

NY Transit Workers Shut It Down



Strike to Win!

APRIL 1—Day One of the New York City transit strike of 1980 began at 2:05 a.m. as the executive committee of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 marched out of the bargaining room. They had turned thumbs down to the Metropolitan Transit Authority's "last offer" of givebacks and takeaways; they rejected the mediators' "compromise" wage package totaling less than half the rate of inflation. Feeling the ranks breathing down their necks, they finally refused to cave in to management's scare tactics. The battle of the New York subways was on.

NY transit workers are fighting for all working people, the poor, minorities

and the other victims of an economic system that last year slashed real wages by over 10 percent. They are on the front lines for other city workers, whose pension funds have been stolen, their pay and conditions gutted under the fist of Big MAC. They are the test case for Jimmy Carter's "bite the bullet" austerity aimed at making workers bear the pain of inflation in order to improve businessmen's profits. They are fighting for us, and they need the active solidarity of all labor.

Murray Kempton, writing in today's *Post*, pointed out the national importance of the NYC transit strike:

"Last week, Mr. Carter noted among

his few satisfactions that his Administration has generally been able to keep wage increases four or five per cent below the rate of inflation. Last night suggests that the curious quiescence of the unions has broken at last; a labor war may have begun with this strike."

This is no minor local dispute. Transport Workers Union Local 100 is the strongest municipal union in America. And the American ruling class has decided that the cities are a drain on its profits, so they have gone on an offensive to cut everything from welfare to hospitals to teachers' jobs to transit wages. That was the purpose of the 1974-76 fiscal crisis which put New York City into receivership to the banks and

Washington. So any settlement that meets the union's demands will have to get the green light straight from Capitol Hill.

The bosses wanted this strike—they forced it. David Rockefeller told the politicians to "take a strike," even if it lasts weeks, rather than agree to an "inflationary contract." The *New York Times* issued an editorial, "To the Transit Barricades," urging management to stay tough and wear down the strikers. MTA chairman Richard Ravitch has been predicting a long strike since the beginning of negotiations. And he has done his best to get it—ultimately

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Victory to the Transit Strike!

Leaflet issued by the New York Spartacist League, April 1

This morning TWU Local 100 rejected the MTA's wage-slashing and union-busting offer and went on strike. The MTA proposal was an insult to every transit worker: 6 percent wages with inflation at 18 percent; takeaways like wage cuts for new hires, flooding the industry with part-timers—terms that would take the membership back to conditions before there was a union.

Transit workers must dig in for a fight. The future of the union and all of NYC labor is at stake. If the bosses succeed in beating the TWU, the most powerful municipal union in America,

then they will have a free hand to ram their wage-slashing program down the throat of every union. But if the TWU wins big, then Big MAC, the Taylor Law, and Carter's wage guidelines can be buried for good.

And the TWU has the power to win. All the bosses' threats of implementing the Taylor Law, calling out the National Guard, will fall flat in the face of a solid strike. If the TWU stays out, the City is shut down—and without NYC this country won't run. The union proved it in 1966. *You can't run the subways with court injunctions or bayonets!*

They've Got the Money—You've Got the Power!

No money—then no work! The MTA, Big MAC, and the bosses' politicians are pleading poverty. They say transit workers and the rest of labor must continue to sacrifice to pay for the mess they made. But transit workers have bled for years to bail out the bosses, and they're only squeezing harder. They've got the money—Carter can afford to give billions to the Pentagon and to bail out bankrupt losers like Chrysler; he can afford to pay NYC workers decent wages and subsidize free transit to boot!

The TWU needs to unite behind a fighting program to win:

- Double the wages! 30 percent is not enough! An ironclad COLA clause, with point for point protection. Scrap the tier system: equal pay and benefits for all workers! Full pension with COLA; restore 20 and out for all. No productivity deals, no takebacks.

- For massive funding to restore the

subways. Restore all the job cuts, 30 hours work at no loss in pay, and massive new hiring! Abolish the fare!

- For a militant strike: Mass picketing—Defy the union-busting Taylor Law! Link up with the rest of labor. If the TWU takes a decisive stand, hundreds and thousands of trade unionists and poor will rally to its cause. Bring out LIRR workers, PATH workers, all metropolitan transit workers for a joint strike!

- For a fighting leadership: The TWU has the power to win; what the union needs is a leadership that will wield that power. No more sellouts to please Democratic Party politicians! Break with the Democrats—build a workers party! For elected strike committees and regular mass meetings to run the negotiations and insure that this strike wins!

Transit Workers: They may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls!

Strike to Win!...

(continued from page 1)

"offering" a wage "increase" of 6 percent a year, while inflation runs out of control at 18 percent! But if they want a strike, let's give them one to remember!

For the 30,000 TWUers can do it. The men who run the subways have the power. Already the strike is more effective in tying up the financial center of American capitalism than the 1966 transit walkout. With the Long Island Rail Road also out, commuters can't even make it into Manhattan—it is, says the *Post*, "the most devastating strike in the city's history." Retail business losses are estimated at \$140 million a day to start with. And although the first day of the strike fell on the Passover holiday, already tens of thousands are hoofing it to Wall Street and city offices across the Brooklyn Bridge.

For now the city's rulers are pretending to be "neutrals." But then they promise to enforce the anti-strike Taylor Law to the hilt ("equally," of course), locking up union leaders and levying double penalties on the strikers. At the Sheraton Centre press conference today Governor Carey responded to a *WV* reporter's question saying, "There is no requirement or need for the National Guard at this time." But they will bring in the armed forces of the state, just as they are already using the courts and cops—to enforce *their* class inter-



"Last week, Mr. Carter noted among his few satisfactions that his Administration has generally been able to keep wage increases four or five per cent below the rate of inflation. Last night suggests that the curious quiescence of the unions has broken at last; a labor war may have begun with this strike."

—Murray Kempton

Demonstrators at March 27 TWU City Hall rally.

WV Photo

Meanwhile, the mayor and the media have launched a reactionary anti-strike propaganda campaign in the name of "the public." Amid a barrage of "I Love NY" rhetoric there are calls to "bike the strike," get out those roller skates and share the cars. There is the Big Apple Hot Line and the TV "strike watch" programs focusing on hardships facing "the public" and ignoring the pickets. Mayor Koch presents himself as the natural leader of this sentiment—"New Yorkers always pull together in a crisis"—and, noting that the crime rate went down (millions stayed home), proclaimed that "even the criminals are cooperating." And—in Washington the racist politicians dismiss the strike as one more peculiarity of "sin city"—what they portray as a haven of welfare chisellers and illegal aliens, Jews, blacks, socialists, unionists and other low-lives.

The New York labor movement cannot sit on the sidelines in this fight for its future is at stake. For the Transport Workers Union the contract issues involved are vital—the MTA is out for blood. Already NY transit workers are among the most sped-up and underpaid in the country (they fell from 1st to 50th in wages in the last half decade). The TWU's original demand for 30 percent was simply to make up for losses already suffered due to inflation since 1974 and would only catch up with what LIRR workers next door are already earning. TWU members need to double their wages and more, with 100 percent COLA. As for Ravitch's take-away demands, these are straight-out union-busting: hiring of thousands of part-timers at lower rates. The TWU membership must stick to its guns and fight for their full demands. No one goes back until everyone goes back—and amnesty for all the strikers! This is war, and once you have begun it stalling means death!

The point is not to call a disorganized strike for a few days or even weeks until there is a new majority in the TWU executive committee, and then have essentially the same rotten settlement shoved down the throats of a demoralized membership. The point is to fight to win the strike, to beat back the anti-labor offensive and bust the union-busters. That takes a class-struggle leadership, and that is above all what New York transit workers lack today. In the past NYC rulers have hesitated to take on the TWU—they are forcing the issue today only because they are betting

that the leadership vacuum will allow them to grind down the formidable strength of this union powerhouse. Meanwhile, Lawe confirms their calculations at every point—blowing the chance for a militant rally (out of fear his members would take it over), stumbling into the strike hours late instead of militantly enforcing the TWU tradition of "no contract, no work." And none of the dissident bureaucrats either called for or prepared the militant strike that is needed.

All the main figures in the dispute have pulled a curtain of silence over the Carter connection: federal money is never mentioned, pressure from Washington is denied, when *WV* asks about it at news conferences, Ravitch/Koch/Carey reply, What is a white house?



TWU Local 100 president John Lawe.

WV Photo

They as well as Lawe & Co. want to ignore the decisive issue because they are afraid of mobilizing the tremendous power that transit workers have and the sympathy and support they can win from the rest of labor. The bosses fear this strike like they feared the 110-day coal strike of 1977-78. If they are forced to send in troops it will have a shatter-

ing impact on the Democrat-labor alliance here. And it is that political alliance that lay at the basis of the union tops' refusal to fight in '74-'76, which put NYC workers in the mess they're in today. To win the fight, New York workers must oust pro-big business misleaders like Lawe, Gotbaum and Shanker, and break with the twin parties of capitalism to build a workers party. What we need is a workers government, not the Koch/Carey/Carter strikebreakers.

It is necessary to fight this strike politically. All the calls to "bike the strike" are not just funny. Koch and the media are trying to convince the population that it is engaged in a common struggle for survival *against the union*. The smiles of the joggers and roller-skaters featured in the papers barely mask the frustration of a population that has been taking a beating for years, a population with no sense of power and no one to blame. And the frustration and impotent rage will only get worse as the strike goes on. Koch & Co. have managed to blame the union for the ills of New York City. The big lie is repeated over and over: a victory for the TWU is a loss for the people of New York.

The appeal is to the felt powerlessness of the big middle class of New York. It is a call to unite behind the union-busting drive of the banks, the capitalists and Washington. The middle class feels squeezed by big money and "big labor." But they must go one way or the other. If the labor movement can show that it knows where it wants to go, it can carry the vacillating intermediate layers along. The palpable decay of the quality of life for New Yorkers, the slashing of vital social services, the poverty and crime, even the necessity of a transit strike to beat back the government's arrogant takeaway demands—these must be laid at the door of the banks and the capitalists! Take the union's paper program of free subways off the shelf and fight for it! Enlist the active solidarity of the city labor movement in the waging of the transit strike! If the TWU shows that *it can win*, it can destroy Koch's union-busting fake populism and lead in support of its demands the city workers whose "leaders" poured their pension funds down the Big MAC

rat hole, the blacks and Latinos, the poor and unemployed, and broad sections of the middle classes. But nobody is impressed by weakness. The New York transit strike could turn this city and country around—aiding all working people in the fight for a decent life and justice for labor. Victory to the transit strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Chicago Firemen Still Under Byrne's Attack

CHICAGO—The shaky truce here between Mayor Jane Byrne and the city's unions threatens to blow up once again. Less than three weeks after the "settlement" of a bitter 23-day firemen's strike, the union has charged the city with "reneging on the contract they signed," as dozens of returning strikers have been harassed and victimized. Meanwhile, the superintendent of schools has proposed a new \$185 million in school budget cuts which will mean hundreds of additional teacher layoffs and force remaining school employees to give up pay raises and paid medical insurance.

