

Red Army Mops Up Afghan Reaction



Carter's Cold War Frenzy

The people running this country are crazy. The American government is talking as if it's about to start World War III over Afghanistan—or at least a vicarious form of it around the Olympic games. Why? The Soviet Union comes to the aid of its allies in Kabul and suddenly Washington has visions of Russian "empire-builders" swarming down the Indus to Karachi, the Persian Gulf, Aden, Suez. ... The staid Brezhnev suddenly fomenting revolution among the Kurds, Turkomans, and above all Baluchis. ... It's positively demented. Trouble is, Jimmy Carter not only says but really believes this stuff.

In the nineteenth century, when British expeditionary forces engaged in

the "Great Game" with imperial Russia over the Khyber Pass, Afghanistan was deemed to be the key to South Asia. Not in the age of the jet plane and ballistic missile. When Kabul signed a treaty of friendship and military cooperation with the USSR a couple of years ago, level heads cautioned against alarmism about the "Russian menace":

"Instead of being a strategic highway to India, as the Victorians feared, Afghanistan looks more like a footpath to nowhere."

—*New York Times*, 8 December 1978

This is the view held by all relatively intelligent politicians and statesmen today. But not by Jimmy Carter. His politics are *insane*.

Somebody had to clean up Afghanistan and try to drag it toward the 17th century. Discounting his liberal hauteur, Alexander Cockburn, writing in the *Village Voice* (21 January), caught the flavor of the place:

"We all have to go one day, but pray God let it not be over Afghanistan. An unspeakable country filled with unspeakable people, sheepshaggers and smugglers, who have furnished in their leisure hours some of the worst arts and crafts ever to penetrate the occidental world."

"I yield to none in my sympathy to those prostrate beneath the Russian jackboot, but if ever a country deserved rape it's Afghanistan. Nothing but mountains filled with barbarous ethnics with views as medieval as their muskets, and unspeakably cruel, too."

There's an old saying that any fool can rule in a state of siege. Carter's found that out over Iran and thinks it'll get him re-elected. First he pretends the "Marxist"(!) Teheran embassy kidnapers are modern-day Barbary pirates and dispatches the *USS Kitty Hawk* and a flotilla from the Seventh Fleet to rescue the hostages. Then he keeps the Navy circling around in the Indian Ocean for two months. And now he declares he has nothing against Iranians—if they would only let the embassy staff go and unite against atheistic Communism, Khomeini can have billions.

The Georgia mafia discovered that the ayatollah was a good target, but he believes in religion. Brezhnev is a better punching bag to run against for U.S. president—and for that they're ready to blow up the world! These guys are sitting on more hydrogen bombs than we care to think about. New York entrepreneur Crazy Eddie would be better in the White House than Jimmy Carter.

Mad Dogs on the Loose

In the space of less than a month analysts from *Pravda* to the *Wall Street Journal*, officials from the Kremlin to the Pentagon have announced the advent of a new Cold War. Even before the first Red Army soldier's boot hit the runway at Kabul airport, Washington was proclaiming the death of détente. Recalling the "rollback" threats of cold warrior John Foster Dulles, Carter's maniacally anti-Russian "national security adviser" Zbigniew Brzezinski demands that the U.S. "contain Moscow's expansive drives." American officials make it clear that this is no passing phase: the *Washington Post* (6 January) headlined, "U.S. Moves Against Soviets Called the Start of a Global Drive." And *Business Week* (21 January) has published a special report on "The New Cold War Economy: A Strategy to Answer the Soviets":

"From the Pentagon to corporate board

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Let 'em Go to Moscow

Break Carter's Olympic Boycott

So Jimmy Carter says he will pull American athletes out of the Olympics! And for what? To "punish" the Soviets for coming to the aid of an Afghan government beset by bands of Islamic tribalist reactionaries armed and backed by the CIA. In his Cold War frenzy Carter is liable to pull any crazy stunt—remember when he kidnapped a Soviet jetliner at JFK airport last August?! The National Gallery in Washington even canceled an exhibition of paintings from Leningrad's famous Hermitage art museum. And to really sock it to the Russkies, the U.S. president now

threatens to pick up his marbles and leave the Olympics.

Carter's sore because he is stymied over the Teheran embassy crisis and can do nothing to stop Red Army successes in Afghanistan. An American boycott of the Moscow games, however, will do next to nothing to directly hurt the USSR. Beyond being a gesture of imperialist frustration, Carter's proposal to set up a "Free World Olympics" is an attempt to see how far he can push the American people into an anti-Russian frenzy. But if American farmers

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Soviet
gymnast
Nelly Kim

Mobilize Bay Area Labor Against Klan/Nazi Attacks

OAKLAND—Bay Area trade unionists are demanding a vigorous mobilization of the labor movement to combat Klan and Nazi attacks. On January 7 delegates from several union locals along with representatives of socialist organizations attended a conference called by Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) to organize a Bay Area-wide rally protesting the Greensboro massacre and demanding that all charges be dropped against the anti-Klan protesters in North Carolina. Unfortunately, the ILWU officials who chaired the January 7 planning meeting frittered away the opportunity by unsuccessfully attempting to exclude socialist organizations from delegate status and ended up adjourning the meeting without taking a single concrete step to organize a rally.

In recent weeks Bay Area Nazis held a public rally under massive police protection in Walnut Creek, and even more ominously on December 8 some 15 Ku Klux Klan thugs equipped with rifles, shotguns, pistols, knives and riot helmets staged a racist show of force at the Federal Building. The Klansmen, exploiting extensive TV coverage, denounced a federal hearing which was considering awarding grants to "improve relations" between the police and the black community. The Klan action was obviously arranged with the connivance of the cops with whom the fascists checked their guns upon entering, picking them up on the way out.

The appearance of Klan hoodlums openly flaunting their weapons on the streets of San Francisco only poses more urgently the need for an effective labor counterattack. The Local 6 initiative was undertaken as a result of a resolution by the Militant Caucus of the ILWU for a mass labor/black/Latino mobilization in November following the Greensboro massacre. But in the several weeks following passage of this motion the ILWU tops sat on their hands, leaving it to the Militant Caucus and supporters of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter in Local 10 to press the fight. These militants and other anti-racists circulated a petition which received 500 signatures from union members demanding that the anti-Klan rally be held.

However, the ILWU bureaucracy does not want a militant demonstration of thousands of working people. Pressured by strong anti-Klan sentiment in their own membership, the union tops

have been forced to at least make a show of opposing the fascists, but their real strategy is to rely on the bourgeois government. Not only have they dragged their feet in calling the rally but they opposed the petition's call for the right to armed self-defense and the need to build workers defense guards.

A key proposal made earlier by the ILWU leadership was to invite Oakland

and Joe Figueiredo who presided over the planning meeting directed their fire at leftist militants. A Spartacist League (SL) spokesman intervened, correctly pointing out the absurdity of denying representation to the left, including the Communist Workers Party (CWP), whose comrades were shot down in North Carolina. The SL pointed out that Local 6 bureaucrats were simply

members from unions representing another 30,000 workers. If these unions did not have official status, it was the fault of the Local 6 leaders, who did not notify them of the meeting! Many of the trade unionists present heard about the meeting only through word of mouth; the broad attendance testified to the widespread desire of Bay Area labor to stop the Klan and Nazis.

Acting as a transparent left cover for the ILWU chiefs were supporters of the Communist Party (CP) such as Joe Figueiredo. In the planning meeting Figueiredo backed LeRoy King at every crucial juncture, including the attempt to exclude socialist organizations. And certainly the CP has at no time distinguished itself from the Local 6 bureaucracy's policy of relying on the capitalist politicians. Thus it sought unsuccessfully to stop the Nazis in Walnut Creek by begging the city council to ban the fascist demonstration. Similarly, Figueiredo favored the proposal to invite Lionel Wilson as guest speaker.

Despite the disruptive tactics pursued by the ILWU leaders and their Stalinist lackeys, union militants have vowed to continue the fight to organize against the Klan threat. At an East Bay division meeting of Local 6 on January 17, after the bureaucracy abruptly adjourned the meeting, the Militant Caucus urged members to remain in their seats and discuss the Klan issue. Of the 100 members who stayed, a majority voted overwhelmingly for a motion demanding that ILWU officers reconvene the public planning meeting for the anti-KKK/Nazi rally within a week, and that labor-socialist organizations agreeing with the demands adopted by Local 6 be seated with voice and vote. The resolution also recommended that the rally be held February 2 to coincide with the scheduled march in Greensboro.

Klan and Nazi provocations must not go unredressed! Implement the Local 6 motion without further delay! No reliance on the racist cops and capitalist parties! Only a militant labor/black/Latino mobilization can drive the fascist vermin out of the Bay Area! ■



November 10 Detroit labor/black rally against Greensboro massacre shows how to fight Klan terror.

mayor Lionel Wilson as a central speaker for the anti-Klan rally. But the Democratic Party politicians who have regularly been breaking the strikes of Bay Area workers since 1974 are not about to protect them from fascist violence. Lionel Wilson's cops are the same racist, trigger-happy thugs that have declared open season on blacks in Oakland! And the leniency and complicity of the San Francisco cops toward the armed KKKers who marched down the city streets stand in stark contrast to the years-long campaign of frame-ups, arrests and cold-blooded murder mounted against the Black Panthers after that group marched to the Sacramento state capitol carrying rifles and shotguns to protest against proposed gun-control legislation.

Instead of hammering out an effective strategy to rid the Bay Area of the Klan menace, ILWU officers LeRoy King

caving in to the lies broadcast by the big-business press, which claimed that "violence on the left" was equally responsible for the Greensboro massacre. Finally, Jane Margolis, an official delegate from the CWA (phone workers), put forward an amendment that all labor-socialist organizations should have voice and vote. The delegates voted this up, 10 to 6.

Once they discovered that they did not have control over the meeting, King, Figueiredo & Co. did everything in their power to disrupt it. They then claimed that there was not sufficient representation from the labor movement. This was simply a lie. At the meeting were official delegates from unions including two locals each of the ILWU, CWA and SEIU, as well as locals of the Retail Clerks and of the Letter Carriers, representing 20,000 workers. Also present were officers, stewards and

California Warehousemen Debate Iran Boycott

OAKLAND—Some 125 warehousemen attending the January 17 membership meeting of the East Bay division of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 heard a debate over the ILWU International-sponsored boycott of all shipments to and from Iran. The union members, many of whom had come to demand strike sanction against an Emeryville plant, received the debate with intense interest, reflecting the concern aroused by threats of war in the Near East and against the Soviet Union.

Supporters of the reformist Communist Party spoke against the proposed boycott and came out in support of the Iranian Khomeini regime, at the same time expressing "concern for the hostages" being held in Teheran. They accused Carter of warlike moves against Iran and the USSR, but completely skirted the issue of Afghanistan and the need for socialists to raise the call to defend the USSR. Bob Mandel, Militant Caucus spokesman and Local 6 general executive board member, also opposed the boycott, but his speech stood in sharp contrast to the reformists.

Mandel denounced the Iranian mul-

lah regime for its oppression of national minorities, women, the labor movement and all those who drink liquor or engage in sexual practices not to its taste. Opposing American intervention in Iran, he asserted that Carter would intervene militarily in Iran, not to defend the workers movement and the oppressed, but to protect U.S. oil interests and for strategic anti-Soviet reasons. Mandel said unionists should feel no concern for the hostages, many of whom were undoubtedly linked to the CIA and military intelligence.

