

Australasian SPARTACIST



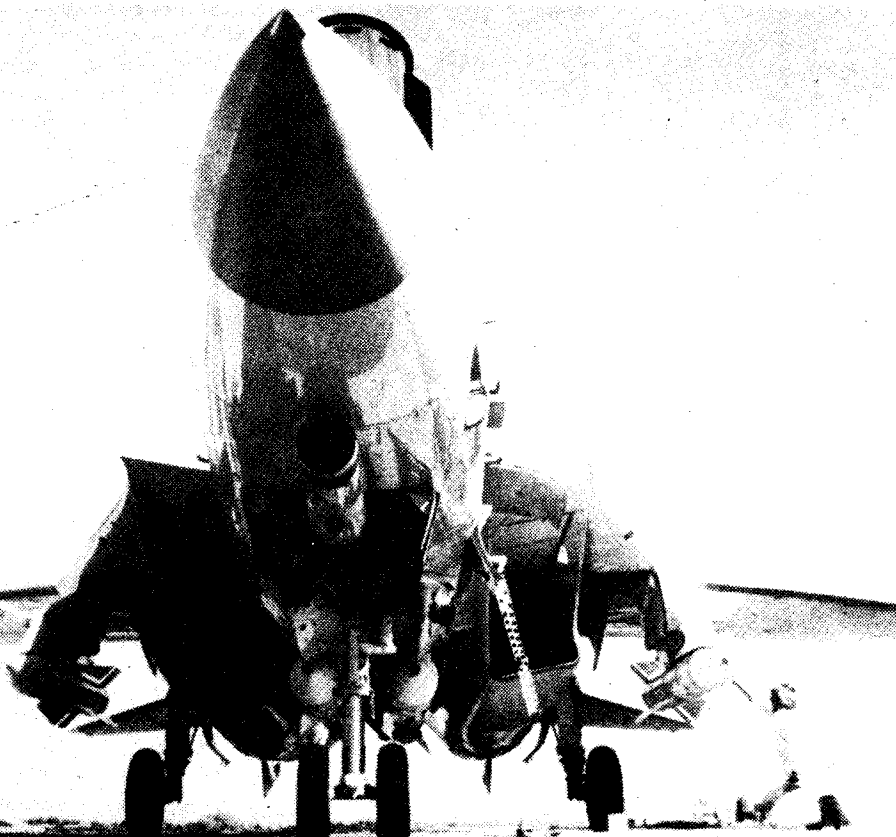
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May 1980

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“Born again” loser bungles Iran raid

Carter lurches toward World War III



27 April — It could have come straight out of a Mel Brooks film entitled “Blazing Helicopters”. All the components were there: three of the eight giant Sikorsky Sea helicopters suffering “equipment failure” (read getting stuck in the mud); the message from a jumpy Washington to “abort mission”; the fear-stricken panic of the commandos on the ground; and the ensuing helicopter collision during liftoff with a C-130 Hercules transport plane in a sudden pullout which left four helicopters and eight dead behind. And in the midst of this frenzied scene at a “remote” desert former CIA air base, a busload of 50

Iranians happens by, no doubt to stare in disbelief at the inept bungling of the world’s most powerful, dangerous and irrational imperialist power.

An Entebbe-style raid — but this time organised by Idi Amin. Or the Bay of Pigs revisited — except that then, the US imperialists and their *gusano* henchman didn’t manage to defeat *themselves*. Truly, it would seem that Lillian Carter was right when she said that of her two sons, the alcoholic nut Billy was the smarter.

But the incredible “great rescue bid” fiasco cannot obscure the deadly reality of this arrogant assault by US imperialism

and overthrow his government! The truly mind-boggling incompetence of the whole adventure — from the helicopters getting stuck to leaving the dead behind in the flaming wreckage — will be seen as one more humiliation for the United States, another slap in the face for “American ingenuity”.

The Israelis could do it at Entebbe; the Germans did it at Mogadishu in October 1977; even the Provisional IRA once managed to lift three of its members out of Mountjoy jail in Dublin and into a helicopter hovering overhead. But for mighty US imperialism, this is at least their *third* such dismal failure: In November 1970, airborne Green Berets planned to pluck 70 Americans from a prisoner-of-war camp at Son Tay in Vietnam, but when they got there they found it empty. In May 1975, Gerald Ford ordered the rescue of 40 crewmen from off the freighter *Mayaguez* when it was trapped in Cambodian territorial waters. That operation failed ignominiously — 18 marines dead, 23 airmen killed when their helicopter crashed, no crewmen rescued. No wonder Lyndon B Johnson thought Ford had spent too much time playing football without a helmet!

From beginning to end, the operation reads as if it was dreamed up (as it may well have been) by the “intelligence experts” who sought to kill Fidel Castro by poisoning his boot polish, sending him exploding cigars or even feeding him a hair dipilatory to make his beard fall out, thus causing the Cuban people to rise up

Yet the stakes in this military conflict are much higher. Carter’s escapade — rightly denounced by the Soviet news agency *Tass* as an “unprecedented act of adventurism” — is a further lurch towards World War III and possible nuclear holocaust. For Iran is not some Latin American “banana republic” where Washington can pull this kind of crazy stunt without risking world war. It is a strategically important country on the southern border of the Soviet Union. And right now the USSR has nearly 100,000 troops across Iran’s eastern frontier in Afghanistan, where they are helping put down a feudal tribalist counter-revolution which has already received significant backing from imperialism.

World attention has to date focused on the fact that the US commandos got no further than somewhere in the Great

Break Cold War Olympic boycott

Let them go to Moscow!

It has been virtually impossible over the past few weeks to have a beer in the local pub, ride a train or simply go to work without encountering the “Great” Moscow Olympic boycott debate. The furore has been triggered by US imperialist chief Jimmy Carter and his local sidekick Fraser decreeing that none of “their” athletes will be in Moscow this July. And for what? To “punish” the Soviets for mopping up the CIA-supported murderous bands of Afghan feudal counterrevolutionaries.

Manifestly unable to do anything about Soviet military successes in Afghanistan, and humiliated for six months by the Iranian Islamic reactionaries — who don’t even have a functional army let alone nuclear weapons — Carter is waging a vicarious form of World War III around the Olympics. But make no mistake. Carter’s boycott drive and economic measures against the USSR are not simply “Cold War II”, but calculated

acts of brinkmanship that could escalate into an anti-Soviet imperialist hot war at any time.

Opinion polls have indicated that the Australian people, like the British, were decisively against a boycott; and Fraser looked like falling on his face until the US godfather-in-chief bludgeoned the US Olympic Committee into supporting his boycott. Reluctant Japanese and German “allies” finally decided to join an always enthusiastic Margaret Thatcher in putting the screws on their Olympic Committees, and the local boycott momentum picked up.

After massive Canberra pressure, the thoroughly conservative “amateur gentlemen” of the Australian Olympic Federation (AOF) backed off their previous participation stance in favour of postponing a final decision to the last possible moment ... in effect joining the boycott. We say let the athletes go to

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Kavir Desert. But suppose the helicopters had made it to Teheran, and then developed "equipment failure"? What then? The Carter administration could have found itself in a situation of having to "send in the marines" in force to get its commandos out, thus transforming a military raid into a full-scale invasion. Such a development on its very doorstep would almost certainly have drawn the USSR in directly, triggering World War III. This "Idi Amin", Carter, has his finger on the thermonuclear button, and his irrational act of great-power arrogance could well threaten to incinerate mankind.

Target Moscow

Carter's immediate motivation for authorising the raid was in part designed to defuse the hostage-bomb which has been steadily ticking away within US domestic politics. Prior to the seizure of the embassy on 4 November last, Carter's popularity was at an all-time low — lower even than "Tricky Dick" Nixon's at the height of the Watergate crisis. The taking of the hostages proved a godsend to him, allowing him to pose as a "national leader" in "this time of crisis".

But the months of diplomatic shuffling around came to a spectacular nothing at the beginning of April when Khomeini vetoed the release of the hostages, allegedly negotiated with Iranian Prime Minister Bani-Sadr. Led by an intractable fanatic whose world view derives from the morality of Bedouin tribes of the seventh century, Iran for the present seems singlemindedly intent on frustrating Carter's every overture. The US president is not the only aggressively irrational actor on the world scene! And as the results of the Democratic Party primaries came in, showing Teddy Kennedy slowly creeping up, Carter felt impelled to do something to absolutely ensure that he would achieve

his "holy mission" and make it back into the White House for another four years.

And with anti-Iranian chauvinism in the US still strong, Carter's "next try" might not be with faulty helicopters, but could be to attempt a naval blockade of the Straits of Hormuz, or to mine Iran's harbours. Either move would again only escalate the already high tension in the area. Iran has said that it might ask Russian vessels to lift any mines dropped by the US, and has pledged that if Carter tries to stop its oil getting out, then it will stop all oil, including Saudi Arabia's and Iraq's. Given the already tense situation between Iran and Iraq, such a move could quickly lead to open warfare between the two states, thus threatening to engulf the entire region, which produces one-third of the world's oil supply. Again, direct Soviet/US combat would be posed.

But more importantly, the raid was part of the overall policy of the imperialist strategists in the Pentagon war room whose ultimate target has always been the USSR. Since World War II, the US' fundamental policy toward Iran has been motivated by its implacable hostility to the Soviet workers state and its revanchist desire to "roll back communism" there. Right now the Carter administration is locked in conflict with the Iranians, but the more farsighted imperialist spokesmen must still be looking for ways of redirecting the chauvinist fervour generated over Iran into support for measures against Russia. As the London *Economist* (19 April) put it just one week before the raid: "The containment of dangerous big Russia [rather than "weak little Iran"] is the item that should be at the top of the western agenda".

For the US, the hostages have only been an obstacle to achieving an anti-Soviet alliance with Iran's rabidly anti-communist mullah rulers in order to fill the breach in the military encirclement of the USSR created by the fall of the shah. The 25 April mission was designed to remove the hostages as a barrier —

either by freeing them or if need be by having them perish in the attempt. But for communists, the fact that Carter's raid failed is a *welcome thing* since it means that the construction of the anti-Soviet alliance he wants is now at least temporarily delayed.

The bind the US administration now finds itself in is in good part of its own making. Before it had managed to cement an alliance with a post-shah Iranian client state, Washington was heating its anti-Soviet "Cold War II" drive to dangerously high levels — hijacking a Soviet Aeroflot jet in New York last August, attempting an Olympic boycott and massively increasing military spending by an historically unprecedented rate. But now it finds it has a hostile Iran on its hands as well.

The effects of this new Iran crisis are going to be felt right to the four corners of the globe. There has been an outpouring of protest — some stronger, some more muted — ranging from the "hostage moms" to supposed US allies like West Germany and Japan, who learnt of the raid only through ordinary news dispatches. Carter may have been aiming to claim all the credit for himself if the raid succeeded. But this insane nut may also have imagined that he was back in the "good old days" when the US, as undisputed top-dog imperialist superpower, could tell subservient Bonn ex-Nazis and Tokyo politicians where to get off. But in the post-Vietnam, post-dollar devaluation world, the US cannot simply run roughshod over its imperialist rivals. Japan relies on Iran for 20 percent of its oil and West Germany is similarly dependent on the Teheran oil dealers. And while both countries did eventually agree to back the US up on the question of economic and diplomatic sanctions, this was done in the hope of forestalling precisely the kind of helicopter gunship diplomacy which Carter attempted anyway. There is no doubt that at least privately they consider Carter's raid to be an unfriendly act toward them.

Bit by bit the US bourgeoisie has seen chips of what it once thought was its world fall out of its grasp — Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Iran. Meanwhile, the Cubans run unhindered around Africa and the Soviets move "unpunished" (and with great comparative ease) into Afghanistan. The more paranoid also see the hand of Moscow in Somoza's fall in Nicaragua. But it is also clear that US imperialism is getting fed up with always ending up the loser. This latest debacle could shift popular opinion within the country even further to the right. Already a part of the response seems to have been one of annoyance that the mission failed, rather than that it was attempted. "Thanks Mr Pres Try Again", was one sign which went up outside a Maryland liquor store less than 48 hours after the news broke.

Within the US, the fascists of the "National Socialist White Workers' Party" and the racist killers of the Ku Klux Klan are emerging as the hard right-wing drummer boys who would be the most enthusiastic for a war on "Communist Russia". Taking advantage of the chauvinist resurgence, these scum have staged a number of open attacks on blacks and leftists — from Greensboro, North Carolina to Chattanooga, Tennessee — over the past six months. And going hand-in-hand with their anti-working-class program of race genocide are their calls to "make America strong" once more. Unless they are stopped now, they will continue to expand and grow. But as the 19 April rally in San Francisco showed, these scum can be halted by mass working-class action (see article on page 12).

