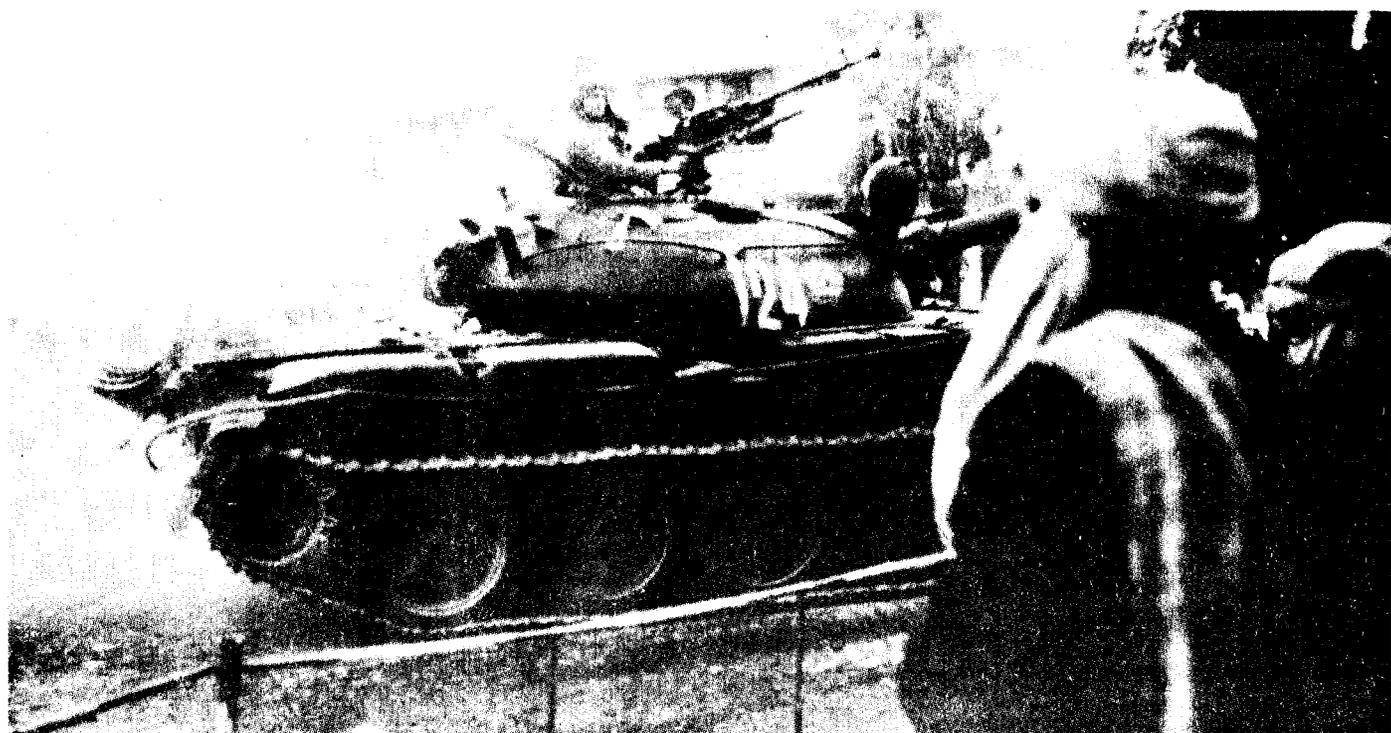


SPARTACIST

CANADA FEB./MAR. 1980 No. 41 25¢



Sygnat M. Philippot

Down with Islamic Reaction —

Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan!

The effective deployment of several tens of thousands of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is one more stinging humiliation for American imperialism in the Near East. Seeing Washington at an impasse with the ayatollah, the Kremlin bureaucrats seized the time to quell the uprising by the Afghan mullahs and khans (religious and tribal heads).

Anti-Soviet opinion around the world--from the White House to the Chinese Great Hall of the People, from the "non-aligned" neo-colonies like Zambia to the Spanish and Italian Communist Parties--railed against "Soviet expansionism" which had "trampled on the national sovereignty and integrity of Afghanistan." The imperialist media pulled out the stops to build sympathy for "freedom fighters" battling sophisticated tanks and planes with sticks, stones and chants of "allah akbar."

But in the military confrontation pitting the Soviet soldiers backing the nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against the feudal and pre-feudal forces aided by imperialism, Marxists side with the Russian tanks. Hail the Red Army!

Carter's Cold-War Frenzy

The pretext of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was exploited by President Carter and his Dr. Strange-love national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, to translate the Cold War rhetoric of their anti-Soviet "human rights crusade" into action. On January 4 Carter went on TV to announce that the U. S. was going to engage in economic warfare against the USSR: 17 million tons of grain already ordered by the Soviet Union would not be shipped;

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For Postal Workers Unity Against the Bosses Attacks!

Postal Bosses Slash LCUC Jobs

One of the few promises from his 1979 campaign that Joe Clark did try to honor was his pledge to slash 60,000 government workers' jobs. An immediate freeze was put on hiring in the civil service when the Tories came to power last spring. But as usual the primary focus of the government's attack on the jobs, living and working conditions of public sector workers is the militant postal workers. Despite the fall of the Clark government the postal bosses are doing their best to fulfil the Tories' election promise for them. In January postal management in Toronto announced its proposal to slash up to 50 percent of the workforce at 393 Front Street--one of the key postal truck driver installations in Toronto. This is only the tip of the iceberg. Management claims that reduced mail volume has necessitated an overall reorganization and restructuring of postal truck drivers' routes and letter carrier walks. In addition the bosses want to increase the workload of letter carriers by implementing automated redirection of mail. These management plans threaten the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) with massive job losses in the near future.