Mandel forthrightly defended the

Soviet army against the Islamic counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan. He pointed out the similarities between Khomeini's policies and those of the Afghan Muslim feudalists, who have bragged about killing people for the "crime" of teaching school! American workers, he said, have no interest in supporting a war in Iran or a war against the USSR. After 20 minutes of debate, the International bureaucracy's motion for a shipping boycott of Iran was put to a vote. It carried, but only by about 35 to 20, with some 70 abstentions. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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ILWU Militants Say:

Load the Grain!

A January 16 issue of the Longshore-Warehouse Militant, entitled "Local 6 Leadership Wrecks Anti-KKK/Nazi Planning Meeting," pointed to the probable connection between the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis and terrorist proponents of the anti-Soviet grain boycott:

"In fact they [KKK and Nazis] are probably behind the death threats to

Eddie Holland, president of ILWU Local 18 in Sacramento, whose local, with the urging so far of the International, continued to load grain bound for the Soviet Union. We call on the International, which has indicated that if directed by the government the ILWU may embargo Soviet grain, to stand firm and actually uphold the tradition of the ILWU: this union for decades resisted pressure to boycott trade with the USSR brought by right-wing and government forces when it suited their anti-communist militarist purposes." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Police Shoot Down Nine Blacks in '79

Protest Oakland Killer Cops!

OAKLAND—More than 2,500 angry, predominantly black residents packed into a special meeting of the Oakland city council January 9 to demand action against escalating cop terror in the city's black community. Active opposition to the trigger-happy brutality of local police has been mounting since last summer. Significantly, the protests against cop killings have included hundreds of Oakland unionists, posing the opportunity to mobilize the power of the Bay Area labor movement against this gang of kill-crazy thugs in uniform.

In the past twelve months alone Oakland's 66-percent-white police force has gunned down nine blacks in the streets of the city's ghetto. The latest, James Bell, 38, was shot to death in front of his own apartment just three days before the January 9 meeting. Other victims whose killing generated protest include:

- 15-year-old Melvin Black, shot to death by three white undercover cops in March. One of his killers, officer Glenn Tomak, shot to death another young black, Talmage Curtis, in December.
- Charles Briscoe, 37, a shop steward in the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Alameda Naval Air Station, shot to death September 5 by officer Robert Fredericks.

Fredericks is a notorious racist thug who has been personally involved in five other shootings, three of them fatal. One of the notches on Fredericks' .357 magnum is for Black Panther Party member Bobby Hutton. Not surprisingly, Fredericks has always been cleared by internal police investigations. This time Fredericks' incredible story was that Briscoe threatened him with a

rifle, forcing him to fire four shotgun blasts into the black unionist's body. Still feeling "threatened," Fredericks returned to his squad car to fetch his trusty .357 and emptied all six rounds into Briscoe. Two days later the Oak-

over, 500 members of the IAM jammed a city council meeting to protest the brutal slaying of their union brother. Black mayor Lionel Wilson, attempting to retain credibility among the city's black electorate, appointed a "task

of police. But the Oakland Police Officers Association (OPOA), determined to remain a law unto itself and opposed to any review board no matter how impotent, staged a demonstration of several hundred "off-duty" cops December 4. The OPOA show of force at city hall was a demonstration that even the black mayor is being threatened by these killer cops.

The frustrated anger of Oakland's black population was clearly apparent at the January 9 meeting. When white council member John Sutter presented the findings of the mayor's task force and concluded that the "consensus of our group is that we have a very good police department," the audience answered him with a chorus of catcalls and boos. Wilson was forced to declare a ten-minute recess to restore order. But when the meeting resumed the explosive atmosphere was not dispelled. The cops managed to find a black policewoman, Lynda Drummer, who testified that criticism of cop killings had caused her to hesitate rather than pull her pistol on a suspect. As a result, she claimed, she had been severely beaten. The moral of Drummer's story was that to "be judged by other than our peers"—i.e., other cops—was a threat to police lives. The crowd was not impressed with the cops' attempt to put on a black face and Drummer was loudly booed as she left the microphone.

Leaving aside the pro-cop speeches, the political debate during the four-and-a-half-hour meeting was between the advocates of two impotent liberal reforms—a fact that reflects the weak-

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Oakland cops' racist brutality: standard operating procedure.

land Police cleared Fredericks of any wrongdoing.

The killing of Briscoe and the white-wash of his killer were so blatant that even the usually staid NAACP urged a more thorough investigation. More-

force" to come up with a plan of action. The task-force proposal was for a five-member "review board" appointed by the mayor and city council to hear complaints and make "recommendations" to the city manager and the chief

UCASSH Launches Fund Drive

It Takes Money to Fight Carter's Secret Police!

Jane Margolis vs. The United States Secret Service—a lawsuit which squarely challenges the government's right to interfere in the labor movement—gains more support as the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) embarks on an urgent effort to raise funds for the case. Through her attorney, Charles Garry, Margolis has filed suit against the Secret Service for violation of her constitutional rights. The suit seeks damages in excess of \$1

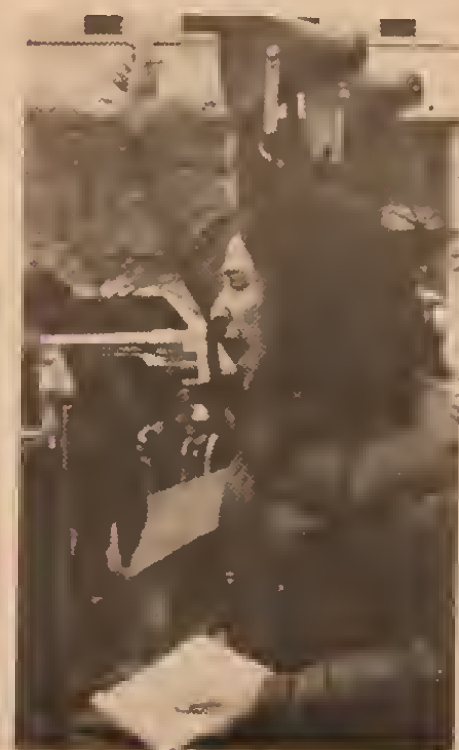
million. As a brochure recently released by UCASSH states: "It challenges in principle the government's interference in and attempt to politically control the trade-union movement."

Jane Margolis, a member of the executive board of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 in San Francisco, was an elected delegate to the union's national convention last summer in Detroit. On the day that Jimmy Carter was to preach his

anti-labor policies to the CWA convention, Secret Service agents suddenly seized Margolis before stunned delegates and hauled her off the convention floor. Margolis has been a leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) for over seven years and is one of the foremost class-struggle oppositionists in the CWA. This Secret Service mugging was a blatant attempt to muzzle a voice of opposition to Carter's austerity.

But Jane Margolis will not be silenced. Her lawsuit is a militant response to an outrageous provocation against the left and labor movements. The provocation must not go unanswered. Only last month the Secret Service admitted it had engaged in a campaign to disrupt International Association of Machinists demonstrations along the course of Carter's summertime Mississippi riverboat cruise. The Margolis lawsuit can become the focal point of an effort to repulse Carter's vicious assault on labor.

The expenses of suing the federal government, however, are enormous. According to UCASSH, legal fees alone in the Margolis case are expected to exceed \$20,000 this year. It is a fact of capitalist class justice that individuals in the working class cannot afford the cost



WVPhoto

Jane Margolis at Detroit anti-Klan rally.

of legally defending democratic rights. As the UCASSH brochure states: "The government has almost unlimited resources. *We are depending on your support to raise the thousands of dollars needed to wage this fight.*"

The Partisan Defense Committee will campaign to raise the urgently needed funds, and to publicize this case of pressing interest to all working people. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* are encouraged to send donations to UCASSH. Support the Margolis suit—Secret Service hands off the unions! Donations should be sent to: Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, P.O. Box 12324, San Francisco, CA 94112. ■

PDC Solidarity Letter

Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment
PO Box 12324
San Francisco, CA 94112

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The case of Jane Margolis vs. United States Secret Service is an unparalleled and important defense of the independence of the labor movement from state interference and control. That Secret Service agents can, with impunity, forcibly seize an elected union delegate and remove her from the proceedings of her own convention to gag criticism

of governmental policy is an outrage to all who stand in defense of the interests of working people.

As an expression of our solidarity with UCASSH efforts on behalf of this suit, a donation is enclosed. The PDC also pledges to contact those organizations and individuals which have assisted us with our past campaigns to solicit support and financial aid for your efforts. This, indeed, is no ordinary lawsuit—Jane Margolis' only "crime" is the defense of the CWA against the anti-labor policies of the government.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99, Canal St. Sta.
N.Y., N.Y. 10013

"Apartheid Reforms": A New Shackle for Black Labor

The Struggle for Independent Black Unions in South Africa

For some time now the imperialist press has been making much of the supposed self-reform or even self-abolition of South Africa's racist apartheid system. This "quiet death of apartheid" propaganda is encouraged by incredible, obscene statements from the butchers of Sharpeville and Soweto. Last summer Pieter Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development (the man in charge of keeping the blacks down), vowed in the *New York Times* (4 August 1979): "We will not rest until racial discrimination has disappeared from our statute books and everyday life in South Africa." A few months later his boss, Prime Minister P. W. Botha, told *Time* magazine (3 December 1979) that "the apartheid our enemies presented to the world is dead." This is like Adolf Hitler in the late 1930s proclaiming the full equality of Jews in Germany!

Apartheid is, of course, as alive as ever. It will meet its death only when the atrocious white racist regime is ripped down by a victorious revolution liberating the oppressed non-white masses. However, all the talk about reforming apartheid is more than simply propaganda for foreign consumption designed to soothe consciences in South Africa's "democratic" imperialist allies. The Botha regime is attempting a major overhaul of the mechanisms of apartheid rule as constructed in the 1950s, specifically to better control and exploit black labor. In May of last year the Pretoria government approved a commission report providing for "registration" of segregated black unions. That this won't ensure labor peace, however, was shown by a series of strikes in Port Elizabeth culminating in a mass firing of black workers in late November.

Black labor is the Achilles' heel of apartheid. It is the one area where blacks have a social power the white rulers cannot suppress purely and simply through police-state terror. In the fall of 1977, following the torture-murder of black nationalist leader Steve Biko, the regime outlawed all anti-apartheid political organizations, including white liberal and church-based ones. That same year it set up the Wiehahn and Riekert commissions, one recommending legal status for black unions, the other the ending of certain residency restrictions for part of the black urban population.

These measures (which have now been implemented) do not arise from any benevolent attitude by white rulers toward the ordinary black worker. Rather the black labor force is too large, too strategically vital to be suppressed like the anti-apartheid political groups. If every black worker who went on strike or took part in a job action were beaten and imprisoned, the damage to the economy would be severe. Black workers would increasingly resort to industrial sabotage (even now quite common), in many cases more expensive for employers than granting a wage increase or settling a grievance. Small strikes could easily turn into major confrontations between the white police state and the black masses.

The Wiehahn/Riekert measures are also designed to increase the rate of capitalist exploitation by using cheap black labor for jobs formerly monopolized by skilled and scarce whites. The South African Chamber of Mines projected that by 1982 there would be a



1973 black workers strike paralyzes Durban; first mass resistance since 1960 Sharpeville Massacre.

shortage of 50,000 skilled artisans, traditionally and legally restricted to whites, throughout the economy ([London] *Financial Times*, 11 May 1979).

In short, the regime is seeking to control black labor militancy, co-opt a black labor bureaucracy and create a black labor aristocracy. A few years ago liberal capitalist Anton Rupert, a colleague of diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer, declared: "We cannot survive unless we have a free market economy, a stable black middle class" (quoted in *African Communist*, Fourth Quarter 1979). But the Ruperts and Oppenheimers will not survive, no matter what new stratagems of apartheid they come up with. Their gravediggers will be the black masses who slave in South Africa's factories, mines and fields.