Carter's raid props up Khomeini

Carter's bungle came at the right time for Khomeini, whose unstable theocratic rule faced a further grave internal crisis during the second half of April. When the embassy was seized last November, we said this was no "anti-imperialist action" but a *diversion*, which allowed the ayatollah to channel growing popular

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Moscow! Class-conscious workers should solidarise with the efforts of athletes like Chris Wardlaw and triple gold-medallist Dawn Fraser to break this Carter/Fraser Iron Curtain ban.

One infuriating aspect of the boycott campaign has been the wholesale manufacture of made-to-order Russian atrocity stories. Thus, just twenty-four hours before the vital AOF debate the government released an "intelligence assessment" which contains such lurid gems as the "Kabul prison commandant" who envisages reducing the Afghan population to one million to achieve "communism" — thereby bettering even Fraser's ally, Pol Pot.

But even this concoction pales beside the ravings of the Murdoch press. Coming on like some survivor of Goebbels' press corps on the Eastern Front during World War II, *Australian* correspondent Phillip Cornford spent a few much ballyhooed days in the

vicinity of Peshawar gathering material for his rehashed account of the supposed Soviet massacre at Kerala. This year-old tale was based on no less than the recollections of an 85-year-old refugee whose previous inability to discuss the "massacre" was miraculously overcome in Cornford's presence (*Australian*, 22-23 March). The more restrained *Age* also pitched in with its "Terror Grips Kabul" articles, which on closer inspection mainly revealed the terror that gripped the *Age*'s Michael Richardson as he was unceremoniously deported by the Afghan police. No Clark Kent this.

The point is not that the atrocity stories are outrageous lies or that the bourgeoisie is genuinely distressed for its Afghan "freedom fighters". During WWII Allied propagandists systematically portrayed all Japanese as "sub-human yellow barbarians" to justify their incineration *en masse* in fire bombing and nuclear obliteration of Japanese cities. The current cascade of lies, which as the Soviet Embassy in Canberra notes is accusing the Russians of everything

but eating children alive, serves the same end for the killers who turned Indochina into a bombed-out chemically ravaged moonscape.

The opposition to the boycott by liberal athletes like Wardlaw is rooted in the belief that sport should "stand above politics". Writing in the first issue of *Partisan* (see accompanying article on page 8), make-believe "Trotskyist" Frans Timmerman ludicrously echoes this position and calls, like the *Age* (15 April), for a reformed Olympics — minus the flag-waving, national anthems and medal counts. But international sports simply cannot escape being perverted and commercialised to mirror the national chauvinism of a world dominated by a degenerate bourgeois order in the epoch of capitalist decay. The Olympics have always been an orgy of chauvinism; witness the patriotic reaction which swept the US after their ice hockey team fluked a victory over the superior Soviet team at this year's winter Olympics.

While the Carter/Fraser assertion that

a Western boycott will somehow shake the Soviet people out of their "brutal immorality" in Afghanistan is truly bizarre imperialist arrogance, the Kremlin bureaucrats have an altogether absurd obsession with the Olympics. Only profound bureaucratic self-delusion and insecurity can explain the Brezhnev crew's belief that winning the Gold Medal tally really enhances their prestige and the attraction of the USSR as a "socialist model". Further, the Kremlin's Olympic mania and the massive and very expensive Soviet sports apparatus doubtless serves to channel the energies of Soviet youth away from politics, sex, drinking and other good things dangerous to officially enforced Stalinist puritanism.

Who gets the Olympics has always been an intensely political question. Moscow got it during the fleeting period of detente in the early seventies. With detente dead the Soviets are once again "international outlaws". And if there had not been Afghanistan some other pretext would have done the trick.

As revolutionaries we oppose the Olympic boycott not because we dwell in the fantasy land of "pure" sports in the epoch of imperialist genocide. We oppose it as part of Carter's ominous anti-Soviet war drive. We defend the Red Army in Afghanistan because it opens up the possibility of the liberation of the Afghan peoples from crushing backwardness and feudal barbarity; so that Afghan women, for example, may live no longer as chattel, but more like their sisters in Soviet Central Asia, who live like human beings. One of the stars of the Montreal Olympics, in fact, was Soviet gymnast Nelli Kim, the daughter of a Tatar and North Korean. If after smashing the feudal counterrevolution the Soviets transform Afghanistan in the manner of Soviet Central Asia then in a generation or two there may be Afghan Nelli Kims. Break the Olympic boycott! Hail Red Army! Extend the gains of October to Afghanistan! ■

Letter

We reprint below excerpts from a letter by a supporter of the Spartacist League/Britain on the recent British steel strike.

London
6 April, 1980
Dear Comrades,

The steel workers went back to work on Good Friday. Half of them were out again by lunchtime, because they refused to let the scab lorries in. They put up pickets in Rotherham and Port Talbot. They are furious about having to accept 14 percent, and didn't want to go back at all. Also Sirs [Iron and Steel Trades Confederation general secretary] said that he couldn't do anything about the redundancies until they were back at

work. They were furious about that too. We [comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain] went to a rally at Rotherham on Wednesday 2 April, and all the local bureaucrats got up and said never mind the money, just think of the "unity and solidarity we've achieved". The workers booed and chanted "20 percent! 20 percent!" Finally the bureaucrats had to get up and say what a sellout the deal was. They all said it was nothing to do with them, but "we've got to live with it and so have you!" (many boos).

... Also, the picture you put on the front page [of *Australasian Spartacist* no 72, April 1980] — the Sheerness demo — was a little off as it happens, because it was like when Scargill came to

Grunwicks [in July 1977] and marched everyone off for a demo while the scab buses went in. That demo should never have happened at Sheerness — all the ostensibly revolutionary organisations loved it but it was a bureaucratic distraction from shutting the place down.... Your *ASp* photo was from *Socialist Challenge*, who presumably think that a demonstration would be less alienating for the scabs than a picket line, not to mention the "unnecessary violence" that occurred, much to their distaste, when there was a picket at Sheerness. Just goes to show that you can't trust [Tariq] Ali's crew, even for photographs.
Yours, P Porter

Printers must come out!

Victory to Fairfax metal workers!

SYDNEY, 24 April 1980 — The history of the labour movement is rife with tortuous twists and turns, but there are few contradictions so glaringly dangerous as the spectacle of different crafts and trades in the same shop stabbing each other in the back. Destruction of unionism itself can be the only outcome of such in-fighting, and this is the prospect now facing workers at one of Sydney's strongest union shops, John Fairfax and Sons.

The strike by eighty maintenance tradesmen at Fairfax' Broadway plant, where five daily papers and weekly periodicals are printed, is now in its eighth week. These workers are the victims of an extremely provocative, union-hating management intent on taking away their traditional right to decide how many riggers (experienced tradesmen responsible for hoisting heavy machinery) are needed on certain jobs. The tradesmen, members of the Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union (AMWSU), the Federated Ironworkers and the Australian Society of Engineers, walked out when management tried to force an ironworker to do a rigger's job. The strikers' usual work includes necessary lubrication, general maintenance and repair of the presses, and the effective withdrawal of their labour should have brought the haughty Fairfax publishing empire to a grinding halt. But it hasn't. Fairfax is using its permanent army of "staff" — foremen whose primary purpose is strikebreaking — and fitters apprentices to replace the strikers' labour. As the strikers handout put it, "publications of John Fairfax are being produced whilst the metal unions are in dispute". Indeed they are.

Fairfax has broadened the issue by insisting that it determine the demarcation of work; and the Arbitration Commission has ordered a return to work on the company's terms, which the strikers have overwhelmingly rejected. Again, as the union handout put it, the company "always seek to have the Arbitration system do its dirty work for them".

Although not widely publicised, the strike has begun to garner significant trade-union support and donations, which the strikers are sharing as strike benefits. Meetings have been held at metal shops in Newcastle and Wollongong; and Sydney shops such as the Garden Island Naval Dockyards and Chullora railway workshops have responded with support. The strikers call for a boycott of all Fairfax publications — the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Sun*, *Financial Review*, *National Times* and *Sun Herald* — issued at the beginning of the strike, is reportedly being honoured by waterfront workers, seamen and others in Newcastle,

Wollongong, Port Kembla and Sydney docks and railway repair shops.

Yet despite this support, the strikers' position is clearly threatened by the continued, uninterrupted work in the plant. And it is not staff labour running the presses; it is the 1100-strong Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU), the "industrial" union in the plant which, together with other unions (electrical trades, TWU, journalists, clerks, etc), is officially not supporting the strike. The PKIU came out twice, briefly, at the beginning of the strike, in response to the use of non-union (staff) labour to replace maintenance tradesmen's labour. Since then, however, the PKIU Fairfax Chapel leadership of Don Paget and company has accepted a company "compromise" to keep the presses rolling: the stench of scab labour would be avoided by the legal coercion of union apprentices to perform strikebreaking labour at long hours or lose their apprenticeships; and by keeping the professional blackleg "staff" working during off hours only, when unionists aren't there to see them! To enforce this wretched deal, Paget's chapel executive has been *lifting* black bans placed on scab-repaired presses by the PKIU ranks! This transparently rotten betrayal is a crowning achievement of craft unionism: let each trade go its own way and the others be damned, as long as the dirty deed is hidden from view.

But the metal unions themselves share craftist prejudices, and have thus far



One out, all out: clerk Linda Menzie (here signing for PKIU strike pay) defied FCU instructions in order to honour PKIU strike in January. PKIU must now honour Metal Unions' strike.

shied away from directly confronting the PKIU ranks, neither putting up a picket line nor calling other unions out officially. Their reason at first was that the PKIU could do more good on the inside by preventing the use of non-union labour to replace the strikers. But now this myth has been shattered, and the traditional solidarity of the metal unions and the PKIU is being destroyed. While the metal strikers formerly believed that the PKIU, with its strong tradition of never crossing picket lines, would come out if they did put up a picket, they now reportedly fear that a good portion of the printing union (such as the skilled crafts) wouldn't come out after all. This raises the spectre of a split PKIU and the end of unionism at Fairfax, but it is the PKIU's present policy of working during the strike that is really raising that spectre, not the defensive tactics of the strikers against management scab-herding! Craft prejudices notwithstanding, one out, all out is the only way to win.

The pernicious, strike-breaking policy of the PKIU chapel leadership is not only working to defeat the maintenance tradesmen on strike, it is rapidly destroying the militant traditions of the PKIU itself, not to mention the self-respect of formerly militant PKIU members who are now ashamed to show their faces in pubs



Metal workers stood with printers on picket line in January strike; now PKIU leadership stabs them in the back.

frequented by strikers. Although a month ago there was a sizeable minority of the PKIU ranks against going back to work while the metal tradesmen were still out, now only one printing worker is defying the chapel's scab "decision" by remaining out with the strikers.

The PKIU members who voted not to return are no doubt chafing at official union policy. Yet in last January's PKIU strike, the pickets welcomed several members of scabbing unions who came

than toward the necessary solidarity of all Fairfax unions. The scabbing policy of the chapel leadership is helping the company — by adding new divisions within the unionised work force — as much as the *conscious* scabs they are working with.

Yet the attacks on the metal tradesmen are clearly aimed at the PKIU as well. Fairfax has not been cultivating journo, clerks and "staff" for years for nothing; everyone knows that the management plans a major assault on the union jobs and conditions of crafts such as typesetting through technological change. A victory on demarcation and against union rights by Fairfax over the metal tradesmen can only hasten the demise of the PKIU itself; yet it is the PKIU which ought to be leading all the struggles against management, thereby giving its claim to be the industrial printing union a real measure of validity. This can only be done by defending the rights and claims of all unions and their members against management. Only the PKIU's strength of numbers and ability to organise mass pickets to shut down Fairfax can do this, yet the Paget leadership seems to want only to keep the presses rolling so that Fairfax can smash other unions.

PKIU ranks: don't be fooled! The policy of your leadership is placing a rope around your neck; come out now before it is too late! One out, all out — an injury to one is an injury to all! Set up mass pickets! Shut it down until the metal unions win! Metal strikers: Paget and company have had their chance to "support" your struggle from inside the struck plant; don't give them any more excuses. Picket Fairfax now! Call out all Fairfax unions! ■

Donations, badly needed to support the Fairfax metal workers, may be sent to: Fairfax Metals Dispute Committee, PO Box M206, Sydney Mail Exchange, NSW 2012. Boycott all Fairfax Publications! Victory to the metal strikers!

Correction

In the "Letter from APTU militant" Peter Tiernan published in our last issue (*Australasian Spartacist* no 72, April 1980), a line was left out from the first paragraph. The section in question should have read:

"The union officials' policy was not for a strike to defend our conditions but instead a tactic of bans on the running of mail to Wollongong and Canberra. This allowed Australia Post to stand down more than two-thirds of the Redfern workforce while the others still worked."

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Iranian USecers have second thoughts about Khomeini

When the American embassy in Teheran was seized last November with the blessing of "imam" Khomeini, the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) joined the chorus of opportunists who portrayed this diversion as a great "anti-imperialist struggle". Ever faithful to the "faghi" Khomeini, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) even went so far as to dub the "Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam" at the embassy as some kind of Marxists (not even Brzezinski believes that!).