These are only the latest provocations by Byrne's Democratic Party administration. During the recent firemen's strike, City Hall threatened to fire every striker and hired hundreds of scabs, while levying \$910,000 in fines against the union and slapping union president Frank Muscare in jail. The courage and militancy of the firefighters—and their efforts to shut Chicago down by throwing picket lines around many city worksites—saved their union and got them a "letter of agreement" which may eventually lead to a written contract.

But the union went back with Muscare still in jail on a five-month contempt charge (he has since been released on bond pending appeal), and with the major issues in the strike—including bargaining jurisdiction, seniority provisions and overtime pay—subject to binding arbitration. The 800 scabs hired during the strike have been retained, and the city has lost no time implementing plans to "reorganize" the department and harass militants. Claiming that there are now too many firemen, the city is conducting "fitness" medical examinations, an outrageous move which is blatantly discriminatory against older, high-seniority workers!

Already militant firefighters are beginning to talk about following in the footsteps of their counterparts in Kansas City. After a bitter strike last year, Kansas City firefighters returned to

work. But when the city adamantly refused to put to work several of the strikers, the Kansas City firemen recently resumed their strike and, in the face of mass jailings and the National Guard, successfully won back the jobs of the victimized militants. Chicago firefighters too can win a decent contract only by hitting the bricks again—this time together with the rest of Chicago city labor!

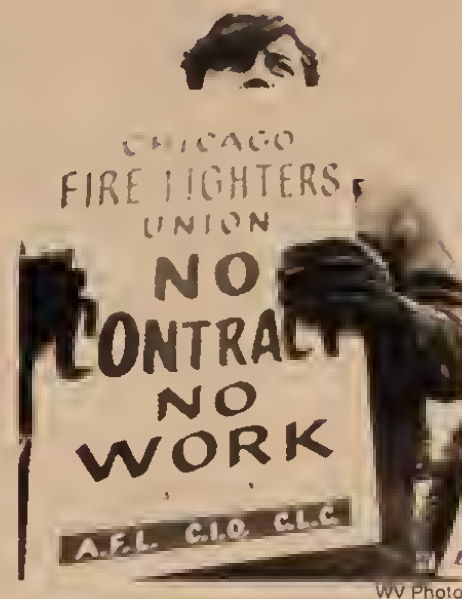
Since mid-December Chicago has been hit by successive strikes in the public sector—first by transit workers in defense of cost-of-living protection, then by teachers rebelling against layoffs and school closures, and finally by the firefighters. The firemen's strike was the bitter showdown battle. But the city has won every round despite the soaring unpopularity of "Ayatollah Jane" Byrne (who was booed by crowds of onlookers as she led the traditional St. Patrick's Day parade) and the militant demonstrations by the firemen's and teachers' unions which drew thousands of angry strikers and wide labor support. The firemen's calls on all trade unions to honor their picket lines raised the real possibility of a united strike by city labor—and this was briefly realized when firefighter pickets shut down the major Jefferson Park "EI" station as transit workers refused to cross the lines.

It was the capitulation of the trade-union bureaucracy, abetted by professional black hustler Jesse Jackson, which saved the situation for Byrne. Far from mounting a united offensive, labor leaders called their unions out one by one and let the city pick them off alone. Then Chicago Federation of Labor head William Lee and Teamsters Joint Council 25 leader Louis Peick, who control key sectors of organized city labor, ordered their members to cross all firefighter picket lines and broke the momentum of the strike. And the fake progressives in the Steelworkers union like Alice Peurala and Ed Sadlowski, who talked big in support of the

forced overtime means—hiring fewer employees to do the work. And jobs are now the issue for the UAW.

Of course, the class-collaborationist UAW bureaucracy understands as well that a big victory would threaten to expose and blow up its sellout strategy. So this strike has driven them wild from the start. Solidarity House eventually was forced to sanction the strike at Caterpillar when workers at the giant Peoria Local 974 wildcatted last October 1 demanding an end to mandatory overtime provisions in their contract. This action was intersected by the Harvester strike as well and the real possibility existed of busting the UAW chiefs' defeatist strategy of one-at-a-time "pattern" bargaining. That didn't happen—the Caterpillar workers got sold out. But the Harvester strike went on and on, despite all the efforts of Solidarity House to sabotage it. Fraser and his gang discouraged mass picketing and discouraged the locals from resisting injunctions limiting—or even banning picketing. This has resulted in some scabbing by management, but even so the Harvester locals hung tough and stayed solid.

And especially after the company signaled its initial surrender on the



Chicago firemen rally during 23-day strike.

firefighters, did nothing of substance.

Reformists such as the Communist Party (CP) and ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), besides claiming a "union victory" in the strike, can't find enough praise for the role of Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH. This aspiring black politician, fresh from "mediating" for black Cook County jail guards (the men who guarded Frank Muscare!) and setting up scab schools in the ghettos during the teachers strike, emerged as "mediator" for the firemen's union after threatening to lead the 400 black firemen back to work.

But all Jackson's prayer vigils accomplished was a promise by City Hall to hire more blacks and Hispanics. Certainly revolutionaries would hardly oppose a provision modifying the racist hiring practices of the Chicago Fire Department. However, many of the newly hired minorities will be strike-breakers who actually began work during the strike. Militants would demand that all scabs—white and black alike—be run out of their jobs. And the deal worked out by Jackson, the union bureaucrats and City Hall almost certainly will mean the surrender of a

union demand that transfers and upgrades take place on the basis of seniority. To guard against victimizations by management, black as well as white firemen need a strong seniority system, combined with union-controlled hiring halls, with aggressive recruitment in the ghettos to wipe out traditional racial discrimination.

All the talk by the CP and the SWP about the union bureaucrats and Jesse Jackson constituting a genuine labor/black alliance is pure bunk. The unions are still the target of continuing vicious attacks by Mayor Byrne, while the hiring of a few more blacks and Latinos will hardly make a dent in the massive unemployment rate in the ghettos. All of Jackson's wheeling and dealing with City Hall and the Democratic Party do not alter the fact that Chicago remains the most segregated city in America. A real alliance of labor and blacks can be forged only by breaking with the capitalist parties and building a workers party to lead the militant struggles necessary to defend the interests of all working people.

Chicago labor has not been broken and the rank-and-file combativity displayed during recent strikes showed that they can beat City Hall. It's time to end the backstabbing and treachery that got Chicago labor into this hole. The transit, teachers' and firemen's unions must come out together—without the scabherding cops who falsely pose as part of the labor movement—to lead the city's public employees in a united strike to smash the anti-union offensive!

Chicago has been a solid union town and many workers believed they had real clout with the Daley machine. But the Democrats, like the Republicans, have always been the bosses' party and this should now be clear to ever unionist in Chicago. From Jimmy Carter to Teddy Kennedy to Jane Byrne, all the Democrats have to offer working people is runaway inflation, wage controls and strikebreaking. Chicago labor must break with the bosses' party. Oust Byrne—for a labor mayor of Chicago! ■

Harvester...

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plants, amnesty for several workers fired for strike-related activity and the right of UAW members to transfer to a new truck plant in Wagner, Oklahoma. But if the Harvester locals stick together, they're in a position to turn this battle into a literal rout of the Harvester company. And particularly the overtime issue, in the context of the current state of the union and the industry, could have a significant impact.

Here's an industry where plants are being closed right and left, Chrysler is going down the tubes and the remaining workers are worked to the bone at massive rates of overtime. Here's a UAW bureaucracy that says there's no alternative—work longer hours with fewer workers, make more profits for the companies—or lose your jobs. Or beg Congress or ask for import quotas against the Japanese.

Harvester turns it around. While it's a defensive struggle, if the union wins, it proves that the class-struggle road of militant strikes represents the real way to defend jobs. Because that's what

mandatory overtime, the stance of the strikers has really stiffened. They smell blood. When Pat Greathouse, UAW vice president for agricultural implements, came up with a scheme to allow IH to hire part-time "union" workers, they would have none of it. It smelled suspiciously like an earlier McCardell proposal to create a potential scab reserve army by hiring seads of part-timers likely composed of relatives of foremen and management.

And they really let Greathouse have it. At a March 19 meeting of the Harvester UAW shop committees, the delegates not only voted down the International's proposal by a resounding margin of 250 to 8 (with only the Memphis local voting for), but the booing, clapping committeemen reportedly prevented Greathouse from speaking for ten minutes! And that's the last time that *any* of the company's original takeaway proposals have been discussed on a nationwide level.

Since then McCardell & Co.—with some assistance from the ever-treacherous UAW International—have concentrated on trying to convince individual locals to go back to work one by one, so they can isolate a few other locals where they would like to get

through some takeaways on seniority, etc. But the back-to-work stuff hasn't worked very well up to now either. Just last weekend Canton, Illinois workers booed Cletus Williams, chairman of the UAW contract bargaining committee, off the stage when he suggested going back to work. And UAW Local 6 in Melrose Park outside Chicago passed a resolution on March 30 to "reaffirm the policy that no IH local goes back to work until we *all* go back together" and to "set up mass picketing to stop all scabbing."

When Harvester lured "wonder boy" Archie McCardell away from the nonunion Xerox Corporation two years ago with a \$1.5 million bonus, they thought they were getting a real tough guy who could discipline the union. Well, McCardell did his damndest, cutting 10,000 jobs and reducing operating costs by \$460 million. But he bit off a lot more than he could chew in this strike. Now the strikers stand poised to win one of the most significant union victories in a major industrial conflict in this country in years. A resounding IH victory could precipitate a real turnaround in the labor movement. This is the way to end the Youngtowns and make a real fight for jobs. ■

No Tears for Allard Lowenstein!

When Allard Lowenstein was shot and killed on March 14, the tears ran all over the front pages of the capitalist press. There was Teddy Kennedy, handkerchief in hand, weeping for his friend and supporter, "A man who cares deeply for his fellow human beings." Right-winger William F. Buckley eulogized Lowenstein at the funeral as the quintessential activist. The media generally mourned the organizer of the "Dump Johnson" campaign. "One of the finest representatives of a special generation" wrote the Democratic Party's house socialist Michael Harrington in the *Village Voice* (24 March). And the *New York Times* (18 March) summed it up in their editorial for this "gallant crusader," this "impassioned but moderate liberal... he was the agent of ferment."

He certainly was an agent of something. He deserved the Cold Warrior's medal of honor for carrying the witch-hunt behind enemy lines. He was the agent of scurrilous red-baiting in the civil rights movement. He was the agent of liberal imperialism in the antiwar movement. The Cold War liberals and red-baiting social democrats have good cause for weeping. But as revolutionaries we suspend the maxim, "never speak ill of the dead," in order to speak the truth about Allard Lowenstein.

Lowenstein was one of the few capitalist operators whose career spanned the post-war period and the radicalization of the late 1950s and 1960s. He was trained under the arch-liberal anti-Communist Hubert Humphrey as a foreign policy aide in the 1950s. But by the late 1960s, as recalled uncomfortably in the 17 March *New York Times* article on his death, "Most of the New Left labeled Mr. Lowenstein a CIA agent."