The 1973 Durban Strikes: A Turning Point

When on 9 January 1973, 2,000 black workers at the Coronation Brick and Tile Co. in Durban walked out demanding a wage increase from 9 to 20 rands a week, they presaged a new era in South African political life. Within two weeks tens of thousands of black (and also Indian) workers, including most municipal employees, were on strike. Garbage went uncollected and produce rotted in the market. South Africa's third largest city and major port was paralyzed. Hundreds and at times thousands of strikers armed with sticks patrolled downtown Durban looking for scabs, clashing with police on several occasions.

Yet the year before the Durban mass strike a large anti-apartheid demonstration by white liberal students was brutally broken up by police. And three

years later Soweto would enter the world's political vocabulary as a new term for racist atrocity, when the police fired round after round into defenseless black student protesters. Why then were the Durban strikes not drowned in blood?

Mainly because their very scope and suddenness caught the regime off guard. Small acts of repression, beating up or imprisoning a few strikers, would only stiffen the workers' resistance. In fact, that's just what happened. To suppress the Durban mass strike would have required a level of violence close to civil war. And for that white South African capitalism would have paid a very high price, far higher than for Soweto.

The Durban strikers won significant wage gains. But much more important, this was the *first victory* of any kind for blacks in over two decades. The massive repression following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre crushed the nationalist/liberal-democratic opposition and the left. For more than a decade the black masses, demoralized and apathetic, faced a seemingly all-powerful white police state. But when the garbage piled ever higher in downtown Durban and ships were left unloaded in its harbor, everyone sensed a new era of black resistance had begun. And so it had.

In the 18 months following January 1973 black workers engaged in more than 300 strikes (all illegal) costing employers over 1.5 million man-hours in lost production. Black trade-union membership, only 20,000 in 1969, quadrupled to 60,000 by 1975. Today it's about 70,000. Though this remains a minute fraction of a black industrial labor force of some 5 million, the impact of black labor militancy is far greater

than the relatively meager figure for union membership would suggest. Between 1972 and 1975 the average wage of a black laborer in the engineering industry, for example, increased by 75 percent (*Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa*, 1978). Evidently many employers met the workers' demands before they resorted to industrial action.

The regime recognizes that the 70,000 black trade unionists are but the first wave of a potential flood tide. The Wiehahn Commission warns that black unions "can unite with other unions through affiliation (as is happening now) without government approval and thus embrace strategic industries which can be paralysed at any given moment" (*Wiehahn Commission Report*, 1 May 1979). Above all, South Africa's white ruling class fears another Durban 1973, this time better organized and more political.

A New Kind of Shackle

Since 1973 the basic law dealing with black labor has been changed three times. Clearly the white ruling class can no longer govern the black proletariat in the old way. In 1953 any participation by black workers in strikes, job actions, slowdowns, etc. was made a criminal offense. Black unions as such were not outlawed, but were deprived of any legal status. By contrast, the so-called "registered" unions, composed of whites, coloureds (mulattos) and Indians were granted the legal right to negotiate the terms of employment for *all* workers, including the black majority. This legal privilege of the largely white registered unions has been the main mechanism for imposing the industrial color bar—i.e., the exclusion of blacks from skilled,

well-paying jobs.

Full legal rights for black unions sound like a good thing. But this is South Africa. In order to totally subjugate the black masses, bourgeois democracy even for the whites is and must be highly restricted. This is, naturally, particularly true for the labor movement. While enjoying enormous economic privileges, white workers in South Africa do *not* have the democratic trade-union rights available in the U.S. or West Europe. Compulsory arbitration and government wage-fixing is pervasive throughout South African industry. The right of white workers to strike is highly restricted. All unions are banned from any participation in political activity and the government intervenes heavily in internal union life through the monitoring of finances.

The Wiehahn "reform" is designed to bring black unions into this corporatist straitjacket. Seeking to counter hard-line apartheid opposition, the commission actually makes the incredible argument that "the present statutory situation thus discriminates against whites, Coloureds and Asians whereas the black trade unions enjoy complete freedom"! As these "free" black trade unionists are constantly fired, expelled to the bantustans (glorified tribal reserves), imprisoned and tortured, this statement is an atrocious falsehood and its authors know it. But it does express the intent of this apartheid "reform." In particular the regime wants to stamp out once and for all any ties between the black trade unions and anti-apartheid political groups.

The Botha regime also loudly proclaims it is doing away with the industrial color bar. Another lie! The new legislation continues to prohibit multiracial unions, while reinforcing the closed shop. Thus, the white labor aristocracy still can legally restrict the entry of blacks into the skilled trades. As the conservative London *Economist* (6 October 1979), which is sympathetic to the apartheid reformers, reports:

"Conservative white unionists, who were at first suspicious of the government's intentions, are now saying that the veto system will afford their members better protection against black encroachment into their jobs than did the old system."

Tied to the new trade-union legislation are the Riekert Commission measures, designed to increase geographical labor mobility. The 20 percent of the black urban population who are legal residents of the townships (like Soweto) surrounding South Africa's cities will now be allowed to move to other townships without government approval. This relatively privileged group gets another legal privilege, one giving them access to a far broader labor market. But for the 80 percent of urban blacks who are classified as "citizens" of the bantustans, Riekert makes things worse, for some much worse. Penalties for illegal residency are now more severe. Many "migrant" workers will lose their jobs (as employers will refuse to pay stiff fines) and be sent to starve in the arid hellholes. And this cruel law is trumpeted a great liberalizing reform!

These new measures are an attempt to create an economically and legally privileged caste among urban blacks somewhat analogous to the bantustan bureaucracy. This was clearly perceived by two white South African liberals, Steve Friedman and John Kane-Berman, writing in the London *Guardian* (21 May 1979):

"Probably the single most important element common to Riekert and Wiehahn is the desire to win selected black allies to the side of the white minority—not all blacks, but those whose labour gives them a passport to the central economy."

The Fight Against Economism and Nationalism

To register or not to register, that's the burning issue facing South Africa's black trade unionists. One militant put it bluntly:

"We don't care about government recognition. What is important to us is to build strong and independent unions. That will force the employers to deal with us."

—quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 28 May 1979

For class-struggle militants, registration is strictly a tactical security question. Some unions may be forced into it as a legal cover to avoid victimization. But it must be just that—a legal cover, nothing more. Any black union leader who actually adheres to apartheid legality, who accepts umpteen stages of government arbitration without taking industrial action, who refuses to support anti-apartheid struggles, is betraying not only his own membership but the entire black people.

Given the total suppression of the nationalist opposition and left in the 1960s, the now-existing black unions are generally narrow and economistic. In the main this reflects the still primitive level of organization and struggle available to South Africa's black proletariat. But black unionists are also saddled with a thin layer of bureaucrats



Black South African gold miners earn only one-eighth of white workers' wages.

more than willing to obey the masters of *verligte* ("enlightened") apartheid. The leader of the largest black union, Lucy Mvubelo of the National Union of Clothing Workers, is a rabidly anti-communist right-winger, who would fit right in on the AFL-CIO executive council (except that she's a black woman). Mvubelo's main activity (no doubt financed by some CIA front) seems to be attending international conferences in order to oppose economic sanctions against South Africa.

The immediate task for proletarian revolutionaries in South Africa is to break the black unions from a narrow economism conditioned by two decades of effective police-state repression. The unions must use their economic power and relative freedom of organization to overthrow racist apartheid rule. They must fight, for example, to destroy the bantustan system, to end the hated pass laws and all residency restrictions and for a revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote.

In a longer historic term, apolitical bread-and-butter unionism cannot prevail in South Africa. The white racist oppression of the black masses is too deep, too brutal, too all-sided, too obvious. That most black workers have their families and relatives on the bantustans in itself goes against a narrow trade-unionist consciousness. In any major class upheaval the Uncle Tom union bureaucrats like Mvubelo will be swept aside by leaders who promise complete liberation of the black people. In a revolutionary crisis the proletarian vanguard party will find itself pitted against one or another variety of nationalist demagogue, the aspiring Nkrumahs, Kenyattas and Machelis of South Africa.

Today those trade unions tied to broader nationalist movements are reduced to an exile existence, of which the most active is the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). SACTU was formed in the 1950s as a

product of the bloc between the Moscow-Stalinist Communist Party and the liberal nationalist African National Congress (ANC). It was effectively broken up in the 1960s along with its parent bodies. The basic strategy of the Stalinist/ANC bloc has been and still is a deal with the white liberal bourgeoisie. To that end in the 1950s the CP advocated electoral support to the opposition United Party (despite its backing of the Suppression of Communism Act) and later switched to Harry Oppenheimer's Progressive Party, which stood for extending the franchise *only* to "educated" blacks.

Pure black nationalist trade unionism, unsullied by Stalinist reformism, is to be found in Drake Koka's Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU). This was set up in 1972 as an appendage of the student-based Black Consciousness movement. Probably always pretty much a paper organization, with Koka and his colleagues now in exile BAWU can have at most a marginal existence in South Africa. Needless to say, BAWU rejected multiracialism on principle with the usual argument that "whites

would automatically dominate the situation if Blacks would agree to merge with them" (quoted in David Davis, *African Workers and Apartheid* [1978]). BAWU also rejected any confrontation with the apartheid state in favor of the "self-help" doctrines of the Black Consciousness movement. It declared that it would seek:

"...to win the respect of the employers, the public and the government; to create a climate of opinion in which the laws about Bantu trade unions...could be reformed for the sake of the country's rickety economy."

As against the Africanist nationalists, proletarian revolutionaries in South Africa stand in principle for multiracial unions. But the minimum condition for such unions is that they be *internally democratic*—i.e., one man, one vote on all questions. Some white (and coloured and Indian) union leaders, those who aren't openly racist, will say: "That's a fine ideal, but we can't do it. It's illegal." No respect for apartheid legality! In South Africa any serious working-class and democratic struggle requires the combination of legal and illegal activity.

To be sure, in the present situation very few white workers will participate in illegal labor organization with blacks. Indian and coloured participation is more promising (thousands of Indians were involved in the 1973 Durban strikes). But even in South Africa class solidarity can at times overcome the deep racial division. In this sense proletarian socialists can look back at the Garment Workers Union of the 1930s-40s, a militant organization composed mainly of black and Boer women led by the Communist E. S. Sachs.

For International Labor Solidarity!

The past months have seen an upsurge in black labor militancy in South Africa, leading to some notable victories. For example, Monis and Fattis, a bread and flour processor in the Cape, surrendered completely last

November after an eight-month consumer boycott organized by the black Food and Canning Workers Union. The company was forced to rehire 50 workers it had fired for union activity. An even more significant victory took place at Dura Construction, a Dutch subsidiary in the Cape. Here the company at first refused to talk to the black Western Province General Workers Union at all. But under the pressure of Dura workers in Holland, the South African management fully met the workers' wage demands plus two years' interest and legal costs.

But these trade-union gains, important though they are, should not invite illusions that black workers now have the same rights as whites. A measure of how "liberal" the new labor policy of "enlightened" apartheid is came with the mass firing last November of 1,300 black workers at the Port Elizabeth plants of Ford Motor and General Tire. The confrontation at Ford began when blacks struck to defend a black foreman, who had been victimized for participating in a local political group. Not only did he get his job back, but the strikers secured full back pay for the three days they were out, an unusual concession.