For the past few years the inside postal workers in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) have borne the brunt of technological change. While CUPW members were subjected to increasing speed-up, job loss and deteriorating working conditions, the piecards who mislead LCUC sowed the treacherous illusion that their membership would not be affected. But now that postal management has finally gotten its multi-million dollar automated letter-sorting scheme into gear it has set its sights on the LCUC. It is not surprising that the first target for the attack was the drivers' section of the Toronto LCUC, Local 1. Local 1 is one of the largest LCUC locals in Canada and within the local the militant drivers have traditionally been the ones to initiate labor solidarity between the postal unions, thus undercutting the criminal craft divisions separating the postal workers. If management is able to enforce its job-cutting scheme on the LCUC in Toronto it will give the green light for similar attacks across the country.

At its January general meeting Local 1 passed a motion calling for strike action, if necessary,

against any job cuts due to the postal bosses' reorganization. But the LCUC tops have no intention of challenging management's "right" to cut back the work force. LCUC national president, sleazy Bob McGarry, whose commitment to class-collaboration is unsurpassed, has predictably opted for a sweetheart deal. McGarry has accepted the proposed cuts on the condition that the jobs be eliminated through attrition rather than overt layoffs. McGarry also agreed to participate in a union-management committee to "monitor" the scheduled reorganization.

Postal workers have no interest in sitting down with the bosses to negotiate job loss. Whether it's called layoffs or attrition it means speed-up, harassment and union-busting. While McGarry and Co. preach class-collaborationism, some fake-left oppositionists in Local 1 are arguing for more craft unionism! Prior to the announcement of the job cuts, LCUC steward Jim Turnbull, a supporter of the nutty Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), was pushing a proposal that the postal truck drivers split from the LCUC Local 1 and set up their own local. But with news of impending layoffs this proposal to further divide and weaken the postal workers in their battle with management has been shelved, at least temporarily.

It is craft unionism that has left the postal unions open to attack. The crushing defeat of the militant CUPW strike in October 1978 paved the way for the present attacks on both the LCUC and the CUPW. Postal workers must stand together. Both of the major postal unions are presently working without a contract. To turn the tide on management's attacks all the postal unions (including the postal mechanics who are presently organized in the Public Service Alliance of Canada--GLT) must launch a common contract battle for an end to job loss through a shorter work week at no loss in pay and a hefty wage increase with a full cost-of-living allowance. Such a united struggle would smash management's attack and could lay the basis for a much-needed merger of all postal unions into a single industrial union of postal workers and thereby end for once and for all the self-defeating craft divisions that only serve the government's interests. ■

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TRUDEAU

Last Post



BROADBENT



CLARK

Bob Olson

No to the Liberals, No to the Tories

No Vote to NDP Coalitionism!

Election campaigns are supposed to be times of heightened political interest. But the prospect of a second trip to the polls in nine months has only produced heightened apathy and cynicism among Canadian voters. At the best of times the fraudulent bourgeois electoral process lets "the people decide" who they don't want. But not in these elections. The voters face the "choice" of political dimwit Joe Clark, whose minority government fell to the regret of few but the party faithful; a resurrected Pierre Trudeau, whose Liberal government was ousted in the last elections; with NDP leader Ed Broadbent standing in the wings hoping for a chance to form a coalition government with one of the bosses' parties. Since the contenders for power can offer neither new or credible solutions to the economic and political problems of the country, the campaign has become a contest between image makers struggling to imbue their discredited candidates with a bit of prime-ministerial style.

In his seven months in power Clark managed to reverse almost every major campaign promise, from the "privatization" of Petrocan and lower taxes to the botched Israeli embassy move. But the Tories slipped and fell on oil. On December 13 the government was brought down by a combined Liberal/NDP vote of non-confidence in Conservative finance minister John Crosbie's austerity budget.

Crosbie's "bite the bullet" budget amounted to a 33 billion dollar windfall for the oil barons and higher gas prices for working people. Under Crosbie's budget the price of gas would have immediately shot up 18 cents a gallon and the price of oil would have doubled in three years.

Noting the jump in Jimmy Carter's popularity as a result of his confrontations with Iran and the Soviet Union, Clark tried to boost his Gallup ratings by jumping on the anti-Soviet bandwagon following the invasion of Afghanistan. Although the intent of Clark's threats against the Soviet degenerated workers state is deeply reactionary, his ability to carry them out is satisfyingly limited. Promising not to increase grain shipments to the USSR was easy--the decrepit grain transport facilities are already overloaded. But Clark's political base is prairie farmers who are more concerned with grain sales than the plight of Afghani mullahs, so he did not dare halt grain sales during an election. Since the Canadian armed forces are better equipped for quelling domestic insurrection than for military adventures abroad, the best Clark could do was offer Montreal as an alternate site for the 1980 Olympics (perhaps with the hope of recouping the losses from the 1976 financial disaster).

Broadbent echoed the imperialist chorus de-

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Elections...

(continued from page 3)

nouncing the Soviet invasion. Striving to out-Tory Clark, Broadbent launched into a tirade of cold-war rhetoric, demanding that all grain shipments be cut off and that the Olympics be moved from Moscow. The interests of the international proletariat, however, stand on the side of the Red Army against U. S. imperialism and the reactionary Islamic priest-caste in Afghanistan.

As the election campaign opened the overwhelming attitude was that it doesn't matter who wins. Despite their vote of non-confidence in Crosbie's budget and Trudeau's revival of his "Just Society" rhetoric of the 1968 campaign, the Liberals advocate the same austerity program as the Tories. Trudeau stands on his eleven-year record of strike-breaking, massive cuts in social services, and wage controls. In 1974 the Liberals campaigned against the Tories' platform of wage controls, then introduced them only a year later. To the working class, the poor, the million unemployed, ground down by double digit inflation, the twin parties of big business--the Liberals and the Conservatives--speak in political chorus: more of the same.

