S. organization was riddled with FBI provocateurs responsible for the murder of L.A. Black Panthers.

The SWP's burrowing into NBIPP recalls their ill-fated entry into the feminist NOW a few years back. After submerging themselves in that pro-capitalist organization led by Democrat Betty Friedan, they were surprised when all their "loyal building" (and behind-the-scenes maneuvering) only earned them an orgy of redbaiting. The latest fake-lefts to go this route are the centrists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), who are pushing a "Workers Caucus" and calling on NBIPP to break from the Democrats and Republicans. Given its origins, leadership and program, this black nationalist pressure group can't be anything *but* pro-capitalist. And if the SWP didn't make a squeak against the anti-red clause at the Chicago convention, the RWL went them one better. RWLers at a Detroit regional NBIPP meeting August 7-8 solidarized with the anti-communist exclusion of Spartacist League supporters selling *WV*, during which our comrades were threatened with physical violence.

NBUF: Ocean Hill-Brownsville 12 Years Later

If NBIPP is having trouble getting off the ground, black electoral prospects being none too bright under Reagan, NBUF figures its strong card is to take to the streets. But Daughtry isn't doing much better: the NBUF second national convention, held in Brooklyn July 2-5, attracted 400-500 people, about half what they pulled the year before. The *Guardian* (15 July) praised Daughtry's

"electrifying" plenary speech, and the opportunist left usually praises NBUF in the same breath as lauding the NBIPP, in order to cover all their bets. BUF leaders sometimes talk radical, more so than NBIPP: their focus is on a "Unity Against Genocide" campaign, support to "socialist Grenada" and other "Third World" movements. But Daughtry's goal is to be a broker for the Democrats, trading off numbers in the streets for clout in government committees. This was made clear in the NBUF workshop on electoral politics. Even the SWP had to chide them for arguing that "black interest groups or factions should be formed within the Democratic Party" (*Militant*, 24 July).

Daughtry means to be where the action is—and the action can be anything from sitting in to protest the racist closing of Harlem hospitals, to empty speechifying in the smouldering rubble of Miami's Liberty City, to leading reactionary anti-Jewish pogromist marches on synagogues in Brooklyn's Crown Heights. In his home base of New York, Daughtry is looking to put together a bloc of maverick Brooklyn Democrats like state assemblymen Al Vann and Roger Green with establishment black figures like ex-Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton, ex-deputy mayor Basil Paterson and Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel. The latter are frustrated not so much by the cutbacks, which date back to the previous NYC administration when they still had influence, as by the fact that Mayor Ed Koch—a little Reagan on the Hudson—won't even talk to them, much less give them a few crumbs to spread around.

What the BUF is really about is the politics of late-'60s "community control" updated for the '80s. This is the crowd that cut their political teeth helping liberal mayor Lindsay and the Ford Foundation try to bust the 1968 New York teachers strike. Vann, BUF's No. 1 legislative ally today and head of the NY State Assembly's Black and Puerto Rican Caucus, was then a leader of the Afro-American Teachers Organization at Ocean Hill-Brownsville's JHS 271. Vann's cohort was Les Campbell,

now known as Jitu Weusi, chief of operations of BUF. Vann and Campbell organized black teachers to cross the picket lines of a crucial strike against an assault on NYC municipal union power (specifically growing out of the forced transfer of United Federation of Teachers stewards by Rhody McCoy's "community" school board). What should have been understood as a simple union-busting drive was clouded for many blacks by nationalist illusions in com-



Black nationalist demagogue Herbert Daughtry.

munity control and by UFT leader Albert Shanker's criminal indifference to the needs of the oppressed black population (not to mention the scabbing by various ostensibly "socialist" groups).

Just what were the results for black people of the "community control" hoax? Mainly it paid the salaries of a few upwardly mobile petty-bourgeois administrators like McCoy. Al Vann, who still lets loose a mouthful of demagoguery now and then (threatening "it's either ballots or bullets" in the debate over

racist NYC city council gerrymandering), is today head of the Assembly committee on child care. And the Daughtry gang is still up to their old games: this September BUF was rallying in front of the Board of Education demanding that Jitu Weusi be appointed principal of Boys and Girls High. But while the capitalists got what they wanted out of the 1968 confrontation between blacks and labor, for ghetto children in Ocean Hill, Brownsville, Bushwick, East New York, etc., the schools and everything else are *worse* than they were a dozen years ago.

The '68 New York teachers strike brought to a head racial antagonisms which alienated sections of the black population from the labor movement for years. But while the anti-union nationalist demagogues claimed to speak for the "black community," there have always been tens of thousands of black workers who are militant unionists, who recognize in the unions their only defense against capitalist exploitation. One of the striking aspects of the September 19 AFL-CIO march on Washington, perhaps the largest and most integrated demonstration in U.S. history, is that it gave these black workers a chance to show their deep-felt hatred for their racist rulers. But the black misleaders, new and old, and the pro-capitalist labor fakers only seek to divert this anger into the dead ends of liberalism, pseudo-nationalism and reformism.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

A recent poll reported that blacks are "pessimistic" and "gloomy" about their future in Reagan's America. Big surprise! But what way out are they offered? The people who in '68 were fanning the anti-union flames for Lindsay and the Ford Foundation now bring you NBUF. The gang who wanted to run Newark for Prudential Insurance and Gary for U.S. Steel today offer NBIPP. (And all that the perennial propagandist for "black capitalism," Jesse Jackson, could suggest was that blacks should "go down like a bear and

continued on page 10

This year's figures don't tell the story of the 1981 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. We went over the top with 5114 points nationally, more than 600 more than last year, but for some locals meeting the high quotas was hard. Sub drives of course are always hard work—thousands of hours, lots of miles. But this year was harder, reflecting unprecedented harassment of our canvassers on campus by petty administration bureaucrats as well as some shift in the mood on campus, including avowed Reaganism among a certain number of students. Such a shift was most marked at "backwater" campuses where we had done quite well in previous years. In California, the University of California system was the most fruitful for us, particularly UC Santa Cruz (156 points) as well as Davis (94), San Diego (81) and Berkeley (74). Sonoma State College produced 97 points and Stanford 89. Elsewhere too, the big state schools and some elite private colleges were the best, led by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (199 points), Rutgers (124), Yale (95) and Michigan State (89).

The sub drive work on campus is important to us as it introduces the Spartacus Youth League to students at the beginning of the semester. But this year, especially given the openness to socialist politics among working people worried about Reagan, we sold a lot of subs through door-to-door sales in working-class and petty-bourgeois communities, lit tables outside supermarkets and so forth. Detroit and Los Angeles actually sold more than half their points off campus this year. Detroit sold 47 points at Ford's River Rouge auto plant, while LA sold 48 at AFL-CIO "Solidarity Day." Chicago sold 105 points door-to-door and 41 from lit tables on the streets. The SF-area locals sold 106 points to trade unionists and

103 on the streets.

We also used the drive to blitz cities where the Spartacist League does not now have an organized presence—e.g., Philadelphia (103 points), Pittsburgh (33) and Washington, D.C. (48). More trail-blazing trips are planned for later this year.

Many of the "at-large" points were subs to SL/U.S. publications sold by the comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada, now in the middle of its *Spartacist/Canada* sub drive.

This year's individual winner was New York's Debbie H. with 78 points. Runner-up was Richie B. (SF) with 77. Honorable mention to Steve R. (Chicago), Jerry A. (NYC), Jeff K. (Berkeley/Oakland), Tom D. (Boston), Gayle (NYC), Janis (NYC) and Mark K. (Chicago) with more than 60 points apiece. Not surprisingly, the comrades involved in the production of *WV* were among the most active in the New York sub drive, despite the heavy demands of periodical production and the new SL pamphlet on Poland.

We welcome our new readers.

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Spartacist Pamphlet Just Out!

From the Introduction to the English Edition

As Lech Walesa struts before the Solidarność conference displaying his Madonna lapel pin and boasting how he could easily have secured 90 percent of the vote, the U.S. imperialists see their revanchist appetites for capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe coming closer and closer to fruition. And the "crisis of proletarian leadership" described by Trotsky nearly a half-century ago is starkly illuminated in the response of those in Poland and abroad who claim the right to lead the working class.