But for the centrist USec majority, who have criticized Khomeini now and then while embracing his "Islamic revolution", all the rah-rah for the embassy takeover hasn't gone over so well. Judging from the Mandelite press lately, the USec has been catching flak from Iranian militants in Europe. In a recent issue of *Socialist Challenge* (7 February) the British International Marxist Group (IMG) ran a centerfold, "Iran: One Year After the Insurrection", featuring two articles with counterposed lines on the embassy issue. One article by John Leadbetter simply enthuses over how the Iranian masses are in motion, recalling Bernstein's hoary reformist dictum, "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing". The second, by

Azar Tabari, rips his arguments to shreds:

"The occupation of the US Embassy in Teheran and the events around it have very little to do with anti-imperialist struggle. Nor can the demand for the return of the Shah be characterised as anti-imperialist in any meaningful sense....

"The embassy occupation, far from impelling these [mass] struggles forward, acts as a brake upon them. It simultaneously diverts attention from the real issues facing Iran and serves as a rallying cry for the most typical obscuritanist appeals to 'national unity', overlaid with the Islamic veneer that renders this time-honored reactionary appeal even more retrogressive....

"The nefarious effects of this project on the consciousness of the workers and rural poor of Iran cannot be underestimated. The consolidation of Khomeini's authority over the past nine months has meant mounting self-abdication of any confidence and independence in favor of trust in god and his imam."

So after a year of massacres of Kurds and Arabs, stonings of homosexuals and adulterers, arrests of oil workers and leftists — including their own comrades, a dozen of whom sat on death row for over six months — it seems that the scales are falling from the eyes of at least some

Iranian USecers. All the babble about an "unfolding process of permanent revolution in Iran" won't wash with the reality of clerical reaction in power. References to the embassy seizure as a "diversion" might suggest that the writer has been influenced by the international Spartacist tendency. More likely they are due to pressures emanating from the fact that with its uncritical enthusiasm over the American embassy seizure the USec has placed itself to the right of even the left-nationalist Fedayeen guerrillas. The latter at least recognize that the takeover is "a pretext for violently crushing the oppressed of our country" (Fedayeen al-Khalq leaflet dated 22 November 1979). But the "alternative" to Khomeini put forward by these latter-day Guevarists is simply bourgeois liberals such as Mehdi ("You are weak, sir") Bazargan.

An even sharper criticism of the Mandelite Iran line appeared in the form of a letter from a group of Iranian supporters of the Swedish USec section, the KAF, published in its *Internationalen* (2 January):

"Will the Iranian working class become conscious of the fact that there is no difference whatsoever between the existing regime, ie, Khomeini's govern-

ment, and the capitalist regime of the shah? That an Islamic republic in principle serves the same interests as the shah's regime or any other capitalist government....

"Exposure of imperialism' from Khomeini's class interests is calling Carter 'Satan'. A trial of the shah will be nothing more than denunciations such as 'Satan', 'murderer', that his actions are in conflict with Islam and 'God' and that's all. With this political outlook, the only purpose of Khomeini and the Islamic Republic is to stupefy the people."

In response, the KAF political bureau could only respond lamely that "Khomeini has not been successful in holding back the mass struggle, even though he has used quite brutal methods".

In her article in *Socialist Challenge* Azar Tabari bemoans the fact that "most of the far left" internationally could possibly portray Khomeini and the Persian mullahs as "progressive":

"It does not bode well for the future of Iran that the majority of the international left has been unable to distinguish between a deepening process of permanent revolution and a rise in irrational fanaticism serving to consolidate the rule of a repressive and reactionary theocracy."

How true. But the "majority of the international left" included every USec section, "sympathizing" section and split sections — including the rival groups in Iran. In fact, the only tendency which counterposed a proletarian revolutionary alternative to Khomeini, even before the reactionary fanatic came to power, was the international Spartacist tendency.

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 254, 11 April 1980

Iran...

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discontent against the theocracy into renewed hatred for the shah and the demand for his return. But we also noted that this diversion of popular anger could not indefinitely hold back popular resistance to Khomeini's attempts to drag Iran back to the Middle Ages. As the mullahs' cynical exploitation of the Iranian masses' just hatred of the shah and his US overlord wore thin, it was essential for them to crush any potential focus for that resistance.

Khomeini unleashed the Islamic movement against Iran's leftist students, whipping up his fanatics for an "Islamic cultural revolution" and ordering the leftist-dominated universities purged. Pitched battles ensued at Teheran University when extremist Muslim supporters of the "students following the Imam's line" in the embassy tried to oust followers of the leftist Fedayeen, "Islamic-Marxist" Mujahideen and pro-Moscow Tudeh Party. Hojatoleslam Khamenehi, a high-placed mullah and leader of Teheran's daily mass prayers, went to the university and ominously egged them on:

"You are right to get angry and sad seeing pictures of Lenin and red flags floating over our university, but don't

worry. If it is necessary in the coming 48 hours, we will use the great force of the masses."

— Age, 21 April

On 20 April the Islamic Revolutionary Council had to order the universities closed for 48 hours, but this too met with resistance. At Shiraz and Mashad there were nearly 1000 casualties all told in university clashes with the Islamic bands. In Teheran, where leftists occupied the university in protest, right-wing vigilantes of the Hezbolahi ("partisans of god") party succeeded in storming the campus — chanting "Death to the Fedayeen" — after two days of bloody fighting which left at least 11 dead and 300 injured.

Once more fighting flared between Iran's oppressed Kurdish minority and Khomeini's Persian-chauvinist regime when it sent an army column marching through Sanandaj in Kurdistan, allegedly on its way to a "trouble spot" on the Iraqi border. The Kurds had no taste for tolerating a potential occupation army on that pretext; barricades went up, and according to one report Kurdish forces killed 40 soldiers in fighting at Saqqez and downed a number of army helicopters.

Now that the US has launched an actual military attack on Iran, Khomeini will be able to appear once more as the champion of Iran against US imperialism. Such a refurbishing has only the most ominous implications for the Iranian masses. When those "students following the Imam's line" took the US embassy, the fake-left went wild cheering them as "anti-imperialists". The Muslim fanatics have taken the anti-imperialist credentials shoved on them by this suicidal opportunism and used them to mobilise lynchings of leftists. At the very moment that the Socialist Workers Party of the United States was proclaiming "Millions in Iran Defy Carter's Threats" (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 April 1980), Islamic leaders were organising mob attacks on leftists.

Khomeini will now find it easier to reconsolidate the state apparatus and rebuild the military — something he has never been able to do since its disruption in the course of the shah's overthrow and subsequent purges of the officer corps. With the enemy at the door, military recruits are more likely to buckle down to accepting discipline and stay at their posts. The criminal opportunists will no doubt rally behind him again in the guise of solidarity against imperialism.



Carter's Doctor Strangelove Zbigniew Brzezinski at the Khyber pass. US imperialists' war drive is aimed at the Soviet Union.

But such a rebuilt army will be a weapon primarily against the leftists, workers, national minorities and women who dared to challenge the Imam's rule. No doubt he and his "student" fanatics will soon "discover" that the leftists defending themselves were another "nest of spies" stirring up trouble to create a "diversion" for the abortive US attack.

Khomeini's drive to restore Iran to the social and moral order of feudal Islam is not only reactionary but also utopian: mullah-rule is inherently unstable. The social crisis in Iran can be resolved only if the small but strategically placed working class smashes their theocratic rule. The crying demands of Iran's oppressed, even the elementary democratic reforms — the right to self-determination for the national minorities, the liberation of Iranian women from the prison of the veil, booting out the landlords and giving the land to the peasants — can be realised only by a proletarian state which moves forward to lay the foundations of socialism. Too many have already died; break from the mullahs — for an Iranian Trotskyist party!

If Carter is carrying out attacks now, it is clear what a revolutionary workers Iran could expect. Such a revolution would perish if it was not extended internationally. Central to its defence would be the struggle for political revolution to oust the bureaucracy in the Soviet

degenerated workers state and for proletarian revolution in the imperialist heartland of the United States itself. As long as the rapacious and deadly US ruling class has the capacity to annihilate the world, no one is safe. Only the powerful American working class can stamp them out.

Carter's lurch toward World War III poses the choices facing mankind cold and hard: either advance to socialism, or face nuclear armageddon. Hopefully the USSR is close enough to the US in the arms race that it still has a chance of winning such a nuclear exchange. But the coldly genocidal calculations of the Dr Strangeloves in the Pentagon war rooms can be halted only if an international proletarian party pledged to stop at nothing short of world socialist revolution — a reformed Fourth International — can be built in time. This fundamentally irrational economic world order must be ripped down or it in time will destroy humanity. Now that question again takes on a burning urgency.

— US hands off Iran! Oppose Carter's war threats! Defend Iran against US military attack!

— Down with Khomeini! For workers revolution in Iran!

— For military defence of the USSR against imperialist attack! For political revolution to oust the Soviet bureaucracy!

— Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

Sydney

Class Series

Socialism in one country	10 May
Afghanistan and the Russian question	24 May
Popular frontism: the question of the epoch	7 June
The struggle to reforge the Fourth International	21 June

Classes will be held fortnightly at 2.00 pm at the Spartacist League office 112 Goulburn Street, Sydney (2nd floor). Literature for the classes can be obtained from the Spartacist League office, phone number 235-8195.

Nothing offends political bankrupts more than the truth. On 8 March, International Women's Day, a number of feminist students at Sydney University scabbed on a strike by metal workers at the printing firm of John Fairfax and Sons. This outrageous piece of strike-breaking should have been enough to sicken any would-be leftist student, but when the Spartacist Club (SC) on campus began to reveal the names of the black-legs involved, the response of the feminists was to cover up and excuse their "sisters'" scabbing. As a last desperate measure, they resorted to outright censorship to prevent the facts of the case from emerging. We reprint below an abridged version of the article the SC originally submitted for publication in the special "women's survival" issue of the campus paper, *Honi Soit* — the article which the feminists bureaucratically and cowardly refused to print.

The first attempt to prevent publication of our article came at a Women's Collective meeting on 9 April. Then the feminists argued that as "only" women can truly stand for women's liberation, all articles would have to be written by women before being accepted for publication.

In defiance of the Women's Collective "ruling" — which, as one woman candidly admitted, meant that an article by Margaret Thatcher would be preferable to one by a Spartacist male — the SC submitted the article below. On 14 April the Women's Collective again discussed the article and the previous censorship bid and voted to publish it, with a feminist "reply". But even at this meeting SRC employee and prominent feminist Margaret Kirkby tried to get us to delete references to the fact that feminists like Ann Roberts and Anne Summers had previously scabbed during Fairfax strikes!

Two days later, the feminist clique held a last-minute, secretly-organised rump meeting of the collective and voted to suppress our article. The "women's survival" issue of *Honi Soit* — which presented no strategy for women's liberation and made no mention of the scabbing incident — then duly appeared with a feeble rationale for this censorship: since women have been "censored for so long" themselves, they now have the right "to be acknowledged without any interference from men". In short, reverse the terms of oppression and make men "pay" for centuries of women's oppression.

The feminist censors have shown themselves to be nothing but an unelected, unrepresentative backroom clique of scared scabs and their apologists. At Sydney Uni the Spartacist Club in contrast fights for class unity — against the bourgeoisie and their scab hirelings — and for a revolutionary party capable of uprooting the rotting capitalist system which perpetuates and upholds women's oppression. Our struggle against feminist scabbing is a small but necessary part of this struggle.

Those feminists who call themselves "socialist" like to talk about "class analysis", provided it remains a harmless academic abstraction. What happens when the living class struggle rudely

Sydney Uni feminist clique exposed

Scabbing, lies and censorship



Prominent feminist Anne Roberts goes to work at Fairfax during January strike.

ASP photo

intrudes? When it did recently on this campus, where an anonymous group of feminist students admitted scabbing on striking workers at Fairfax newspapers, they chose sisterhood with strikebreakers over class solidarity.

Women's Collective feminists rallied to defend the scabs from public identification and condemnation, and protested vigorously that it was "slander" and "mudslinging" when the Spartacist League said "consistent feminism leads to scabbing". But feminism is the issue. Feminism seeks to straddle the class line, to unite all women on the basis of sexual oppression. To remain loyal to such sisterhood, to strive for a movement on that foundation, inevitably demands class collaboration; to stand by the principles of labour solidarity would mean drawing the class line through the women's movement.

At a Spartacist Club public meeting on 1 April, called on the issue of the student scabbing at Fairfax, one woman got up to defend the scabs and delivered a statement in defence of feminism which got to the point. Quoting Sheila Rowbotham, she argued in essence that because women's oppression predates capitalism, "class analysis" leads to the betrayal of the fight against women's oppression.

"Don't you talk to me about class analysis. A woman knows her class from the day she's born.... [Women] don't cross picket lines on purpose. And if there were any evidence of picket lines at that place [Fairfax] they wouldn't have crossed it. Not because they have any strike analysis but because of basic human integrity."