NDP: Bay Street Social Democrats

The working class needs a party which can organize and direct the massive discontent with the capitalist parties into militant class struggle to overthrow the anarchic decaying capitalist system. Instead the right-wing social democrats of the NDP, backed by Dennis McDermott and his fellow bureaucrats in the Canadian Labour Congress, are once again touting their "New Economic Strategy" as the cure for ailing Canadian capitalism. But Broadbent's "new strategy" is the same old chauvinist, social-democratic recipe: a bit of Keynesian economic tinkering combined with a big dose of poisonously reactionary economic protectionism. Concerned above all with creating an image of "responsibility" in the corporate boardrooms of the nation the NDP has junked even its formal program for nationalization of basic resource industries. In its place the NDP has taken up the defense of the Liberal's platform of state ownership. One of the NDP's main campaign slogans is "Save Petrocan"--the government-owned oil company created under Trudeau.

Automobile fuel and home heating oil are unavoidable expenses for working people. But the preservation of Canada's government-owned oil midget will provide small relief from ever-escalating oil prices. The working class across North America must respond to the greedy Oil Barons by mobilizing the power of the labor movement to demand the expropriation of the price-gouging oil trusts without compensation. However the right-wing social democrats of the NDP aren't about to lead such an attack on the sanctity of private property. Rather, the NDP's election campaign is geared to demonstrating its commitment to the defense of the interests of the bosses and their government.

Broadbent not only wants to "Save Petrocan"; he

also wants to "Save Canada." He stands committed to forcibly retaining Quebec within Confederation. The NDP's "national unity" mongering only serves to divide and weaken the working class in the face of their common class enemies. The English-speaking working class must unconditionally defend Quebec's right to separate in order to forge a fighting unity with their working-class brothers and sisters in Quebec against the bosses' wage- and job-slashing attacks.

No Vote to the NDP!

Unlike the Tory and Liberal parties which are financed and controlled by the banks and corporations, the strongest and best-organized component of the NDP's social base is the trade-union movement. But the reformist leadership of the NDP is committed to defending and prolonging capitalist rule, as it has repeatedly demonstrated by its strikebreaking, anti-labor policies wherever it has formed provincial governments. In order to win labor militants influenced by social democracy to class-struggle policies, communists may use various tactics, including, if it were to stand as an independent working-class party, critical electoral support to the NDP. But in these elections the NDP is again offering to form a coalition with either of the major capitalist parties. A vote for Broadbent in these elections is a vote for a coalition with Trudeau or Clark.

If the NDP does manage to return enough members to bargain for a few seats on the government benches, it can explain its future betrayals as "necessary" for the maintenance of the alliance. Since Broadbent is pledged in advance to collaborate with the big business parties, a vote for the NDP in no way represents a vote for independent working-class political action. Therefore the Trotskyist League continues its policy of conditional opposition to the NDP--at least until it repudiates coalitionism.

For the ersatz Maoists of In Struggle (IS!) the NDP is just another capitalist party. With its origins in the Quebec nationalist movement, where the English-Canadian chauvinist NDP is reviled, and its opposition to sending its supporters into the unions, IS! has not confronted the strength of the NDP in the major industrial unions. Nevertheless, despite its insistence that the NDP is a capitalist party, IS! members have been observed flirting with Broadbent's kept oppositionists in the NDP "Left Caucus." IS!, like the Peking-loyal Workers Communist Party, has been building demonstrations to help Carter, Clark and Broadbent fan the flames of anti-Sovietism over the Red Army's intervention in Afghanistan--a project which can only endear them to the virulently anti-communist social democrats.

For the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), this election, like the last, is a time of heightened factionalism as the conflicting opportunist appetites of the organization's founding components come to a head. The reformists of the ex-League for Socialist Action (LSA), who today hold the whip hand in the RWL, are of course rooting uncritically for

Smash the Michelin Bill !

K. C. Irving's New Brunswick, move over! You've got some competition in the bought-off anti-labor province of Nova Scotia. Conservative labor minister Ken Streach has succeeded in using the Tory majority to run through what has become widely known as the Michelin bill, tailor made to bust the United Rubber Workers (URW). The bill requires unions to organize all interdependent plants of a company if they want to get certified at any of them. This vicious piece of reactionary legislation is retroactive, to stop the certification of a URW local at a Michelin Tire plant in Granton. A second Michelin plant is located 200 miles away in Bridgewater, making it extremely difficult to organize both plants in the three months specified in existing Nova Scotia labor law.

Michelin had blackmailed Buchanan's Conservative government by threatening to relocate its proposed third plant to the non-unionized southern U. S. to avoid "union troubles." So Streach drew up a bill designed to bust the URW and attract other anti-union bloodsuckers to invest in his province. He brags that the bill "will tell businessmen who have never heard of us that Nova Scotia exists" (Globe and Mail, 28 December 1979).

It's not often that capitalist politicians, newspapers and even the capitalists themselves oppose anti-labor laws. The Michelin bill is so vicious that even the Globe and Mail, flagship of Canadian bourgeois publishing, J. B. Morrow, senior vice-president of National Sea Products Ltd. and the Nova Scotia Liberals have spoken out against it. For a few days, spokesmen for the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour were talking about launching a province-wide general strike to defeat the bill. But all these labor fathers have done so far is mount an impotent public relations campaign and threaten to withdraw from various class-collaborationist boards, commissions and agencies they should not have been on in the first place.

What is urgently needed is a province-wide general strike to defend the URW and smash the Michelin bill. The Canadian Labour Congress must be prepared to back up such a strike. The Michelin bill sets a dangerous precedent which can be used against all union-organizing drives. It represents a first step in a capitalist drive to rid Nova Scotia of unions altogether. The entire labor movement has a vital interest in defeating this attack!