Stalinism has squandered the socialist and internationalist historic legacy of the Polish workers movement, demoralizing the working class in the face of resurgent Pilsudskite reaction. The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, having already mortgaged Poland to the German bankers in the futile hope of buying off its own working class, now seems paralyzed by Solidarność's bid to sell the country to the imperialists outright. There has emerged in Poland no socialist opposition worthy of the name. And internationally the fake-lefts see in this mortal danger to socialized property in Poland a chance to earn their stars and stripes as a left cover for the social democrats and the pro-capitalist "labor statesmen" who long ago enlisted as junior partners in imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. In this the virulently anti-Communist chieftains of the American AFL-CIO show themselves not so different from the ruling Stalinist bureaucrats from Moscow to Peking, sellout heads of workers institutions which they are incapable of effectively defending against the class enemy.

Certainly it is not our job to apologize for the Stalinist rulers who have disorganized the Polish economy, capitulated to the church and the smallholding peasantry, lorded it over the working class with bureaucratic privileges which mimic the invidious inequities of capitalist society, alienated the intelligentsia and youth, fostered nationalism and every kind of backward ideology, not least anti-Semitism, and turned "Communism" into a curse word. There is a blood line—the blood of revolutionaries from Indochina to Spain—which separates us Trotskyists from Stalin-

ism, that "great organizer of defeats." But it is very much our job to seek to rally the working class in Poland and internationally behind the defense of historically progressive socialized property in Poland, all the more so since the discredited Stalinists manifestly cannot. The call for "communist unity against imperialism through political revolution," first raised by the Spartacist tendency at the time of the Sino-Soviet split, acquires even greater urgency as the Polish crisis underlines the need for revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian workers to defeat U.S. imperialism's bloody designs for bringing Poland into the "free world"

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Wall Street Journal Loves Poland's Company Union	4
Time Runs Out in Poland Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution! ...	7
Walesa Brings "Mr. AFL-CIA" to Poland Irving Brown: Cold War Criminal ..	13
Solidarity Leaders Against Planned Economy "Market Socialism" Is Anti-Socialist	15
U.S. Imperialists Provoke Soviet Union Whose Poland?	18

as a club against the USSR, military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states.

This pamphlet documents the Spartacist analysis of the unfolding events in Poland. Beginning in [August 1980], we recognized in the Polish upheavals both an opening for revolutionary agitation and an awesome potential for reactionary mobilization based on the Catholic church, the peasant "free market," a "dissident" movement which looks to the capitalist West to "democratize" Eastern Europe. As Solidarność consolidated around an anti-socialist program culminating in the adoption of the slogan of "free trade unions," one of

Kirkland, Fraser on Cold War Assignment AFL-CIO Tops— Hands Off Poland!	22
Fight Clerical Reaction! For Proletarian Political Revolution! Polish Workers Move	24

Polish Social Democrats Arm in Arm with Clerical Reaction All the Pope's Dissidents	33
Appendix "Pure Democracy" or Political Revolution in Eastern Europe ..	35

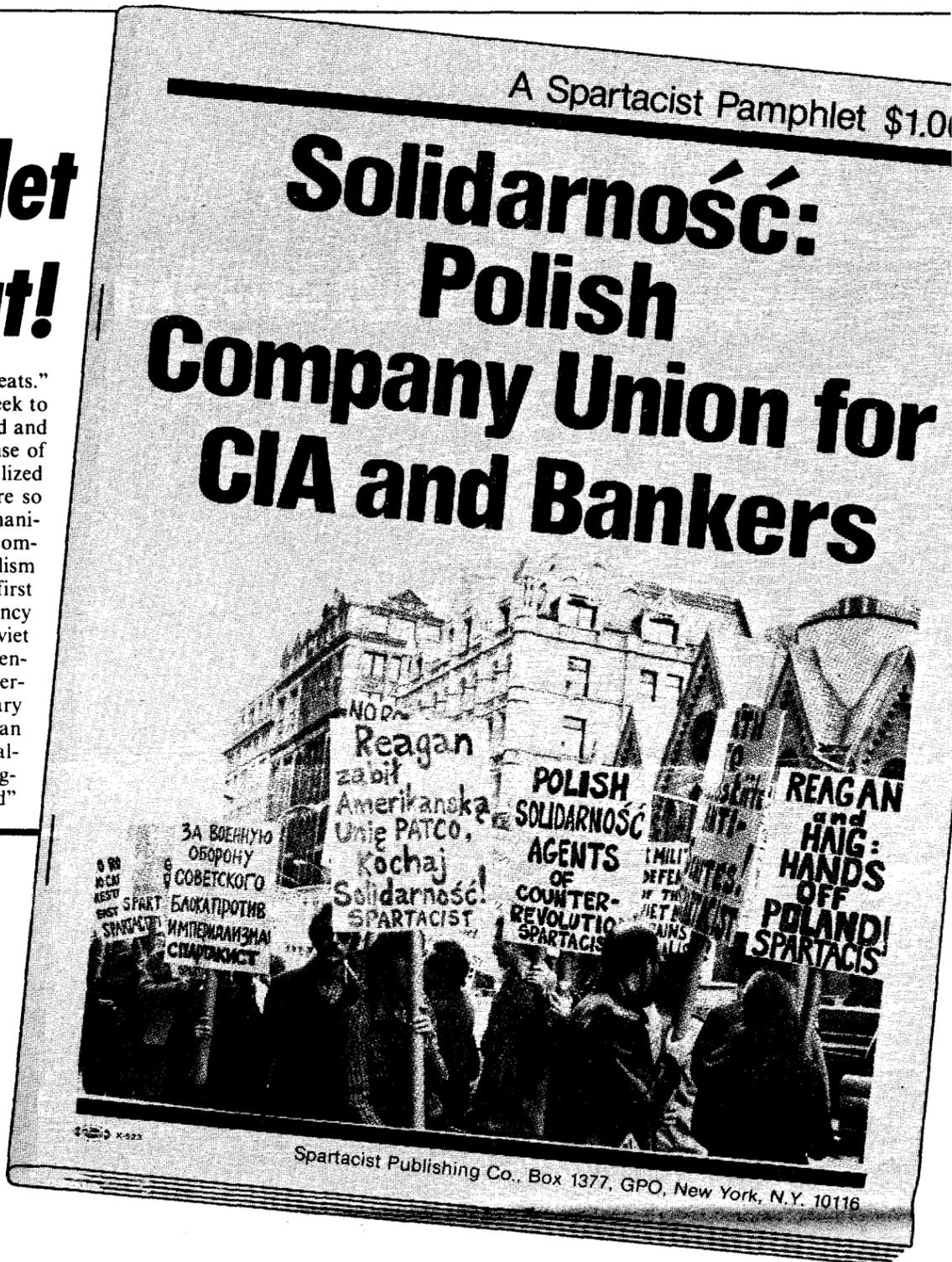
the war cries of Cold War anti-Communism, we counterposed the call for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on a program of defending socialized property. The demands raised in the articles in this pamphlet—for the strict separation of church and state, for the collectivization of agriculture, for the cancellation of Poland's debt to the imperialist bankers, for the military defense of the USSR against imperialism—constitute the programmatic core of the international vanguard party necessary to the revolutionary defense of the working masses of Poland against imperialism and capitalist restoration through political revolution in the deformed workers states and proletarian revolution throughout the capitalist world.

We include as an appendix to this pamphlet extracts from *The Hungarian Revolution*, published by a forerunner of our tendency in 1959. The author, Shane Mage, was one of several left-Shachtmanite youth who became Trotskyists and fused with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1958. "The YSL Right Wing and the 'Crisis of World Stalinism'," included in the 1959 pamphlet, was originally a factional document within the Young Socialist League (YSL), youth group of the tendency headed by Max Shachtman which had split in 1940

from the then-revolutionary SWP to reject the fundamental Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The Shachtmanite majority's advocacy of "general democratic aims" in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution was an important step toward their liquidation into official American social democracy. It was the Shachtmanites' course toward unification with Norman Thomas' "Cold War socialist" party (which they soon came to dominate) which pushed the YSL left wing of Mage, James Robertson, the wretched Wohlforth and others toward Trotskyism and the SWP.

These young Trotskyists, who were an important section of the founding cadres of the SWP youth group, found themselves again in a rapidly rightward-moving party. Mage was among the comrades who emerged as the SWP's left opposition, were expelled in 1964 and formed the Spartacist League. The Spartacist tendency embodies the Trotskyist program abandoned by the SWP, now a wretchedly reformist formation. Mage himself left revolutionary politics in the 1960s.