No wonder. Lowenstein was one of the prime movers of the National Student Association (NSA) which had its cover blown by *Ramparts* magazine in 1966, revealing it as a creature of the CIA. Unwitting NSA activists quit and denounced their own activities. A Senate investigating committee reported in 1976 that "over 250 U.S. students were sponsored by the CIA to attend youth festivals in Moscow, Vienna, and Helsinki and were used for missions such as reporting on Soviet and Third World personalities or observing Soviet

security practices." The students also reported on "Soviet counterintelligence measures." The Senate committee thus confirmed what had been common knowledge for a decade: "The Summer International Seminars conducted for NSA leaders and potential leaders in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s were a vehicle for the Agency to identify new leaders and promote their

along to an NSA congress. There NSA's 'old boys' kept an eye out for men they wanted to run the association." And at the NSA congresses and "leadership" seminars Allard Lowenstein could always be found directing the show. He never missed a summer session. Ironically, Lowenstein and his cohorts conformed to the adage they loved to repeat about the Stalinist "youth"



New York Times

Cold Warriors, from Buckley (left) to Kennedy, mourn Lowenstein.

candidacy for elective positions in the National Student Association."

Lowenstein was the president of the NSA at the beginning of the 1950s, and the organization was to remain his main base of operations. When Lowenstein left college he did not leave the NSA. Of course, as Michael Harrington tells it, the NSA did only good things anyway so what's all the flap about? Wasn't the CIA (as a "witting" student said during the NSA exposé) "a little treasure trove of liberalism"? And Harrington admits that Lowenstein remained at his post in this "treasure trove": "Long after he left the organization's [NSA] formal leadership he [Lowenstein] kept organizing students, agitating on issues, and lobbying at its conventions." He remained just behind the scenes in what was known as "the old boys network."

The way it worked was that a student leader was invited to the NSA's Summer International Student Relations Seminar. According to a *New Republic* article (4 March 1967): "After the seminar, the student leaders were sent

bureaucrats they bugged for Uncle Sam: "The student leaders of today are the student leaders of tomorrow."

A few years ago there was a big media splash when it was revealed that liberal feminist Gloria Steinem was recruited to such a CIA program of spying on Eastern European youth through the NSA. But who were the "old boy" operatives who ran the Steinems?

Red-Baiter in the Black South

Lowenstein, like many Cold War liberals, found the CIA style of liberal anti-communism more effective than the low-brow McCarthyism of Hoover's FBI. The CIA, in turn, found the services of youthful activists like Lowenstein invaluable in attempting to derail the growing radical movements of the 1960s. Perhaps Lowenstein's most important work in the interests of liberal anti-communism was the job he did on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the early '60s. Lowenstein organized students from Stanford and Yale to go to the Jim Crow

South and register black voters in the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964. In this effort he worked closely with black SNCC spokesman Bob Moses. But as SNCC's radical black wing began to move leftward, leaving Lowenstein's Democratic Party electoralism behind, he launched a dirty red-baiting attack on Moses, Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC leaders.

Liberal journalist Paul Cowan drew a scathing portrait of Lowenstein in his SNCC days after Cowan, who had been recruited to the Summer Project by Lowenstein, grew disaffected and then disgusted with his mentor's witchhunting fervor:

"He [Lowenstein] was convinced that members of SNCC's immediate board of directors had communist connections, and he was quite exact about his charges. He was always sure that some important plot against the liberals had been hatched at a meeting he hadn't attended, and he could usually produce a batch of notes taken by some friend in his stead to support his contention. There was a simple pattern to his disclosures: evil people had gained control of a movement that promised to do much good for America and the innocent black peasants and misguided white students had to be saved from the communists.

"The more I heard Al talk the less I wanted to be saved by someone like him... he appeared to be more worried by the possibility that there might be a few communists in the movement than by the undisputed facts of segregation and poverty in Mississippi."

—*Ramparts*, 7 September 1968

Cowan recalls the Lowenstein loyalty test: "So far as he was concerned, persons who talked publicly about their disgust with the American government—as many Mississippi residents and civil rights workers did after the Summer Project—were dangerously disloyal."

Lowenstein finished the job on the radicals of Mississippi when they tried to unseat the Dixiecrat delegation at the 1964 Democratic Party Convention. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) had opposed Eastland & Co. and tried to get seated at Atlantic City. But LBJ promised Hubert Humphrey the vice presidency if he could get the MFDP to back down; and it was Lowenstein, together with liberal lawyer Joseph Rauh, who engineered the deal which dumped the MFDP in

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Wide Backing for Anti-Secret Service Suit

Over the last few weeks the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) has received significant new endorsements as well as much-needed donations from unions, civil-libertarian organizations and prominent individuals. UCASSH is pressing a million-dollar suit against the Secret Service on behalf of Communications Workers of America member Jane Margolis, who was dragged off the floor of her own union's convention by the government's goons last July.

Among the recent endorsers of UCASSH are the well-known journalist and civil libertarian Nat Hentoff, the Communist Party's vice-presidential candidate Angela Davis, and Crystal Lee Sutton, a Carolina textile worker and unionist on whose experiences the film *Norma Rae* was based. The Secret Service's attempt to muzzle Margolis, who had intended to speak as an elected convention delegate against the anti-labor policies of the Carter administration, was such a blatant violation of free speech that the southern California American Civil Liberties Union has

recently agreed to file an amicus brief on behalf of UCASSH's cause.

New union endorsements reflect a growing recognition that Margolis' fight is the fight of all labor to defend their members and organizations from government harassment. Endorsements have been received from as far away as New York's CWA Local 1150, Long Lines, and the Letter Carriers Union of Canada, Local 1, which also sent a generous \$200 donation. Other unions that have recently backed the case include OCAW Local 8-149, Albertson, New York; IBT Local 315, Martinez, California; Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250, San Francisco; AFSCME Local 2652, Livingston County Public Employees; the Maintenance and Construction Unit of UAW Local 600, Detroit; SEIU Local 372, Chicago, which also sent a \$100 donation; the Executive Board of the University of Detroit Professors' Union, which also sent a \$300 donation; and Paul Schrade, chairman of the UAW Local 887 ACLU Workers Rights Committee.

Particularly notable has been how

rank-and-file workers have kicked in the cash which UCASSH so desperately needs. At the River Rouge plant gates \$177 was collected, while UAW members raised \$84 at Ford Mahwah, New Jersey. In San Francisco the Progress Newspaper Chapel (shop) voted \$50 to match that amount already pledged by ITU Local 21.

The individual endorsements recently received also speak for the broad appeal of the case. They include prominent individuals who have themselves faced government repression, such as Jim Grant, recently released Charlotte 3 defendant, and Lester Cole and Alvah Bessie of the Hollywood 10, who were jailed during the McCarthy period witchhunts. In addition to Nat Hentoff, writers Sol Yurik, Dorc Ashton and Kate Millett have all put their names behind the Margolis case.

Of the \$25,000 that UCASSH estimated would be needed to finance this legal battle in its first year, already \$12,000 has been raised. But UCASSH may well have to fight a drawn-out battle. So far the Secret Service has

refused to even answer the UCASSH complaint, asking that the case be dismissed. Leaning on a recent Supreme Court decision, the government is trying to get the case thrown out on the basis that UCASSH has not named the individual Secret Service thugs who manhandled Margolis. What an outrage! These guys didn't come into the CWA convention with calling cards. They grabbed Margolis without warning and detained her without even telling her what she was charged with. And when UCASSH demands that the government provide the names of these agents, the Secret Service just stone-walls it!

Winning this case will be a victory for Jane Margolis, for the labor movement and for all who defend democratic rights. But a victory against the government with its arsenal of courts and unlimited resources won't be won without money. *Workers Vanguard* urges readers to send their contributions to the Margolis case to: Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, UCASSH, P.O. Box 12324, San Francisco, CA 94112. ■

"Third Camp" Fever in the USec

For revolutionary Marxists there is nothing ambiguous, nothing tricky about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its Afghan left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, moneylenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to Islamic fanaticism, mass illiteracy and the enslavement of women. And to say that imperialist support to this social scum is out in the open would be the understatement of the year. U.S. "national security" czar Zbigniew Brzezinski actually travels to the Khyber Pass and rifle in hand encourages the insurgents: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side." The gut-level response of every Trotskyist, indeed of every radical leftist, should be fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army.

Yet the Afghanistan crisis has thrown the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel once again into utter political disarray. Responses ranged from "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" (headline of the British IMG's *Socialist Challenge*) to "Soviet Troops Aid Afghan Revolution!" (headline of the Australian SWP's *Direct Action*). At a late January USec meeting three lines were presented. The right-minority resolution advocated the pro-imperialist "Soviet troops out" line, asserting that a victory by Muslim reactionaries would be "much less harmful" than a prolonged Soviet presence. The left-minority position, ludicrously emanating from the reformist U.S. Socialist Workers Party, defended the Russian-backed Kabul regime but absurdly minimized Soviet intervention, claiming the "Afghan Revolution" sparked Carter's new Cold War.

Predictably, the Mandelite majority tries to split the difference, keeping one foot in each camp and playing both ends against the middle while saluting the golden mean. Its resolution (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 March) upbraids the Kremlin for not "considering any of the democratic and national sentiments of the oppressed classes and peoples" and for "introduc[ing] extreme confusion in the world proletariat"; it takes "no responsibility" for the intervention, refuses to give it "the least political support," declares it is "opposed to the annexation of new territories by the Kremlin"—even if a social revolution is



Burnett/Contact

Which side are they on? USec waffles as Soviets battle Afghan reactionaries.

carried out overturning capitalist/semi-feudal property relations. But well-practiced in the art of obfuscation, the Mandelites do not call for withdrawal of Soviet forces; and after more than 100 paragraphs of fulminating against the intervention, they drop in, out of the blue, four sentences of the most mealy-mouthed defensism.

The new explosion over Afghanistan is the clearest indication that last fall's cold split in the USec over Nicaragua, a week before its "Eleventh World Congress," was power politics rather than a genuine left-right political polarization. Now there's real trouble in Mandel's main European sections. Almost half, 20 to 22 of the central committee of the USec's badly tarnished "star" French section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), has taken an outright pro-imperialist line. Arguing that Soviet intervention "mocks the right of peoples to self-determination," they call for "actions by the anti-imperialist and workers movement to press the Soviet Union to immediately withdraw its troops from Afghanistan" (*Rouge*, 22 February). What "actions" do they have in mind? Perhaps refusal by French dockers to load grain for the USSR? If this large LCR minority has become

"Carter Doctrine socialists," the majority are hardly red revolutionaries. They too condemn the Soviet action, but now reject the call for immediate withdrawal as playing into the imperialists' hands.

The factional dissension in the once-leftist British section, the International Marxist Group (IMG), is even more deep-going. The original "Soviet Troops Out" article by Tariq Ali (*Socialist Challenge*, 3 January) produced a major furor. The IMG printed a number of letters raking Ali over the coals for "joining the imperialist chorus" and for "dancing to the tune of the US State Department." So a couple of weeks later the IMG changed its line without openly repudiating its earlier counterrevolutionary position. It still condemned the Soviet intervention but grudgingly admitted that "in the present situation a call for the immediate withdrawal of troops would be tantamount to being in favour of the victory of the rightist forces" (*Socialist Challenge*, 17 January). No kidding!