SMASH THE MICHELIN BILL!

Broadbent. The Quebec nationalists of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR, the RWL's Quebec wing) want "independence and socialism" for Quebec--not the English-Canadian chauvinist NDP. In the middle stands a new faction founded by a handful of honchos of the ex-Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG)--the November 14 tendency. While they criticize the former members of the LSA for their abject capitulation to the social democrats, the November 14 tendency shares a common policy of permanent unconditional support to the NDP. The only difference is that the ex-RMGers recognize that at this point Broadbent has no use for a little crew of "Trotskyist" publicity agents and therefore argue that the RWL's support for the NDP should be garnished with a few "left" criticisms.

The RWL paid deposits for three candidates, and devoted the centrespread of a recent issue of Socialist Voice to printing their NDP-loyal, reformist electoral program. Our attitude toward the non-campaign of these opportunists has not changed since the May 1979 election when we noted that:

"The RWL is a political maggot which has attached itself to the stinking corpse of Canadian social democracy; as such its campaign no more deserves the support of workers than does that of its host."

It is the working class which has borne the brunt of the economic crisis. Auto workers, saddled with

a sellout contract without even a token strike, were only the first to be shown the door as the current wave of layoffs and plant-closings mounts. Public sector workers in Quebec, who in 1972 waged one of the most militant general strikes yet seen on this continent, were muscled by Lévesque and cajoled by his loyal labor lieutenants into accepting the PQ's wage-slashing contract last year. McDermott's response to the attack by the employers and the state on the living standards of workers and the poor has been to stab militant unionists in the back--as he did in October 1978 in betraying the postal workers' strike. At the same time the CLC brass advises their ranks to vote for the class-collaborationist, strikebreaking NDP.

For a Workers Party that Fights for a Workers Government!

In this election there is no choice for working people. Replacing Clark with Trudeau, with or without Broadbent, is no solution. A successful struggle against inflation, unemployment and the national oppression of Quebec requires the ousting of the pro-NDP trade-union brass and the construction of a workers party committed to a class struggle program. Such a party would not only lead workers in their day-to-day struggles with the boss and the government, but would fight for a workers government, the expropriation of industry and the creation of a rationally planned socialist economy. ■

Reichians vs. Sadlowskiites

Feminists & Gays:

The RWL's Unwanted Sectors



ANTI-ANITA BRYANT DEMO, 1978

SC Photo

Among the first casualties of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)'s recent "turn to industry" have been the organization's gay, feminist, lesbian and assorted other sectoralists. In the sixties and early seventies, the heady days of the "New Mass Vanguard" and the "Worldwide Youth Radicalization," the "autonomous movements" of the oppressed were hailed as the vanguard in the struggle for socialism by the RWL's progenitors, the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA). But today the ex-LSAers, who hold the whip hand in the RWL, are orienting to a new sector--the trade-union bureaucracy. As part of the new turn they are rapidly adapting to all the backward prejudices and bigotry of the trade-union bureaucracy.

Just as they are downplaying their former enthusiasm for Quebec nationalism in order to accommodate the English-Canadian chauvinism of the trade-union tops, the ex-LSAers have also turned the page on adulation of the petty-bourgeois gay and feminist movements. Those RWLers who aren't prepared to do likewise are being shown the door. The hard-core lifestylists, most of whom are well aware that

they are rapidly approaching the end of their political careers as ostensible Trotskyists, initially attempted to defend their sectors by declaring themselves a tendency. They selected the appropriate alphabetical designation for themselves--"Tendency Z."

In its factional declaration Tendency Z (which has since dissolved itself) complains that:

"Lesbian and gay liberation work has been ghettoized and marginalized and many lesbian and gay members have been forced by this situation to draw the conclusion that they could only continue as militants by leaving the organization."

The authors of Tendency Z's declaration tried to give their sectoralism a "proletarian" coloration by arguing that feminism and gay liberationism "are needed to 'round out' the RWL-LOR's turn to the labor movement." They suggested that the RWLers in the unions should seek to set up gay caucuses and launch campaigns for a lesbian bill of rights, etc. But the ex-LSA has its own plans for "rounding out" its industrial turn--by either putting the sectoralists back into the closet, or getting rid of them altogether.

Marxism and Gay Liberation

In its factional treatise Tendency Z made the rather immodest claim that it was "enriching" Marxist theory with a program for "sexual liberation." The question of gay liberation was elevated to the status of the class question and personal predilections were raised to the level of political principles. For Tendency Z, "coming out" constituted an ideological attack on "patriarchal capitalism" and gay liberation posed the road to revolution.

The ultimate goal of Marxism is the liberation of human potential in all areas of life. Accordingly it would be a corruption of our most deeply held principles to remain indifferent to the misery, degradation and deformations to which every human being is subject in class society. But to what sorts of oppression may any political program realistically address itself? As communists we reject as charlatans or utopians those who advocate a program for the achievement of "sexual liberation" under capitalism or who pose "personal liberation" as a strategy to overthrow capitalism. The exponents

of "sexual liberation" present a world view that is fundamentally counterposed to Marxism: the idealism of an individualistic, petty-bourgeois struggle not for human liberation but for self-liberation.

Marxists focus their attack on the material bases of oppression. As Trotsky's biographer Isaac Deutscher pointed out to the Socialist Scholars Conference in 1966 at the height of New Leftism:

"We do not maintain that socialism is going to solve all predicaments of the human race. We are struggling in the first instance with the predicaments that are of man's making and that man can resolve. May I remind you that Trotsky, for instance, speaks of three basic tragedies--hunger, sex, and death--besetting man. Hunger is the enemy that Marxism and the modern labor movement have taken on.