Analyzing the potential social bases for counterrevolution in Eastern Europe, Mage observes in "The YSL Right Wing..." that counterrevolutionary parties need not call for nor immediately effect the denationaliza-



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SL protests

Trotskyists Confront Walesa in Paris

Solidarność Walks Out on the "Internationale"

PARIS, October 20—Polish Solidarność leader Lech Walesa came to Paris last week with something for everyone. For Christians he had a madonna lapel pin and praise for the Virgin Mary. For trade unionists, talk of "self-management" of the factories. For the Stalinists, empty assurances that Warsaw will not leave the Warsaw Pact. And most important, for the bourgeoisie a promise of a free hand in the Polish economy. Already upon his arrival at Charles de Gaulle airport, Walesa declared that Solidarność would act as a "guarantor" of "foreign credit"—that is, for capitalist encroachment and austerity measures demanded by the imperialist bankers. The Mitterrand government, meanwhile, "Socialist" Cold Warriors *par excellence*, is angling to become a privileged intermediary for Solidarność. Foreign minister Cheysson is just back from consultations in Warsaw and Walesa is scheduled to meet here with Prime Minister Mauroy.

On October 14, over 200 journalists crowded into the press office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to ask Walesa fawning questions and build his image as a globetrotting superstar. Outside, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency), was present to protest Polish Solidarity's role as a company union for the CIA and the bankers. But within seconds, even before all our signs were out, French police swooped down to disperse the demonstration. Inside, a reporter for *Le Bolchévique*, newspaper of the LTF, asked what Walesa thought of the attempted demonstration by socialists who say that Solidarność is threatening Poland with a capitalist counter-revolution. Walesa's response was, "I have my opinion, an opinion of love, of course."

Asked again by our reporter about reports in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (5 October) that Soviet leaders had proposed in secret talks with the Polish church and Solidarność that the Kremlin could be satisfied with a

political status for Poland "very close to that of Finland" in return for "internal stability and upholding Poland's alliances," Walesa denied knowledge of such proposals. The third question put by the journalist from *Le Bolchévique* concerned the call by the Solidarność congress for Poland to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which imposes draconian austerity conditions, as in Chile. Walesa replied vaguely that Solidarność "accepts everything that could be useful." Another member of the Solidarność delegation was more explicit: "What seems most important to us is control by an international organism. In any case, we are aware that to escape from the crisis, given the current situation in Poland, will mean major sacrifices." Not by the imperialist banks, though.

The Parisian daily press was rather perturbed at the sharp questioning of Walesa by the LTF. *Le Monde* commented the next day that "some of our colleagues seemed determined to make them [Solidarność] admit a secret penchant for capitalism" (bringing in the IMF is a secret?!). But the "far-left" *Libération* was the most acerbic:

"Meanwhile, outside a little squad of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (international Spartacist tendency) demonstrated against 'Solidarity,' terming it 'an instrument of imperialism' and, without cracking a smile, denouncing its 'Cold War program' of 'free elections' and 'free unions' before calling just as seriously for 'Trotskyist parties' to come to power. May Walesa's god save us from them."

Don't count on it.

Perhaps most revealing was the Solidarność leader's response to a question about democracy. Walesa proclaimed repeatedly that "We are 36 years late in establishing a real democracy." Presumably, then, he would have preferred to have Poland liberated in 1945 not by the Red Army, but by Eisenhower, so that Solidarność could enjoy the "free trade union" status which Reagan accords the American air controllers! Or does Walesa perhaps think that the Polish working class was

better off under Nazi occupation or the Pilsudski dictatorship than today? Walesa's hatred for the Soviet Union, and his disdain for the 600,000 Red Army soldiers who died freeing Poland from the murderous Nazi occupation, knows no bounds.

While in France, Lech Walesa has also been visiting the various trade-union federations. For the social-democratic CFDT, "self-management" fans from way back, the Solidarność leader is a hero. However, an incident at a CFDT rally for Walesa caused them considerable embarrassment. According to *Libération*, which the day before had appealed to Walesa's god, at the end of the meeting when the audience began singing the "Internationale," the Polish union delegation objected. A CFDT official hurried over to explain that this was traditional, but to no avail. So in the middle of the international workers anthem, the Solidarność invitees stalked off the platform to general astonishment!

Walesa's visit put the CGT federation, led by the Communist Party (PCF), in a quandary. They well know of the sinister activities of one Irving Brown, for instance, the "AFL-CIO European representative" invited to the Solidarność congress, who after World War II used CIA money to split the then-unitary French labor movement. But now the PCF is part of Mitterrand's popular-front cabinet and the CGT has to toe the line. It was interesting, therefore, to observe their reaction to an LTF leaflet entitled "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" distributed at a CGT reception for Walesa. A Stalinist goon squad was given instructions to drive away the Trotskyists, "gently, don't rough them up." When the goon squad approached the LTF comrades, they got involved in a political discussion, which ended with the leader saying, "Well, I might even agree with you about Poland, but I've got my orders." And so the leafleters were removed, but not before each of the goons took one of our leaflets. ■

W. Germany...

(continued from page 3)

policy of the Soviet bureaucracy by supporting NATO's rearmament drive against the Soviet Union, but only by unconditionally and effectively supporting the struggle of the Polish workers today." Thus the GIM looks to the DGB union federation and SPD, which for years have served as conduits for CIA activities in East Europe, to aid the Solidarność of Lech Walesa, who looks to the pope and the IMF to help establish "free trade unions" in Poland.

In Germany the national question plays an important part in the growing pacifist sentiment. Left Social Democrats, who look to East Germany as a "natural constituency," have indicated interest in reviving Stalin's old proposal for a reunified, bloc-free (non-aligned) no-nuke Germany. That such pipe dreams have influence even in the DDR was shown by a recent open letter to Brezhnev signed by physicist Robert Havemann and 26 other East German dissidents along with some 150 prominent West Germans (mainly SPDers), calling for withdrawal of Russian and American troops from both German states. But any "neutralist" road for

Germany is simply a cover for a call to bourgeois counterrevolution in the DDR. The TLD calls instead for *revolutionary reunification* of Germany, through social revolution against capitalism in the West and workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East.

The border between the degenerated/deformed workers states and imperialism which runs through Germany is once again becoming a trip-wire for World War III. With more nuclear warheads per square kilometer stored on its territory than anywhere else in the world, with vivid memories of the

destruction of the last world war and the certainty that it would be the main "theater" of a Wagnerian nuclear Götterdämmerung, it is no wonder there is a burgeoning "peace" movement in Germany. The Marxists are the only ones with a genuine program to bring about a world without war—not through pacifist illusions in disarmament, but through class struggle against the imperialists. The TLD fights today for the peace program of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—"The Main Enemy Is At Home"—and for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist League Forums

Time Runs Out in Poland Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

Speaker: George Foster, SL Central Committee

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Berkeley

tion of statified industry. Rather, they would subordinate the nationalized industry to the interests of the domestic petty bourgeoisie and international capital. In this Mage was not expressing some idiosyncratic view but was following Trotsky who wrote in 1937: "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy" ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?")

At the same time, Mage insisted that counterrevolution was not what was occurring in Hungary in October-November 1956. The effective organs of power were workers councils which expressed a confused *socialist* consciousness, albeit with syndicalist deviations and "neutralist" illusions, while the clerical-reactionary forces around Cardinal Mindszenty were relatively weak and counterposed. These were crucial considerations for revolutionists in mandating an orientation toward the 1956 Hungarian events as moving in the direction of proletarian political revolution. Mage's polemic thus sharply highlights the Spartacist tendency's line in the present Polish crisis, where the constellation of counterrevolutionary forces which were in Hungary a distinctly subordinate element today wield the upper hand behind the Solidarność "union." That the analytical framework and programmatic criteria advanced by Mage for Hungary 1956 retain their validity in necessitating very different conclusions for Poland today illustrates the power of Trotskyism as the contemporary Leninist guide to revolutionary action.

Mage's writings on Hungary are not without weaknesses. As a subjective revolutionist in transition from Shachtmanism, he at this point retained a softness toward undifferentiated "anti-Stalinism" and the "neutralism" espoused by some of the Hungarian dissidents. Moreover in ruling out support to a Russian intervention no matter what, Mage impermissibly elevated the bourgeois-democratic right of national self-determination above the class question of defense of proletarian state power against capitalist-imperialism.

We include in the appendix a shorter excerpt from "Truth and Hungary," Mage's reply to American Stalinist Herbert Aptheker, also taken from the 1959 pamphlet.

8 October 1981



WV Photo

Solidarność's NYC office, September 24.

Sadat...

(continued from page 1)

Qaddafi's Libya, deemed to be the Near Eastern "surrogate" for the Soviet Union. Recall all the flag-waving militarism two months ago when U.S. Navy fighters shot down two of Qaddafi's Soviet-made planes over Libyan-claimed air space: it was as if the U.S. had just won a major battle in World War III.