Yet even this half-hearted "defense" of the Soviet forces provoked an outpouring of criticism from the right. Letters appeared in *Socialist Challenge* lambasting the new line as "wishy-washy," "having it both ways," "old-fashioned hypocrisy" and "appallingly confused and ham-fisted." Ali's critics were baited for wanting to form "welcoming committees for the Red Army"; numerous letters urged the IMG to "junk the old Trotskyism." Significantly, Bob Purdie, a once-leading member of the IMG, went so far as to claim, "The property relations of the USSR have revealed themselves to be as oppressive, exploitative and alienating as those of capitalism; worse, they are not even as efficient." Echoes of James Burnham! And in the middle of all this, *Socialist Challenge* (6 March) introduced a new column entitled "Thinking Aloud" for Tariq Ali to ventilate his "personal" (read, factional) views. Ali began his first column: "I remain unrepentant on Afghanistan."

Thus just a few months after this Potemkin Village "Fourth International" lost perhaps a third of its members with the split of the Latin American-centered Bolshevik Faction of political adventurer Nahuel Moreno, the USec is once again wracked by internal strife,

this time concentrated in the Mandelite heartland. Mandel & Co. are trying to downplay the extent of the dissension over Afghanistan, but it is more potentially destructive than the Moreno split, a somewhat accidental development arising from the Argentine *caudillo's* overweening personal ambition. In the present case, it is the fruits of Mandel's own revisionism.

What we are now witnessing is the *open rebellion* by a significant section of the USec, long schooled in New Left anti-Sovietism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, against the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. These USecers, cadres and ranks, are being drawn into the U.S.-led global counterrevolutionary alliance against the USSR through the medium of those tendencies with which they've long sought to regroup—East European "dissidents," the soft Maoists (e.g., the French Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs), the Eurocommunists (the circle around Jean Ellenstein) and various social-democratic groupings (the British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff).

Mandel's Chickens Come Home to Roost

There is nothing accidental or episodic in Tariq Ali's role in this factional situation. He is the representative *par excellence* of New Left movementism and Third World nationalism within the USec. A former New Left celebrity, back in 1969 he edited an anthology, *The New Revolutionaries*, featuring such notables as Fidel Castro, Régis Debray, Ernest Mandel and, perhaps prophetically, Tony Cliff. His own contribution included Mao and Ho among the new revolutionaries but definitely excluded the stodgy Kremlin bureaucrats: "...Asian communism was to prove itself more human, more humane and more willing to admit its mistakes than its counterpart in the Soviet Union." Ah, music to Pol Pot's ears.

If Tariq Ali responds to the Afghan crisis with the outlook of 1960s New Leftism, he uses some arguments borrowed from the ideological arsenal of Khrushchevite "peaceful coexistence" (a

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How Stalinist Treachery Helped Imperialists Rearm After Vietnam

In June of 1973, just a few months after the signing of the Paris "peace" accords on Vietnam and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev journeyed to Washington to herald the advent of a new era called "détente." "The quarter-century period of the Cold War is now giving way to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and West," he proclaimed, and gave Richard Nixon a bear hug. In response to the Brezhnev/Nixon celebration of "a generation of peace," we wrote an article entitled, "U.S./USSR Détente Doomed" (*WV*, No. 24, 6 July 1973). We ask now: who was right, Brezhnev or the Trotskyists?

So détente is officially dead. Of course, no informed person believes it was killed by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The Carter administration has been on a rampage against the Soviet degenerated workers state for some time now. Last winter it colluded with China's invasion of Soviet-allied Vietnam; last summer it decided to push ahead with the MX mobile missile, a

BOOK REVIEW

WHITE HOUSE YEARS HENRY KISSINGER

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, 1979

PART ONE OF TWO

first-strike strategic weapon; and this fall it moved to deploy in West Europe a new generation of nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR. While there has been some bourgeois criticism of Carter's frenzied saber-rattling over Afghanistan, for all wings of U.S. imperialism détente with the Russians is long since over.

Even the Kremlin must figure something's gone wrong as the main architect of détente, Henry Kissinger, emerged as a leading hawkish critic of the Carter administration. Early last year in a widely publicized interview in the London *Economist* (3 February 1979) he denounced Carter for scrapping the B-1 bomber and stretching out the MX missile program. Has Henry Kissinger had a change of heart about the Russians, suddenly discovering that they were... "reds"? His recently published memoirs covering the years 1969-72 (*White House Years*, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1979) show that America's would-be Metetrnich was no less anti-Soviet and no less militaristic in the early 1970s than he is now. What then has changed? What was détente?

Détente was a tactical policy born of weakness, of the sapping of American power in that long, losing war in Vietnam. With the passage of eight years since U.S. combat troops pulled out of Indochina, it is perhaps difficult to recapture just how stunning a blow that war was for the American imperialist global order. It destroyed the image of an invincible military colossus, undermined the economic hegemony of the U.S. within the capitalist world, forced unprecedented conditions of inflation and wage control on a working class which no longer accepted Cold War ideology and produced a major upsurge of American radicalism.

When Nixon visited West Europe right after he took office in 1969, allied leaders urged him to get out of Vietnam



Brezhnev bought détente with Vietnamese blood.

Felix Greene

as soon as possible. The war had become a running sore for the entire imperialist system; they too were bleeding from it. The impact within the U.S. was, if anything, even more serious. This dirty (and losing) colonial war destroyed almost all popular moral support for anti-Communist militarism. Imperialist war criminal Kissinger, a man who ordered the bombing of millions of defenseless Indochinese peasants, expresses agonized shock that:

"The hitherto almost unanimous conviction that the Cold War had been caused by Soviet intransigence was challenged by a vocal and at times violent minority which began to insist it was American bellicosity, American militarism, and American economic imperialism that were the root causes of international tensions."

— *White House Years*

How positively unfair!

Kissinger's and also Nixon's memoirs reveal how much this war affected the self-confidence of the American ruling elite. The incredible, heroic resistance of the Vietnamese shattered their smug certitude that superior technology was everything, shook their faith in the moral fiber and patriotism of America's youth. Combat against the North Vietnamese and Vietcong not only turned the youthful conscripts into spaced-out potheads, but drove their generals to despair as well. Kissinger decries the sorry state of mind in the

Pentagon when he entered the White House:

"They were demoralized by the order to procure weapons in which they did not believe and by the necessity of fighting a war whose purpose proved increasingly elusive."

Imperialist defeat in Vietnam was a watershed in the decline of American power. In this context, détente was the attempt to enlist the Soviet bureaucracy's support to shore up the global status quo, first of all to preserve the tottering U.S. puppet regime in Saigon, at least for a time. In turn Washington offered certain economic and diplomatic concessions and the promise of an end to the arms race. This was Kissinger's famous "linkage" doctrine:

"We would also judge the Soviet Union's purpose by its willingness to move on a broad front, especially by its attitude on the Middle East and Vietnam. We expected Soviet restraint in trouble spots around the world.... "In all my conversations with [Soviet ambassador] Dobrynin I had stressed that a fundamental improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations presupposed Soviet cooperation in settling the war. Dobrynin had always evaded a reply by claiming that Soviet influence in Hanoi was extremely limited. In response, we procrastinated on all the negotiations in which the Soviet Union was interested—the strategic arms limitation talks, the Middle East, and expanded economic relations."

When in 1972 the Kremlin did help Nixon/Kissinger get their "honorable settlement" in Vietnam, there followed the short-lived celebration of détente. But now that U.S. imperialism believes it has overcome its "Vietnam syndrome," it has discarded détente much like a crooked landlord scraps an old lease when the housing market turns up. So the economic deals are canceled (no grain for Soviet livestock). The diplomatic accords are canceled (no American Olympians in Red Moscow). And the Pentagon is rapidly escalating its arms spending to regain first-strike nuclear superiority.

Russia Closes the Missile Gap

From the standpoint of American imperialist militarism, probably the greatest casualty of the Vietnam War was the loss of strategic nuclear superiority over the Soviets. John F. Kennedy's campaign scare about a "missile gap" to the contrary, in the early 1960s the U.S. advantage in this area was absolutely overwhelming. At the time of the 1962 Cuba missile crisis the U.S. had some 2,000 strategic nuclear weapons, the Russians had maybe 70! Getting into a military showdown from a position of such extreme weakness was one of the main reasons Khrushchev was sacked two years later. The Soviet diplomat who negotiated the pullout of missiles from Cuba, Vasily Kuznetsov, told Kennedy's man John McCloy: "You Americans will never be able to do this to us again!" (quoted in Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History 1929-1969* [1973])

The new Brezhnev/Kosygin regime greatly accelerated the Soviet strategic weapons program, determined to close the real missile gap. They succeeded largely because at this point the American war machine got bogged down in the swamps of Vietnam. Even though between 1965 and 1969 the Pentagon budget increased almost 40 percent in real terms, this enormous sum and more was spent trying to bomb North Vietnam back into the Stone Age. With the inflation rate tripling from 1965 to 1969 (from 2 to 6 percent!) and given the growing unpopularity of the war, Johnson and later Nixon dared not add big new nuclear weapons programs to the already out-of-sight military budget.

At the height of the war assistant treasury secretary Murry Weidenbaum bemoaned that "because the non-Vietnam portions of the military budget have been squeezed in recent years, considerable 'catching up' is needed" (U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Impact of the War in Southeast Asia on the U.S. Economy* [1970]). But the so-called "Vietnam squeeze" continued. In fiscal 1972 allocations for strategic weapons were \$7.2 billion compared to \$8.3 billion in 1964, a sharp decline given the intervening inflation (U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report* [Fiscal 1981]). For working people in this country the Vietnam War meant guns versus butter; for the Pentagon it meant guns versus missiles.

If today the Soviet degenerated workers state has attained rough strategic nuclear parity with U.S. imperialism (for revolutionaries, a very good thing), we should remember this was bought with Vietnamese blood. For seven years the revolutionary workers and peasantry of Vietnam, a poor country of some 40 million people, fought alone against

WAS THE DETENTE THAT WAS

the greatest military power on earth. The U.S. dropped more bombs on Indochina than the total tonnage of *all* the combatants in World War II. Yet at no point did the Soviet Union, supposedly Hanoi's ally, threaten to retaliate in any way, even at the diplomatic level. On the contrary, Moscow's relations with Washington improved throughout the war. And even Soviet military supplies to North Vietnam were but a small fraction of what the Kremlin bureaucracy expended on their *own* weapons systems; indeed they were inferior to the weaponry they gave Nasser's Egypt.

The Soviets' overcoming of the missile gap had and continues to have a profoundly divisive effect on the imperialist alliance arrayed against them. Official NATO strategic doctrine inherited from the '50s was "massive retaliation." If the Warsaw Pact forces were gaining on the ground in a European war (and this was expected), U.S. missiles would simply annihilate the Soviet population. But when the Soviets acquired the capacity to massively retaliate in turn against the U.S. population, this strategy, in Kissinger's words, increasingly "lost credibility." Charles de Gaulle, with his sense of history trends, was the first to ask: "Will the U.S. risk Chicago for Bonn?" He thought not. A decade later the West German ruling elite would repeat this same baiting query.