These gains for the blacks provoked a white backlash. When the blacks staged another series of walkouts directed at racist abuses, Ford answered with the wholesale firing of 700 workers. General Tire followed suit by firing 600 of its workers to stop a unionizing drive at a nearby plant, which had been triggered by the Ford workers' struggles. At this point the South African security police stepped in and arrested 21 of the worker militants involved. These black unionists could certainly tell the editors of the *New York Times* and *Time* something about the "new liberal" South Africa.

All the lying publicity about reforming apartheid is designed to take the heat off the Pretoria regime and the imperialist corporations which invest in South Africa. An openly racist society ruled by police terror, South Africa is the target of universal moral outrage. This is felt especially strongly in the U.S., where the descendants of African slaves naturally solidarize with South Africa's blacks, who face an even more savage form of racism. However, for the past several years international revolution at apartheid has mainly taken the form of empty save-one's-soul consumer boycotts (from sardines to Krugers) and university divestment schemes. Even worse are appeals to the "liberal conscience" of the American imperialist ruling class, specifically to Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign.

Instead of prettifying U.S. imperialism, popular hatred for racist terror in South Africa must be channeled into *strengthening* the one force capable of smashing apartheid rule, the organized black proletariat. The victory at Dura Construction and the defeat at Ford point to the urgent and desperate need for international labor solidarity. We're not talking about token financial contributions or the diplomatic gestures that American and West European labor bureaucrats occasionally make. Active international labor support can mean life or death for South Africa's black unions, and sometimes for their members as well. Had the American United Auto Workers used its muscle on Ford, very likely the 700 Port Elizabeth workers would not have been fired and the 21 union activists would not have been arrested. And everyone knows what happens to black militants in South Africa's prisons.

Behind their police terror and lies, the Bothas, the Oppenheims, the Ford managers know they are on a rumbling volcano. Under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, a mass black labor movement will be the gravedigger of apartheid. And on that grave will arise a black-centered workers and peasants government. ■

The Labor Party Question in America

Editor's note: Labor opposition to Jimmy Carter's administration with the onset of a severe economic crisis raises in a more immediate way the issue of a workers party, a party based on the trade unions and organized in opposition to the twin parties of capital. Already the Communist Party (CP) is hailing "people's coalitions" with pro-Kennedy labor fakers such as the IAM's Winpisinger, while the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) calls on other "Democratic Party stalwarts (UAW chief Fraser or Wurf/Gotbaum of AFSCME) to form a labor party on a minimalist, economist program. In order to clarify the revolutionary position on the labor party demand, we are reprinting below an article by Max Shachtman and James Burnham from the August 1938 *New International*, theoretical journal of the then-Trotskyist SWP.

In 1940 the two authors broke with the Trotskyist movement in rejecting unconditional defense of the USSR, a question of principle for Marxists despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state. However, in 1938 Shachtman and Burnham were two of the SWP's leading spokesmen, and this article represented the views of the party majority as it first took up the labor party demand. Written as the Democrats consolidated their alliance with the bureaucracy of the newly established CIO industrial unions, the essay retains its significance today as a statement of revolutionary tactics.

As noted in a 1972 speech by Spartacist League national chairman James Robertson, to be published in a subsequent issue of *WV*, the labor party is the particular American version of the united front, a tactic for communists to gain authority through the struggle for proletarian unity against the capitalist class. The need for the labor party tactic derives from the vast disproportion in strength between the revolutionary vanguard and the bureaucratically led trade-union movement. Even where able to field its candidates in bourgeois elections, a small communist propaganda group cannot credibly present itself as the practical alternative for the mass of the working class against the Democrats and Republicans. Revolutionaries in this period therefore address the need for working-class political independence by calling on the unions to form a party of labor on a program of abolishing capitalist rule—i.e., the Transitional Program.

For authentic Marxists, the labor party tactic is not an alternative to building a communist vanguard party, but is a means of facilitating that task. The slogan is not valid under all historical circumstances and could even be an impediment to revolutionary organizing. If, for example, communists should succeed in building a mass revolutionary workers party, they would then oppose the efforts of trade-union bureaucrats to establish a labor party, whose only function would be that of a reformist competitor to the communist-led organization.

In fact, until 1938 the American Trotskyists rejected the labor party demand and on this issue stood opposed to the Socialist Party reformists and the former right opposition to the Stalinists, headed in the U.S. by Jay Lovestone. One factor which motivated the Trotskyist position was the fiasco around the early CP's flirtation with the "farmer-

labor party" movement in 1923-24. As Trotsky pointed out, behind rhetoric of a bogus "two-class" party, the Communists were being towed in the wake of bourgeois populist politicians like LaFollette. Also, to call on William Green's AFL, a deeply corrupt pro-capitalist bureaucracy based on labor-aristocratic craft unions, to form a labor party was to define it in advance as reformist. The Trotskyists understandably did not want to create a new reformist obstacle to proletarian revolution.

By 1938, however, a number of developments converged to give the idea of a labor party wide support among American workers. The rise of mass trade unions in 1936-38 and the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations embraced strategic sections of the industrial proletariat for the first time. The CIO emerged, however, with a pro-capitalist bureaucracy which was qualitatively stronger than the left-wing political organizations. Prior to the rise of the CIO it was certainly possible for a mass revolutionary party to develop as a result of direct communist leadership of working-class struggles. General strikes in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco during 1934 were all led by socialist groups which outflanked the hidebound AFL. But by 1938 the trade-union bureaucracy was becoming one of the main bases of support for the Roosevelt administration.

At the same time a significant section of the new CIO leadership professed belief in socialism and an independent working-class party. Homer Martin, first president of the key United Auto Workers, was associated with the Lovestoneites as the Reuther brothers were with the Socialist Party. Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers set up the American Labor Party in New York, primarily because its ranks would not vote for Roosevelt on the Democratic Party ticket. In short, the left wing of the CIO bureaucracy paid lip service to a labor party while in practice forming the American version of the popular front by supporting FDR.

The economic and political conjuncture gave the labor party demand a particular agitational significance. In 1937-38 a sharp economic

downturn shook workers' confidence in Roosevelt's New Deal reforms. Equally important, the cutback in production stalled the CIO organizing drive. The Little Steel strikes were bloodily defeated while Ford stopped the UAW effort by firing entire factory shifts. Defeated at the economic level, the union bureaucracy turned to political action, setting up Labor Non-Partisan Leagues and Political Action Committees, in many cases with broad rank-and-file participation. Meanwhile, feeling betrayed by Roosevelt's "curse on both your houses" attitude during the Little Steel strikes, demagogic CIO leader John L. Lewis sharply attacked the Democratic president. With a rift opening up between an important section of the labor bureaucracy and the Democrats in power, the idea of a labor party became a real issue in American political life.

The new situation caused Trotsky to propose that the SWP come out for a labor party. Recently obtained SWP Political Committee minutes for the April 1938 plenum reveal that the shift in line initially met with vehement opposition among even many of the leading cadre of the SWP. The change was summed up in the majority resolution to the plenum:

"At the time of our national convention, we took insufficient account of the new developments in the labor movement, especially in their political aspects, and fell into the error of repeating abstract formulas on the question of the labor party which, in the light of great new developments, had become obsolete.... "The Socialist Workers Party, section of the Fourth International, clearly realizes the fact that in virtue of the unfavorable historical reasons its own development lagged behind the radicalization of wide layers of the American proletariat and precisely because of this the problem of creating a labor party is placed upon the order of the day

through the whole course of development.

"...while the Social Democrats, Lovestoneites, etc. advocate a labor or farmer-labor party with a purely reformist program and more or less confine themselves to unprincipled top combinations under cover of this slogan—the Socialist Workers Party advances its program of transitional demands in order to fructify the mass movement in favor of a labor party and lead it in a revolutionary direction...."

—[SWP] *Internal Bulletin*, No. 2 in 1938

In light of subsequent efforts to gut the revolutionary position on the labor party, certain points in the Shachtman/Burnham essay deserve special comment. In answer to those comrades who saw a labor party as necessarily reformist, modeled on its British namesake, the article states clearly that Trotskyists call for a party based on the Transitional Program. However, the authors do not explicitly project the possibility of *transforming* (or *splitting*) an amorphous labor party movement to form a revolutionary party under communist leadership. On the Farmer-Labor Party, the article falsely equates this petty-bourgeois formation with a labor party, thereby forgetting the lesson drawn by the Trotskyist movement from the 1923-24 FLP adventure. Centering on the need to throw out/break with bourgeois politicians of the LaFollette/Olson stripe, communist tactics toward such "two-class" parties are qualitatively different than toward parties of the working class.

In 1938 the SWP recognized that the *agitational* demand on the union bureaucracy (or a section of it) to form a labor party was conjunctural, to be raised when there was an actual impulse to break with the bourgeois parties. The Trotskyist tactic thus has nothing in common with the labor party cretinism of the Healyite Workers League (before



Minneapolis general strike of 1934, led by Trotskyist Communist League of America, posed possibility of direct growth of mass revolutionary party.

it left the workers movement to become the mouthpiece of Islamic dictator Qaddafi), which endlessly campaigned for the ultra-chauvinist, anti-Communist Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy to found a reformist labor party. We likewise oppose the call by the now thoroughly reformist SWP on the liberal bureaucrats to form a "labor party": all wings of the American labor bureaucracy are today bound hand-and-foot to the capitalist parties.

Accordingly the Spartacist League today raises the labor party demand in the same spirit as did the SWP in the late 1930s, as part of a program of revolutionary opposition to the "labor lieutenants of capital." We demand: Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government! In present conditions of American political life, the labor party demand is essentially a propagandistic expression of working-class political independence. As such it is a subordinate, tactical element in the struggle for a workers government, popular expression for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE QUESTION OF A LABOR PARTY

BY JAMES BURNHAM & MAX SHACHTMAN

Political formations in the United States are undergoing a radical realignment, and in addition to the old formations, new ones are appearing on the scene. The changes in the situation are of such a nature as to dictate a change in or amplification of the tactics pursued by the revolutionary Marxists in this country.

Two unprecedented economic crises, the second following the first before it reached the stage of boom; the increasingly deep social crisis in which the bourgeoisie finds it impossible to solve the problems of its social order in any of the traditional ways; and the organization of the workers in the basic, mass-production industries under the banner of the CIO, numbering more than 3,000,000 genuine proletarians, have not only brought into existence an unmistakable movement for working-class political action, but have developed it—for all its backwardness—on a vast scale, one never known in the USA.

The Labor Non-Partisan League (LN-PL),¹ the direct intervention of the unions in the Detroit and Seattle elections and in the Pennsylvania primaries—these are only superficially similar to the ancient Gompers² policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies"; the formation of the American Labor Party (ALP)³ in New York is an even sharper break from the traditional position of the labor movement. The advance consists in the fact that for the first time the American unionists are being mobilized as a class to participate in politics. The leaders of labor, however, strive to confine this movement to the old capitalist parties, that is, to prevent this class movement from exceeding the bounds of bourgeois politics, and taking the form of independent working-class political action. The movement is not temporary or



Amalgamated Meat Cutters

1937 Memorial Day Massacre of Chicago-area steelworkers. With the rise of mass industrial unions under pro-capitalist leadership, Trotskyists adopted the tactic of the labor party.

accidental. Under the impulsion of the social crisis it will grow and find clearer expression. Who can challenge this save those who expect an early stabilization of U.S. capitalism, an easy surmounting of the crisis?

Side by side with this movement, however, exists and develops the movement for a "third party." Its most concrete form to date is the organization of the National Progressives.⁴ This too is not the product of an individual caprice or aberration, but is based objectively upon the discontent and the dilemma of the middle classes suffering intensely from the crisis, which have been deliberately exploited by demagogues like LaFollette.⁵ While its very class basis deprives it of an enduring character, at least with its present form and program, it is an important sign of the times.