Why Sadat Won the Nobel "Peace" Prize

Throughout the Arab world Sadat's assassination was greeted with public jubilation. In Beirut, Palestinians and Lebanese leftists fired their weapons in the air to celebrate his death. "We shake the hand that fired the bullets," proclaimed an aide to PLO head Yasir Arafat. The Palestinians' only regret is that they couldn't go to Egypt to dance on Sadat's grave. By contrast the Western imperialist media are portraying Sadat's assassination as "the tragedy of a peacemaker"—shades of Mahatma Gandhi and the Rev. Martin Luther King. The Zionists lament that the man they considered the only "good Arab" is now a dead Arab. As Alexander Cockburn wrote in his penetrating "Death on the Nile" piece in the *Village Voice* (14-20 October), it would have been more appropriate for Sadat to be buried in Arlington Cemetery. And there is good reason why this consummate imperialist lackey was hated by his own people.

In 1952, then acting as "Nasser's poodle," Sadat gave a newspaper interview in which he praised Adolf Hitler as a great patriot who worked for the good of his people! And after succeeding the *rais* (boss) he did a pretty good job of emulating his early idol: jailing leftists, shooting protesting workers; squeezing Egypt's impoverished masses as collateral for IMF loans. In 1977 the workers and poor in Egypt's cities rose up in violent protests against food price increases demanded by the international bankers and imposed by Sadat. "Hero of the crossing," they shouted, referring to Sadat's 1973 foray against the Israelis across the Suez Canal, "where is our breakfast?"

Long before Khomeini came to power in Iran, Sadat tried to put the Koran into the constitution and courts and "Islamify" the universities. He wanted to use the Muslim Brotherhood to intimidate the left. He inflamed sectarian violence between Muslims and Coptic Christians, and recently used that violence as an excuse to round up more than 1,500 opponents. After throwing out 20,000 Soviet military advisers in 1972 in order to fully embrace U.S. imperialism, he rolled out the red carpet for the most hated reactionaries around the globe—from Richard Nixon to the shah of Iran. Although it was apparently Islamic fundamentalists who finally did him in, almost everyone in the Near East would

have had a good reason to pull the trigger.

In line with their attempt to revive the short-lived "American century" of the 1950s, Reagan/Haig are trying to put together in the Near East a new version of CENTO, the earlier anti-Soviet alliance which was swept away by the 1958 Iraqi revolution. Sadat's Egypt was to be the pivotal element in the new anti-Soviet "strategic consensus." Sadat did much more than sign a separate peace treaty with Israel in 1979—that merely laid the basis for military cooperation by the U.S. with both Egypt and Israel. Sadat also provided the Pentagon with a much-needed staging base for its Rapid Deployment Force at Ras Banas on the Red Sea. This, together with overflight rights for U.S. war planes, provided the U.S. with invaluable military maneuverability to take over the Persian Gulf region and the strategic oil fields of Saudi Arabia. And Sadat funneled weapons for the Americans to Muslim fanatics fighting the Soviet army and left nationalists in Afghanistan.

But U.S. imperialist clients usually



suffer, like Sadat, the enmity of their own people. What now disturbs Pentagon planners is that nobody in Egypt appears strong enough to risk being America's friend. As William Hyland, a top National Security Council official under Nixon and Ford, complained to *Business Week* (19 October): "I'm inclined to be gloomy. I have this feeling that Sadat held Egypt together. Without him, I don't see where the pressure will come from [in Egypt] to stay on the course he set."

From Gunboats to AWACS

So if the pressure can't come from within, it will come from without. Through the "human rights" crusade targeted against the Soviet Union Jimmy Carter sought to overcome the so-called "Vietnam syndrome" against direct U.S. military intervention. Reagan is carrying forward this campaign—every tinpot dictator, the more unpopular and repressive the better, is assured American ships, planes and troops if only he joins the anti-Soviet war drive. In January 1980 Carter asserted that the U.S. would use "any means necessary, including military force" to maintain control over the Persian Gulf region. Reagan has added that he will not permit the feudal monarchy of Saudi Arabia "to be another Iran." The regime of King Khalid will be backed by the full might of the Pentagon against any internal or external threat. U.S. sales of military hardware to the Bedouin sheiks who run Arabia have totaled \$34 billion since 1973 and Reagan is now pushing another \$8.5 billion arms deal, including the controversial AWACS planes.

The U.S. imperialists once again openly declare that their military forces will go anywhere and bomb anyone to preserve and expand their empire. Thus, it is certainly fitting that Vietnam war criminal Richard Nixon has emerged from the shadows of ignominy to become one of Reagan's top emissaries in the Near East, shuttling from Sadat's funeral to meetings with the Saudi princes and the king of Jordan. And a

bipartisan collection of ghosts from the Vietnam War era comes forward to endorse the sale of AWACS to the House of Saud—Melvin Laird, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Walt Rostow, Henry Kissinger, General Lyman Lemnitzer *et al.* It's rally-round-the-flag time for the "bomb'em back to the stone age" approach to world politics.

Whether or not the Airborne Warning and Control Systems planes are really high-powered military hardware—they didn't report the Israelis' sneak attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor—Reagan/Haig have turned the sale into a symbol of their determination to back to the hilt all their anti-Soviet allies. Yet the ruling-class dispute over AWACS exposes the weaknesses of the U.S. imperialist game plan in the Near East. Everyone knows that the House of Saud has as deep a social base as the late shah of Iran—namely, none. Remember in 1979 a couple dozen Islamic fundamentalists seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca, no less, and it took the Saudi army (aided by a French commando squad) over a week to suppress this rag-

tag force! Significant sections of the American ruling class fear that the sophisticated weaponry supplied to Washington's friends in the Near East today will tomorrow fall into the hands of Khomeini's counterparts or, even worse, left nationalists with ties to the Soviet Union. So even Cold War liberal senators like John Glenn have opposed the sale until they get assurances of American control over the planes.

But Haig has been unable to come up with any concrete promises for fear of injuring Saudi pride. Basically imperialism remains stuck with its fragile allies of seedy landlords, second-generation kingdoms, Bedouin sheiks, strutting generals, Muslim mullahs, rabbinical sects and all the other riffraff which prop up the decadent imperialist world order. Complicating this problem is the fact that the various reactionary Near East regimes hate each other. In particular, Israel is supposed to be another important leg of U.S. imperialism's "strategic consensus" in the region. Following Begin's visit to the U.S. in September, Israeli territory is being projected as a "forward facility" for the American Rapid Deployment Force. But, needless to say, U.S. arming of Saudi Arabia does not sit well with Zionist terrorist Begin, who routinely bombs defenseless Palestinians in Lebanon and recently enraged the entire Arab world by bombing an Iraqi nuclear reactor in Baghdad.

U.S. imperialists would like to dismiss the decades-long bloody Arab/Israeli conflict as a petty neighborhood quarrel that can be patched up. But for the Zionists, arms to Saudi Arabia is no joking matter. The American Israel lobby has been working overtime to block the AWACS sale and its clout is very considerable indeed. An unleashed Nixon complained that "if it were not for the intense opposition" of Begin and "parts of the American Jewish community, the sale would go through." Naturally, the Zionist cry babies cried "anti-Semitism." (In Nixon's case they have a point: "Aren't the Chicago Seven

all Jews?") he asked about prominent antiwar radicals in 1971.) Nixon's present attack on the Israel lobby, however, expresses far more than personal anti-Semitic prejudices. Significant sections of the American ruling class are prepared to fuel the anti-Semitism of the Moral Majority to push through the AWACS sales and otherwise strengthen their military ties to various Arab regimes.

Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

It is indeed no easy task to forge an alliance uniting a fanatical Zionist religious government, a tribalist Islamic monarchy, a now shaky pro-Western military dictatorship and the Cold War zealots who run Washington. And this is not the 1950s when the United States was undisputed master of the capitalist world with practically unlimited resources at its disposal. U.S. capitalism's economic decline was signaled by the 1971 abandonment of the gold convertibility of the dollar, yet today Reagan is making financial and military commitments which would have staggered John Foster Dulles. In the Near East alone in addition to the billions going to Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia, Reagan is sending millions more to the petty despots of the Sudan and North Yemen.