But in reality, feminists like Anne Summers and Ann Roberts do and have crossed picket lines at Fairfax, repeatedly and shamelessly; but for this feminist they remain sisters, and the enemy remains "class analysis". As for "human integrity", why not side with the equally

human scabs? Only a "class analysis" demands that the class line be respected in principle, although that "analysis" may be only basic class instinct; for consistent feminists it is inherently not a principle.

The first news of the scabbing incident was the letter in the 24 March *Honi Soit*, signed only "Yours in sisterhood", "confessing" to the scabbing. But in the guise of repudiation it presented only a long list of excuses, mitigating circumstances etc reading like a legal brief for the defence, which is what it really is. It claims they scabbed "unknowingly", but also that they had "immediately suspected that the labour was scab". Eventually these "suspicions" were silenced by a reassurance — from the Fairfax bosses! This, they imply, created "reasonable doubt" that they were scabbing! The authors "deplore those aspects of capitalism that makes [sic] it possible for scab labouring to occur" — such as "tempting" them to scab with wages that "seemed quite high by student standards". Who did they think they were kidding? As for the sincerity of the authors' contrition, not one of them had the simple honesty to sign their name to even this pathetic, hypocritical document.

This pernicious cover-up was an attack on elementary class solidarity, which demands that scabs must be held to account for their actions. But Sydney Uni feminists have united to protect their anonymous strikebreaking sisters from exposure and to denounce the Spartacist Club for trying to drag the scabs into the light of day.

On 9 April the Women's Collective put a special point (informally labelled "the Sparts' article") on the agenda, the purpose of which was to prevent this article, and the whole scabbing incident, from appearing in the "women's issue" of *Honi*. To make it look a little better, SRC women's officer Margie Thurgood and other feminists successfully moved that all articles in "their" issue of *Honi* must be written by women — knowing that the Spartacist League as a matter of political principle will not abide patronising "separate but equal" sexual divisions within its own ranks. But beyond its immediate aim of suppressing this article, this feminist "principle" would impose a clear-cut class bias. Thus one woman at the censorship meeting declared it was better to open the columns to workers' enemy Margaret Thatcher than to print an article by a male Spartacist — not to mention any communist men or militant male workers, such as those British steel workers whose strike Thatcher [recently tried] to smash.

The lie was given to the plea that "we scabbed in ignorance" by Siobhan Mullany, *Honi* advertising manager, who admitted being one of the scabs and that she knew at the time that a strike was on.

At the Women's Collective meeting on 31 March, she hid behind the traditional craft-union justification for scabbing — she said she thought the work was, normally, not performed by the striking union. But strikebreaking is not a matter of definition — it's working in a struck plant or helping in any way to keep it running. What's so complicated about that? This example alone shows why the elementary rule of class solidarity is "one out, all out".

Margaret Kirkby, another "socialist feminist", claimed to vigorously denounce the scabbing. [But] she refused point-blank to publicly condemn the scabs. At a special Spartacist Club meeting on 1 April, Kirkby hid behind her job with the SRC which she said might be endangered if she got involved in "student politics". But that didn't stop her from publicly attacking the Spartacist Club for its efforts to expose the scabs. Moreover, Kirkby's covering for her scab "sisters" is in fact completely consistent with her hostility, as a student "leftist", to the exposure of Gary Nicholls and Barbara Ramjan for scabbing on SRC workers two years ago. Right-wing SRC bureaucrats need never fear such "leftist" employees.

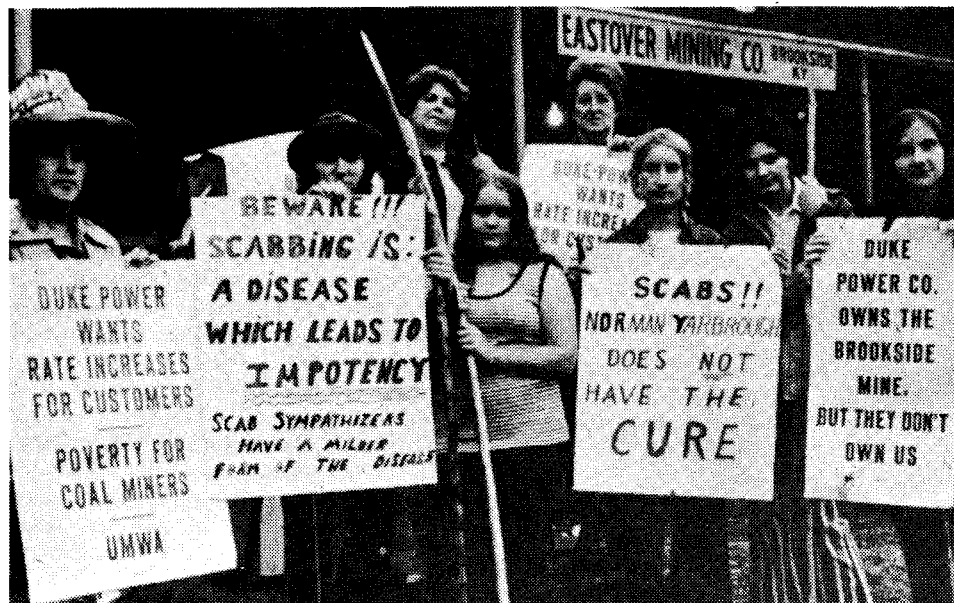
The class struggle demands that you take sides. It is not enough to "abhor" or "deplore" scabbing; it is necessary to actively oppose it. Striking workers have a right to know who is helping the capitalists smash them when they are trying to defend themselves against exploitation. And their attitude will not be to "deplore the conditions" which lead to scabbing, but stop it!

Women's liberation through socialist revolution!

For those genuinely revolted by scabbing, this incident poses sharply the need to break from feminist class-collaboration, toward a class-struggle road to women's liberation. It is not true that Margaret Thatcher is the ally of working-class women and communist male workers their enemies. As capitalist Britain crumbles in social decay, Thatcher strives to preserve the enslavement of women in the nuclear family that capitalism upholds. Only the organised workers movement can smash this enslavement by smashing capitalist property and all its institutions of class rule through socialist revolution.

In fact, the most consistent fighters against women's specific oppression have always been the communists. It is no accident that the Spartacist League, not the feminists, has campaigned to defend the women of Iran against the mullahs. Only the communist program can mobilise workers in the struggle against women's oppression: against all sexual and racial discrimination, for free abortion on demand and free medical care, to socialise child care and household duties, for a sliding scale of hours to give jobs to all, to enable women to enter in all areas of social life.

Mullany seeks refuge in craftist attitudes; but it is this same, reformist craftism which also "justifies" male workers' backward consciousness of male chauvinism, and often excludes women workers from the unions altogether. To defeat the male-chauvinist bureaucracy which scabs on women, just as it sells out all workers, requires a militant opposition based on a full class-struggle program. To build a Leninist party that successfully breaks men and women workers away from this misleadership and unites them in the fight for workers power — that is the class-struggle road, the only road, to women's liberation. ■



United Mine Workers Journal

Women who stand with their class: coal miners' wives led picketing in 1974-75 strike in Harlan County, USA.

Revolutionary program vs fake-left scabbing

How the steel workers could have won

The thirteen-week long British steel strike posed the most serious challenge to date to the Thatcher government's hard-line policy of salvaging British capitalism at the expense of the working class. Openly betrayed by the leadership of their own union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) led by Bill Sirs, and by left-talking union officials like miners' leader Arthur Scargill, the steel strikers found themselves confronted with what Trotsky characterised as the "crisis of proletarian leadership". Many of the most militant strike activists became open to an explicitly revolutionary alternative.

The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B), section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), intervened in the strike with a program to broaden it and go beyond simple trade union militancy — to break out of its economist, sectoral confines towards a generalised working-class mobilisation to defend living standards and trade union rights. Weeks before the steel workers went out, in the wake of British Leyland's sacking of Communist Party (CP) member and leading shop steward Derek Robinson, the SL/B said: "Call them *all* out — now! And make this the first *general strike* since 1926."

In a leaflet directed to a mass protest rally of steel workers in Rotherham, we said: "Sack Sirs!", and "Tell Arthur Scargill to call out the Yorkshire miners on indefinite strike and fight for the entire NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] to go out — now!" To angry Leyland workers hit with a draconian attack on shop-floor organisation and a five percent pay offer, we urged: "Join the steel workers — General strike now!" We called on Ford Dagenham workers to honour steel workers' picket lines and urged workers everywhere to follow the Liverpool dockers' lead.

The SL/B can stand on its record before the steel workers — not of fake "organising", but of firm *programmatic* answers. The rest of the British left must stand on *their* record — of abysmal routinism, confusion, cowardice, licking the boots of the Labour bureaucrats ... and *outright scabbing!*

In Sydney on 22 April, the International Socialists (IS) held a meeting on the by-then sold-out strike, featuring an alleged "eyewitness" report of the dispute, and hailing the work of their British co-thinkers, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff. But what the IS really thinks of strikers was shown when they *excluded* from the meeting a Printers Union member currently on strike in solidarity with metal workers at John Fairfax and Sons, and Linda Menzie, the clerk who refused to cross the picket lines at Fairfax in January, along with supporters and members of the Spartacist League.

For the IS, the exclusion saved them the embarrassment of having the SWP's scab role in the steel strike exposed at the meeting. For during the strike, SWP supporters at the Ford car plant at Dagenham in London distributed copies of their Ford Workers Group leaflet pledging "100 per cent" support to the steel workers' struggle, then crossed picket lines set up by steel militants and blithely went to work! This shameless act of class treachery was witnessed by strikers who had travelled to Dagenham



Spartacist contingent calls for general strike at TUC rally, London, 9 March.

from as far afield as Warrington, Jarrow and Teeside.

Despite the fact that rule number one of the SWP's "Rank and File Code of Practice" is against crossing picket lines, no known action has been taken against these SWP Dagenham scabs. Nor is it likely that there will be any, since the SWP openly commiserated with the hardened strikebreakers at the steel works in Sheerness, Kent when the ISTC bureaucracy expelled them from the union: "The decision to expel Sheerness workers from the ISTC is nothing but an admission of defeat" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 March). The bureaucracy's refusal to organise an effective mass picket to shut Sheerness down was a defeat, but expelling scabs from the workers movement? Hypocritical as it was coming from the ISTC executive, it was not only correct and principled but a necessary aspect of enforcing strike discipline which any militant should support.

The SWP has not been alone in scabbing. International Marxist Group (IMG) supporters joined SWPers in handing out the Ford Workers Group leaflet and in going into work at Ford Dagenham. And as we reported in the last issue of *Australasian Spartacist* (no 72, April 1980), the IMG newspaper *Socialist Challenge* printed in its columns a report from *inside* the struck steel plant of Hadfields in Sheffield. Shortly before that, IMG honcho Tariq Ali wined, dined and "debated" a representative of the West Midlands Police Association at Birmingham University only ten days after his thugs had raided the headquarters of the Birmingham strike committee.

The British Leyland plant at Cowley, Oxford is the vaunted "base" of Workers Socialist League (WSL) leader and Assembly Plant deputy convenor Alan Thornett. But Thornett never appeared on the picket lines to use the "authority" of "21 years in the plant", about which he bleats loud and often, to turn his co-workers back. Last year Thornett scabbed on the national engineering strike (see *Spartacist Britain* no 15, October 1979). Now his accomplice and fellow WSL leader Tony Richardson stands accused of scabbing on the steel strike — scrambling for cover in a nearby cafe and later darting through a side gate when he spotted a *Spartacist Britain* photographer about to catch him ambling through the picket line at Cowley's Body Plant.

As for the British Communist Party — which at least doesn't pretend any more to be fighting for communist revolution

— it too blatantly stabbed the steel strikers in the back. CP convenors at Ford Dagenham covered up for the handling of blacked steel through a Dagenham jetty, a central conduit for the shipment of scab steel throughout Britain. When 8000 Sheffield engineering workers refused to cross strikers' picket lines during March and went out alongside the steel workers, it was the Confed 29 District Committee, heavily influenced by the CP, which ordered them back. And when steel workers set up a picket outside Leyland Cowley, one CP convenor actually



Militant steel workers out in force at 9 March TUC rally.

flagged through a steel-laden lorry right in their presence.

One small left-centrist group, Workers Power, despite having had a line substantially to the left of the other fake-Trotskyist groups, also took up the cudgels for the private sector scabs. Mass pickets like the one that shut down Hadfields were "absolutely vital", it argued, *but*, it then added, "such action on its own runs the danger of alienating the workers in the private sector even more" (*Workers Power Steel Strike Bulletin* no 6).

In defence of this concern for the Hadfields scabs, Workers Power spokesman Mark Hoskisson (speaking at a public meeting in Sheffield on 18 February) derided the SL's "hysteria" over scabbing — claiming that this stems from the international Spartacist

tendency's supposed "domination" by its American section, and the American experience, where scabs are all "gun-toting hoodlums". But it does not take a "gun-toting hoodlum" to be a scab, and it does not take an American to hate one. Nor does it take communist consciousness to recognise a picket line, only a pair of eyes. A picket line means don't cross — whatever loopholes may be introduced as a result of bureaucratic practices and erosion of principles. A picketed shop is a struck shop — one out, all out!