More important is the simultaneous movement to develop the "American form" of coalition in one party—a reconstituted Democratic Party, freed of the "conservatives," and composed of Roosevelt's "liberals," plus the Republican "progressives" and supported by the LN-PL, the ALP, and the two trade-union movements. The division in the Democratic camp in 1936, the violent inner-Democratic fights in Congress, the present primary campaign, all of which are based on social conflicts within the party itself, indicate the lines of the schism which the crisis will only deepen and toward which many right-wing and left-wing Democrats are consciously working. Both camps realize that the old alignments no longer correspond to the needs of the new situation.

What, then, are the actual possibilities of development for working-class political action on a mass scale in the next period? There appear to us to be three.

A national Labor party, similar in scope and position to the British Labour Party, would be far the most probable development if one could arbitrarily transfer the present forces back to the period of America's expansion and rise, approximating the present period of capitalist decline, so forcefully evident in the United States as well, such a development is distinctly less likely. The social limitations imposed upon a reformist party by desperate, decaying capitalism, set the political limits of such

a party. Those who believe that a Labor party in the U.S. would play the same progressive role, and for the same period of time, as the British Labour Party, are guilty of flagrant dogmatism and of blindness to those very national peculiarities which they accuse their critics of ignoring. While local Labor party movements are already crystallizing and others will undoubtedly develop, there are few outstanding leaders of the trade unions consciously and firmly working toward a Labor party. On the other hand, other movements, now more powerful and having more conscious and determined leaders, are at work absorbing the incipient Labor party trends.

A "third party" is not unlikely to develop. On a small (state) scale, at least, its establishment is even certain. But its class instability, especially under the brutal blows of the crisis, gives it no great future and indicates that it will split in two extreme directions before it even grows to full stature. A long-lived independent middle-class party, especially in our times, is a chimera; politically, the middle class must fly apart, one section following the leadership of the workers, the other—under fascism—the leadership of big capital.

A reorganized Democratic Party, embracing in one coalition all the classic components of the People's Front, has powerful forces working for its development. They include not only the Roosevelt wing, but virtually all the prominent leaders of the unions, especially of the CIO, and the powerful machinery of the Stalinist party, which is now firmly mobilized against the organization of a Labor party or any other form of independent working-class political action. The almost certain reorganization of the Democratic Party, while it does not necessarily exclude the other possibilities mentioned, could, for a short but indeterminate period, swallow up the other movements. In the worst case, which is not at all excluded, its realization might conclusively prevent the American working class from developing a Labor party on any important scale. It would, instead, open up two direct roads, one leading straight to revolutionary politics, the other to fascism.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that a new world war—no small or remote factor!—might well interrupt

the whole process, especially the trend toward a Labor party, and at all events impel it to find new channels and forms of expression.

2

The position on the question of a Labor party held up to now by the Socialist Workers Party and the movement out of which it developed, may be summarized as follows: The "revolutionary party [cannot] properly take the initiative in advocating the formation of Labor or Farmer-Labor parties" which our Declaration of Principles characterizes as reformist by virtue of "their false program and perspective"; further, "far from constituting independent class politics, the present labor party development is, from the point of view of the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie, the method for preventing the growth of independent class politics"; however, "the labor party movement, from the point of the workers themselves, does reveal a progressive development in general towards class consciousness"; therefore, "where the labor party develops as a genuine mass movement separate from the capitalist parties, the revolutionists must remain in the midst of the workers...[and] stand at each stage for those concrete policies and actions which sum up a progressive and class perspective" (our emphasis—J.B.-M.S.).

A study of the development of our position indicates that we based ourselves on two alternatives. If there is no mass reformist party, or movement for it, we do not initiate or form one as a



1947 pamphlet issued by UAW Local 659, Flint, Michigan.

substitute for the revolutionary party, but build the latter directly as a mass party. Where a mass Labor party does exist, we, to whom sectarianism is alien, are flexible in our tactics and, generally, give critical support to such a party; and, as is known, we followed this course in Minnesota where there is an established Farmer-Labor Party,⁶ supported by the mass of the unions.

But our analysis was incomplete, and in some respects, not sufficiently clear. It did not allow for the present stage of development, in which an undeveloped and only partly conscious mass movement exists and is torn by warring tendencies of progress and reaction, but is not yet crystallized. A contributory cause preventing us from supplement-

Labor Party...

(continued from page 7)

ing our analysis was the need of concentrating our attention and attack upon the reformist Labor party conceptions of the right wingers and centrists in the old Socialist Party, in connection, particularly, with the problem of the ALP which originated not as a break-away from the old parties, but as a machine to break the advanced and traditional socialist influence upon the New York workers and to corral the labor vote for an old capitalist party and ticket.

In brief, our old position cannot and does not effectively answer the problems raised by the present stage of development. It cannot even in theory, for the reason that the new situation was not clearly allowed for. More decisive is the fact that practice has also demonstrated its inadequacy, and consequently, the fact that it does not permit us to give concrete answers, not only such as are understandable and acceptable to the masses, but as will develop more speedily their class consciousness, their break with the bourgeoisie and its parties, and also with their petty-bourgeois leaders.

In Pennsylvania, after Kennedy's⁷ defeat in the primaries, if we do not urge the workers to put up their own independent ticket on a militant program (which, in view of the election machinery alone that is required, means the decisive step towards a Labor party formation), and break with the Democratic Party—we can only urge them to support in the elections the SWP (which, alas, is yet too weak to put a ticket in the field); in effect, therefore, we leave the CIO bureaucracy and the Stalinists associated with them a free hand in keeping the masses tied to the Democratic Party. In New Jersey, our participation in the conferences of the LN-PL is sterilized because we do not counterpose in the most concrete form independent political action to the Holderman-Stalinist policy of paralyzing the movement, disorienting it, rendering it passive and delivering it to one gang or another in the capitalist parties. In the ALP, similar indecision deprives us in advance of the possibility of playing any role whatsoever.

Our old position, irrespective of whether it was right or wrong, or of what specific position we adopt now, must be brought up to date. We advocate a *positive* policy, one that is based upon the *present* reality, as well as the *objective needs* of the working class.

3

Our attitude toward the present movement for workers' political action must give concrete and unambiguous answer to these questions:

Are we indifferent to it? We are not indifferent, and cannot be, toward any mass movement of the workers.

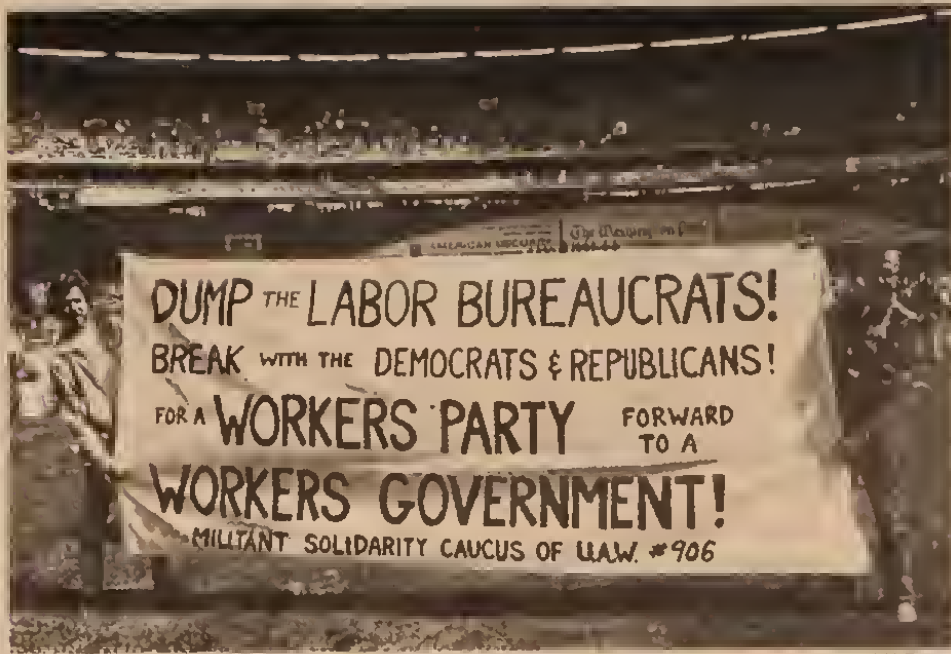
Is the movement, in so far as it represents and expresses a break with the tradition of supporting the old capitalist parties, progressive or reactionary? On the part of the workers, as we have declared in the past, it is obviously progressive.

Will the trend towards independent working-class political action, towards increased political consciousness of the working class, grow weaker or stronger in the coming period? One cannot seriously hold to the belief that the social crisis in the United States is deepening, that sharper class conflicts are ahead, that the bourgeoisie must seek to burden the masses increasingly with the cost of the crisis, that mere economic action will prove increasingly difficult and insufficient and therefore give greater point to the urgency of political action—without concluding that the American workers are certain to move at a faster and clearer pace towards independent political class action in the period ahead, whatever organiza-

tional forms it may at any given moment take.

Will this movement, in any decisive respect, take the form of a mass revolutionary Marxian party during the next period? At most, one can say that it is not theoretically excluded; but all practical and realistic considerations indicate that this will not be the case.

The *actual* alternatives, therefore, are the development of a mass Labor party, or the immersion and sterilization of the movement into a reorganized Democratic or third party. Powerful political forces are working in the latter direction: the bourgeois and social reformists, the trade-union bureaucracy, the Stalinists, the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie, etc. They are all deliberately impeding the development of an independent Labor party.



Washington, D.C. 1975 AFL-CIO rally against unemployment. Class-struggle militants fight bureaucracy's tactic of pressuring government, reliance on bosses' parties.

In this *concrete* dispute, we have, and must have, an active preference. As against the last-named elements and their strategy, we are *positively* in favor of the political organization of the American workers as a class, that is, of a Labor party. This alone makes it possible for us to intervene in the labor movement in such a way as to heighten the class consciousness of the workers in the given circumstances, to sharpen their antagonism to the bourgeois parties, to widen the breach between them and their class-collaborationist, bureaucratic misleadership.

In Pennsylvania, we counterpose to the capitulatory policy of the CIO chiefs, the proposal that labor should enter its own ticket, and set up the political-organizational machinery to run this ticket; we conduct a vigorous campaign for this policy which will be realistic and acceptable to thousands of workers, perhaps only a handful of whom will be interested in an SWP ticket. And the policy will be correct not only because it is "realistic and acceptable," but because it will impel thousands of workers to break from the Democratic Party, to break with bourgeois politics and also its sponsors in the CIO and AF of L, and to seek the road to independent class action. When the bosses of a Labor Non-Partisan League conference propose the endorsement of Democratic Smith or Republican Jones, we cannot seriously counterpose Trotskyist Robinson; it is entirely correct, however, and fruitful for our movement, to fight at the conference for a candidate put forward by labor itself, for a Labor party organized and controlled by the workers. In the ensuing fight, the militant, advanced, comparatively conscious workers will rally to our side and, in time, swell the ranks of the revolutionary party.

Do we then become a "Labor-party party," which, like the Lovestoneites and Thomasites,⁸ will carry on an abstract, general, universal and perpetual campaign for a Labor party? Nothing of the kind. We need a position that

enables us to give the concrete revolutionary answer to the specific situations that arise (Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, the ALP, Workers Alliance,⁹ etc.) But more important than this is the fundamental point of difference between our revolutionary position and the opportunist position of the Lovestone and Thomas groups. They are the advocates and defenders of a reformist Labor party, a "good" reformist party. Our Declaration of Principles properly defines the present Labor party movement as reformist on the basis of its "false program and perspective." The Socialist Workers Party does not and cannot advocate or support this program and perspective.