The Near East today resembles the Balkans before World War I with its complex and ever-changing tangle of nationalist conflicts abetted by the imperialist powers. And in its own way the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union helps preserve the region as a hot bed of reactionary nationalisms—for example, by its criminal support to the murderous Khomeiniite fanatics in Iran. Moscow's "progressive anti-imperialist" clients, such as Ba'athist Syria and the madman Qaddafi, are just as fragile and just as unpopular as Washington's "moderate" clients. Remember it wasn't that long ago that Anwar Sadat himself was the Kremlin's most important ally in the Near East. The weapons Brezhnev & Co. gave to him then are now being used to kill Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

But the Stalinists never learn. And Moscow is actually appealing to Sadat's hand-picked successor, Mubarak, to return to the fold. Only implacable class struggle against *all* the capitalist regimes in the region, "progressive" as well as openly reactionary, can liberate the toiling masses. Only a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party, rooted in the working classes of the region, can cut through the nationalist antagonisms to fight for a socialist federation of the Near East.

The conflicts in the Near East today, like those in the Balkans in 1914, can easily trigger a world war. This time, however, it would not be a war between rival imperialist powers, but between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. As the drum roll for World War III grows palpably louder, the workers and oppressed of the world must take a side—the defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state against capitalist-imperialism. World War III can be prevented only by a proletarian revolution which sweeps away the imperialist system, breaks the Soviet Union out of its decades-long isolation and establishes the basis for a worldwide socialist order. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mullahs...

(continued from page 1)

gives his blessing to the execution of girls as young as nine. "Islam is revived through this bloodshed," says the fanatic. The Mujahedeen report that 12,000 of their followers have been jailed since June, when the IRP brushed aside Bani-Sadr. Significantly, the mullahs' victims are tortured and mutilated by the very same SAVAK sadists who butchered for the shah (80 percent of SAVAKis have reportedly been "rehabilitated"). If the Bastille was torn down in the French bourgeois revolution, Teheran's looming Evin Prison—whose dungeons once swallowed up the shah's political prisoners—has come to symbolize the ayatollahs' "Islamic revolution."

So now many of those who had hailed Khomeini as some kind of "progressive" cry "Betrayal!" It must not be forgotten that the Islamic Mujahedeen, along with petty-bourgeois leftists like the Fedayeen, helped put Khomeini in power. They tailed the clerics as Kurdish villages were bombed to rubble, "immodest" women stoned to death, striking workers terrorized at gunpoint, leftists reviled, beaten and killed. It was the international Spartacist tendency that warned, even before Khomeini came to power, that the "Islamic revolution" promised by the mullahs would be just as reactionary as the hated police state of the U.S.-backed shah. But we were alone in raising what for Marxists should have been an obvious slogan: "Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" The Mujahedeen and anti-Khomeini left in Iran are now paying a terrible price for bloody repression that in part is of their own making.

But the mullahs are getting badly mauled too. A wave of spectacular assassinations has decimated the upper levels of the IRP. On September 29 five military top brass were killed in an airplane crash. And now the Pasdaran are meeting a hail of lead from the Mujahedeen. For example, on September 27, 150 Mujahedeen assembled near Teheran University and for the next seven hours battled Pasdaran in street-to-street fighting with submachine guns and rocket-propelled grenades. The mullah regime's fate hasn't yet been decided.

Obviously, the key factor is the military. Where the armed forces would fall if the regime went under isn't clear yet. Among the officer corps are many unreconstructed monarchists. Whoever was responsible for the bombings of the IRP headquarters and the prime minister's office was able to pull off an inside job. Bani-Sadr, who took the position of commander in chief to prosecute the war with Iraq, reactionary and chauvinist on both sides, claims to have the allegiance of the military. The Mujahedeen, meanwhile, are reported to have considerable support among the younger officers.

"Ties vs. Turbans"

Bani-Sadr and Rajavi are busy giving interviews predicting Khomeini's downfall in a month and presenting themselves as the sole alternative. Rajavi, as head of the National Council of Resistance, is taking pains to disabuse the media of the notion that the Mujahedeen are leftists in any sense. "We are not Marxists, we are true Muslims." In fact the Mujahedeen are not part of the left. They are a petty-bourgeois populist movement whose founding cadres were drawn from Islamic theological seminaries. Their politics are based on the Koran, they revered the late Ayatollah Taleghani. The Mujahedeen already had their reckoning with would-be "Marxists" in the mid-'70s when they drove out the tendency that went on to form the eclectic-Stalinist Peykar (Struggle) group.

Bani-Sadr and the Mujahedeen speak

of a "derailed revolution." While the actual rule of the ayatollahs was certainly not anticipated by the Mujahedeen, their own vision of "Islamic revolution" has nothing in common with socialism and the liberation of the toiling masses. They have been variously (and inaccurately) described as "Islamic Marxists," "liberals" and "leftists." In reality, the Mujahedeen are the consummate political expression of a stratum of Iran's educated petty bourgeoisie and might be characterized as modernizing nationalists, but certainly not radical democrats like Sun Yat-sen or even Atatürk. Their ideology is imbued with religious obscurantism as strong as Khomeini's.

Practically every educated Iranian youth was hostile to the shah's rule, not

As Khomeini fanatics execute a hundred leftists a day, idiot Stalinist CWP says things couldn't be better.

because the workers and peasants were exploited, but because he turned the upper echelons of society—the directors of the nationalized oil company, the diplomatic corps, officer corps, etc.—into his personal clique, whose members rose and fell at the Pahlavis' whim. In most countries of the region petty-bourgeois opposition to a nouveau riche monarchy like the shah's would have found expression in a nationalist-republican military coup, such as that which overthrew Egypt's King Farouk in 1952 and Iraq's Hashemite monarchy in 1958. But through vicious police surveillance and frequent purges the shah managed to prevent successful conspiracy in the military. The would-be Nassers and Kassemis in the shah's army were lucky to escape the SAVAK's torture chambers. Thus, the petty-bourgeois opposition to the shah's rule—both modernist and traditionalist—had to go outside the governmental apparatus and mobilize the masses. Here the Shi'ite clergy achieved hegemony, using the established organizational structure of the mosque for mobilizing the backward masses of town and country.

Once the shah fell, the conflict of interest between the modernist and traditionalist sectors of the petty bourgeoisie was bound to come to a head. There was no place in Khomeini's backward-looking theocracy for those with graduate degrees in oil technology, accounting and European languages. In their own way, Western bourgeois journalists recognized the social roots of the conflict between Bani-Sadr's supporters and the fanatical fundamentalists of the IRP when they dubbed it "the ties vs. turbans." In mobilizing their forces behind Bani-Sadr the Mujahedeen are not opportunistically betraying their principles. They see in Bani-Sadr the means of achieving an Iran open to men of their talents—that is, a strong, modernizing, capitalist state, the kind the shah tried, but failed, to build.

So naturally Rajavi stresses that "we must accept—we have accepted—a national bourgeoisie" and that their regime would be "independent" (*International Herald Tribune*, 18 September). This appeal to Western imperialism, particularly the U.S., has not been lost on perceptive bourgeois policy makers, such as former Undersecretary of State George Ball. In an article in the *Washington Post* (19 August) Ball chides the "sloppy" press description of the Mujahedeen as leftists, pointing out that their intention is to "replace the current backward Islamic regime with a modernized Shi'ite Islam." The military,

he adds, "might at almost any time turn against their Islamic masters either to support the Mujahedin or to launch a right-wing coup." Considering the former more likely, Ball argues that "It would be a diplomatic mistake to assume that Moscow could effectively manipulate the group..."

Fedayeen for Bani-Sadr

Of those Iranian pseudo-leftists who supported Khomeini in the beginning, the Fedayeen have been the most dramatically shaken by the course of the "Islamic revolution." The Fedayeen Majority today lines up with the murderous mullahs against the Mujahedeen, while the Fedayeen Minority chants "Death to the Islamic Republic." As for Bani-Sadr, the Minority de-



nounces him as "no better than the Islamic Republican Party" (*Kar* No. 63).

But despite its present verbal denunciations, when it comes to action the Fedayeen Minority supports Bani-Sadr. They took part in the mass rallies called by the Mujahedeen in Teheran last June, whose main slogan was "Muslims arise, Bani-Sadr we support you." In Europe and the U.S., Minority supporters have co-sponsored numerous anti-Khomeini protests together with the Mujahedeen and against other demos which also opposed Bani-Sadr. It wouldn't be surprising for the Minority leadership, having abandoned "the ayatollah that failed," to openly embrace his disciple Bani-Sadr.