The Spartacist tendency's stand against scabbing on principle, our firm insistence on the necessity for a general strike from the very start, flow directly from our program for working class power. And the scabbing either committed or excused, the vacillation or hesitation or refusal of every other organisation in the workers movement to fight for a general strike, are rooted in their *lack* of such a program.

No less than the CP, the SWP adamantly refused to generalise the steel struggle. Despite having had supporters in a number of strategic strike committees, the SWP's bulletin *Real Steel News* (RSN) provided no *programmatic* alternative to steel militants fed up with Sirs' betrayals. The program of "Steelworkers and Reform", supported by RSN, consisted of a number of minimal democratic reforms for the ISTC. Even the fight

against redundancies was no part of its program for the strike: "A victory in *this pay strike* will put our organisation in a fighting position to stop the jobs massacre" (*Real Steel News* National Strike Edition no 5; emphasis added). The best the SWP could offer rank-and-file militants was militant rank-and-filism — a program geared to the preservation of what little the working class has under capitalism.

Nor was the SWP's opposition to the call for a general strike an "oversight" as some discomfited SWP members attempted to argue. *Socialist Worker* (1 March) spelt out the reasons:

"The prospect of a General Strike appeared to loom large for a number of weeks in South Wales..."

"The problem for socialists is to never realistically lose sight of the dangers involved in such talk without

British steel strike sell-out

LONDON, 5 April — The longest national strike in post-war Britain ended two days ago when 150,000 British Steel Corporation (BSC) workers were forced back to work by their union leadership. Instead of the 20 percent wage rise with no strings and no redundancies, the demands for which militant strikers had battled for 13 weeks, they returned on the basis of a humiliating arbitrated settlement. The deal announced by Lord Lever's "Committee of Inquiry" consists of an 11 percent basic wage rise tied to "productivity" (speed-up) bonuses of 4.5 percent to be negotiated locally — while inflation is raging at 19 percent annually. This abject sellout — barely 1 percent more than BSC had offered six weeks earlier — also gives management the green light to eliminate fully one-third of the existing jobs. Thus the union tops have handed Margaret Thatcher's Tory government a victory for its program of vicious attacks on the unions and the workers' living standards.

The steel workers were not slow in expressing their outrage at this deal. On 1 April over 100 pickets, drawn mainly from South Yorkshire and Wales, greeted the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) negotiating team with jeers and catcalls as it emerged following its 41 to 27 vote for the settlement. Delegates who had supported the sellout were kicked, spat at and assailed with cries of "you're out", "you're fired", "that's it for you, you won't get re-elected" and "sellout". Scuffles broke out between cops and enraged militants who were attempting to stop cameramen from taking their pictures — though a Spartacist photographer was left alone. "She's ok, she's from 'Spartacus'", said a picket to his mate.

The speed with which ISTC head Bill Sirs and his cronies forced through the return to work reflected their fear that the strike was on the verge of spreading. Even as the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) steel delegates were meeting in London's Transport House on 1 April to approve the settlement, in the same building T&G dockers were voting to call for a one-day national dock strike the following day in solidarity with the 12-day-old Liverpool dock strike over the blacking of scab steel. The steel delegates voted a return to work ignorant of the dockers' decision.

At a picketers' meeting that evening at the Victory Club in Sheffield, South Yorkshire, there was not a striker to be found who saw Sirs' deal as a victory. And the next day at a mass meeting of 3,000 Sheffield and Rotherham steel men, the local bureaucrats pointed the guilty finger at the union tops but pleaded for a return to work nonetheless. They almost lost the day when ISTC divisional officer Keith Jones swore from the platform, "We were not party to the settlement in London but we've got to live with it, and we will and you will". The response was a deafening chorus of "20 percent! 20 percent!" Rumours that flying pickets from



Minutes after the sellout, Lord Lever (left) and Bill Sirs (right) laugh it off with BSC bosses.

John Sturrock/Report

Wales were headed for Yorkshire were greeted with an enthusiastic acclamation that the picket lines would be respected.

But even within hours of the return to work the militant steel men demonstrated that their fighting spirit had not been broken. When the BSC disciplined two workers in Rotherham and another in Port Talbot, South Wales for refusing to unload lorries which had been blacked for crossing picket lines in the strike, new picket lines were immediately thrown up in Sheffield, Rotherham and Port Talbot. The strike soon spread to plants in Stocksbridge and Teeside to include a total of 25,000 workers. At Port Talbot, threatened with 12,000 redundancies this year, the strikers set up a mass picket of 1,000 men. Some 700 of the angry pickets stormed and briefly occupied the plant's pay office after the company failed to pay them the fifty pounds [\$100] return-to-work bonus which had been part of the settlement. Steel workers in Scotland and Scunthorpe were also considering joining the new walkout.

A day later the Yorkshire strikers were ordered back to work by their local officials, with Port Talbot following suit the next morning. After several hours of discussion with management at TGWU strike headquarters in Rotherham on 4 April local officials announced to the score of pickets standing outside that the wildcat strike had been ended by BSC's

agreement to reinstate the victimised workers and "investigate" the question of the blacklisted lorry firm. As two days earlier they had screamed "sellout" at Sirs and company, these militants now yelled "sellout" at the local misleaders.

The treachery meted out to the steel strikers has ramifications far beyond the wretched pay deal. In the wake of the sellout a national strike at British Leyland called for 8 April has been whittled down to a handful of plants. The government's anti-union Employment Bill is waiting in the wings as are over 50,000 redundancies in the steel industry and a new round of attacks on living standards, exemplified in the budget introduced in Parliament two weeks ago. In this context, Sirs' posture that the sellout is preparation "to gird our loins for the next struggle, in which we will fight the case for jobs" is truly obscene. Yet this disgusting apology was echoed by the Socialist Workers Party and International Marxist Group even before the strikers had actually gone back.

Nonetheless, the bosses had better tread warily. Not since 1974 has Britain been so close to a general strike. The steel men have been defeated, betrayed, but they have not been broken. "It could flare up again", said one Rotherham militant after the latest walkout was quelled. To make sure the next battle ends in

victory, the best militants must now set about drawing the lessons of this defeat: the crying need to cohere a revolutionary opposition to Labourism. As archaic British industry grows increasingly uncompetitive, the ruling class talks of "deindustrialisation", forcing massive cuts in nationalised enterprises and social services. The program of the Labour Party in office is not fundamentally different, only Callaghan and Benn want to make the unions agree to their own impoverishment in a treacherous "social contract".

Sirs and all the reformist misleaders, from Labour "lefts" to Communist Party-backed union "hards" like Arthur Scargill, only dicker over how many cuts to take and who will get them. In refusing to call a general strike against the hated Thatcher government, Trades Union Congress head Len Murray stated clearly the fear of all the reformists: "If we did that we would not know what to do with the power we have got". They know that in a revolutionary confrontation they would quickly be swept aside — that is why they sabotage the steel strike. A Trotskyist party is needed with a program to use the power. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building that party, which will lead the struggle to break the death grip of decrepit British capitalism. It is the only alternative to sellouts like this one. ■

realising the consequences involved. "A General Strike, by its very nature, raises the question of power. It is a bomb that you cannot play with."

It is of course true that a general strike poses the question of power and can easily lead to a direct challenge to capitalist class rule which the current pro-capitalist TUC and Labour leaders would betray. As long as these traitors maintain their grip over the working class, there is no tactic or strategy that can guarantee success for a general strike. But a general strike was objectively posed in Britain — what the SWP proposed to workers was that they sit back and submit to the Tories' attacks without a fight!

The steel strike had been raging for nearly three weeks before the IMG and WSL, in their confused centrist fashion, recognised even that some sort of general strike was on the agenda. The IMG subsequently twisted and turned, from posing the general strike as an "overall goal", to not mentioning it at all, to joining the SWP in calling for a one-day general stoppage... on 14 May! As for WSL leader Alan Thornett, when he addressed 2000 steel workers in Sheffield

on 3 March (speaking in his capacity as Cowley deputy convenor) he didn't so much as mention the general strike. In fact the WSL's whole focus was for a general strike to "bring down the Tory government" and for "the return of a Labour government".

The SL/B counterposed to this criminal passivity and electoral cretinism a general strike for clearly limited and defensive aims — to reverse the Tory offensive — and called for elected strike committees, shop stewards committees and other organs responsible to the mass of the workers to take the running of the strike out the hands of the TUC misleaders. Such a general strike was both necessary and possible. And in its victory it would not only have strengthened the working class enormously and weakened the bureaucratic stranglehold of the Labourite leaders — but it could also have sharply increased the effect and weight in the labour movement of a principled and tactically intelligent revolutionary propaganda group, paving the way for a pre-revolutionary situation and the growth of a mass revolutionary workers party to

lead the final assault on capitalist class rule.

A genuine alternative leadership in the steel unions, and throughout the workers movement, can only be built on the basis of the Transitional Program, through a complete break with trade union economism and social-democratic labourism. It is no accident that the SL/B was virtually unique among ostensibly Trotskyist organisations in refusing a vote to Labour in the last election in May 1979, where it meant a vote for the Social Contract, a vote for the Lib-Lab coalition. But the fake-left's polite chumminess — which extends to cops, scabs, and Labour traitors — does not extend to the Spartacist League, whose intransigent insistence on principle and program and on merciless combat against all varieties of misleaders must sometimes seem to the rest of the left in Britain like an infection of rabies.

Well, that is the sort of rabies Britain needs. Upon reading the SL/B leaflet to the Rotherham strike rally, one Stalinist militant remarked that he'd never seen such a good leaflet from "Trots". The truth is that most workers, like that Stalinist militant, have never seen

genuine Trotskyism, the Bolshevism of today. To those steel workers who in the course of this long struggle have become convinced that this rotting edifice of capitalism must be ripped down, there is only one road forward. Fight for the program of the Spartacist League, section of the international Spartacist tendency!

— adapted from Spartacist Britain no 20, April 1980

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May Day? Let them march on Anzac Day!

Maoists offer pact to Fraser

Malcolm Fraser's self-appointed role as jet-setting crusader for Jimmy Carter's Hate Russia campaign over Afghanistan has evoked widespread cynicism that goes well beyond the organised left. But predictably enough, among his more vociferous supporters have been the Maoists of geriatric Melbourne barrister E F Hill's Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (CPA[ML]). For them Fraser's every anti-Soviet diatribe is "forthright" and "very clearheaded". But then the CPA[ML] has been "warmly hailing" Fraser's "correct" foreign policy since at least 1976, when it was also defending Peking's support for the South African invasion of Angola and the strengthening of NATO forces in Western Europe.

With Afghanistan having provided the pretext for Peking and Washington to give their burgeoning anti-Soviet alliance a direct and open military character, the CPA[ML] paper *Vanguard* has vowed to "throw off all inhibitions in the struggle against Soviet social imperialism" (3 April). The latest "Thought of Chairman Hill" on the "united front" is: "As wide as possible" means just what it says" (31 January).

It sure does. At an 18 January Maoist-sponsored anti-Soviet rally in Melbourne the Maoists demonstrated against "Soviet expansionism" alongside the neo-fascist East Europeans of the Baltic Council, the Christian Mission to the Communist World and notorious Nazi thug Ross "the Skull" May. Subsequently, at a public meeting in Adelaide attended by the Maoists, prominent Hillite Michael Dunn openly bragged that when the Captive Nations reactionaries ran out of leaflets, the Maoists gave them some of theirs to hand out!

Now the Maoists are prepared to follow the logic of their anti-Soviet "united front" all the way, implicitly into union-bashing and strikebreaking if need be. In pursuit of "national unity" they are now the most fervent champions of domestic "class peace" with Fraser. Hill lays it out in an article appropriately subtitled "Subjectivism must be overcome": "As there is no immediate prospect of the masses overthrowing capitalism there is therefore an objective common interest between Fraser and the people" (*Vanguard*, 27 March).

As the barest of figleaves *Vanguard* piously proclaims that "unity should not be one-sided" and that it is "no time for hard tactics, Mr Fraser". During March's strike upsurge Hill advised his would-be grazier friend:

"Given a correct international policy the Frasers of this world must adjust their internal policy to remove the division and to eliminate internal provocations that are exploited in a way that objectively anyway assists Soviet imperialism."

— *Vanguard*, 27 March

Fraser's waving of "the big stick of the Trade Practices' Act against transport workers" is decried as "absurd" because "all that does is to create national disunity".

But Hill knows perfectly well that for the capitalist class breaking the power of the unions is *not* "absurd", and that Fraser can no more "eliminate" his anti-working-class offensive than he can wish away the capitalist recession. Decoded, the Hillites' railing against "chaos" and "blind struggle" (read, class struggle) as "objectively anyway assisting Soviet imperialism" emerges clearly as the language of strikebreakers.