Let us put it more concretely. We are not the advocates of a Labor party "in general," in the abstract, or even of the

small ones. In this way, we help to revolutionize the mass movement, and to make a mass movement out of the revolutionary party. There is no other way.

Our main aim is to build the revolutionary party, and all tactics must subserve this aim. The Labor party tactic is not, of course, given for all time. It is imperative for the period ahead. If the trend toward a Labor party is swallowed up in the coming period by a third party or "Democratic Front," the Labor party slogan may lose its effectiveness, and the struggle will take the form of combat for direct leadership of the masses between the revolutionary party and the reformist-patriotic movement. The coming war, after a short period, would, for example, enormously sharpen all relations and problems. It will be recalled that the big reformist movements after the last war broke in two, with such large sections coming over to revolutionary Marxism that the small communist sects in many countries became mass parties almost overnight. Such a perspective is far from excluded in the United States. But it is still not on the immediate horizon.

While the next period does not indicate the likelihood of the revolutionary party directly becoming a mass party, there is no reason at all for lack of confidence. The adoption of the Labor party slogan, as elucidated by us, does not mean giving up the revolutionary party; it means the best way, under the concrete circumstances, of rooting the party in the living mass movement and of building it into a stronger force. Given a correct policy on our part, the very same forces pushing the workers now toward a Labor party will, as they deepen and as experience is accumulated, push the workers even more firmly towards the revolutionary party. The terrific social crisis, and the impending war, open out directly revolutionary perspectives, with a concomitant tumultuous growth of our party which will bring the United States to the very forefront of this old world. We need only know how to exploit the vast possibilities in a realistic, practical, effective, i.e., Marxist manner. An arena in which our ideas are brought to the masses and our party is built—it is in this sense, above all, that our tactics toward the Labor party must be understood.

James Burnham
Max Shachtman

FOOTNOTES

¹ Labor Non-Partisan League: Political arm of the CIO, organized in 1936 to support Roosevelt.

² Samuel Gompers founded the AFL in 1886.

³ American Labor Party: Formed in 1936 by David Dubinsky and Sidney Hillman, social-democratic leaders of the garment trades unions, to mobilize New York labor support for Roosevelt. Split in 1944 into ALP and Liberal Party.

⁴ National Progressives: A liberal bourgeois third party, founded by Philip LaFollette in 1938.

⁵ Philip LaFollette: Wisconsin governor and son of populist Robert M. LaFollette.

⁶ Farmer-Labor Party: Reformist third party of trade-union and farmer organizations formed in the wake of World War I. Maintained popular support in Minnesota, where the F-LP's Floyd Olson was elected governor in 1930 and 1932. F-LP leadership supported Roosevelt, but the trade union caucus of F-LP ran an independent slate in the 1937 primaries.

⁷ Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, ran in the 1938 Pennsylvania Democratic primary for the gubernatorial nomination (and was defeated).

⁸ Thomasites: Followers of Norman Thomas, leader of the American Socialist Party.

⁹ Workers Alliance: Coalition against unemployment formed in April 1936 between the SP-led Workers Alliance, CP-led Unemployed Councils and American Workers Party's National Unemployed League in which the Trotskyists worked.

Klan...

(continued from page 12)
 article on page 2). For mass black/labor action to smash the Klan!

1960-1980: Which Road from Greensboro?

The organizers of the February 2 march remind us that 20 years ago Greensboro was the site of the first sit-ins. The wave of sit-ins that started at Woolworth's lunch counter developed into the militant student wing of the civil rights movement. Now we are told by the "National Anti-Klan Network" that this movement can be repeated in the 1980s, presumably along the same old road in the same old way, perhaps even singing the same songs.

Of course the civil rights movement cannot be repeated today. And if it could, who would want it? The old civil rights hierarchy with the reformist left in tow would certainly like to repeat the political methods of the liberal-led civil rights movement—the methods of betrayal and defeat. The idealism and self-sacrifice of countless young activists who embodied the hopes of millions were squandered in the name of "working within the system."

No one can now deny that despite some token gains and important formal statements of legal equality, the mass of blacks face under capitalism ever-decaying conditions. Schools and housing are worse and more segregated than ever. Black unemployment is at its highest in history. Practically an entire generation of black youth is being

tossed on the garbage heap.

Harry Truman observed from a position of privilege that a recession is when "the other guy lost his job" and a depression is when "you lost your job." Blacks are "the other guy" who suffer permanent depression conditions. And the industries being hit hardest today—auto and steel—are those in which blacks have historically been hired into the proletariat in waves of migration from the rural South. In every way that matters the capitalists have not only pushed black people to the back of the bus, they have made it too expensive to ride at all. And now in the name of Carter's escalating anti-Soviet "Human Rights" crusade to restore capitalism to the Russian deformed workers state, blacks and the poor are getting an overdose of grinding austerity in a dangerous atmosphere of increasing imperialist militarization.

The civil rights movement showed once more the courage and dedication of black people in their struggle for equality and liberation. But that movement was led down the liberal road of reliance on the federal government and loyalty to capitalism's Democratic Party. As a result the establishment preachers have been joined by a newly formed secular club of Black Elected Officials whose job it is to keep the struggle within the bounds of capitalism.

It is this same Democratic Party which is leading the onslaught against black people's democratic rights and their very livelihoods. It is the party that dumped school busing when it became a hot issue for the racists on the streets of

Boston and Louisville. It is the party of Jimmy Carter and the Dixiecrats. That party, preferred by the Communist Party and phony "progressives" of every sort, has never been nor can it ever be a party in the interests of black people. Now the organizers of defeat offer the same bankrupt strategy to "lay claim to the 1980s."

Many of the young militants inspired by the early sit-ins got fed up with the liberal pacifism of the Martin Luther Kings. They saw it was necessary to struggle for *power*. But in the absence of a strong proletarian movement fighting for black freedom, multi-racialism was falsely identified with subservience to white liberals. Thus some of the best fighters against racial oppression, like SNCC, saw no class-struggle road to liberation and were squandered in the rhetoric of black-separatist utopias born of despair. Or like the Panthers they were burned out and hunted down by capitalism's police until they too were tamed in the political cage of the Democratic Party.

But there was another road out of Greensboro, 1960. Not liberal integrationism nor black separatism but *revolutionary integrationism*—the fight for assimilation of black people into an egalitarian *socialist* society. That road is the road of the class struggle—the necessary fusion of the struggle for black freedom with the fight for proletarian revolution.

It is this class-struggle road that black activists must take today. In the wake of a demoralized, defeated civil rights movement and the horror of the Greensboro massacre, there are a few

hard facts and conclusions that must be faced.

- There is no future for black people under capitalism.
- Black people in the U.S. constitute not a separate "nation" but a *specialty oppressed race/color caste* segregated at the bottom of capitalist society, integrated into the economic life of the proletariat.
- Therefore the question of revolution in America is the race question: there can be no social revolution in this country without united struggle of black and white workers led by a multi-racial vanguard party, and there is nothing other than a workers revolution which can at last open the road to freedom for black people.

The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League have staked out this road of class struggle. We are dedicated to the construction of the multi-racial vanguard of the working people. We take action to harness the power of the labor movement in the fight for black equality, fighting within the unions against the poisonous racism which cripples united struggle and for a new class-conscious leadership to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats and unleash the power of the workers' organizations. We know we have chosen the road of long, hard struggle. But it is the only one which can liberate us all.

For labor/black mobilizations against the Klan! Break with the Democrats, black and white—Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Killer Cops...

(continued from page 3)

ness of the U.S. left and the decay of the radical black movement of the 1960s. (The decline of black nationalism after more than a decade of government repression and political disintegration was underlined in early January by Eldridge Cleaver. The former Panther leader, now a "born-again" Moonie, spoke out against any civilian review board as a judge was releasing him on probation.) Mayor Wilson's proposal for a five-person "advisory" review board was "opposed" by the NAACP's call for a nine-person board with power to review police "policies" as well as individual atrocities. Splitting the difference, the council on January 17 approved a seven-person board along the lines of the mayor's task force recommendation.

These mild liberal-utopian schemes to curb capitalism's killer cops have been seconded by Oakland's phony "leftists." The Communist Party U.S.A. Marxist-Leninist, a bunch of Albania cultists, latched onto the Briscoe case, launching a "Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice." They called for a "disciplinary board" which could only "recommend criminal charges" and "would not be able to put killer cops in jail" as "the only proposal worth fighting for." The crazed pro-"Gang of Four" Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party turned up at the January 9 meeting with a pig's head on a stake and some flashy banners with rhyming slogans—but with no concrete proposal. The attempt

of this group which only a few years ago was in a *de facto* anti-busing alliance with the KKK in Boston to pose now as defenders of black people is outrageous in any case. Downright pernicious, however, was the proposal put forward by the Communist Party's National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) for "community control of the police."

Civilian review boards are largely impotent mechanisms which encourage illusions in the "reformability" of the capitalist state. There are times when the question of a civilian review board becomes a referendum on police bonapartism. For example, in 1966 New York City police in alliance with an assortment of racist, right-wing groups launched a heavily bankrolled referendum campaign to eliminate Mayor Lindsay's powerless Civilian Review Board. New York cops wanted to continue to terrorize racial minorities, striking workers and leftists without even this token impediment. In response, the Spartacist League issued a leaflet: "Vote No to Cop Brutality and Racism." While placing no confidence in the review board, we warned then: "If the cops actually get the vote of confidence they're after, it will strengthen the hand of the ruling class and the cops against all working people and their organizations." The CP/NAARPR call for "community control" of the cops, however, means *administering* the cops, including "hiring, training and promotion of police employees." This is a dangerous proposal for minorities and working people to take responsibility for their own op-

pression under capitalism and must be strongly opposed.


Racist police repression is an old story in Oakland. In her 1977 book *A Fine Old Conflict*, ex-Communist Party member Jessica Mitford wrote a whole chapter about how the CP built an East Bay branch around battles against police brutality in Oakland in the late 1940s. Oakland cops, reinforced by recruiting in the South, have not mellowed with the passing decades. From the police vendetta against the Panthers to the cases of Tyrone Guyton, a black 14-year-old shot dead by cops in 1973, and 23-year-old Floyd Calhoun, cut down by Oakland police in 1975, the wanton killings by these gunmen in blue are notorious. But what has always been missing in recent protests against cop brutality in the Bay Area is the massive intervention of organized labor. In the Guyton case the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the warehouse division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, obtained union endorsement for a protest demonstration. But as we noted at the time, "The union leadership failed to push for a heavy mobilization among its several thousand members in the East Bay" (*WV* No. 99, 5 March 1976).

It is the labor movement that has the

power to defend oppressed minorities from unbridled police violence. If the trade unions flexed their muscles in defense of the black population it would be far more effective than a thousand speeches by black politicians or phony "review boards." If, for instance, the Alameda Central Labor Council, whose leader Richard Groulx made a token "labor" speech at the January 9 meeting, called a one-day general protest strike of its 65,000 members, the reins would certainly be tightened on the Oakland cops. But such labor fakers would rather make liberal speeches than launch the necessary class struggle. Indeed, Groulx has shown more sympathy for cops than workers: in 1979 he let Bay Area Rapid Transit workers go down to defeat in a lockout while in 1977 he sanctioned a BART strike on behalf of the transit cops' "union."