Meanwhile, various American left groups have gone off the deep end over Iran. Jerry Tung's eclectic Maoist cult, the Communist Workers Party (CWP), just published a back-page article with the raving banner headline, "Prospects Excellent for Iran's Left" (*Workers Viewpoint*, 23-29 September). And this at a time when Khomeini's executioners are killing 50 to 100 Mujahedeen, Fedayeen Minority and Peykar supporters a day, surpassing even the Salvadoran junta's death squads in ferocity! Moreover, right up in the second paragraph of this crazed article, the CWP feels constrained to polemicize with the SL:

"The Spartacist League, a Trotskyite sect, 'predicted' the Iranian government backlash. The SL's conclusion, that it was inevitable, is simple enough: this logic basically means the Iranian people should never have stood up to challenge the Shah and U.S. imperialism."

Tung, of course, knows well that in opposing both the butcher shah and the clerical reactionary Khomeini we have repeatedly called for *workers revolution* in Iran. But according to the CWP's warped Stalinist "logic," if you don't tail the mullahs there's nothing to be done. Only for head-in-the-sand cynics to whom communism equals betrayal.

But if the Stalinists find themselves forced to polemicize against Trotskyism in order to defend their treacherous support to Khomeini and Bani-Sadr, they certainly won't find it in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP's *Militant* (11 September) recently ran an editorial denouncing "Terrorism Against Iranian People." But they're not referring to the thousands being mowed down by the mullahs' thugs and executioners; instead they are defending the bloodthirsty clerical killers who met a richly deserved fate, at whoever's hands! While their British comrades of the IMG took a rather different line, declaring that "White Terror Sweeps Iran" (*Socialist Challenge*, 20 August), the SWP-allied Iranian HKE essentially takes the same line as Khomeini, calling the Mujahedeen's acts "indistinguishable" from terrorist attacks by monarchists and "other counterrevolutionary forces tied to imperialism." Though the Mujahedeen could be the shock troops for a military coup, in the present context it is necessary to defend the Mujahedeen against Khomeini's terror.

The common denominator uniting the fake-lefts who still tail Khomeini (Tudeh, Fedayeen Majority, HKE/HVK) and those which now denounce the mullahs (Fedayeen Minority, Peykar) is their slavish adherence to the Menshevik/Stalinist "two-stage" dogma. These groups look to the colonial bourgeoisie as the liberator from imperialism, to which it owes its existence as a class. Of those who have given up on the clerical-reactionary Khomeini, most have linked themselves to Bani-Sadr—who was the transitional figure for the consolidation of the theocratic dictatorship, and who could play a similar role for a pro-imperialist coup. Peykar, which is the most vociferously opposed to its own ruling classes over the Iran/Iraq war, is also the most intransigent exponent of Mao's (and Khomeini's) line on "Soviet imperialism."

Iran provides an emphatic demonstration in the negative of the historic lesson of the Russian Revolution of 1917 for the colonial and ex-colonial countries. This is summed up in Trotsky's program of permanent revolution: achieving democracy and breaking the shackles of imperialist domination is only possible through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all its peasant masses. Only a Trotskyist party—fighting for the political independence of the working class, for defense of the social gains of the Russian October and their extension, as in neighboring Afghanistan—can liberate the oppressed Iranian masses. ■

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Don't Let Phone Company Fire Mindy Sankel!

"I Don't Fink on Fellow Workers!"

According to the phone company, you can be suspended, fired and even jailed for refusing to be a stool pigeon for the bosses. Consider the example of Mindy Sankel, a communications technician who was removed from the New York AT&T Long Lines installation where she works and threatened with arrest. The company brought in four burly armed cops to take 4-foot, 11-inch Mindy out of the building. Her "crime"? She wouldn't rat on co-workers.

Sankel belongs to Local 1150 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Union leaders advised her to do the fink work "under protest." But 26 of her co-workers, including 12 union stewards, came to her defense with a leaflet that asked, "Would you feel safer working alongside Mindy or someone who finks and 'grieves it'?" *Workers Vanguard* recently interviewed Mindy Sankel:

* * * * *

WV: You were suspended for two weeks by the phone company. Why?

Sankel: I refused to inform and fink on my fellow union members. And because I refused to do it they called in the New York City police to escort me out of the building with the threat of being arrested for criminal trespass!

In September I was put on a job that entailed "flagging" technicians' mistakes for the supervisors. I made clear in the very beginning that I wouldn't do that part of the job. I was told by supervisors throughout the week that I didn't have to do that part of the job. But on Friday, they gave me two choices: either I was going to fink or they were going to get me off the floor. But union members should never turn in other union members. So on Monday, September 21, 50 co-workers escorted me onto the floor. Later I was taken out by a supervisor, three city cops and the head of AT&T security.

WV: How did the union respond to this atrocity?

Sankel: My steward and the chief steward of the building I work in wanted to call a special union meeting so that people would know what happened and to hear from me why I was suspended. But the union officials invoked bylaws—which they've rarely done before—that say 4 percent of the membership of Local 1150 had to sign a petition to get a special union meeting. So the stewards went around, along with other people, and they got 290 signatures, twice as many as they needed.

The meeting took place on October 1. There was no quorum, but there were twice as many people as I've seen come to a union meeting, except for the strike vote meeting last summer. And people wanted to hear what happened to me. They were supportive of my case. But the union officials came out and said that essentially I and every other union member has to do this fink work, and then grieve it!

Then there was a regularly scheduled union meeting the following week where a motion was passed in a straw vote (for lack of a quorum) which said, "No union member will do any work that can lead to disciplinary action of any other union member, and Local 1150 will... take action to defend Mindy or any member victimized for refusing to inform on fellow union members." And in addition it was pointed out at this union meeting that there was a circular on union bulletin boards put out by a Cleveland CWA local president which stated that no union member has to do any kind of work that will jeopardize or lead to disciplinary action against any other union member. But the Local 1150 officials decided to ignore this. They basically said that if I get fired they will do nothing except put in a grievance for me.

Cops take Mindy Sankel from NYC telephone offices for refusing to be a company stool pigeon.



Jerry Amato

WV: What happened when your two-week suspension was over?

Sankel: I came back to work, and I got a notice that any further acts of "misconduct" would lead to my dismissal from the company. There was a grievance meeting on my floor that Wednesday. I asked my steward and the chief steward of the building if I could go, and they defended my right to be there. But the plant vice president of the union refused my right to be in my own grievance hearing! Then when the grievance meeting started I saw all the supervisors standing in front of the door like they were waiting for combat—and all I wanted was to go in and hear my own grievance!

In the hearing my steward and the building coordinator came under heavy fire from the company. The company accused my steward of instigating the whole situation and said that everything that happened was his fault. He had also refused to do this same fink work. The O.M. [Operations Manager] told him he didn't have to do it. Technicians don't have to do that kind of work! But

in the grievance meeting the supervisors lied about everything, and tried to put the blame mostly on my steward. Now the union officials have basically put *him* in receivership.

WV: You're on final warning now?

Sankel: Yes, any time the company chooses they might fire me. I found out my second liner [supervisor] and his boss put in for my dismissal, but it was vetoed by Labor Relations, probably because they thought I'd win my job back in arbitration. So they put me back on the same job to try to provoke a situation where they could fire me and make it stick.

It seems clear that the union officials don't want to touch this. They don't want to really defend me. But it's not just my job on the line. The phone company wants a precedent that any union member can be forced to fink and inform on other union members and help get them disciplined or fired.

I think it's time for the CWA to get off its knees and fight for its membership. We need a real union. ■

Dashiki Democrats...

(continued from page 5)

not like a rabbit") These poverty pimps and dashiki Democrats have no answers to the needs of the black masses. The major issues were barely touched at the NBIPP/NBUF conferences. A real fight for black education begins with defense of busing to desegregate big city schools, North and South. But busing was defeated in the streets of Boston and Louisville by white racist mobs, with the approval of the black nationalists who oppose integration because it would cut off their patronage. "Community control" is just another way of saying "separate but equal," and in racist capitalist America "separate" is never "equal."

And what about the fight against racist terror and the Reagan cuts? The reformists talk a lot about "fighting Reaganomics," in order to "stiffen the backbone" of the Democrats. But such pressure tactics won't stop the cutbacks, because they are part of a bipartisan program to mobilize the U.S. for war against the Soviet Union. Keeping blacks and workers "in their place" is also part of this drive, and in this climate racist/fascist terror is escalating. NBIPP talks about rooting out racial violence, but says nothing about how to do it; NBUF talks about "community defense." The CP and many black liberals, in turn, still look to the federal government, even under racist Reagan,

to "protect" minorities and "ban the Klan." What's needed is not dangerous reliance on the capitalist state, which protects the fascists, nor isolated struggles in the ghettos but a fight to mobilize the strength of the unions in labor/black defense against KKK/Nazi terror. It's not just a question of common enemies, for in America today the unions are the main organizations of black social power.