Having gone this far, there is really little remaining of the "old" Maoism. US

bases? "Things have changed". Seen "in the context of the international united front against Soviet imperialism... the bases are defensive, not offensive" (*Vanguard*, 27 March). Urging the squeamish among his followers to sweep away "all narrowness" and "sectarianism", Hill "warmly welcomes" National Civic Council fanatic B A Santamaria aboard the "united front". And so it goes on.

To calm any remaining doubts Hill reminds his followers that this is hardly a first. In the thirties and forties the Stalinists enforced no-strike pledges to cement their alliance with Churchill and Roosevelt during the popular front period and the "Great Patriotic War against Fascism". True enough. But then at least the Stalinists attempted to justify this gross betrayal by claiming it was necessary to unite with the "progressive bourgeoisie" to defend the Soviet "Socialist Fatherland" against Nazism. But today the Maoists seek to "unite everyone" against the Soviet workers state. So now they rally alongside the fascist losers of the "patriotic war" like the Ustashi.

Although its counterrevolutionary politics flow from its dog-like fealty to whatever bureaucratic faction is ruling the Chinese deformed workers state, the Hillite sect today is running amok. These Peking mouthpieces are capable of literally any crime against the working class. Remember — they recently supported the strengthening of ASIO's charter as a measure against "Soviet subversion" (read, leftists).

The Maoists' frenzied anti-Sovietism and their record of unbridled thuggery have made them an object of hatred and a "bit of a giggle" among the rest of the left. But while Hill may be crass he is not utterly stupid, and recognises in his own

way that the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan represents a decisive political watershed for *all* would-be leftists.

Those who stood with Carter and Fraser in condemning the invasion and calling for the withdrawal of the Red Army troops are now deemed suitable candidates for inclusion in the "united front" — whether those groups like it or not. Thus after years of total and personalist revulsion against the "Aaronsite" Communist Party, Hill has now started a tentative courtship, despite "secondary differences". For indeed there can be no neutrals in Carter's Cold War II. Those who deny that the USSR is a proletarian state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, and do not defend it against imperialism — including now in Afghanistan — will sooner or later end up on the same side of the barricades as US imperialism... and Ted Hill.

For some time now the Maoists have made May Day the day on which they parade their dwindling forces under ever more provocative anti-Soviet banners. This year some Maoists had proposed boycotting the march rather than associate with "Soviet appeasers", although Hill seems to have beaten them back. But who knows? Perhaps in time they will pull out and start rallying against the gains of the October Revolution on 7 November.

However, their anti-Soviet ravings would certainly get a warm reception on the "one day of the year" that occurs a week before May Day — Anzac Day. There would be no more appropriate place for the Hillites to march than alongside the RSL and the Australian "veterans" of US imperialism's filthy war on the valiant Vietnamese workers and peasants. ■

New Left leftovers Partisan stillborn

CANBERRA, 27 April — A new "radical left student paper", *Partisan*, came out this year, pledged to building a Second National Radical Left Students Conference under the watchword: "We're not all self-centred conservatives!" Who actually turned up for the event here over Anzac Day weekend? None of the "heavies", the organisers and leading lights of *Partisan* and its "collectives", bothered. On day one, it didn't happen at all; the less than thirty who did show at some point were mostly young students like those from the Australian National University (ANU) Left Group, which was split, one said, over whether to abstain from coffee because of the oppression of Brazilian workers (he personally did, and didn't wear jeans either).

They wanted to discuss "feminism and Marxism" in the abstract, but resented the "hostility" generated when scabbing by Sydney University feminists was brought up. They were "radicals" who voted a hypocritical motion to "condemn" the scabbing, but repeatedly refused, every last one, to donate even one cent to the striking Fairfax metal workers who were scabbed on! The campuses have moved right, and such is the "radical student left" of 1980.

The first issue of *Partisan* emerged out of the wreckage of the old "Left Caucus" which had run the Australian Union of Students (AUS) for years. With the right-wing "Centre Unity" campaign to disaffiliate campuses bringing AUS to the

point of imminent collapse, last year leading Communist Party (CPA) supporters like new AUS president Mark Burford had struck a deal with the right wing: in exchange for bringing their campuses back in they got an effective policy veto and probable future organisational control. One wing of the "Left Caucus" represented by Gary Nicholls, Steve Bolt, Simon Marginson and Craig Johnston — all AUS fixtures for years — split, left both AUS officialdom (and in Nicholls' case the CPA) and regrouped as the "Radical Left".

So *Partisan*, their vehicle, is filled with sour-grapes recriminations against the "deals" and "treachery" of Burford's "Broad Left". Look who's talking! The Radical Left is made up of the very people who dutifully led the vote to cut off AUS funds to "outside political causes" when Justice Kaye ruled them "ultra vires" as part of the government witch-hunt against student leftists in 1978-79. It was alright by them if in the process Sandy Thomas fingered Southeast Asian students in the Maoist-led Overseas Students Service to the region's bonapartist military butchers by alleging they were channelling funds to the underground Malayan Communist Party. All along they defended uniting all students on the basis of "student interests", while the Spartacist League told the truth: students are not workers, AUS is not a "union", students are not inherently "radical". But these cynics

have learned nothing and *Partisan* clings to the same strategy even when its bankruptcy has become painfully obvious.

When Nicholls scabbed on striking campus workers in 1978 and then unrepentantly shrugged it off, this crew rallied to his defence. At the 1979 AUS Council they voted down a motion by LaTrobe delegate and Spartacist supporter Neil Florrimell calling for student defence of workers strikes and for the removal of the scab from AUS office. In Canberra the "radical left students" continued the tradition. Margaret Kirkby and Tony Brown had showed up from the Sydney *Partisan* collective, and moved to have the Sydney Uni feminist scabs condemned (nameless, of course)... as well as the Spartacist League for exposing them! Comrade Florrimell was there to point out that it was a tokenist fraud to condemn any scabs, as long as *Partisan* and the "Radical Left" continue to harbour the scab Nicholls.

Brown had even put out a *Campus Partisan* sheet with Nicholls at Sydney Uni. Would Brown defend him? Oh, no; but then he saw nothing wrong with collaborating with the scab as a comrade either. This typified the unprincipled manoeuvrings of the Trotskyist Study Group (TSG), of which Brown is a member and which has jumped right into the *Partisan* swamp (with four articles in the first issue). The leaflet's subject was Afghanistan, but Brown ostensibly

defends the Red Army incursion, while Nicholls echoes Fraser's calls for Soviet troops out!

On the Afghan crisis *Partisan's* components are all over the map, with the ostensible defencists like Brown, Johnston and the TSG's Janet Burstall playing dumb. Meanwhile, the Socialist Left of *Partisan* denizen Paul Norton at LaTrobe University has been loudly condemning the "totalitarian" invasion; and *Partisan's* only article on the question is by the TSG's Paul White, who likewise rails against the Soviets for "installing a reactionary totalitarian regime over the subjugated Afghan masses" (see article page 9 this issue).

Johnston is an ageing product of the student radicalisation of the Vietnam War days, and in *Partisan* no 1 he pines for "the student movement of a decade ago". At least then the best elements of the radical New Left knew what side of the class line they were on, and came out for the victory of the NLF. Today *Partisan* prints pieces by left-liberals like Richard Tanter calling for bringing the training of the capitalist officer corps — who helped direct imperialism's genocidal war — on campus!

Florrimell summed it up on the last day of the Canberra fiasco: "*Partisan* is going nowhere. The Radical Left is no alternative to the Broad Left", only rehashing the same student parochialism. Afghanistan, scabbing, AUS — the ageing New Leftists, scabs, bureaucrats and opportunists who inhabit the *Partisan* swamp know who has fought for the class line on campus, usually against them: the Spartacist League. The place for communist students is in the struggle for a revolutionary Trotskyist workers party. As part of that struggle we say: Bury *Partisan*! ■

The real imperialist war mobilisation hasn't hit yet, but already most of the left in Australia is in full flight. Whether from opportunist capitulation to anti-Soviet propaganda or from deep-rooted reformist necessity to bow before the fundamental strategic interests and historic madness of their "own" bourgeoisie, they have come out with the program of the class enemy in a shooting war: Soviet troops out of Afghanistan.

Siding with "freedom fighters" who skin alive Russian soldiers and boast of shooting teachers trying to bring literacy to women makes the fake-left queasy; echoing the well-hated Fraser makes them uncomfortable. So they search frantically for a "third camp" between imperialist-backed feudal and tribal counterrevolution and the Soviet Red Army defending the right of women to be treated as human beings and the liberation of peasants from the landlords' clutches. The plain truth is, there is no such third camp. Those who refuse to defend the gains of the oppressed, whether in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union or during workers strikes, are necessarily on the side of the oppressors.

This truth came out, much to the embarrassment of the local reformists, when a general student meeting at LaTrobe University debated Afghanistan on 16 April. The assorted libertarians, "Marxists" and feminists grouped in the LaTrobe Socialist Left moved to "unequivocally condemn" the USSR and call for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, but tacked on nearly a full single-spaced quarto page trying to explain how they were for the reforms of the Kabul regime the Red Army happens to be defending, and against the victory of the "reactionary feudal and Islamic forces" whom the Red Army happens to be smashing! The Spartacist Club at LaTrobe knew where it stood, and counterposed a motion which became the undisputed communist pole in the debate. Noting that "a victory of the Islamic insurgents would mean the perpetuation of feudal and pre-feudal enslavement well into the last quarter of the 20th Century", it called "unequivocally for the military victory of the Red Army/PDPA forces in the Afghan civil war" and pledged "unconditional military defence of the USSR" against imperialist attack.

Amin — the people's martyr?

Paul Norton for the Socialist Left spent a substantial part of his presentation time responding to the Spartacist speaker who had opened the debate by

LaTrobe students debate —

Anti-Soviet "socialists" squirm over Afghanistan

forthrightly declaring: "it's a class war. We side with the Red Army because they intervened on the right side". Norton replied, "the main thing wrong with the Spartacist motion is that it supports the Red Army", right side or not. "The Russians are imposing their regime over the heads of the people", he whinged, and besides, although he was critical of the PDPA's bureaucratic methods, the regime of the late Hafizullah Amin (who was assassinated when the Soviets installed the present Kabul regime of Babrak Karmal) was at least an "independent-minded communist regime". Unlike the opportunist imperialist Malcolm Fraser, the Socialist Left had "principled objections to Soviet aggression".

Earlier Norton's mentor and Socialist Left guru, Ted Murphy, had likewise leapt to the defence of Amin against "revolution on bayonets", replying to a Spartacist Club letter in the student paper *Rabelais*. The *Campus Spartacist* leaflet distributed at the debate took up this bizarre candidate for people's martyr to the jackbooted Reds:

"One can speculate on the reasons for 'libertarian' Murphy's affinity for the unsavoury Amin (who got himself 'elected' by murdering Taraki, the former president and long-time leader of the Afghan left) but it passes belief to claim that the Red Army contingent mopping up the rebels was really sent in to ... get Amin. Taraki, Amin and now Karmal have all been left-talking, petty-bourgeois nationalists who have each relied on Soviet backing. For all the purging and counter-purging, there has never been fundamental political differences separating them. Left to themselves they could at best stabilise a capitalist state modelled after Angola or Mozambique. It is precisely the presence of the Red Army in action that poses the possibility of a fundamental anti-capitalist social transformation...."

"When Murphy smugly boasts that his 'brand of radical politics does not



Afghan "rebel" shoots schoolteacher.

encompass the notion of forcing "socialism" down people's throats', we can only ask, on whose behalf is he speaking — the landlords who have had land reform 'shoved down their throats'? ... In Afghanistan, as with any class civil-war, someone's 'rights' are going to be violated. With the Red Army presence it looks like it will be those of the mullahs and landlords. Good!"

"Cut the waffle and bullshit"

As it became clear, the right-wing anti-communists present didn't need their own motion. "Moderate" student politico Ian Farrow had only to get up and move an amendment to the Socialist Left piece — to delete everything but the operative conclusion demanding Soviet withdrawal. "I want to cut the waffle and bullshit", he said. And he was right — that's what it was. Stunned, the Socialist Left almost failed to come up with a speaker against the amendment. Finally Norton did (to chants of "boring, boring") and for a while it looked like it might pass, much to the Socialist Left's mortification. In the end, it didn't; but then, neither did any motion at all.

There were two class camps in the debate, and practised red-baiter Farrow knew which one he and the Socialist Left were in, and who was on the other side, referring to the Spartacist Club as "our local campus bolsheviks". And he also nailed the campus SWP supporter John Hall, who had put up a motion failing even to mention the Red Army in Afghanistan, and expressing concern for "the dangers that this war mentality, promoted by Fraser, holds for Australian students" (or, will they really nuke LaTrobe University?). Hall was "afraid to say 'Hail the Red Army'", sneered Farrow. Indeed, Hall voted *against* the Spartacist motion, and in his presentation actually claimed that Carter launched Cold War II "in response to the PDPA reforms"!