Since the late '60s the NATO allies have been jockeying with one another to find an escape hatch for the day of Armageddon. This is what the intra-NATO disputes on nuclear weapons policy are all about. The European worst-case analysis was presented clearly a few years ago by retired West German air force general Johannes Steinhoff, who opposed the neutron bomb, a tactical nuclear weapon, out of old-fashioned nationalism:

"I am in favor of retaining nuclear weapons as political tools but not permitting them to become battlefield weapons.... I am firmly opposed to their tactical use on our soil. I cannot favor a nuclear war on German territory while the superpowers observe safely at a distance."

—quoted in Alex Vardamis, "German-American Military Fissures," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1979

With typical *realpoliticker* cynicism Kissinger attributes to his European allies the exact opposite Machiavellian scheme:

"They wanted to make the Soviet Union believe that any attack would unleash America's nuclear arsenal. If the bluff failed, however, they were not eager to have us implement the threat on their soil. Their secret hope, which they never dared to articulate, was that the defense of Europe would be conducted as an intercontinental nuclear exchange over their heads...."

With the American nuclear umbrella increasingly tattered, it was inevitable that the European imperialist powers would seek their own *modus vivendi* with Moscow. For Washington, Gaullist France's vaunted "independence" was troublesome, but not to be taken that seriously. However, the spread of nationalist disaffection to West Germany, emerging as the dominant West European power, would be a blow to the American imperialist order of an altogether greater force.

Bonn's Ostpolitik Rattles Washington

During the 1950s-60s West Germany was the most fervently loyal and virulently anti-Soviet of America's imperialist allies. In the early 1960s chancellor Konrad Adenauer grumbled that Kennedy was "soft on the Russians" because he negotiated over nuclear weapons with them. In 1969 Washington successfully blackmailed the Germans into not exchanging their large dollar surpluses for gold, as the French were doing, by threatening to cut back U.S. troops on the Rhine. Yet a decade later West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt would emerge as the most important figure in the imperialist world resisting America's renewed Cold War offensive. A recent *Business Week* (3 March) ran as its cover story: "Germany: the Reluctant Ally—An Economic Giant Torn Between East and West." What happened?

Kissinger points out that, alone among the European imperialist powers, the West German state has "unfulfilled national aims." Until 1971 the Federal Republic claimed sovereignty over the citizens of East Germany, which it contemptuously labeled "the [Soviet] Zone." Bonn refused to have

diplomatic relations with any country (except the USSR) which recognized the German Democratic Republic (DDR). This policy, known as the Hallstein Doctrine, was the diplomatic posture of civil war. Washington was not above exploiting Soviet fear of German revanchism, occasionally posing as the strong hand on the leash.

During the 1950s Christian-Democratic chancellor Adenauer declared reunification required "a policy of strength" and close alliance with the U.S. This by no means expressed a

the Elbe. The Cold War division of the country deformed West German politics in such a way that the party of the labor bureaucracy was more national-minded than the main bourgeois party.

The building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 popped *der Alte's* "policy of strength" like a balloon. Around the mid-1960s a section of the West German upper bourgeoisie in the small, liberal-secular Free Democratic Party (FDP) began to look upon the Social Democrats as a more serious, effective agency for an imperialist foreign policy than the



Der Spiegel

Behind Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, Kissinger (left) saw resurgence of German nationalism.

consensus of West German politics, however. Anything but. In 1952 in a last-minute attempt to deflect the Federal Republic from joining NATO, Stalin proposed a neutral, reunified, capitalist Germany. Maybe Stalin was bluffing, but if so, he was never called. Adenauer dismissed the Soviet offer as a ploy and duly brought West Germany into the U.S.-led military alliance.

At this, Social-Democratic leader Kurt Schumacher violently denounced the Christian Democrats for throwing away the prospect of German national unity by not taking up Stalin's proposal. Schumacher was no pacifistic leftist or friend of the USSR. He was fiercely nationalistic and anti-communist. Severely crippled by years in Nazi concentration camps, Schumacher deeply believed that the Social Democrats could have prevented the fascists' victory in Weimar Germany only by outbidding them in chauvinism! The opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) maintained a position for a neutral, reunified Germany until 1960, when the Berlin crisis made this program appear as utterly fantastical.

The Christian Democrats' greater willingness to acquiesce to the Cold War division of Germany (and this is what Adenauer's hard line meant in practice) derived in no small measure from narrow partisan considerations. East Germany (Prussia and Saxony) was overwhelmingly Protestant with a traditionally socialist proletariat. The Social Democrats firmly believed that reunification would make them the natural majority party. So did the Christian Democrats, the successor to the old Catholic Center Party. In a sense the SPD emerged as post-war Germany's only national party, believing it had a real constituency east as well as west of

Atlanticist Christian Democrats. In 1969 Willy Brandt's SPD became the governing party in coalition with the Free Democrats. That year Brandt's chief lieutenant, the architect of *Ostpolitik*, Egon Bahr, gave an interview in which he projected the eventual withdrawal of both American and Soviet troops from Germany, the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and the establishment of a neutral Central European federation. *Ostpolitik* was viewed as a first step toward this ultimate goal.

The actual *Ostpolitik* treaties—the 1970 West German-Soviet "Renunciation of Force" agreement, the 1971 Four Power treaty on Berlin and the West German-East German Basic Treaty—essentially legitimized the status quo. Only the Berlin treaty involved more than diplomatic formulae, and here the Soviet side made the substantive concessions. It promised not to obstruct Western transit to Berlin and to grant West Berliners the same access to the DDR as West Germans. In turn the imperialist powers reaffirmed that West Berlin was not part of West Germany, something which is obvious from a glance at a map.

But the Nixon administration reacted to Brandt's *Ostpolitik* with extreme suspicion. The would-be Metternich in the White House basement understood that more was involved than the normalization of diplomatic relations. Kissinger saw in the policies of the new rulers in Bonn a nationalistic drawing away from the Atlantic alliance:

"It seemed to me that Brandt's new *Ostpolitik*, which looked to many like a progressive policy of quest for détente, could in less scrupulous hands turn into a new form of classic German nationalism. From Bismarck to Rapallo it was

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U.S. Army

Lance missile can carry neutron bomb. U.S.' tactical nuclear weapons make imperialist allies nervous.

**For Plant Seizures Against Mass Layoffs!
No to Protectionism!**

Ohio Steel Towns Becoming Ghost Towns

CLEVELAND—When Firestone announced last week it was closing six tire plants across the country, three of them in Ohio, it was strike two on this hard-hit industrial region. First steel, now the bottom has dropped out of rubber—and there are rumblings in auto as well. An unprecedented wave of plant closings is devastating the old industrial belt stretching from Cleveland factories to the foundries of western Pennsylvania. Once known as "America's Ruhr," steel valley is beginning to resemble Germany immediately after the devastation of World War II.

When the steel barons dump their ancient plants in Youngstown and the rubber companies abandon Akron for the open-shop "Sun Belt," only a burnt-out shell remains of these glorified mill towns. Aging workers whose skills once commanded the highest wages in American industry are left to sell their blood in order to make ends meet, while the schools and streets crumble around them along with the tax base. It comes as no surprise when union officials report a dramatic rise in suicides and divorces.

Since "Black Monday," September 9, 1977, when Jones & Laughlin announced the closing of the old Youngstown Sheet and Tube facility, 9,000 area steel workers have been thrown out of the only jobs they've ever known. By the end of this summer, another 1,000 ex-steel workers will be pounding the filthy pavements of Youngstown as U.S. Steel completes the elimination of its Ohio Works plant, pushing the unemployment rate to over 10 percent. A Youngstown State University study of the 1977 layoffs tells these workers what they can expect: of 4,100 laid-off workers 1,000 were forced into "early retirement," 800 left town, 1,500 found other jobs in the area (since steel paid the highest wages, this necessarily

involved a big pay cut), and the remainder are in training programs, still looking for work, or have given up looking altogether.

Now workers throughout northeastern Ohio wonder if their cities will become "another Youngstown." As U.S. Steel was being sued in federal district court in a vain attempt to halt the closing of its Ohio Works, auto workers at suburban Cleveland's huge Brook Park Ford plant (where 3,500 are already on layoff) were informed of the company plans to move small-engine production to Mexico, with 5,000 jobs hanging in the balance. And in Akron, after Goodyear, B.F. Goodrich and Firestone shut down most of their operations, General Tire is left as the only "Big Four" rubber firm making passenger tires in what was once called "the Rubber City."

In the familiar boom-bust cycle of capitalism, a recession means that jobs are slashed and production curbed until the capitalists can once again reap a profit—at which point there are callbacks and the workers begin slaving in the plants again. But what's happening in the Ohio industrial belt is more than a conjunctural downturn of the business cycle. In 1950, Akron's 50,000 rubber workers produced two-thirds of the country's tires. Today barely half of these jobs remain. Since 1969, the Cleveland area has lost more than 46,000 manufacturing jobs. The capitalists are abandoning Ohio.

What's behind this destruction of lives and livelihoods is no secret to anyone. As the current economic crisis deepens, the corporate magnates are deciding that now's the time to junk the fossilized plants which they have milked dry. The antiquated open-hearth method of steel production simply can't compete with electric furnaces in Japan, France and West Germany. The Ameri-



Ohio steel on the scrap heap.

WV Photo

can steel industry has spent less in improving its plant than any other steel-producing country in the world.

In other industries, like rubber and electronics, U.S. capitalists hope to realize their former profit margins not by modernizing the old industrial plant but by expanding into right-to-work states down South where they can exploit labor without the interference of troublesome unions. According to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (23 September 1979), manufacturing employment between 1960 and 1975 increased by more than 67 percent in the open-shop Southwest, while dropping almost 14 percent in the Midwest.

It is this kind of union-busting strategy that lies behind Ford's plan to build its new line of "economical" auto engines in Mexico. The Brook Park facility was built in 1950, and was the most modern plant of its kind at the time. But rather than re-tool the engine plant, Ford looks toward exploiting cheaper labor across the border where it can also take advantage of less stringent business and environmental regulations.

Bureaucrats Play a Losing Game

The union bureaucracy has responded to these devastating attacks by

Behind the Plant Closings

How the Capitalists Cause Falling Productivity

The present wave of plant closures and the runaway inflation are opposite sides of the same coin—the relative decline of U.S. productivity. The most striking feature of the recovery from the deep 1974-75 recession was the lag in investment in new plant and equipment. While gross national product increased 14 percent between early 1975 and the end of 1978, fixed capital investment increased only 8 percent, and this was mainly in light equipment not new plant. By and large capitalists expanded output by adding labor to old machinery.

The effect on productivity was predictably disastrous. Between 1973 and 1978 manufacturing output per man-hour in the U.S. increased only 8 percent, the *lowest* of all major capitalist countries including even Britain and Italy. In the same period industrial productivity in West Germany increased 28 percent and in Japan 19 percent (U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of United States*, 1979). No wonder U.S. industry is taking a beating in the world market and even in its home market.

In 1979 overall productivity in the economy actually declined (output per man-hour in manufacturing increased marginally). This is the *root cause* of the present out-of-sight inflation. With production flat and productivity falling, capitalists try to offset squeezed profit margins by raising prices. But since all businesses are doing this, costs continue to rise, thus leading to an inflationary leapfrogging. This process was accelerated by the oil price hike last summer as most companies just passed on the added energy and transport costs through their own

price rises. Both businessmen and wage earners are trying to meet this inflationary spiral through ever greater borrowing, which is passively accommodated by the central bank (Federal Reserve) for fear that slamming hard on the monetary brake could bankrupt some substantial percentage of the country's businesses.