"...Yes, socialist man will still be pursued by sex and death, but we are convinced that he will be better equipped than we are to cope even with these.... We do not see in socialist man evolution's last and perfect product, or the end of history, but in a sense only the beginning of history."

The Communist Program and Homosexual Oppression

The eradication of homosexual oppression, which is linked to the special oppression of women, is an important component of the socialist program. The sexual division of labor based on child-rearing became a source of social oppression in class society. The nuclear family defines and maintains sex roles which are inherently oppressive to those who deviate from the accepted sex role norms. While proletarian rule will do much to end homosexual oppression, the final eradication of the oppression of homosexuals cannot occur until the family is replaced in socialist society.

Unlike the oppression of women, the oppression of homosexuals is not directly based on the economic institutions of capitalism. Gay oppression is largely situated in the realm of discriminatory denial of democratic rights. The communist vanguard is the only consistent defender of democratic rights for all the exploited and oppressed. These rights are indivisible and can be secured only with the proletariat in power.

What the New Left didn't understand, and what the sectoralists of the RWL deny is that "autonomy" from the proletariat and its vanguard for the movements of the oppressed is a dead end. As Lenin noted in State and Revolution:

"Only the proletariat--by virtue of the economic role it plays in large-scale production--is capable of being the leader of all the working and exploited people, whom the bourgeoisie exploit, oppress and crush, often not less but more than they do the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an independent struggle for their emancipation."

The slogan "Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals" means a commitment not only to fight against

such abuses as job discrimination and legal inequality, but also to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of homosexuals' democratic rights. It is not a separate demand for homosexuals but a demand in the interests of the entire working class.

RWL: From Reich to Khomeini

The reformists of the ex-LSA claim to stand on the side of Marxism against Tendency Z's glorification of lifestylism and counterculturalism. But their abandonment of feminism and gay liberation was not motivated by any loyalty to Leninist principles. Yesterday's "consistent feminism" conflicts with today's adulation of Ayatollah Khomeini and his mullahs, who seek to reimpose the veil, the symbol of women as chattel in Islamic society. Gay liberation finds little support among the Dave Pattersons and Ed Sadlowskis who are the object of the "industrial turn." So the ex-LSA has simply dumped its former adaptation to the shrinking gay and feminist movements in favor of getting closer to the "Iranian revolution" and the "progressive" wing of the trade-union bureaucracy--today's "main chances."

In this, as in everything else, the ex-LSAers are just following in the footsteps of their mentors in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Last April the SWP's Militant, aping the bigotry of the trade-union brass, published an article hailing the bourgeois state's reactionary age-of-consent laws as "historic acquisitions of the working class" which "should be enforced." In contrast to this disgusting capitulation Workers Vanguard, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., unambiguously opposed the reactionary witchhunt of Roman Polanski who was charged with the "crime" of having sex with a thirteen-year-old girl. We oppose all attempts by the capitalist state to legislate morality.

RWL Economist Sectoralism vs. Leninism

By their own admission the ex-LSAers want to narrow the RWL's political activity:

"It is a one-sided turn in the sense that we hold that all comrades without exception should go into industry....

"The most effective women's liberation work, or work on the Quebec national question, will be done by leading that work out of the industrial fractions."

--RWL/LOR DB Vol. 3, No. 7

But Lenin was very clear on the question of narrowing the scope of communist struggle:

"The rural superintendents and the flogging of peasants, the corruption of the officials and the police treatment of the 'common people' in the cities, the fight against the famine-stricken and the suppression of the popular striving towards enlightenment and knowledge, the extortion of taxes and the persecution of the religious sects, the humiliating treatment of soldiers and the barrack methods in the treatment of the students and liberal intellectuals--do all these

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RWL Sectors...

(continued from page 7)

and a thousand other similar manifestations of tyranny, though not directly connected with the 'economic' struggle, represent, in general, less 'widely applicable' means and occasions for political agitation and for drawing the masses into the political struggle? The very opposite is true.... Why then should we, beforehand, restrict the scope of political agitation by declaring only one of the means to be 'the most widely applicable', when Social-Democrats [Communists] must have, in addition, other, generally speaking, no less 'widely applicable' means?"

--What is to be Done?

Communists should seek to follow Lenin's advice:

"...the Social-Democrat's [Communist's] ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but the tribune of the people, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects... in order to clarify for all and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

--What is to be Done?

Tendency Z: Mandel's Unwanted Children

As for Tendency Z--they are truly the orphans of Ernest Mandel and his theory of the "new mass vanguard" which heralded the parochialism and "autonomy" of every sector of the oppressed. Thus Tendency Z argues for separate gay organizations, for lesbian autonomy in the gay and feminist movement etc., etc. Their New Left polyvanguardism has led some to show interest in another clot of Mandel's unwanted children--the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), known for its advocacy of "socialist feminism."

The FSP is the creature of Clara Fraser who joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1945. In 1957 she became the co-leader of a left-wing faction known as the Kirk-Kaye tendency, which coalesced principally around differences on the black question.

Early on, the tendency rejected the SWP's adaptation to the reformist and pacifist leadership of the civil rights movement and later fought the party's turn toward the Black Muslims which culminated in naked capitulation to black nationalism. To the SWP's rightward, abstentionist drift the oppositionists counterposed the theory of "Revolutionary Integrationism," which urged the involvement of Trotskyist cadre in the black struggle. By 1965 their opposition had broadened to a critique of the SWP's petty-bourgeois, pacifist single-issueism in the anti-war movement.