The interrelation of labor and blacks is key to the American revolution. It can be seen most clearly in Detroit, where black Democratic mayor Coleman Young was recently awarded the NAACP's Springarn Medal after breaking a black city workers strike in order to host the 1980 Republican convention. In 1979, when fascists wanted to "celebrate" their bloody Greensboro massacre, Young tried to ban a protest demo called to stop the race-terrorists' provocation. But the Spartacist League and class-struggle militants in Detroit auto plants organized the successful November 10 Kennedy Square rally where 500 protesters, mainly black, vowed "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" This was no one-shot deal. A month earlier, the same labor militants at Ford's giant River Rouge plant mobilized the union ranks to drive two KKK-hooded foremen from the plant.

The Rouge Militant Caucus, which grew out of this struggle, is fighting to oust the bureaucrats and replace them with a class-struggle leadership. An RMC slate for UAW Local 600 president and vice president this last spring received 8-10 percent of the total vote.

Their program included: sitdowns against plant shutdowns, union/black mobilization to crush Klan/Nazi terror, a workers party to fight for a workers government. And last month Spartacist candidates for city council received 1,700-2,000 votes running on a program of a "Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit." The SL used this platform not to preach phony electoral solutions but to call for "some old-fashioned class struggle, the kind that built the unions in this city." "Let them dare try to close an auto plant when tens of thousands of workers and blacks are massed outside. And the same kind of mass actions can defend our schools, welfare centers, hospitals. A working-class fight to defend Detroit would be felt from here to Washington. And you can bet there won't be any more Klansmen burning crosses in our backyards."

Not illusory "control" of powerless inner-city slums, or a few black faces in high places, but a struggle by black and white workers alike for equal rights, for the massive creation of jobs, for the liberation of the oppressed through socialist revolution—this is the program of revolutionary integrationism. As we wrote in the introduction to our collection of SL documents on the black question, "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised]):

"Unlike chattel slavery, wage slavery has placed in the hands of black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. But this revolt will be successful

only if it takes as its target the system of class exploitation, the common enemy of black and white workers. The struggle to win black activists to a proletarian perspective is intimately linked to the fight for a new, multi-racial class-struggle leadership of organized labor which can transform the trade unions into a key weapon in the battle against racial oppression. "Such a leadership must break the grip of the Democratic Party upon both organized labor and the black masses through the fight for working class political independence. As black workers, the most combative element within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of 'black history'—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind." ■

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Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

has dubbed the subway system. Editorials shout for more discipline and less pay to "goldbricking" transit workers, who are charged with responsibility for the mess. But the blame rests with Reagan/Koch, whose program calls for smashing the power of the unions and letting mass transit go to hell. This not-so-benign neglect has led to a subway system that is not just boiling in summer, freezing in winter, and dirty, crowded and uncomfortable all the time. Riding the subways has become a daily brush with disaster. Collisions and derailments have doubled just in the past year.

So far the primary victims have been transit workers. In July two Local 100 members were killed in subway accidents resulting from TA negligence and "deferred maintenance." When TA boss Simpson tried to blame dead motorman Jesse Cole for a crash caused by faulty signal lights, outraged TWU members quickly circulated a leaflet, signed by more than 150 unionists, saying, "We won't pay for the bosses' transit crisis with our lives! 30,000 TWU brothers and sisters should be at Jesse's funeral." Such a protest walkout would have done more for subway safety than a hundred government investigations. Yet militant action is treated like the plague by the sellout leaders of Local 100. After Jesse Cole's death, the Lawe bureaucracy devoted all its efforts to preventing a strong protest.

And a few days after Reagan's wholesale firing of the 12,000 striking air controllers, the Local 100 chief came forward with an offer to abandon the traditional TWU position of "no contract, no work," in favor of binding arbitration. This well-tested lobster trap for labor is the union bureaucrats' recipe for class peace. But this phony peace won't even stall Koch's takeover offensive. Only militant class struggle can open the way to a decent standard of living and safety conditions for transit workers. The right to strike is indispensable simply to prevent further deterioration of the abominable mess.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

However neither of the major slates running against Lawe in the upcoming

Smash the Taylor Law!

The widely reprinted photo of a shackled air traffic controller last August served as a dramatic reminder that, in this land of so-called "free trade unions," public workers strikes—and many other labor actions—are illegal. New York City transit workers know this well. After their 1980 strike they each lost about eight days' pay in fines under the no-strike Taylor Law; now the survival of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is being undermined by a state labor board ruling to deprive it of its dues checkoff.

You don't have to be a Marxist to understand that the outcome of such class struggles is determined by power. As the leader of the air controllers, Robert Poli, put it, "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails." And in a letter to the *New York Times* (25 August), one Edward Connell pointed out that public employee strikes like the 1966 New York transit strike are effective when the services denied can't be replaced:

"Mayor Koch whistled and chirped his way through a few days of the most recent transportation strike before capitulating [sic] to John Lawe because he knew that corporate headquarters would pack off their computers and water coolers and move to the bucolic surroundings of Stamford and Greenwich if their secretaries and stock boys couldn't make it to Manhattan from Queens and Brooklyn every weekday.

"The right to stop working at one's

job needs no defense, and this right can be exercised by a single worker or by an organized group. The air traffic controllers had a basic right to quit the towers. The only mistake made by Patco's Robert Poli and his legal advisers and by the majority of Patco members in an emotional election was one of failing to realize that the F.A.A. had anticipated the strike and had prepared for the strike for nearly a full year and was able to replace the strikers an instant after the walkout took place....

"Intellectual debating about the morality or legality of strikes by public employees is an exercise in futility. Such strikes will succeed when the struck public function is (a) essential for the public welfare and (b) cannot be carried on by a substitute organization."

Connell is obviously no enthusiastic partisan of labor, but he does perceive reality. President Carter's attempt to invoke the draconian Taft-Hartley Law against the 1978 coal miners strike was made a dead letter by the miners, who countered, "You can't mine coal with bayonets!" In 1966, TWU president Mike Quill tore up a no-strike injunction and told the judge who issued it to "drop dead in his long black robes!" Today, Reagan brings in thousands of military air controllers to break the PATCO strike. But the army's might can't make the subways run. And when the trains stop, so does Wall Street. As TWU militants say, "America can't run without the New York subways!"

Local 100 election is capable of or willing to lead a militant fight. The "dissidents" had their chance during the 1980 strike, when they held a majority on the executive board. Besides offering *pro forma* opposition to the sellout, not one of them lifted a finger to prevent Lawe from ramming through the takeover contract and ending the strike in defeat. Black "dissident" bureaucrats Arnold Cherry and Henry Lewis later took the union to court; their suit supposedly fought Lawe's bureaucratic methods, which they did so little to stop

when it counted. Another "reformer," Mike Warren, boasts of "various court cases against the TA and TWU." Whatever the reason, dragging a union into the capitalist courts is a betrayal, union busting pure and simple.

Now Cherry and Lewis are running for Local 100 president and vice president on the Unity Team ticket; Warren heads up a United Reform Slate. Cherry and Warren make the standard promises to do better than the incumbents, but neither says how. Cherry in particular is desperately

trying to dissociate himself from any hint of strikes. At the TWU International convention in San Francisco last month, Cherry's Cars and Shops Team voted for a resolution to "establish procedures for impartial resolution of collective bargaining" (a/k/a binding arbitration) and to "eliminate" the policy of "no contract, no work." Thus on the main question facing NYC transit workers—the need for militant labor action—Cherry agrees with Lawe. And when it comes to political action against union buster Koch, Cherry and Lawe also see eye to eye on supporting "real Democrat" Frank Barbaro. Barbaro's program to "save" New York is to force unions to sink even more of their pension funds into MAC bonds!

Two TWU members are running in the upcoming elections who say, "What we need is a militant class-struggle leadership that will mobilize the power of this union...." These candidates, Ed Kartsen for president and Dave Brewer for executive board, were among the militants who launched the call for a mass protest over the death of Jesse Cole. After Lawe's proposal to abandon strikes, Kartsen and Brewer fought for the TWU to shut down Koch's showpiece "Train to the Plane" in solidarity with PATCO and in defense of the right to strike.