And now banana republic level inflation rates have destroyed the long-term bond market, the *central* mechanism by which capitalism finances new productive units embodying new technology. The U.S. economy is trapped in a vicious cycle of capitalist irrationality. The low investment rate retards productivity which, in turn, causes constant pressure on capitalists to raise prices. But runaway inflation wreaks havoc in the financial market and so further arrests productive investment. The only way out of this vicious cycle short of vastly greater disaster is the expropriation of the means of production by a workers government and the institution of socialist economic planning.

Stop Sellout in British Steel Strike!

Flash!

APRIL 1—As we go to press, the executive of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) have voted 42-27 to accept the recommendation of the arbitration panel for an 11 percent wage hike. This is just 1 percent higher than management's previous offer and far below the 20 percent that the steel strikers have fought bitterly to win. But what union militants denounced as a "shabby compromise" still must be ratified by the membership. And the members are angry. When the sellout was announced, there were violent scenes in front of the union headquarters in London with strikers flinging their union badges against the ISTC building.

LONDON—Thirteen weeks into the longest national strike this country has seen in decades, the choice confronting 150,000 steel workers has been made clear as day. They can submit to the efforts of union leader Bill Sirs & Co. to get them back through the gates of the British Steel Corporation (BSC) by Easter on the basis of a humiliating arbitrated settlement. Or they can push forward, sweep their misleaders aside and detonate an explosion throughout the working class which will rock this country to its foundations.

From day one this strike has had the potential and urgent necessity to burst the confines of a narrow wage struggle against one employer. A general strike today is not "pie in the sky." It's the road to victory, and it is pused more sharply as a concrete opportunity now—even in the strike's eleventh hour, after numerous sellout attempts—than at any point in the last 90 days of class war. Steel workers: Stay out and win!

On March 20, Sirs and the representatives of ten other striking unions

announced agreement with BSC management to constitute a three-man "committee of inquiry" to arrange an arbitrated settlement. The union negotiators have *already* capitulated to virtually all British Steel's key demands: sweeping redundancies [layoffs], local productivity deals, countless strings. All that is left to this phony pro-management committee is to pick a figure between 10 and 19 percent which the bureaucrats will then sell to the ranks as the best they could get.

This committee is a sellout from the word go. BSC knows it. Sirs knows it. The strikers know it. The negotiators have even tried to push through a return to work before the results are announced, the company offering a sickly "sweetener" of an immediate 10 percent

rise. The only reason Sirs didn't try that one is he would have had an insurrection on his hands. South Yorkshire strike around the steel plants if Sirs tries to get them back to work for less than 20 percent.

The steel strike can and must be won. Valuable opportunities have been lost because no authoritative militant leadership has been forged to organize the strike, while the ISTC [Iron and Steel Trades Council] tops are doing their best to *disorganise* it. But the sentiment remains strong—as the posters say: "20 percent, no surrender." The defiance has not been broken: "We will *march* through those gates," swore one Sheffield strike committee member.

Make it a victory march! A victory is

ripe for the taking. The CBI [Confederation of British Industry] announced last week that 25 percent of production throughout industry had been affected by the strike. The bosses are being hurt and the strike is spreading. On March 21 every ship in the port of Liverpool was left stranded as more than 6,500 dockers walked off the job after 100 of them were ordered to load a shipment of blacked [hot-cargoed] steel or lose pay. (Unfortunately, the ship loading scab steel was a Soviet vessel.) After ten weeks the TGWU [Transport and General Workers Union] bureaucracy has finally directed dockers not to handle any steel. Later at a mass meeting 4,000 strikers voted almost unanimously to continue their strike and demand a national

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Steel strikers march in TUC solidarity demo, London March 9.

Spartacist Britain

joining the chorus for nationalist economic protectionism, by sacrificing wages and benefits to insure profits on marginal operations and in steel by harebrained, utopian schemes like having the workers buy up dilapidated plants.

Thus when the Brook Park news hit, local UAW leaders were quick to bluster about fighting back. But Ford officials, who admitted in their internal memo on the closings that "much will depend on how seriously the Cleveland UAW local decides to protest the action," soon discovered how little they had to fear. While lashing out at Doug Fraser's "inaction," Local 1250's right-wing president Thurman Payne's response was to dispatch signs and pickets to Ford headquarters in Dearborn, reading "1250 Loves America, Ford Wants to Leave It" and "Would Henry Ford Be Proud of Ford Motor Co. Today?!"

The union tops are also working overtime to pressure their Democratic Party "friends of labor" to pass "plant closing" legislation on both state and federal levels. These schemes don't even *pretend* to stop factory closings. Ohio Senate Bill 188, offering insultingly tokenistic "rewards" to workers losing their jobs, such as a week's pay for every year worked, and six more months of coverage in company health plans, also stipulates that any company with more than one hundred workers must give two years' advance notice before closing or moving. This is not any kind of concession to the workers. Rather, it actually lays the basis for agreements between the companies and the bureaucrats to "cut costs" at the job site, that is, to throw union contracts out the

window in the interests of keeping the bosses' plants solvent.

Nowhere has the bankruptcy of the bureaucrats' no-strike strategy been more clear than in the utterly fantastic proposal cooked up by supporters of Ed Sadlowski in the Youngstown United Steelworkers (USWA) offices to *buy* the broken-down plants abandoned by the companies and run them with federal aid! This fanciful scheme caught the eye of liberals like Ramsey Clark and Staughton Lynd. But what a cruel joke on the laid-off steel workers! How can anyone expect them to throw whatever's left of their life savings into these ruins? And were this nutty scheme to actually get off the ground somehow, all it would entail would be speedup and unsafe working conditions in a vain attempt to force these junkheaps into turning a profit.

The union bureaucracy, especially at the international level, has mainly responded to plant closings by ever-louder calls for import controls or, what amounts to the same thing, for controls on capital exports. This despicable policy pits American working people against Japanese or Mexicans, and sows the poison of national chauvinism. Ultimately economic protectionism leads to inter-imperialist wars (like World Wars I and II) for a redivision of the world market.

A Class-Struggle Answer to Plant Closures

In addition to permanent plant closures, millions of workers will be thrown out of work as the U.S. enters a new slump. The struggle against unemployment is the struggle to expand the

job pool. Shorten the workweek—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Plant closures, both permanent and conjunctural, are part and parcel of the capitalist system. There are no reformist and certainly no localized solutions. But this does not mean that workers need be helpless victims of the bosses' economy.

The most powerful weapon for workers facing a plant closure is occupation—the sit-down strike. By challenging the bosses' sacred property rights, a plant seizure can galvanize other sections of the working class. A plant occupation in Youngstown or Akron today could spark an industry-wide strike in steel or rubber shutting down the monopoly capitalists' *most* profitable operations. Such militant and dramatic actions would also win wide sympathy and support from working people everywhere.

The plant closings in steel and rubber have different causes and this affects the outcome of struggles in the two industries. Unlike steel, the rubber industry is not contracting; it is engaging in a union-busting flight to the South. Here a two-pronged attack is needed. One is a full-scale campaign by the entire labor movement to unionize the South. Key to this is labor boycotts, especially in transport and retailing, of non-union products. At the same time plant occupations and an industrywide strike should be directed against the economic devastation of Akron. At a minimum laid-off rubber workers, like those in steel, should get 100 percent unemployment pay, fully protected against inflation, for as long as they're out of work.

But the antiquated, inefficient U.S. steel industry is contracting in the face of world oversupply at the beginning of

a world economic downturn. The combination of factory occupations and an industrywide strike could force the companies, especially the bigger ones like U.S. Steel and Bethlehem, to keep open certain marginal facilities they would otherwise shut down. But some of the dilapidated plants, like in Youngstown, cannot be saved no matter what. For openers, here steel workers must demand 100 percent unlimited unemployment pay (financed by the company or government) with a full cost-of-living escalator, free job retraining and all expenses paid for relocation. But above all it must be rammed home that just as in old, outmoded industries in West Europe, neither bourgeois welfare nor social-democratic-promoted bourgeois nationalization of what *was* can arrest the decline and wastage of those sections of the working people. Intensive new capital development is objectively urgently posed.

But how? All the elements are there: a skilled workforce, new needs, an infrastructure. What is lacking is *class purpose*—to collectivize and plan the economy. To make the massive work transfers tearing up the lives of workers' families on a voluntary and even enthusiastic basis, all that is required is that the working people come to political power. This is hardly a new idea (Marx died nearly 100 years ago) but is so often dishonored by the social democrats (and the Stalinists, whom Trotsky called the social democrats of the second mobilization). Yet Marx's truth is here never more urgent and immediate. The workers must struggle to take the future in their own hands. And every step that encourages this outcome must be fought for. ■

Détente...

(continued from page 7)

the essence of Germany's nationalist foreign policy to maneuver freely between East and West."

If Kissinger exempted Brandt himself from the ranks of the "less scrupulous," he did not exempt other elements of the Social Democratic leadership, including Bahr:

"Though Bahr was a man of the left, I considered him above all a German nationalist who wanted to exploit Germany's central position to bargain with both sides. He was of the type that had always believed that Germany could realize its national destiny only by friendship with the East, or at least avoiding its enmity.... To him, America was a weight to be added to West Germany's scale in the right way at the right time, but his priority was to restore relations between the two Germanies above all."

Kissinger here proved prescient. The most significant resistance to Carter's (and Kissinger's) Cold War II policies from the Western imperialists has come from the *Ostpolitik* wing of German Social Democracy, with Brandt's suc-

cessor, Helmut Schmidt, trying to hold the middle ground. The chairman of the SPD parliamentary fraction, Herberich Wehner, last February argued that "not just we, but the other side too, tends to continue its armament out of fear and worry." Among these fears and worries, he listed continuing Western technical-military superiority and China's hellishness. Wehner concluded with the rhetorical question: "Is it surprising that the Soviet leadership reacts with military measures that are defensive from its point of view?" (U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, *Translations on Western Europe*, 8 March 1979).

More recently, the SPD parliamentary leader again stirred up a hornet's nest by accurately labeling the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan a "preventative act." A former leading German Stalinist, Wehner joined the Social Democrats only a few years after World War II. This background and his present line have some of the more paranoid types in Washington speculating that the SPD leader may be a KGB mole—shades of Kim Philby!

A common explanation of current

SPD foreign policy is that West Europe, especially West Germany, got more out of détente than did the U.S. Leaving aside the matter of economic deals, this way of putting the matter assumes that both parties had the same interest in bettering relations with Moscow in the early 1970s. But that was not the case. The U.S. and West Europe were pursuing two different versions of détente. For American imperialism détente was essentially a breathing spell to recover from the defeat in Vietnam, its international economic, strategic military and domestic political repercussions.