The Kirk-Kaye tendency was decisively flawed by a failure to generalize its criticisms of the SWP's rightward motion which led the SWP to embrace the revisionist methodology known as Pabloism. The Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, which was to become the nucleus of the Spartacist

League after its expulsion from the SWP, in 1962 pointed to the symptoms of Pabloist degeneration in the SWP and described the phenomenon:

"Pabloism is essentially a revisionist current within the Trotskyist movement internationally which has lost a revolutionary world perspective during the post-war period of capitalist boom and the subsequent relative inactivity of the working class in the advanced countries. The Pabloites tend to replace the role of the working class and its organized vanguard--that is, the world Trotskyist movement--with other forces which seem to offer greater chances of success."
--"In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective"



The Freedom Socialist
CLARA (KAYE) FRASER AND RADICAL WOMEN CHORUS LINE

The Kirk-Kaye tendency was attracted to the black movement because it appeared to "offer greater chances of success." Despite the tendency's posture of left critic, it, like the SWP, had adopted a polyvanguardist approach:

"The development of all-black organizations expresses and cultivates the pride and self-reliance of the most oppressed, and opens new avenues in the struggle for freedom....

"The Negro movement must be encouraged to develop a Marxist program and cadre that can unite the ghetto masses with the southern struggle into a powerful revolutionary force, and there can then be forged a working alliance among the Negro vanguard, socialist revolutionaries and the militants in the white working class.

"The Negro struggle is the central question of the American Revolution and the Negro movement is the vanguard sector of the entire working class."

--"Why We Left the Socialist Workers Party"

Nowhere in the documents of the Kirk-Kaye tendency is a program put forward for the labor movement. In fact, the assertion is made that "the road to the American Revolution did not lie directly through the trade union movement...."

In 1966 the Kirk-Kaye tendency emerged from the SWP to form the Freedom Socialist Party, but only

a year later the FSP split--almost exactly along sex lines. (The three men who initially took Kaye's side left the organization soon thereafter.) The central issue in the split was the divorce of Clara (Kaye) Fraser and Richard (Kirk) Fraser. In fact, a good part of the 1969 organizer's report, entitled "A Victory for Socialist Feminism," is devoted to a detailed account of this divorce as it developed into a division within the party.

With its left Pabloist methodology, the FSP soon "discovered" that women "offer greater chances of success." Thus, "socialist-feminism" became the strategy for the American revolution. Radical Women, which is FSP politics for women only, was formed in 1967.

Inasmuch as it takes positions on international issues, the FSP (which after its departure from the SWP consolidated around a "soft-Maoist" line) is generally in agreement with the United Secretariat's ex-International Majority Tendency. It places full political confidence in the Cuban regime and opposes political revolution in China, while admitting the existence of "some Stalinist tendencies" there.

In Nicaragua, the FSP lauds the FSLN, and claims that the Nicaraguan revolution provides "... a thrilling example of the power and resourcefulness of a revolutionary people in motion." *Freedom Socialist* omits any mention of the FSLN's persecution of the left or the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade.

More recently, while hailing the "Iranian revolution" albeit with a few criticisms of Khomeini the FSP managed to come out in support of women's oppression in the East:

"The controversial veil (Chador) a full-length garment worn by many women in the early demonstrations, did not necessarily mean female submission. Iranian women reported that the veil was worn as a symbol of mourning and of resistance to the Shah. Many women wore veils for the first time during the revolution, vowing not to remove them until the Shah was gone. The veils also came in handy for concealing weapons and leaflets!"

--*Freedom Socialist*, Spring 1979

And the FSP had the nerve to try to scandalize the SL/U. S. for its so-called closet rule during its fusion with the Red Flag Union (RFU)!

A Leninist party is not a federation of interest groups who come together to figure out a common denominator program. A revolutionary party must contain elements from all sectors of the oppressed, but they come together around a program of proletarian revolution. By struggling against the gay lifestylism and parochialism of the gay movement the Spartacist League/U. S. was able to win the best militants from that milieu to Trotskyism, exemplified in the 1977 fusion with the majority of the RFU.■

IWD...

(continued from page 16)

"Down with Khomeini" and "We shall fight the veil." In contrast to the rest of the so-called "revolutionary" left who hailed Khomeini and the mullahs the Trotskyist League and the international Spartacist tendency stood with Iranian women against Islamic reaction. We too were chanting "Down with Khomeini" and "No to the Veil" against those who would have women in Iran once again forced to wear the chador (a veil which covers the body from head to toe). Today we hail the Red Army in its battle with the reactionary mullahs in Afghanistan where women are sold like chattel slaves under the barbaric Islamic practice of "bride price."

The woman question in backward countries such as Iran and Afghanistan engages the deepest prejudices and engenders the deepest fears. Even the mildest reforms can evoke terrifying revenge against women. In these countries feminism's personalist notions of women's liberation are patently absurd. In Iran and Afghanistan, the woman question is self-evidently not a matter of who does the dishes, but of life and death--whether women will be compelled to live in slavery. In the advanced capitalist countries women remain oppressed but with a difference: the bourgeois revolution established (imperfectly) their legal status as human beings. It established a certain separation of church and state, which was also a gain for women. Islam is far from unique in its denigration of women, but in Khomeini's Iran, the Koran's codification of fe-

male inferiority and proscriptions against her participation in economic and social life acquire the force of law.

Commenting on the Eastern woman, the "slave of slaves," Trotsky remarked: "There will be no better fighter for the ideas of Communism than the awakened woman worker." To unleash the tremendous potential of the woman question requires a class-struggle leadership armed with a broad new vision of a social order of equality and freedom. The fight for the basic needs of the vast mass of Iranian women--an end to forced marriage; literacy and education; contraception; freedom from poverty and legal subjugation; No to the Veil--is an attack on the foundations of the existing social order and poses nothing less than socialist revolution.

After the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Bolsheviks sought to transform the lives of women in the Soviet East. The old Muslim values were deeply ingrained and this work was extremely dangerous but dedicated Bolshevik cadres literally risked their lives to bring these women into the political and social life of their society. Despite the degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalin the position of women in Soviet Central Asia today, as a result of the immense social and economic gains in the region, is qualitatively superior to any bourgeois Islamic country.