A slightly slicker variant of the "third camp" line comes from Paul White, who calls himself a "Trotskyist", not a "libertarian", and claims vaguely to oppose imperialist attacks on the "socialised economy" of the USSR.

Writing in the pathetic rag *Partisan* which Norton also supports (see our article page 8 this issue), White joins the chorus of protestation on behalf of poor Amin as well as the anti-communist raving about "revolution on bayonets": "The logic [of those who hail the Red Army invasion] is to demand that the Kremlin bureaucrats start a Third World War, to expand the 'revolution'! No socialist should support such crazy logic." But only maniacal anti-communists believe that the big "danger" from the Kremlin is the expansion of "communism". For Trotskyists, however, there is the danger that the Kremlin could *withdraw* the Red Army forces, as White demands, leaving intact the profoundly backward social foundations of Afghanistan. *That* would constitute a crime, against the world proletariat as well as the Afghan peoples.

"Revolution on bayonets" may be tactically inappropriate in given circumstances for revolutionists, but it cannot be opposed in principle and sometimes (eg Georgia, 1921) it is simply necessary. To change sides in a civil war when the Kremlin bureaucrats' interest in self-preservation happens to coincide with defence of the interests of the oppressed is the act of a renegade. In the name of abstract "democracy" and "national independence" Murphy and White end up *opposing* the liberation of women from pre-feudal slavery.

In reality White is saying that the Soviet bureaucracy can *only* be reactionary, even if they defend the oppressed. No wonder he declares (the wish is father to the thought?), "If the West was any sort of progressive alternative to Soviet Stalinism, the matter [of being lumbered with defending the USSR] might be different". If the Soviet bureaucracy is capable *only* of reactionary acts, then why defend the Soviet Union? White, too, should "cut the waffle". The struggle for the political revolution to oust the bureaucracy is inseparable from the defence of the Soviet workers state and all the gains of the oppressed. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones. Extend the gains of October to the Afghan peoples! ■

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Nazis...

Continued from page 12

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 memories of racist terror. So when ANCAN began its work for a labour-led mobilisation to wipe these brown-shirted tin pot "Fuhrers" off the streets, it quickly received significant backing.

Labour movement mobilises against Nazis

The Nazis had been advertising their "birthday party" with a piece of racist filth which was an enormous provocation against workers, women, minorities and all decent people. Their leaflet — which outraged people ripped to shreds — wherever it had been pasted up — railed against the "Jew democracy" which "enforces your right to blow dope, turn queer, marry a nigger, and kill the unborn". These creeps even had a dial-a-Nazi phone number to advertise for their Hitler "party". After filling the phone lines with obscene racism, the voice said: "Don't forget the Nazi Rally in San Francisco, April 19th". ANCAN didn't. Nor will it forget the reign of mass murder the Nazis wanted to celebrate.

Shortly after ANCAN was set up, the president of International Association of Machinists Local 739 in Alameda pledged that his Local would distribute 2000 ANCAN leaflets. This is the Local that brought out 500 members last November to protest the slaying of Charles Briscoe, a black worker and IAM steward, by racist Oakland cops. More leaflets were distributed by anti-Nazi unionists in the Molders Union and Teamsters in key shops and warehouses, including the Safeway warehouses which were centres of militancy in the Teamsters strike. All three postal workers unions' leaderships threw their support behind the anti-Nazi mobilisation and one union official said he hoped this would be the largest labour demonstration in years. The National Association of Letter Carriers also passed a motion of support, with only one dissenting vote.

On 5 April the Bay Area's first officially sponsored anti-fascist labour demonstration in years was held at the Civic Center by the ILWU. The demonstration was in response to a petition circulated by supporters of the ILWU "Longshore-Warehouse Militant", a class-struggle oppositional caucus within the union. Although 500 ILWU members had signed the petition demanding labour action after the November massacre of leftists and union organisers by the Ku Klux Klan/Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina, only a couple of hundred turned out for the 5 April rally thanks to the apathy of the union leadership and a publicity blackout in the official union bulletin.

Some elements of the ILWU bureaucracy, aided by the Communist Party (CP), hoped the 5 April demonstration would replace the one being built for 19 April, but the event had the opposite effect. Nearly half the crowd stood with the ANCAN banner: "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday! It Better Not Happen Here!" "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" supporters carried their own banner: "500 ILWU Members Say Uphold the Right to Armed Self-Defense! For Labor/Black/Latino

Defense Guards to Smash Nazi/Klan Violence!"

One of the most emphatic speakers was Seymour Kramer, president of Local 1741 of the United Transportation Union representing schoolbus drivers. The crowd cheered Kramer's call to action:

"The fascists are not open to discussion... but to a superior mobilisation. The Nazis have two freedoms: to run, and to full nationalised health care after we catch them. We will fight in the spirit of the Warsaw Ghetto... and we will win!"

demobilise the anti-fascist forces went a virtual media blackout and an orchestrated campaign from the office of Mayor Dianne Feinstein. To defuse the pressure for a mass turnout on 19 April, Feinstein called for an "educational" event on Nazism — the mayor's "Days of Remembrance" on 13-19 April.

Yet three years ago "liberal" Democrat Feinstein had something different to say. In 1977 Allen Vincent, leader of the California Nazis, and his followers set up headquarters in the "Rudolph Hess Bookstore" in the Sunset district

their buses — "because there are 152 of us ready to run them over". This is the only "education" Nazis understand. In Germany, too, they were treated as a joke at first. But when the stench of burning flesh filled the air, it was too late to put up an effective fight.

While the liberals talk about "free speech", the Nazis grow under the careful protection of the cops. The Greensboro massacre last November took place in broad daylight with the police standing just yards away. At Oceanside, California on 17 March heavily armed KKKers savagely beat anti-Klan demonstrators while the cops looked the other way. Despite these incidents, many who call themselves leftists go right on and call on the capitalist state to "ban the Nazis and Klan". Yet this strategy is worse than futile. In the long run it is no less dangerous than the strategy of adventurist substitution by small groups of leftists in street fights with the Nazis. In these situations, the fascists and cops come out ahead. What both fascists and cops fear is *mass mobilisation* — the organisation of force against Nazi/Klan terror, backed up by the power of the organised labour movement.

"California Reich"

In Chattanooga, Tennessee, on 19 April Klansmen shot and seriously wounded four black women in the wake of civil rights demonstrations. Hitler's birthday was reportedly celebrated in Washington, DC; and in Benson, North Carolina, 50 Klansmen and Nazis issued a call for a "united racist front". The fascists' drive into the heavily black and working-class northern cities has suffered severe reverses only in Detroit and now San Francisco, where they were met head-on by mass action. In 1975 Allen Vincent tried to take over a San Francisco State University classroom, but was driven off by a crowd of angry students and workers. This incident is the central event in the film "California Reich" which documented the social depravity and genocidal intent of the California Hitlerites. After Vincent has fled he offers the camera a glimpse of his fear that the "communists will get me": "Sometimes when I'm in the shower — of course I put it out of my mind immediately — but I wonder if when I pull the shower curtain back, they're going to be standing there, waiting for me". Perhaps more than a *Gottterdammerung* flaming death, this sick criminal dreads public humiliation. He must have nightmares of being stripped of his Hitler costume, his swastika, his leather boots, and running down San Francisco's Polk Street with a yellow stripe painted on his naked back.

Strutting around in their brown shirts and white sheets scum like Allen 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 at every unionist, leftist and minority group around. 19 April in San Francisco showed how they can be stopped. As Bob Mandel said in his speech:

"This rally, an impressive show of unity and militancy mainly from working people in this town, served as a warning to them: we will not tolerate cross burning, racist terror, defiling of synagogues in the Bay Area. Down with the Nazis! Down with the Klan!"

Both the Moscow-line Communist Party, and the fake-Trotskyist, reformist Socialist Workers Party did their best to obstruct and ignore the rally, although the SWP's *Militant* salesmen often defied their leadership's sellout position to hand out ANCAN leaflets, and even Oakland's bourgeois black mayor Lionel Wilson was seen putting a dollar on the ANCAN table. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/US, as in Detroit last year, played a leading role in building this successful anti-fascist rally, with virtually no assistance from the rest of the left. Building on this success the labour movement must now ensure that these fascist scum never show their face in these areas again.

— adapted from *Workers Vanguard* supplement, 11 April 1980



500 black autoworkers rally against Ku Klux Klan terror in Detroit, 10 November 1979. Here and in San Francisco, mass labour action stopped fascists in their tracks.

Following the rally Kramer and another speaker, Maria Amaral of the Norte Alameda Mexican American Political Association, endorsed the 19 April mobilisation.

No "free speech" for fascists!

Seeing what was in store for them, the Nazis quickly began to take fright. This was not another street fight with a small group of adventurous leftists or a pacifist "ban the Klan" rally. This was the Bay Area labour movement — which has the real power the Nazis fear most.

So the Nazis went straight to their protectors, the police. And the cops and the city administration then did their utmost to head off the ANCAN mobilisation. On 10 April San Francisco police chief Cornelius Murphy revoked the Nazis' permit on a technicality, saying the cops could not protect the "National Socialist White Workers' Party" from the estimated 5000 anti-Nazis he expected would overwhelm the Nazis' provocation. Murphy's hope was that if the Nazis said they wouldn't show, then the ANCAN mobilisation would cool off.

In tandem with this scheme to

right across from a synagogue attended by survivors of the holocaust. Only a few days went by before the store was bombed and the Nazis run out of town. Feinstein's comment was that she "conceivably could have done the same thing if it had been in my neighborhood". (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 April 1977). But that was Dianne Feinstein the Jewish Supervisor. Now as mayor she has attempted to stop anti-fascists from doing "the same thing". To that ANCAN replied: long live the spirit of the sacking of the Rudolph Hess Bookstore.

Also organising an anti-Nazi rally on the same day was a coalition led by the Communist Workers Party (CWP), the critical-Maoist group which lost five supporters in the Greensboro massacre. They concentrated on futilely pleading with the same city administration which sought to protect the Nazis to cancel the permit issued for the race-hate rally. Eschewing any intent of mobilising workers to confront and stop the fascists, the CWP-led rally drew less than one-third the number of people than the obviously more left-wing, working-class ANCAN mobilisation. The CWP-led group refused requests to unite the two rallies, although CWP leader Nelson Johnson, wounded at Greensboro, did accept an invitation to speak from the ANCAN platform.

The liberal media almost entirely blacked out the anti-fascist mobilisation — deliberately — while liberal city officials stuck up for the Nazis' "right to free speech". But many workers understand that the Klan and Nazis recruit not by words but by armed terror and murder. Schoolbus drivers' leader Seymour Kramer, from the April 19 platform, expressed his members' outrage well when he challenged the fascists and racists to sit down in front of

Revolutionary Literature

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Saturday: 12 noon to 5pm

Smash white terror in El Salvador

The escalating confrontation between leftist guerrillas and the right-wing junta in El Salvador has brought this small Central American state to the brink of civil war. The latest round of terror was unleashed by the junta when liberal Catholic archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, known for his outspoken attacks on junta repression, was assassinated while celebrating mass on 24 March. Even US ambassador White blamed rightist gangs, closely linked to the regime, for the murder, which touched off massive popular outrage. The guerrilla groups called a general strike and "declared war" on the junta. Romero's funeral on 30 March was turned into another massacre by the Salvadoran army and rightist paramilitary gangs as bombs exploded in the crowd of 100,000 outside the Metropolitan Cathedral and marksmen opened fire from windows and rooftops. Forty people were killed, many trampled in the panic, and hundreds more were wounded. "Nobody was surprised" commented the *Economist* (5-11 April).

The massacre at Archbishop Romero's funeral was the second of its kind this year. On 22 January, the anniversary of the 1932 Communist-led peasant uprising in which 30,000 agricultural workers and leftists were massacred, the combined Salvadoran left staged a protest demonstration of two hundred thousand people in the capital, San Salvador. Usually such massive numbers afford a degree of protection from the regime's professional gunmen who wait to carry out their dirty work in the shadows. But the regime is so isolated and nervous that its cops and troops met the demonstration in San Salvador's main square with a ferocious barrage of gunfire which they continued for a solid hour. The Red Cross estimated that over 100 died and more than 300 were wounded that day alone.

In neighbouring Guatemala, there has been a similar sharp escalation of reactionary terror by the dictatorial regime. As in El Salvador, the military repression comes in response to the fall of the US-sponsored Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua last July. The triumph of the Sandinistas was enthusiastically welcomed by the long-suffering masses throughout Central America, but for the unstable military juntas of Guatemala and El Salvador, facing their own guerrilla insurgencies, it was the writing on the wall. But in a bid to preserve their rule, the dictators' mercenary armies and right-wing paramilitary gangs have butchered hundreds of peasants and workers in repeated machine-gun assaults and bloody assassinations.