The West European bourgeoisie's interest in relaxing the Cold War polarization was more long-term and strategic. Especially as the USSR approached strategic nuclear parity with the U.S., the West European rulers had no desire to be drawn into a military showdown with the Soviets because of America's globalist ambitions and posturing. Typical West German reaction to Carter's war-mongering over Afghanistan was captured in the slogan,

Berlin is more important than Kabul! For the rulers of the West German imperialist state, détente has the additional purpose of providing a climate for eventually huying back Prussia and Saxony from the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Social Democrats exploit the national consciousness of the German proletariat on behalf of imperialist irredentism, however diplomatically disguised. Their talk of reuniting the German nation serves a program of *counterrevolution*—overthrowing the collectivist property relations in the DDR. As we have seen, Stalin himself offered as much in his 1952 proposal for a reunited, neutral capitalist Germany. We Trotskyists, in contrast, are unconditional defenders of these historic conquests and call for the *revolutionary reunification* of Germany, through socialist revolution against capitalist-imperialism and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

USec...

(continued from page 5)

tour de force of Stalinist ecumenism). The USec minority document on Afghanistan presumably submitted by Ali and his co-thinkers actually accuses Brezhnev & Co. of something like "left adventurism" in provoking imperialist militarism. It deplores the fact that Soviet intervention allegedly fuels:

"c. The imperialists' justification for their resumption of the arms race, under the pretext that the Soviet Union is demonstrating in Afghanistan that it intends to use force to impose regimes loyal to it. The Afghanistan affair has already made a shambles of the efforts of the workers movement in the imperialist countries against the step-up of the nuclear arsenal in Europe and the West."

—"Draft Resolution on the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan," *Intercontinental Press*, 3 March

This is, of course, the very rationale by which Soviet Stalinism has for decades justified *not* supporting revolutions in other countries. "Peaceful coexistence" means precisely: don't "export" revolution; don't export arms to revolutions. Do nothing to upset the imperialists and weaken the "forces of peace" in the capitalist countries.

In the late 1960s the Mandelites invented the term "new mass vanguard" in order to identify themselves with the burgeoning New Left Maoist current against the pro-Moscow CPs. A 1969 USec majority resolution in praise of Maoism states:

"...the sharp campaign which Peking unleashed against the right-wing opportunist line of the CP's following Moscow's lead... has objectively contributed to deepen the world crisis of Stalinism and to facilitate the upsurge of a new youth vanguard the world over. Inside that youth vanguard the general sympathy for China and Maoist criticism of the Kremlin's revisionism remains deep...."

—"Original Draft Resolution on the 'Cultural Revolution' and Proposed Amendments—Arranged in Two Columns," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, June 1970

When this drivel was written, Peking's criticism of Soviet "revisionism" had become the main ideological basis for declaring the USSR was a "social-imperialist, capitalist" country.

For over a decade the European USec has chased after precisely those elements within the Stalinist milieu which have broken with Moscow in favor of competing nationalisms—for the Maoists, it was the Chinese and lately the Albanian bureaucracies; for the Euro-communists, their own imperialist bourgeoisies. Mandel has taught his follow-

ers that among Stalinists antipathy to the Soviet leadership is the main criterion for healthy political motion. Afghanistan shows many have taken this lesson to heart.

Never given to "sectarian" narrowness, the USec generously included in the "new mass vanguard" various left social-democratic groupings, such as the sector of the French PSU led by Mandel's old mentor, Michel Pablo. And in Britain, for years the main political bedfellow of the IMG has been the "state-cap" Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, who broke from Trotskyism in 1950, refusing to support the Soviet bloc in the Korean War. Right now, when the Cliffite British SWP is denouncing the Soviet action in Afghanistan as "imperialist," the IMG is holding joint meetings with these anti-Soviet renegades. And at a mid-February IMG national conference, the "majority" (a bare 50 percent) voted to "launch a public campaign to unite the forces of the IMG with those of the SWP." Even the main opposition wanted to follow this liquidationist course, only desiring to hold out for better terms (see "IMG Lurches Toward Cliff" in *Spartacist/Britain*, March 1980).

Afghanistan Explodes Mandel's Détente

How does Mandel square his professed Trotskyism with an orientation toward regrouping with those who refuse to defend the Soviet Union? Simply by proclaiming that defense of the USSR against imperialism is irrelevant in this happy age of détente. Mandel's conception of détente is actually a version of the old 1960s Maoist "superpower" condominium doctrine. He denies that U.S. imperialism remains fundamentally hostile to the Soviet degenerated workers state. Rather he defines the basic relationship as one of jointly suppressing the revolutionary forces throughout the world. Mandel claims that Brezhnev's Russia functions essentially as the gendarme of world capitalism's gendarme, a position in substance (if not in form) identical to that of the New Leftish Maoists and "Third Campists" like Cliff.

Mandel has derided the Spartacist tendency as fixated on Soviet defensism for our contention that Washington has abandoned its post-Vietnam policy of détente and returned to the Cold War path (ideologically expressed in Carter's "Human Rights" campaign). After the Sino-Vietnam war last February, he reasserted: "...nothing has changed in the *basic* aspect of the world situation, which is the consistent pursuing of

mutual peaceful coexistence and collaboration by Moscow and Washington on a world scale" ("Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia," *Intercontinental Press*, 9 April 1979). Never mind that Washington rather openly colluded with the Chinese invasion of a Soviet ally. Never mind that the day that the Chinese army crossed the Vietnamese border the State Department warned the Soviets against retaliating in kind. For Mandel, it's U.S./Soviet détente über alles.

His latest book, *Revolutionary Marxism Today*, published a few months before the Afghanistan crisis, actually prophesies:

"...I would deny that we are entering a new cold war situation in which imperialism, more or less allied to Peking, is preparing an aggressive drive against the Soviet Union.... "The basic trend in the current world situation, I would argue, is not toward a new, full-fledged cold war between Moscow and Washington, but a continuation of 'peaceful coexistence' that has been pursued for several decades [?!] now."

So when Pablo wanted to tail after the Kremlin in the '50s he invented a theory of "centuries of deformed workers states"; Mandel's 1980s equivalent—aimed at cozying up to anti-Soviet dissidents, Eurocommunists and Jimmy Carter—is "decades of peaceful coexistence."

Marx was fond of the British empiricist saying: facts are stubborn things. In Afghanistan today the defense of the USSR is posed with a directness and immediacy that not even a centrist charlatan like Mandel can dodge. Everyone knows that to call for Soviet withdrawal is to call for the establishment of a fanatically anti-communist

government, fully backed by imperialism, on the southern border of the USSR. But for the USec to militarily support the Soviet army in Afghanistan would draw the line against almost every organization, tendency and individual it has sought to regroup with for the past five or even ten years.

After years of sweeping the Russian question under the rug, the USec is now reaping the reward in the form of a massive anti-Soviet bulge in the face of American imperialism's warmongering over Afghanistan. Whether the USec's deeply ingrained cynicism toward program can stave off sharp and even factional polarization over the central questions of revolutionary orientation in a period of heightened bourgeois anti-Sovietism remains to be seen. Is there anything left of the primitive leftist energies which once characterized the young USec cadres who built barricades in the Paris streets in May '68 and carried Vietcong flags in the radical "mobilizations" over Vietnam? Or have "the children of '68" grown up through the years of tailing popular frontism into ordinary anti-Soviet social democrats? This much is clear: the consistent Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency, centering for the backward countries on the struggle for the permanent revolution—the fight for liberation under the leadership not of the "anti-imperialist bourgeoisie" but of the revolutionary proletariat—is the only road forward.

For unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! ■

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Lowenstein...

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favor of the Jim Crow slate. Martin Luther King played his role in the sellout by pushing the scheme on the MFDP.

It wasn't long before black nationalists, under the slogan "Black Power," drove the whites out of SNCC and other radical civil rights organizations. And who could blame them for rejecting integrationism if for them it meant the ideological hegemony of the Lowensteins and Rauhs? Without a clear revolutionary class alternative, even the dead end of black nationalism looked like the high road to liberation compared to Lowenstein's "All the way with LBJ" maneuvers.

"Saint Allard" is also remembered as a political giant-slayer of the 1968 "Dump Johnson" drive which forced the hated Vietnam warrior from the White House. But in the antiwar movement, as in the civil rights movement, Lowenstein's role was to try to bring the radicalizing elements back into the "mainstream" of the Democratic Party. Once again Lowenstein took the lead in urging the defeated "Clean for Gene" McCarthy activists to throw their support to none other than Hubert Humphrey.

The Strange Case of Dennis Sweeney

Paul Cowan suggests that Lowenstein's red-baiting campaign so demor-

alized black SNCC staffers like Bob Moses that they were driven from the civil rights movement. There is no doubt that Lowenstein came to be regarded by the radical wing of SNCC as a political saboteur. And some felt more than a keen sense of betrayal.

Consider the strange case of Dennis Sweeney, the man who reportedly confessed to firing five shots into Lowenstein. He was recruited by Dean Allard Lowenstein in 1964 for the Mississippi Project as a 20-year-old "brilliant" history student at Stanford University. Sweeney took up his dangerous post at McComb, Mississippi where he was twice injured in night-riding racist bombings of SNCC's "Freedom House." He was harassed by the state of Mississippi, arrested at least half a dozen times (*New York Times*, 17 March). By all accounts Sweeney came through this experience on the side of the black radicals, and he helped wage a bitter struggle against his former mentor Lowenstein. Sweeney was one of the highest ranking white members of SNCC, and one of the last to leave that organization in the period of "black power."

But leave he did. And according to the most recent reports in the press, he then went crazy. He is described as "a paranoid full of delusions about the CIA and Allard Lowenstein. The *Washington Post* (16 March) reports that Sweeney was at an anti-CIA demonstration in 1967 after the CIA-NSA connection was blown. It is

reported that he believed Allard Lowenstein had ordered the dentist who did free dental work for "the movement" to implant listening devices in the fillings of his teeth. It is worth noting that this delusion concerns the secret organization that tried to kill Castro by poisoning the Cuban leader's shoe polish and his cigars, tested nerve gas dispersion in the New York City subways and tricked unknowing people into taking LSD. In fact, if Sweeney's reported accusation against the CIA is a paranoid delusion, as is likely, then it may be one of the few such accusations against the CIA in the 1960s that turns out to be empty. In any case, Sweeney's fillings can't be checked because he hacked them out.

For the bourgeois media the assassination of Lowenstein was a nearly perfect example of its view of the youth radicalization of the 1960s and the development of the self-absorbed decade of the 1970s. What happened to the thousands of youth in the civil rights movement? In the antiwar movement? The *Washington Post* (16 March) writes of the "tragedy" of "burnt out hopes":

"Mostly, these children have grown up to be lawyers, nurses, artists, mothers and fathers—ordinary people with special memories. Some dropped out to farm in rural communes. Some found solace in Eastern religions. Others like Sweeney, never fully recovered, never truly reconciled ideals and reality."

Were the choices really adjustment to capitalism's decaying racist status quo or madness? Were those others who refused to become "ordinary people,"

dirt farmers or Hare Krishnas destined to become mad assassins?

No, the political activism of the 1960s did not merely evolve into the '70s as youthful idealism into the "reality" of adulthood. There was a political fight. Sides were taken and there were victories and defeats. Black SNCC leaders Marion Barry and Ivanhoe Donaldson, for instance, didn't adjust to "reality"; they adjusted to the Democratic Party. They turned their youthful goals inside out. Today they run Washington, D.C. for the capitalists, grinding the largely black population of that city into the ground of poverty and despair.