The Bolshevik program for the emancipation of women is carried forward by the international Spartacist tendency as part of the struggle for international proletarian revolution. We claim the history of International Women's Day as our own.■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

sales of high technology products, such as advanced computers and oil-drilling equipment would be cut off; four Coast Guard cutters were dispatched to Alaska to protect the fish from Russian aggression; scheduled openings of consular facilities were stopped, as were any new cultural and economic exchanges. Carter has since pledged that the U. S.



U. S. -BACKED SOLDIERS OF ISLAM

8 Days

will boycott the Moscow Olympics if the Soviet troops are not withdrawn from Afghanistan by mid-February.

Over the Teheran embassy crisis Carter pledged not to use food deliveries as an economic weapon against Iran. In his State of the Union message, Carter stated:

"We have no basic quarrel with the nation, revolution or the people of Iran. The threat to them comes not from American policy but from Soviet actions in the region. We are prepared to work with the Government of Iran to develop a new and mutually beneficial relationship."

--New York Times, 23 January

But against the Soviet Union, which needs American grain in order to increase meat production and improve the diet of its population, the United States uses nutritional blackmail in the hopes of fomenting social discontent. Carter's message is: Starve for human rights! Canada's lame-duck Prime Minister Joe Clark, following suit, agreed not to increase Canadian grain shipments and halted all high technology trade and cultural exchanges with the USSR.

American Secretary of Defense Brown was dispatched to Peking to deepen the anti-Soviet U. S. / China alliance, already twice tested militarily: over the South African invasion of Angola and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. Now the Pentagon wants the People's Liberation Army to channel arms to the reactionary Afghan rebels through their mutual military client, Pakistan. With unprecedentedly forthright bellicosity, Brown's toast at a state banquet called on Peking to join American imperialism "with complementary actions in the field of defense as well as diplomacy." Now most of the cards are on the table.

We are presently experiencing a major shift of the international order as it was shaped in the aftermath of World War II. Such changes do not occur overnight and to place the turning point at 1 January 1980 would be dangerously misleading. From Potsdam, Truman's policies sought an imperialist alliance against the USSR; and the new anti-Soviet action was already foreshadowed by Washington's complicity in last year's Chinese invasion of Vietnam. Whether it is the "human rights" rhetoric of Vance or the McCarthyite demonology of Brzezinski, the target of Carter's onslaught is the Soviet Union and the threat of the new realignment is imperialist war to obliterate the conquests of the October Revolution.

"Born Again" Cold War

Ever since taking office Jimmy Carter has sought to morally and militarily rearm American imperialism and pull the U. S. out of what the Pentagon sees as its post-Vietnam paralysis. His claims to have recently changed his opinion of the Russians to the contrary, Carter is simply milking the Iran and faked-up Afghanistan crisis for all they are worth in building jingoist support for his war drive against the USSR. Carter has increased the U. S. military budget for three years running and in December he announced a further hike in military spending--taking inflation into account this amounts to over one trillion dollars to be added to the war budget in the next five years. Most of this is to pay for a "rapid deployment force" and new ships which the Pentagon has had on its shopping list for years.

Each escalation in American armament was palmed off as appeasing opponents of SALT. Clearly "Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty" means billions for more nuclear missiles, bombers, ships, etc. And these weapons are not being built to liberate hostages held by Islamic "students" chanting, "Carter is a dog." They are aimed at the USSR. With the Soviet army operation in Afghanistan, all the claptrap about "detente," SALT, etc.--by which the imperialists seek to negotiate the disarmament of the Soviet degenerated workers state--has been put into mothballs.

Of course, this counterrevolutionary diplomatic farce would not have gotten this far were it not for the class-collaborationist, pacifistic illusions of

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CPL, CPC(M-L), WCP(M-L), IS! Allah and his Running Dogs

"Russians: Your Graveyard's Afghanistan, " "Oppose Soviet Aggression in Afghanistan, " proclaimed banners and placards at demonstrations at Soviet embassies and Aeroflot offices across the country as the Workers Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (WCP) proclaimed its solidarity with the Muslim feudalists fighting the Red Army in Afghanistan.

The Maoists' counterrevolutionary position comes as no surprise. After supporting the CIA/South African/Chinese-backed nationalists in Angola, hailing the Afghani reactionaries no doubt comes as second nature. The WCP's masters in Peking hope to take the lead in whipping up cold-war sentiment against the Soviet Union, so their Canadian flunkies have been churning out propaganda that could have come from the pen of neanderthal Toronto Sun columnist Lubor J. Zink.

The WCP's organ, the Forge, cites China's delegate to the U. N., who denounced "the extreme insanity and ruthlessness of the policies of aggression and expansion pursued by the Soviet Union, which has been shown up as the biggest aggressor and hegemonist of our time. " While China welcomed U. S. Secretary of Defense Brown, the WCP derided "Clark's weak-kneed reprisals" (Forge, 18 January) and demanded that he escalate the Cold War by cutting off grain sales to Russia and banning Soviet fishing in Canadian waters.

The Afghani guerrillas, led by reactionary Islamic mullahs and dispossessed feudal landlords are fighting against the minimal reforms, such as the restriction of the bride price and limited land distribution, attempted by the pro-Soviet regimes which have ruled Afghanistan since the coup of April 1978. But for the Forge these backward tribesmen are "Afghan freedom fighters" leading the "Afghan people's struggle. " (The Forge does not state which of the several peoples included in the borders of Afghanistan it considers to be the Afghan people.)