The case of Charles Briscoe, the slain shop steward, could potentially serve to launch a labor struggle against racist cop killings. Briscoe's IAM brothers could take a real step forward by initiating a movement for a labor protest strike against cop terror. Among the demands militant unionists must raise in such a strike would be: Jail killer cops, starting with four-time killer Robert Fredericks! Cops out of the labor movement! Disarm the police! ■

Spartacist League Public Forum



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Guest speaker: FRANK HICKS, member UAW Local 600, Detroit

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Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

rooms and the trading rooms of financial and commodity markets, forecasts for the 1980s are being hastily rewritten to accommodate the end of détente and the beginnings of a new cold war."

The images all spring quickly to mind. There is the jut-jawed crewcut admiral dispatching cutters to "interdict" Soviet fishing trawlers off Alaska. The president's State of the Union speech is slated to announce a new Carter Doctrine, paralleling the Truman, Eisenhower and Nixon "doctrines"—which brought forth NATO, CENTO and the deepening anti-Soviet alliance with Maoist China. Former Nixon staffer William Safire gloats that all the Democratic "doves" have been routed, or have at least changed the coloring of their feathers. In a column on "The Second Cold War" (*New York Times*, 10 January) he ironically notes that Carter's new ally Pakistan is hardly a sterling example of "Human Rights": "General Zia, who executed former Prime Minister Ali Bhutto, is somewhat more repressive than was President Thieu of South Korea."

Faced with a CIA-backed and Chinese-armed Islamic reactionary insurgency against its Afghan allies, Moscow did the natural thing. But in his January 3 telecast announcing the grain boycott and other measures to coerce the Soviet Union, Carter justified these acts of economic and diplomatic warfare by claiming that Brezhnev lied to him. Appealing to the old J. Edgar Hoover maxim—"never trust a Communist to keep a treaty"—he has proved that if anything the exact opposite is the case. In his 1976 presidential campaign Carter pledged: "The singling out of food as a bargaining weapon is something I would not do." Now he is trying to blackmail the Russian people by attacking their food supply.

And food is hardly the ultimate weapon. Carter's pious lies about SALT are a thing of the past as the U.S. embarks on a mammoth arms drive.

Dispassionately considered, the United States is acting like a mad dog that slipped the leash. Brezhnev, who has good reason to be peeved, put the

matter rather accurately: "As a result of the Carter Administration's actions, the impression is increasingly forming in the world of the United States as an absolutely unreliable partner in interstate ties, as a state whose leadership, prompted by some whim, caprice, or emotional outbursts, or by considerations of narrowly understood immediate advantage, is capable at any moment of violating its international obligations and cancelling treaties and agreements signed by it" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 13 January). Of course, Stalin could have said the same of Hitler after June 1941—in both cases the nationalist bureaucrats relied on treacherous agreements with the imperialists rather than revolutionary action by the international proletariat.

If Dr. Strangelove is running American foreign policy, domestic U.S. affairs look as if they are under the thumb of Daddy Warbucks. Carter's answer to the looming economic crisis is a classic "guns, not butter" armaments program. With weapons expenditures soaring, "defense" stocks are naturally booming; but as factory layoffs mount, unemployment benefits and social security payments are cut back; meanwhile the CIA is demanding an end to curbs on covert action and the "Justice" Department drops efforts to prosecute Nazi war criminals. Recent developments in the U.S. almost caricature the reactionary nature of capitalism in this epoch: as Rosa Luxemburg wrote in her pamphlet against the first imperialist world war, "dividends are rising, proletarians falling." And that indeed is the prospect facing the working people in the absence of socialist revolution—it is not just "cold" war that the capitalists will instigate.

We are presently experiencing a major shift of the international order as it was shaped in the aftermath of World War II. Such changes do not occur overnight, and to place the turning point at 1 January 1980 would be dangerously misleading. In 1946 Churchill sought to blame the end of the wartime coalition on the Soviets by accusing Stalin of lowering an "Iron Curtain" over East Europe. So today American imperialism tries to pin its war drive on "Soviet aggression" in Afghanistan. Yet ever since Potsdam, Truman's policies have sought an imperialist alliance against the USSR; and the new anti-

President Slashing Jobless Benefits

NYT January 6 8

Defense Stocks Lead Market Upward

Justice Dept. to Oust Nazi Hunter



It would have taken a Bertolt Brecht to capture this ruling class myopia. But Rosa Luxemburg said it long ago in her Junius Pamphlet on how capitalist economic irrationality leads to imperialist war:



Fred Ellis

"Dividends Rising—Proletarians falling."

Soviet axis was already foreshadowed by Washington's complicity in last year's Chinese invasion of Vietnam. Whether in the "Human Rights" rhetoric of Vance or the McCarthyite demonology of Brzezinski, the target of Carter's onslaught is the Soviet Union. And the threat of the new realignment is imperialist war to obliterate the conquests of the October Revolution.

"Born Again" Cold War

As we have repeatedly pointed out, ever since taking office Jimmy Carter has sought to morally and militarily re-arm American imperialism and pull the U.S. out of what the Pentagon sees as its post-Vietnam paralysis. His claims to have recently changed his opinion of the Russians to the contrary, Carter is simply milking the Iran and faked-up Afghanistan crises for all they are worth in building jingoist support for his war drive against the USSR. The administration defends itself against Republican criticism by pointing out it is the

first since World War II to raise real arms expenditures three years running. And in December Carter announced a further hike in military spending (already scheduled to rise 4.5 percent) by 5 percent annually. Taking inflation into account, this amounts to over \$1 trillion to be added to the war budget in the next five years. Most of this is to pay for a "rapid deployment force" and new ships which the Pentagon has had on its shopping list for years.

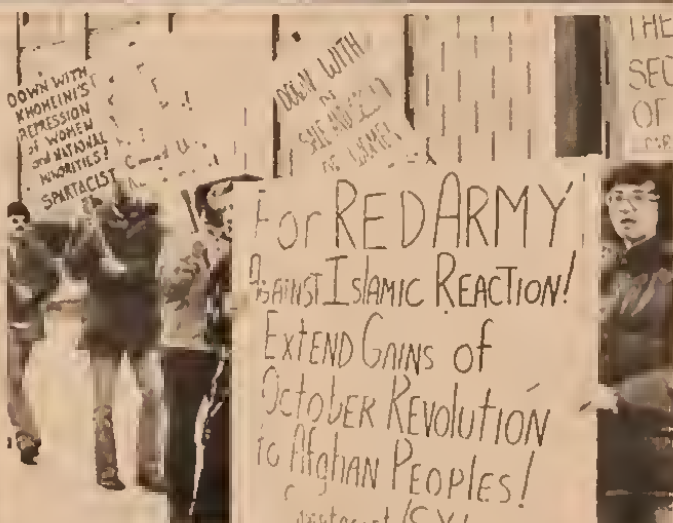
Compared to 20 years ago, however, the United States' world position is greatly weakened and the role of its imperialist allies is much greater. The end of unquestioned U.S. imperialist hegemony was marked by Nixon's 15 August 1971 action breaking the dollar's link to gold—the basis for the post-war Bretton Woods monetary system. Now Carter meets indifference to his calls for economic boycotts of Iran and the Soviet Union. The French turned down U.S. requests to curb advanced computer exports to Moscow, and the Japanese are continuing with their multi-billion projects to develop Siberian natural gas. The most Carter could come up with was German diplomatic support and an agreement by major grain exporters not to increase their sales to the USSR. On Iran, they are willing to vote with the U.S. in the United Nations, but no one is willing to jeopardize vital crude oil supplies for the sake of the hostages. Even Pakistan's Zia is queasy, terming Carter's \$400 million aid offer "peanuts."

The Chinese alone pledged to go all the way, for what that's worth. During U.S. "Defense" Secretary Brown's recent trip to Peking he called for



London, January 12.

Spartacist Britain



San Francisco, January 18

WV Photo

LONDON—The chant "Red Army in Action Against Islamic Reaction" rang out repeatedly January 12 as 40 Spartacist League/Britain supporters and others demonstrated in front of the U.S. embassy in Grosvenor Square. SL/B placards included "For Military Defence of the Soviet Union," "Smash Carter/Thatcher/NATO Anti-Soviet War Drive" and "Extend Social Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples."

The protest occurred amidst the bitter nationwide steel strike here as the pro-capitalist labour fakers were excoriating "Soviet aggression," working overtime to line up the working class in Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher's camp. So flagrant has been the capitulation of much of the British left that the

recently resuscitated mouthpiece of British imperialism, the *London Times* (10 January), was able to crow gleefully, "British Left Condemns Intervention by Moscow."

"This picket proves that the *Times'* blanket statement is not true," declared SL/B spokesman Alastair Green at the rally. "We have nothing in common with Thatcher and Carrington, Carter and Brzezinski, the butchers of Vietnam, of Ireland, today of Rhodesia again. These are the bitter enemies of the world working class."

SAN FRANCISCO—"Ship Grain to the USSR, For International Working-Class Solidarity," "Stop Shooting Teachers, Down with Islamic Reaction

in Afghanistan," and "From Moscow to Peking—For International Communist Unity Against Imperialism" were the chants of the 45-man demonstration outside the Federal Building here last Friday, January 18. Called by the Spartacist League, an SL/SYL banner proclaimed "For Red Army Against Islamic Reaction—Extend Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!"

Militant longshoremen and warehousemen from the ILWU came out to the demonstration under the placard, "Down with the Reactionary ILA Grain Boycott." But there was no response to united-front demonstration requests made to several Bay Area fake-left groups.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

"complementary actions" against supposed Russian expansionism; to which Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) replied saying, "China and the U.S. should do something in a down-to-earth way" against "Soviet hegemonism." In the case of Afghanistan, however, this meant what a Washington official described as "a rational division of labor" in which China continues to supply small arms to the Afghan Islamic reactionaries while the U.S. provides heavier weaponry to Pakistan. Revising its earlier (public) verdict on Deng's attack on Hanoi last year, the U.S. now concludes that "the Chinese...were bloodied by the more experienced Vietnamese armed with modern Soviet weapons" (*New York Times*, 17 January). And Pentagon officials estimate conservatively that to bring Peking forces to the point that they could threaten anyone would cost at least \$35 billion.

Domestically Carter has succeeded in rallying key sectors of the American bourgeoisie for his Cold War policies. In the recent Democratic caucus politicking in Iowa, the only attacks were from the right—Republican Reagan called for arming the Afghan rebels with surface-to-air missiles (!) and Kennedy tried to attack his primary rival for failing "to understand the Soviet threat." Carter's new budget, heavily expanding arms expenditures, has met general approval in business circles. Where the government is weakest is clearly at the level of popular support. Riding the current wave of patriotic solidarity, the administration makes much of polls showing for the first time in a generation a plurality in favor of greater "defense" spending. But while there is a real chauvinist backlash over the Iran hostage seizure, Soviet military support to the Kabul regime has awakened little or no passion. For most Americans the country is a long way away and already in the Soviet sphere of influence; the Russians, faced with a threat to their clients, did the normal thing and *nobody* is ready to die for

"plucky little Afghanistan," especially in defense of the mullahs.

For the Red Army Against Islamic Reaction!