The tragedy is not just the personal one of Dennis Sweeney. It is that nearly an entire generation of dedicated black and white youth were led to the Democratic Party by reformists who posed as the left. The tragedy was that there was no pole for revolutionary integrationism. For Allard Lowenstein it was a victory for liberalism and the Democratic Party. It is that victory at the expense of black people and the working class that Harrington and the rest celebrate when they mourn Lowenstein's death and praise his life. But there was another road, then as now—of resolute struggle against the Lowensteins and their apologists, the struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution. That is the road of Trotskyism and we leave it to Teddy Kennedy and Michael Harrington, and William Buckley, and The Company, to weep for Allard Lowenstein. ■

British Steel Strike...

(continued from page 9)

docks strike.

The steel workers can give the lead to whole sections of the working class. Leyland workers—100,000 of them—are finally placed for national strike action on April 8, after months of criminal bureaucratic delays. Eight thousand Sheffield engineering workers made it clear that they were ready to strike when they walked out for a week in support of steel workers' picket lines. Delegates from Wales at the recent emergency National Union of Miners conference in London denounced their national and area leaderships for refusing to call out the miners alongside the steel workers. Strike activists have reported that Spartacist League leaflets calling for general strike action have been avidly passed around from one picket shift to the next, from one strike committee to another. They want—and need—the general strike, right now!

But while the Tories swing their axe, all the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) are prepared to do is organise a few cuts demonstrations and Sunday outings. TUC head Len Murray made no bones about why he couldn't bring himself to even call the scheduled May 14th "day of action" a general strike:

"Mr. Murray said he was not planning a strike to bring down the Government, adding: 'I don't think the British people will tolerate that for one moment. If we did that we would not know what to do with the power we have got.'"

—*Guardian* [London], 19 March

Steel workers: Elect an authoritative national strike committee, linking it up with the area strike committees, stewards committees and other representative bodies in other unions! Steel workers and all workers must fight for a general strike now, not only to win this claim but to smash the Tories and their union-bashing offensive. Tempered by 13 weeks on the picket lines, the steel workers have an historic opportunity to lead their class in struggle. What they need is to link their militancy and determination to a program for victory. Steel workers—stay out and win! Reject the sellout! Fight for a general strike! ■

San Francisco Nazis...

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• March 17, 1980, Oceanside—Heavily armed KKKers savagely beat anti-Klan demonstrators.

The fascists can and must be stopped now! But there is no sense calling on the courts and cops to "ban the Klan" and Nazis. At Oceanside, the Klan defied a "ban" and the cops just stood by while they beat the protesters. In Greensboro the cops looked the other way when the KKK murderers opened fire. And a few years ago, when these same Nazis opened a Rudolph Hess "bookstore" across from a synagogue in San Francisco, the cops arrested a concentration camp survivor as the justifiably enraged residents tore apart this race-hate center. In the name of "evenhandedness" the police protect these murdering terrorists.

It's labor's job to sweep the Nazis off the streets of San Francisco. We have the power. Not a small confrontation between a gang of Nazi hoods and small groups of militants, but thousands of unionists and blacks and all the enemies of fascism in the Bay Area, gathered in a massive demonstration on the same day and the same place where the Nazis want to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday. They



Klansmen in battle gear club anti-fascist demonstrators in Oceanside, Ca.

It Better Not Happen Here!

want a party for Hitler? Let's give them the party Hitler and his kind deserve! Some say it "can't happen here." We say

it better not!
Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday!

Initial List of Endorsers, April 19 Committee Against the Nazis

The following individuals and organizations have endorsed the April 19 demonstration to "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday." The demonstration will take place at 11:00 a.m. at the San Francisco Civic Center.

Bernie Abrams, survivor of live years in Nazi concentration camps
Larry Ackerman, Steward, CWA Local 9410
ACTWU Local 1414C Executive Board
Matt Ayon, Secretary-Treasurer, IBT-ACA Local 9
Bay Area Spartacist League
Tim Chapman, Steward, ILWU Local 6
George P. Cleveland, Directing Business Representative, IAM District Lodge 56
Rev. Michael Collins, Co-Chair, Affirmation
Virginia Collins, civil rights activist
Walter Collins, civil rights, antiwar activist
Paul Costan, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Crusader, San Francisco gay newspaper
Jim Oanzey, President, ATU Local 1555
Bob Dawson, Vice President OPEIU Local 29
Pete Farruggio, Steward, ILWU Local 6
Rick Flores, Vice President, USWA Local 2869
Fontana, CA

Bob Franklin, Business Agent, IBT Local 265
Charles Garry, attorney
Gay Liberation Alliance, San Francisco
Dr. Carlton Goodlett, editor and publisher, *Sun Reporter*
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Earl F. Grogan, President, APWU, San Francisco Local
Fernando Guerrero, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
Hilda Guerrero, Steward, CWA Local 9410
David Hilliard, former Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party, SEIU Local 411
Norman Huntsman, President, District Lodge 56, President Local Lodge 739, IAM
Kathy Ikegami, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Mike Kasian, Steward, ILWU Local 6
Sanford Katz, attorney
Howard Keylor, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Bill Kiesel, retiree, UAW Local 1364
Ray King, Executive Board member and Trustee, USWA Local 2869, Fontana, CA
William Kunstler, attorney
Conrad Lynn, attorney
Bob Mandel, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6
Tanya Mandel, Berkeley Women for Peace
Jane Margolis, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410
Hilding Martinson, Business Agent, UE Local 1412
Militant Caucus, UAW Local 1364
Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union

Howard Myron, Chief Steward, Long Lines Division, CWA Local 9415
New York Gay Activists Alliance
Sophie Polgar, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Mark Pope, past Co-Chair, National Caucus of Gay and Lesbian Counselors
Oave Ramet, ILWU Local 34
F. Thomas Richey, Secretary-Treasurer, IBT Local 265
Robert I. Rowe, President, ACTWU Local 1414C
George Santori, OPEIU Local 3
Henry Schmidt, retired International Vice President, ILWU, leader of 1934 San Francisco general strike
Israel Shahak, anti-Zionist Israeli civil libertarian
Yvonne Smith, Steward, CWA Local 9415
Stan Steiner, author, *La Raza and Fusang*
Vera Steiner, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Ron Teninty, Business Agent, IBT Local 315
Terrie Valenzuela, Recording Secretary, ACTWU Local 1414C
Robert F. Williams, author, *Negroes With Guns*
Women's Committee, UAW Local 1364
Evelyn Wyatt, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Bob Zellner, civil rights activist
Oorothy Zellner, civil rights activist

Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only

WORKERS VANGUARD

After 5 Months Bosses on the Run, Victory in Sight

Harvester Strikers—Finish the Job!

CHICAGO, March 31—Some 35,000 determined United Auto Workers (UAW) members appear to be on the verge of a big victory against the International Harvester (IH) Company. After 155 days of this bitterly fought war of attrition, the huge agricultural implements manufacturer has reportedly run up the white flag of surrender on the main issue in the strike—the company's attempt to impose forced overtime.

Harvester is the *only* major company covered by the UAW which does *not* have compulsory overtime. Had the company won, this inhuman, body-killing practice would be seen by auto and ag-imp workers as part of the job—something no one can do anything about. But if the Harvester workers nail down their victory, this will show their union brothers on the line at GM, Ford and Deere that they too don't have to work 60-70 hours a week. But they do have to fight to win their rights.

When Harvester squared off against its workforce last November, its union-hating chairman Archie McCardell boasted up and down that he was going to crack the union on this issue. That's

what he was brought in for. But the arrogant Harvester boss vastly underestimated the IH ranks, who are among the most militant sectors of the UAW. Once proclaimed as the darling of the business world, even McCardell's fellow executives have soured on him. The 7 April *Business Week* put it bluntly in describing McCardell's debacle: "Harvester Falls Flat On Its Bargaining Goals."

After five months and the longest major UAW strike in history, the company is visibly staggering. Just last month, after reporting a \$225 million first-quarter loss, with its suppliers feeling the squeeze and its customers screaming as the prime selling season for farm equipment approached, the company essentially threw in the towel. It tacitly accepted an agreement under which the union would provide lists of *volunteers* composed of plant workers and laid-off employees willing to work extra shifts—which amounts only to a modification of the present contract.

The Harvester strike is not over yet. Still at issue are company attempts to limit in-plant seniority rights at five

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Harvester strikers march with effigy of hated boss Archie McCardell.

San Francisco: Stop Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday!

A Call to Action

**APRIL 19
COMMITTEE
AGAINST NAZIS**

The Nazis say they are going to goose-step into San Francisco with their swastikas and weapons to take over the Civic Center. They want to stage a dangerous provocation for Hitler's birthday, April 19. "Celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco! The very idea makes your blood boil. The Nazi "National Socialist White Workers Party" says it will rejoice in the torture and genocide of the Third Reich, the death camps with their smell of burning flesh, the teeth of Hitler's victims piled high as mountains. This obscene demonstration must be stopped!

Where the hell do these disgusting little Hitler-lovers think they are? We say San Francisco is a labor town, not a Nazi town, and the fascists are murderous union-husters. This is a city with several hundred thousand homosexuals who know what happened to "social deviants"—along with "non-Aryans," unionists, socialists—in Hitler's Ger-

many. This is a city of blacks who know they are the central target of race terror in America. Of Jewish survivors of the extermination camps, for whom the words "Dachau" and "Auschwitz" are a

shriek of pain unforgotten. Latinos and Asian Americans have their own list of victims of racist terror.

Millions of decent working people, Bay Area residents—including German

Americans, for whom the scourge of Nazism is especially humiliating—will not stand for the outrage. A massive demonstration of labor, blacks, gays, Latinos, Asian Americans and socialists can stop the Nazi creeps in their tracks. If we don't, if the Nazis march here on April 19, no one will be safe.

And it is none too soon. Strutting in their brown shirts and white sheets, these demented tin pot "Führers" exist on the psychopathic fringes of society. But they are no joke. For these sociopathic killers not only dream of the death camps, they have their guns loaded right now, and pointed directly at *you*. That is the meaning of the Klan/Nazi murders in Greensboro, North Carolina last November—carried out in broad daylight.

The Nazis and Klan are rearing their heads in California because they have not been stopped:

- October 13, 1979, Walnut Creek—Nazis rallied while counterdemonstrators were penned up, attacked by police dogs and maced by cops.
- December 8, 1979, San Francisco—Fifteen KKK thugs staged an armed show of force at the city's Federal Building.
- March 1, 1980, Fontana—150 Klansmen burned crosses in this heavily black and Chicano steel town.

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Hitler's Birthday April 20th

The great Jew democracy enforces your right to:
blow dope,
turn queer,
marry a nigger,
kill the unborn and anything else to destroy America.
Some people may be sick enough to accept it....BUT NOT US.
We prefer bold revolution!
Smash it! And replace it with a healthy, white workers order

Notice! Notice! Rally! Rally!

See and hear Allen Lee Vincent at City Hall, 12 Noon.
Saturday, April 19
National Socialist White Workers Party
"Tomorrow belongs to us."

S.F. Nazi Leaflet—Stop Them!