These grisly statistics of dead and wounded are symptoms of the terminal illness of isolated and despised military regimes facing growing challenges from the left. El Salvador is the closest modern approach to a 19th-century oligarchy, ruled since the days of Spanish colonialism by the legendary (but very real) 14 families. The brutal repression by the landowners has changed little, with "order" in the agricultural districts still

primarily maintained by their private rural police force. In 1932 the oligarchy massacred three percent of the country's population to prevent a revolutionary victory; now they are preparing a last-ditch defence of what they see as their god-given right to exploit, a tremendous bloodletting that may cost 100,000 lives.

"Human rights" junta

After the Sandinista victory, Washington attempted to shore up its shaky Central American dominos against the spreading revolutionary ferment by imposing cosmetic reforms. But Salvadoran strongman General Carlos Humberto Romero, bolstered by his US-trained National Guard, private rural

judicious reforms can forestall a left-wing revolution are illusory. The junta's key reforms, while abhorrent to the landowners, are completely fraudulent. Its bank nationalisation is merely a means to prevent an excessive flight of capital to Miami. As for the land reform, the troops occupying the few *haciendas* (landowners' estates) targeted for distribution have killed and kidnapped hundreds of supporters of anti-government peasant unions and assigned the land to ORDEN members, according to an Amnesty International report (London, 17 March). The US reportedly prevented an ultra-rightist coup in February by threatening to withdraw its aid. But if today the State Department prefers the maintenance of



San Salvador's cathedral plaza in the aftermath of 30 March massacre.

cops, 3000 ex-Somoza guardsmen and a 100,000-strong network of informers and thugs known as ORDEN ("order"), refused to cooperate, so the State Department arranged a coup last October, replacing him by a junta which included a businessman and two reformist professors. Although initially pledged to carry out a series of reforms, the junta was challenged on the right by the military ultras and on the left by the mass-based guerrillas and quickly reverted to repression exceeding in ferocity even that of Romero's final months.

With the initial exception of the obsequiously reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party, which was bought off with a cabinet post, the left declared war on the junta. The three main coalitions of unions, students and peasant groups, each linked to a hard core of guerrilla militants, launched a campaign of demonstrations, factory takeovers, land occupations and armed actions. The junta declared martial law and reneged on its promised release of political prisoners. The Guard invaded struck factories and massacred peasants occupying land. In December ORDEN staged a 50,000-strong march through the capital. At the end of the year, the liberal reformers, powerless to restrain the military right, resigned from the government *en masse*. Education Minister Salvador Samayoa walked out of the cabinet and into one of the guerrilla armies, declaring, "The only way to solve national problems is an armed struggle" (UPI despatch, 9 January).

Since then a reconstituted military junta, with the approval of the US imperialists, has substituted repression of the left for phony promises of reform. Disregarding considerations of "human rights" diplomacy, the US is sending thirty "military" advisors and seven million dollars of military aid to the junta, strengthening the military hardliners. The hopes of imperialist liberals that a combination of refined repression and

the fiction of democratic rule in El Salvador, it is equally capable of bringing the coup-prone colonels to power tomorrow.

No third road in Central America

Unfortunately, the heroic Salvadoran workers and peasants lack a genuinely revolutionary leadership. The leftist guerrillas and their allies in the Revolutionary People's Bloc, the Unified People's Action Front and the 28th of February People's Leagues — who have all now united with the Communist Party in a "National Revolutionary Coordinating Committee" — explicitly disavow any intention of creating a "socialist" regime of any kind. Instead they seek a popular-frontist grand alliance between the exploited and oppressed masses and the weak urban bourgeoisie, the Catholic hierarchy and even part of Romero's blood-soaked officer caste. Salvador Cayetano Carpio, leader of the largest guerrilla army, called on "priests and military men committed to the people" to join the "peoples revolutionary alliance" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 21 February). And this in the midst of a pre-revolutionary crisis, in which a liberal compromise is clearly impossible.

The Salvadoran guerrillas are attempting to follow the same chimerical "third road" between proletarian revolution and banana republic neo-colonialism as the Nicaraguan Sandinista Front (FSLN). Already the Sandinistas are repressing the far left and the working class, hoping to placate the capitalists and keep US imperialist aid coming in. But how long will the US tolerate, much less supply aid to, a regime which abstains on UN votes condemning the Soviet role in Afghanistan and receives economic and military aid from Cuba and the Soviet Union? Conservatives in the US Congress are already seeking to prevent Carter throwing more money away on the "Marxist" Sandinista regime.

Washington's manoeuvres in El Salvador are designed to prevent another Nicaragua, another popular revolution. And, unlike Afghanistan, Central America is in US imperialism's backyard and it can do more than simply shake its fist impotently. Carter could give the *gorillas* the green light for a bloodbath or even send in the marines to do the job. Trotskyists demand that all US military aid to the Salvadoran junta be stopped and the US imperialists keep their bloody hands off Central America!

But the more far-sighted imperialist spokesmen recognise that all is not lost even in the case of Nicaragua. The British *Economist* (5-11 April) considers that "the west's policy of continuing to send aid to Nicaragua" is still the best "hope of checking the slide towards becoming another Cuba". The Sandinistas could still be bought off with "aid". Stabilisation of Nicaragua is key to the stabilisation of all Central America and liberal imperialism's policy is to bolster the petty-bourgeois Sandinista-led government in an attempt to ensure the preservation of capitalist property in the country.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) continues to hail the Sandinista government as "a weapon of the workers and peasants against their exploiters rather than the other way round" (*Direct Action*, 16 April). But the jailing of leftists and the breaking of strikes shows that the FSLN is committed to working out a *modus vivendi* with Nicaraguan capitalists and US imperialism. The only weapon capable of leading the oppressed masses to victory is a revolutionary workers party which would seek to split the masses away from their petty-bourgeois misleaders and lead them forward to the establishment of a genuine workers and peasants government. The SWP's opposition to the construction of such a Leninist party only helps pave the way for the restabilisation of capitalism at the expense of the Nicaraguan masses.

The only road forward to victory for the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, El Salvador and the rest of Central America lies through an uncompromising struggle against all the exploiters and their military, political and "spiritual" representatives — not just the oligarchy and the imperialists but the capitalist class. This road, the road of permanent revolution, requires the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard to lead the struggle for workers and peasants governments throughout the isthmus and a United Socialist States of Latin America.

— adapted from *Workers Vanguard*
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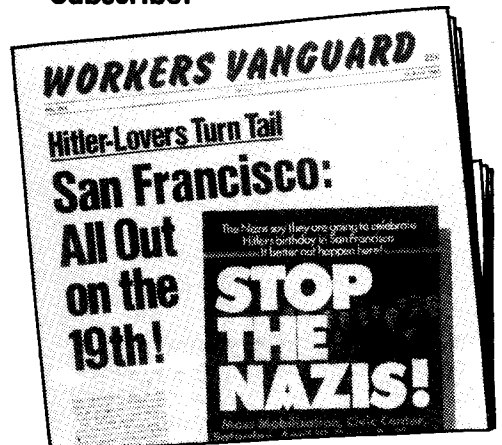
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San Francisco: 1200 rally to stop Nazis, Ku Klux Klan

SAN FRANCISCO, 20 April — San Francisco Civic Centre was the scene yesterday of a mass labour mobilisation against the "National Socialist White Workers' Party" and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). For some weeks the Nazis had been planning to goose-step into this labour town and "celebrate" Hitler's birthday. But in response to a call from the April 19 Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN) 1200 demonstrators, mainly trade unionists and oppressed minorities, turned out to stop these Hitler-lovers from rejoicing in the torture and genocide of the Third Reich.

Representatives of 22 unions including the Communication Workers of America (CWA), Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), International Association of Machinists (IAM), postal workers, letter carriers, Inland Boatmen Union, International Typographical Union (ITU), Office and Professional Employees (OPEIU), steel workers, Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and United Electrical Workers Union endorsed or attended and many sent speakers. An official contingent of 50 phone workers carrying their CWA



Anti-Nazi demonstration called by ILWU in San Francisco, 5 April.

union banner, representing San Francisco CWA Local 9410 and Oakland Local 9415, and phone workers from Los Angeles marched in to join the demonstration.

ANCAN convenor and ILWU Local 6 general executive board member Bob Mandel hailed the turnout as a

major success in a speech to the hundreds of demonstrators:

"This rally is a victory. There are no Nazis here — they were afraid to come. San Francisco is not a Nazi town, it is a labour town — we showed that here today. They wanted to celebrate race hatred and genocide. They thought they

were going to celebrate Hitler's birthday. But the unions, Jews, blacks, Chicanos, gays, Asian-Americans and socialists responded to ANCAN's call to sweep the Nazis off the streets."

The Nazis' plan to wave the swastika of race terror in the heart of San Francisco, the powerhouse of northern California labour, never materialised because hatred of fascism runs deep in the working class of the area. Ten days before the rally, on 9 April, KKK leader Tom Metzger was jeered and pelted with bottles, cans and tomatoes by 500 students at San Diego State University — a taste of what these hooded race-terrorists deserve. Metzger, who is running for the Democratic Party nomination for Congress, was finally led off campus to safety by local cops.

The KKK and Nazis are despised for good reason. San Francisco is a city with several hundred thousand homosexuals who know what happened to "social deviants" — along with "non-Aryans", unionists and socialists — in Hitler's Germany. A city of blacks who know they are the central target of race terror in America. Of

Continued on page 10

Myth of Muslim unrest in USSR exposed

Soviet Central Asians back Afghan intervention

"Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" has been the Spartacist League's slogan since the Soviet Union's military intervention against the feudal-reactionary "rebels" in December. In that poor and desolate country, the only road forward lies through defeating these tribal leaders who are fighting for the primitive and repressive institutions of feudalism and tribalism — especially the veil, illiteracy and slavery for women. We have insisted that, despite bureaucratic domination of the USSR, the transformation of Afghanistan into a society like that of Soviet Central Asia would be a tremendously progressive development for the Afghan masses. This elementary Marxist proposition is fiercely resisted by most avowed "leftists", but evidently not by the peoples of the Muslim regions of the USSR. In a recent article in the New York Times (11 April), Craig R Whitney revealed that in his travels through Soviet Central Asia he could not find a single soul who supported the CIA-armed Afghan rebels — not even a mullah! We reprint below some excerpts from his article, "In Soviet Asia, Afghan Thrust Finds Wide Acceptance":

DUSHANBE, USSR — A young man, 23 years old and a student at the university here, close to the border of Afghanistan, will have to do three months of active military duty this summer.... In

December, he recalled, ... "Reservists were given secret orders, at night, to return to active duty.... They weren't told where but after a few days it was clear — Afghanistan".

"The reservists are all back home now", he went on. "And most of them were glad to go to help — it's a very backward country and we are neighbors, after all".

...the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks who live in the region and share linguistic, ethnic, and religious ties with many of their Afghan neighbors seem to display a far wider acceptance of the Soviet military role across the border than Russians in Moscow's critical intellectual circles.

Years of ideological and social transformations, extirpation of ancient customs and exposure to Russian culture have made Soviet Central Asia a different world from the mountain backwardness of Afghanistan. Women on the Soviet side of the border do not wear the veil and they are not chattel of their husbands. There is little unemployment. And if there is no great wealth, there is also no abject poverty or hunger.

"We remember the Basmachi rebellion here", commented a university professor in Dushanbe. "They were also a bunch of mercenaries and gunmen, much like the Afghan rebels. Ibrahim Bek, the last Basmachi leader, was caught near Dushanbe only in 1931, a decade after Soviet rule had been proclaimed in Tadzhikistan. We know the barbarism and the suffering of that kind of war, and any Tadzhik would be able to sympathize instinctively with the supporters of the revolution in Afghanistan".

Moslem religious leaders here preach political loyalty to the Soviet state so Islam is officially tolerated. Moslems, when they are asked to express their feelings about Afghanistan in private, say their duty is to help their fellow Afghan Moslems reach the same levels of economic progress and social emancipation that they have in the Soviet Union.

In Bukhara's 16th-century Mir-Arab Medresseh, or Moslem theological seminary, one of two still permitted in the Soviet Union, the director, Abdul-Kakhar Gaparov, said:

"Wherever there has been a revolution, there have been people who are against it. Here, after our revolution, the Basmachi rebels fought against it for a

long time. Many of the rebels in Afghanistan are from the Moslem brotherhood, an extremely reactionary group".

"If they were truly patriots", he went on, "the Afghans outside their country would support the revolution, for bringing social progress to their people at home".

Out in the desert at Khiva, Bakhadyr A Rakhmanov, an irrigation engineer born in the town, remembers that there was a slave market there until the Soviet authorities deposed the last Khan of Khiva. He added: "The Afghans are our neighbors. Where there is poverty and backwardness it is our duty to help".

At a park in Dushanbe, a truck driver was no less fiercely loyal, as William R. Carter, a Harvard graduate student, found out when he was having an innocent conversation with a friend of the driver.

"Carter!" roared the truck driver, a Tadzhik. "Carter is a warmonger, a menace, worse than a gorilla! Don't give him your address".

— reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 254, 11 April 1980

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