Writing almost 30 years ago, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said of the first "Cold War":

"Diplomatic double-talk aside, what is really involved in the cold war is a conflict of class interests and social and economic systems, which cannot be reconciled. American imperialism, the main representative of a decayed social system, whose fate is inextricably tied to the fate of capitalism on a world scale, is of necessity the ally of reactionary

terms of the conflict. Frequently—in Egypt, the Sudan, Sri Lanka, Syria, Iraq and elsewhere—the Russian bureaucracy aids regimes which are in no way more progressive than their neighbors or internal opponents—and which no less frequently turn on their Soviet allies. Communist revolutionists, Trotskyists, do not support these reactionary ploys of Kremlin foreign policy. But in Afghanistan, faced with imperialist pressure and Islamic revolt, the Stalinists have found themselves forced, for purely defensive reasons, to take up a genuinely red cause. And defense of the USSR itself—a matter of

when pro-imperialist "dissidents" like the physicist Andrei Sakharov called for Soviet withdrawal, they were branded for what they are—*traitors* to the proletarian cause. In the face of the imperialist uproar over Soviet military intervention against the mullah-led reactionaries in Afghanistan, Trotskyists proclaimed: "Hail Red Army!"

Despite wishful thinking in the West that Afghanistan will become "the USSR's Vietnam," Soviet forces are clearly capable of suppressing the disorganized, poorly armed tribalist rebels. What will then become of the country? In the absence of any but the most rudimentary proletariat the essential ingredients for the liberation of the Afghan peoples must come from outside this overwhelmingly tribalist region. If the country is effectively incorporated into the Soviet bloc this can today be only as a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state. Compared to present conditions in Afghanistan this would represent a giant step forward. The sharp contrast between the condition of women in Soviet Central Asia and that in any Islamic state provides an index. But the road to a socialist future of economic plenty and internationalist equality lies in a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. This in turn must be linked with socialist revolutions from South Asia to the imperialist centers.

The Kremlin and its flunkies of the pro-Moscow CPs will predictably launch a "peace offensive" to "isolate the warmongers" and "revive détente." To these shibboleths we respond as Cannon did to the Stalinists in the 1950s: "The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace." ■

Better Crazy
Eddie than
Crazy Jimmy.



capitalists, landlords, usurers and colonial exploiters everywhere."

—*The Road to Peace* (1951)

So today U.S. imperialism finds itself in league with the mullahs and khans, the defenders of bride price and the veil, usury and serfdom, and perpetual misery. The victory of the Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan means the perpetuation of feudal and pre-feudal enslavement well into the last quarter of the 20th century. For that reason we have called for the military victory of the Kabul regime.

The direct deployment of Soviet troops and confirmation of the reactionary rebels' imperialist ties change the

principle for Marxists—is directly posed.

Brezhnev & Co. continue their treacherous policies of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with the "democratic" imperialists and "national" bourgeoisie—policies that have led to bloodbaths from Djakarta to Santiago, and which needlessly prolonged the heroic struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants for decades. But at least when they felt the hot breath of counterrevolution next door, the Kremlin was not seized by rotten liberalism. At Kabul airport the Antonov transports landed *every two minutes*. And

Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

have been none-too-enthusiastic about the Starve Russia grain boycott, so far American athletes and sports fans are not buying Carter's Hate Russia ("Human Rights") boycott.

Col. F. Don Miller, executive director of the U.S. Olympic Committee, denounced the administration's callousness toward the sacrifices of amateur athletes and called for resisting "political, religious and racial intrusions into the games." One of the two U.S. representatives to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Douglas Roby, predicted the only way Carter could stop contestants from going to Moscow is to lift their passports. And IOC president Lord Killanin, who unlike Carter appears to live up to his agreements, has repeatedly declared that the Olympics will be held as scheduled in Moscow and nowhere else.

For revolutionaries, current opposition to boycotting the Moscow Olympics is heartening. It shows that there is not now the kind of rabid anti-Soviet chauvinism that Carter wants to fuel his war drive against the Russian degenerated workers state. Public opinion seems to be that, whatever is happening in Afghanistan, it's not worth pulling out of the Olympics. Of course, given the government and press campaign to whip up fear of a "Communist menace," this popular mood could change.

Whether or not Carter can pull the U.S. team out of the Moscow games, his counter-Olympics is strictly a losers' bowl. Japan, West Germany and France are all sending their teams to the USSR in August. To date, only Saudi Arabia has pulled out. Perhaps the Saudis will

inaugurate a new sport at Carter's "Free World Olympics": stoning to death of "adulteresses." Khomeini's disciples could have the self-flagellation marathon. And Afghani "freedom fighters" can introduce their own event: shooting in the back of Communist school teachers bringing literacy to enslaved Muslim women.

Despite the Olympic Committee's high-flown rhetoric, the site of the games has always been a highly political act. Attending the 1936 Olympics in Munich/Berlin was part of the British/French policy of "appeasement" toward Germany. And since 1956 every Olympics has been held in one of America's imperialist allies, except for 1968 when it was held in neighboring Mexico. Thus the decision to hold the 1980 games in Moscow was considered to be a major diplomatic breakthrough for the USSR. Tens of millions in the West could see Moscow not as the sinister site of the Kremlin but as a great city hosting the world's most prestigious athletic event. It was part and parcel of "détente."

The Russian bureaucracy's obsession with the Olympics assumes absurd proportions. The peoples of the "third world" do not really choose their social systems on the basis of great-power prestige as measured by the number of gold medals. And the notion that international athletic competition "brings people together" over the heads of their governments is popular-frontist stupidity; in the epoch of imperialist war there is no "people's unity" short of the international proletarian revolution uniting the workers of the world.

Perhaps the Olympics mania is intended for internal consumption. The German revolutionist Karl Liebknecht once observed that the Kaiser's govern-

ment institutionalized sports to get working-class German youth out of the cafes where they were sitting around talking about communism. The enormous sports apparatus of the USSR is similarly a "wholesome" outlet for energies which might otherwise find their way into other youthful pursuits: drinking, sex, politics.

Even before Afghanistan there was much talk in right-wing imperialist circles of boycotting the Moscow Olympics, using the bureaucratic repression of Soviet dissidents as a pretext. We should note that this reactionary proposal came not only from the Ronald Reagans and Franz-Josef Strausses but even from fake-Trotskyists. Both the British IMG and French LCR, members of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat," uncritically published Soviet-bloc dissidents' appeals for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Tamara Deutscher rightly took the Mandelites to task for endorsing such anti-Soviet boycotts.

It is obscene for the men who A-bombed Hiroshima, who murdered millions of defenseless Vietnamese, to call for boycotting the Moscow Olympics in the name of international political morality. In reality, U.S. imperialism's terror in Vietnam extended to the Olympic games themselves. Ten days before the 1968 Olympics, when thousands of students protesting (among other things) American atrocities in Indochina held a rally at the University of Mexico's Tlatelolco housing project they were mowed down by machine guns of government troops and police, leaving hundreds dead. No one in Washington, including bourgeois liberal "doves," proposed boycotting these games. On the contrary, the Tlatelolco massacre was carried out in

good part to make the Olympics safe for American imperialism.

Those who are against the Moscow games boycott because they believe that the Olympics must be "above politics" are living in a fantasy world of sports purism. They argue that the Olympic torch must burn bright above the nasty business of the politics of nations. In this respect liberals point to Vietnam and falsely equate the U.S. imperialist war against the workers and peasants of the country with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Such a position was reflected in the statement of long distance runner Don Kardung: "A few years ago most of the world thought we were on the wrong side in Vietnam. Nobody boycotted because of that" (*Washington Post*, 6 January). Unlike the liberal athletes opposing Carter, communists are not sports purists. Rather we oppose Carter's Olympic boycott because it is a diplomatic attack by U.S. imperialism on the Soviet degenerated workers state, one momentarily important in mobilizing popular support for Washington's war drive. Oppose Carter's Cold War iron curtain! Let the U.S. Olympic team go to Moscow! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Friday 3:00-6:00 p.m. Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
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WORKERS VANGUARD

500 Black Workers and Leftists in Detroit Show the Way

Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan!

On February 2 outrage will march in the streets of Greensboro, North Carolina where only three months ago the KKK and Nazis in the name of "White Power" and anti-communism gunned down five anti-Klan demonstrators, martyred members of the Maoist CWP. The marchers will chant, "Remember the Greensboro Massacre!" But who can forget? Who can fail to grasp the ominous message? The killers struck in broad daylight announcing open hunting season on blacks, union organizers and those who call themselves leftists. And the Greensboro cops facilitated the kill. The burning question is: how to fight the Klan?

Those who have come to Greensboro from all over Jimmy Carter's "New South" have heard the Klan's murderous message before: in Decatur, Alabama where last May black demonstrators were shot by hooded assassins; in Atlanta where a union organizer was savagely beaten by known Klansmen; in Memphis where nightriders terrorized a black mayoral candidate with their fiery cross.

There is no mistaking the growth of these race-hate terror groups in the U.S. and the passive acceptance they are receiving in a rightward-drifting America. The Anti-Defamation League estimates Klan/Nazi membership at 10,000 with a threefold jump in sympathizers to 100,000 (*New York Times*, 11 November 1979). And there is no mistaking the menace of the media's reporting the Greensboro massacre as a "shootout" between two more or less equally repulsive violent fringe groups.

Many who have come to Greensboro know that the massacre demands more than remembrance. They know the bloody message sent by the race-terrorists last November 3 must be answered—and answered with *mass action*. That means bringing out the power of blacks and labor to smash the Klan!

Some who have been battling the KKK in the South may not be aware that there was such an answer to the Klan organized in Detroit one week after the killings. When the Klan announced it intended to march in that largely black and working-class city in celebration of the Greensboro massacre,

the answer was swift and effective: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City" (see *WV* Supplement, 16 November 1979).

While the old-line civil rights groups, the labor bureaucrats and the reformist left sat on their hands, the Spartacist League and union militants (including workers from Ford's giant River Rouge complex who had recently driven out two foremen who paraded in KKK hoods) organized an important anti-Klan demonstration. On November 10, for the first time in decades the fascists' provocations were met neither with hand-wringing middle-class protest nor with the pointless adventures of little bands of leftists. Despite the threats of Detroit's liberal black mayor, Coleman Young, that anti-Klan protesters would be arrested, 500 black and white workers and leftists rallied to demand: "Down with Klan terror! For the right of Southern black armed self-defense! For factory seizures against layoffs! Oust the bosses' tools in the labor movement! For independent black and labor candidates against the Democratic Party! Build a workers party!"

This was the demonstration that showed the way to fight Klan terror—neither the nutty adventurism of the Workers Viewpoint Organization/Communist Workers Party (WVO/CWP), nor the cringing pacifist legalism of the SCLC preachers. This demonstration pointed toward an anti-Klan strategy based on mobilizing the enormous power of the labor movement. And it will take this power to smash the Klan. We must reject the dangerous civil-libertarianism aped by the reformist Socialist Workers Party, which calls for "free speech" for fascists. We must do more than simply "say no" to racist terrorists who "say no" to blacks, Jews, leftists and unionists with bullets, arson and the lynch rope. Those who would fight the Klan must reject reliance on the capitalist state, the bankrupt strategy pushed by everyone from the SCLC's Joseph Lowery to the Communist Party with its calls to "ban the Klan."

Militant unionists and the Spartacist League call for other labor-based actions against the Klan and Nazis to follow up the start made in Detroit (see

continued on page 9



Detroit, November 10: auto workers answer Greensboro massacre. WV Photo

Videotape Available: "The Klan Won't Ride In the Motor City!"



"Kick them out and leave them out... Just let them know that we are not going to tolerate this kind of stuff here in Detroit."

Coleman Young's initial ban on the protest, the rally was successfully built.

A videotape of the Rally to Fight Klan Terror is now available for interested groups and individuals. The 30-minute film contains interviews with Detroit black workers, an account of the struggle to drive KKK-hooded foremen from River Rouge, and speeches from some trade unionists and spokesmen for the Spartacist League, which built heavily for the rally. The documentary shows the Marxist approach of mobilizing labor, black and white, to fight fascist terror.

Copies available from the Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10001

No More Greensboros!