Kartsen and Brewer's program condemns suing the union: "We'll clean our own house, keep the 'Taylor Law' judges out." They point out that binding arbitration is slow death for the union, and the TWU has the power to smash no-strike laws on the picket lines. "Racist strikebreaking Koch is trying to kick city worker unions to the back of the bus," says their campaign brochure; the "TWU must lead black and white to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts." Unlike Lawe and Cherry, who have endorsed Barbaro for mayor, Kartsen and Brewer call for a "workers party" and for "labor action to bring Reagan to his knees!"

For once TWU members have a clear-cut choice between capitulation and class struggle. The time is long overdue to dump the labor fakers and put the powerhouse of New York unions on the road to winning back instead of giving back. Transit workers have the power: Use it! ■

Philadelphia...

(continued from page 12)

Strike! Strike!"

Of course, the bureaucrats deliberately set the date of the action two weeks in advance, obviously intending to use the threat of a one-day strike as a pressure tactic on the city. But the American ruling class from Reagan to Philadelphia mayor William Green is out for labor's blood and is unlikely to yield to a mere bluff. A real general strike is much more than a one-day protest action. It is necessary to mobilize the power of Philadelphia's organized working class—especially the strategically important transit workers and Teamsters—in a determined struggle against the union-busting austerity drive of which the teachers are only the first target. The AFL-CIO's call for a one-day general strike must be carried out, and the strike must be extended until the teachers are victorious!

The teachers walked out in early September when Democratic mayor Green (union busting is bipartisan these days) tore up the PFT contract in mid-term by canceling a 10 percent pay raise and laying off 3,500 teachers despite contractual guarantees. But Green did not reckon with the militancy of the PFT, which has struck five times in the past ten years to defend union standards. So predictably the bosses' courts found the union, not the school board or city administration, guilty of violating the contract. One judge ruled that the contract was no longer valid since the city claimed it didn't have the money. Let a working-class family try

that defense in court when they can't meet a bank loan!

The union is now being hit with \$15,000-a-day fines, plus \$250 a day for each union leader for defying a back-to-work order. And judge Edward Bailey has "insisted that the fines must be paid out of the union leaders' own pockets and ruled out the possibility that the fines could be erased by negotiation in eventual settlement" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 October).

At the same time, the school board is moving to fire 51 teachers arrested on the picket lines. It is also making an effort to re-open selected schools with scabs. To this end the bosses have tried to divide the teachers along racial lines with the help of scabherders like black city councilman John Street. But the striking teachers, black and white, have remained solid in defense of their union.

The real danger to the striking teachers comes from the labor bureaucrats, who long for "the good old days" when they were welcomed in city hall and could always work out some deal with the Rizzo machine. At the October 18 rally PFT leader John Murray stated that "we have made suggestions to uncaring people in high places in this city" to save "some \$100 million" by deferring the teachers' scheduled raises, spreading the ten-month salaries over twelve months and early retirements. National Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker has intervened in the Philadelphia strike only to say he wanted to be consulted about the "sacrifices" to be made by his members. But Philadelphia's school superintendent has arrogantly rejected all concessions offered by the union tops. He has

told them he is out to "get a victory over your union."

In defending themselves against the Reagans and the Greens, the American working class is disarmed by its cowardly, treacherous misleaders. Even when the bosses break their own laws and rip up contracts to attack the unions, the bureaucrats shackle themselves to every anti-labor law from Taft-Hartley on down as an excuse to do nothing. A new class-struggle leadership must be forged. For a real general strike in Philadelphia to bring victory to the teachers union in this important battle! ■

Too Many...

(continued from page 2)

itself "Youth Against War and Fascism." But during the whole weekend, nobody mentioned the fact that the current Reagan war drive has a target: the Soviet Union, which must be defended against the imperialists. As for the fascists, a local band of Hitler lovers, the "SS Action Group," threatened to march on the APC. Although this threat was front-page news in Detroit for the last three days, Congress organizers never once referred to the threat of a fascist provocation. Nor did the various centrist and reformist fakers—RWL, RSL, RCP, FSP, etc. The WWP/YAWF organizers and the rest of them simply relied on the Detroit cops.

This time the police stopped the fascists. Last time, on August 22, they defended the race-terrorists and set upon a crowd of defenseless anti-fascist

protesters with horses and billy clubs. The treacherous popular front, which ties the workers and oppressed to the bourgeois parties and relies on the capitalist state, will not fight fascism. As if to prove this fundamental truth, APC sponsor Erma Henderson, Democrat and president of the Detroit City Council, sponsored a motion to give the Nazis an "alternative" marching place. The Marcyites of course didn't want to "embarrass" their Democratic allies, so they kept their lips zipped. Not merely disarming the masses in the face of the fascist danger, they pretend it doesn't exist.

All the News That Fits: The *New York Times* (19 October) published a gushing account of the Congress, reflecting the current bias of the liberal press in favor of anything directed against Reagan. Evidently written on the basis of APC handouts, it fails to even notice the Marcyites. *Workers Vanguard*, however, does get a mention, and our headline denouncing the "All People's Circus: Front for the Democrats." (With an important inaccuracy: the *Times* story claims "a group of Nazis demonstrated for a short time," when in fact they never got near Cobo Hall.) Of course, it's nice to get press coverage when we aren't doing anything more newsworthy than selling our paper. But it's notable that when the Spartacist League holds a politically significant demonstration (like our September 24 protest denouncing Polish Solidarność as counterrevolutionary), that is deliberately cut out of their articles by the *Times*' editors. Perhaps that's what they mean by "All the news that fits"... the bourgeoisie's party line. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to the Philadelphia Teachers Strike!

Last August Reagan fired 12,000 striking air traffic controllers. Early this month the courts ruled that the strike of 22,000 Philadelphia public school teachers was illegal. Along with their savage cutbacks in social services, the American ruling class is determined to grind down the 20 million public employees in this country. The battle line against the government's union-busting offensive is now drawn in Philadelphia. A victory for labor here can be a big step toward bringing down the Reagan administration through class struggle. What is needed is a *citywide general strike now!*

The AFL-CIO city council has, in fact, placed itself on record for a one-day general strike on October 28 after Philadelphia Federation of Teachers head John Murray spoke at a council meeting on October 14. And when a few days later AFL-CIO president Edward Toohy told a mass strike support rally, "We'll be calling all our unions out to join us that day," the Civic Center resounded with the chant of "Strike!

continued on page 11

"Strike, strike, strike!" was the chant at rally for Philadelphia teachers, October 18.



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Stop the Union Busters—Save the Dues Checkoff!

NYC Transit Workers: Defend the Right to Strike!

New York City transit workers are already coming under fire from some of the heavy guns in Ronald Reagan's war on labor. On October 7 the Public Employee Relations Board (PERB) ruled that Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) must lose its dues checkoff for a year and a half in punishment for the 11-day April 1980 strike. But that's not enough for Transit Authority president John Simpson, Mayor Ed Koch and the media, who are gearing up to try and break the back of the TWU, the traditional leader of New York's municipal unions. They already tried to take away a paltry 3.6 percent COLA raise, bought with substantial job cuts and other union concessions, which was due under the current contract. NYC transit workers must prepare for a do-or-die battle for the future of the union.

More than a decade ago Local 100 members ranked first in the country in transit worker wages and benefits. The 1966 strike and its aftermath brought substantial wage increases and pension improvements. But the union leaders' refusal to defend these gains the same way they were won—by powerful strike action—led to their gradual erosion. The

1974-76 New York City financial crisis accelerated this decline, as the municipal unions collapsed in the face of a capitalist "austerity" offensive that over the last seven years has drastically cut real wages in transit. Now *all* the TWU leaders want to capitulate to the TA, Koch and Reagan by giving up strikes and relying on binding arbitration! Yet the only way transit workers can beat the escalating attacks is by mobilizing their tremendous power in strike action.

Strikebreaker Koch Targets TWU

With Local 100 elections coming up in December and the contract due at the end of March, it's already clear that none of the factions in the union leadership has a program to meet the threat. Reagan's move to smash the tiny air traffic controllers union (PATCO) has made it "open season" against public workers unions that dare to resist contractual takeaways, such as the Philadelphia teachers. While racist strikebreaker Koch has pampered his cops (whose loyalty he needs to put down ghetto upheavals and labor struggles), he has singled out the 30,000-plus members of the heavily black TWU for the PATCO



"Strike! Fight! Strike! Fight!"

WV Photo

treatment. He hopes this will set the climate for subsequent negotiations with other unions representing another 150,000 NYC city workers. Besides, strong unions hamper Koch's ability to slash social services to the bone so that

working people and minorities pay for the crisis of capitalism.

So every day the newspapers luridly describe the deterioration of the "Doomsday Express," as the *Daily News* *continued on page 11*