The ex-Maoist, pro-Albanian organization In

Struggle! (IS!) frequently attempts to appear more left-wing than their rivals in the WCP, but they too have jumped on the anti-communist bandwagon with their own demonstrations against "Soviet aggression. " IS! has occasionally ventured criticisms of Ayatollah Khomeini's bloody regime in Iran, but when the Afghan mullahs launch a Jihad against the Red Army IS! is right out front cheering. IS!'s ex-Maoist opponents in the Canadian Party of Labour and Hardial Bains' Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) are also lending their voices to the anti-communist chorus.

Trotskyists do not support every military venture undertaken by the Kremlin's bureaucratic rulers, but in Afghanistan the Red Army intervened on the side of a modernizing bourgeois-nationalist regime against feudal reactionaries. Peking's response is dictated solely by its narrow nationalist aims, which have led it into a criminal and dangerous alliance with U. S. imperialism against the sole military power capable of withstanding the counter-revolutionary drive of the imperialists, the Soviet degenerated workers state. As for Peking's and Tirana's toadies:

"...perhaps they should consider forming a brigade to go to Afghanistan and fight with the Islamic reactionaries. Carter might even pay for the trip--but they probably only need one-way tickets, because if the Soviet army didn't give them what they deserve, the fanatically anti-communist tribal gangs would do the job." --"Hail Red Army, " Workers Vanguard, 11 January ■



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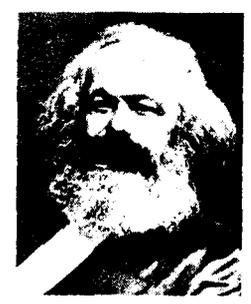
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Afghanistan...

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the Kremlin bureaucracy in "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. But even as hamhanded intransigence by employers sometimes forces even conservative union hacks to call a strike, so the septuagenarian Stalinist leaders in Moscow got fed up and did the obvious thing. Recognizing that (as American analysts have long admitted) Afghanistan has no strategic importance for the U. S., the Soviets took the opportunity to shore up the secular left-nationalists in Kabul and in the process extended their defense perimeter by several hundred miles around the eastern flank of Iran. As for SALT, it was obviously dead and only the impotent and frustrated Jimmy Carter could see "withdrawing" it from Senate consideration as a "warning" to Moscow.



Spartacist Britain

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/BITAIN, LONDON, JANUARY 12

Compared to twenty years ago, however, the United States' world position is greatly weakened and the role of its imperialist allies is much greater. The end of unquestioned U. S. imperialist hegemony was marked by Nixon's 15 August 1971 action severing the dollar's relation to gold--the basis for the post-war monetary system. Now Carter meets indifference to his calls for economic boycotts of Iran and the Soviet Union. The French turned down U. S. requests to curb advanced computer exports to Moscow and the Japanese are continuing with their multi-billion dollar project to develop Siberian natural gas. The most Carter could come up with was German diplomatic support and an agreement by major grain exporters not to increase their sales to the USSR. On Iran, they're willing to vote with the U. S. in the United Nations, but no one is willing to jeopardize the vital crude oil supplies for the sake of the hostages. Turkish Foreign Minister Hayrettin Erkmen put it most clearly: "Not approving of some action by a country is not the same as announcing that that country is your enemy." Even Pakistani despot Zia is queasy, terming Carter's 400 million dollar aid offer "peanuts."

Only the Chinese appeared willing to go all the way, for what that's worth. Revising its earlier "public" verdict on Deng's attack on Hanoi last year, the U. S. now concludes that "the Chinese were bloodied by the more experienced Vietnamese armed with modern Soviet weapons" (New York Times, 17 January). Pentagon officials conservatively estimate that to bring Peking forces to the point that they could threaten anyone would cost at least 35 billion dollars.

Carter's call for preparations to reimpose the draft in the U. S. reflect the current problems which the U. S. is having with its allies--the lack of a united response to the Soviet Union. Thus the Sunday Times [London] reports:

"Unquestionably the US could now blockade the [Persian] Gulf and sow enough mines to bottle up the Iranian navy and any Soviet ships using their Iraqi ports. But beyond that, Carter's options are limited. Without the use of Portugal's Azores airstrips, heavy armour would have to come from the States with five in-flight refuellings and even then might have nowhere to land.

"Efforts to open up new 'facilities' have run into opposition, as in Somalia, Kenya and Saudi Arabia, or hesitation, as in Oman.... And the Rapid Deployment Force... will take five years to prepare."

--20 January

When the Soviets felt the hot breath of counter-revolution next door, the Kremlin was not seized by rotten liberalism. The treatment of the pro-imperialist "dissidents" may force some governments to make hard choices between continued cooperation with the Soviet Union and lining up behind Carter's renewed Cold War. Thus the exiling of Russian physicist Andrei Sakharov caused the president of the French National Assembly, Jacques Chaban-Delmas to cut short his visit to the USSR and return to France in protest. When these dissidents called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, they were branded for what they are: traitors to the proletarian cause.

Afghanistan and the Soviet Union

U. S. imperialism has tried to portray the Soviet military operation in Afghanistan as akin to its invasion of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. In Hungary the Kremlin suppressed a working-class political revolution. In Czechoslovakia it clamped on a bureaucratic stranglehold and cut short potentially revolutionary ferment. Both invasions were neither in the interest of the interna-

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tional working class nor of the defense of the gains of the October Revolution. Afghanistan is entirely different.

Commanded by a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy which has usurped political power from the Soviet workers, the lives of Red Army soldiers have often been squandered for counterrevolutionary ends: from the Sino-Soviet border war to supporting the blood-drenched, genocidal bonapartist Derg in Ethiopia. But the Red Army in Afghanistan, the Russian support to the heroic Vietnamese and the Soviet-backed Cuban defense of Angola against the U. S. -instigated South African invasion in 1975-76 are three instances since the end of World War II where Russian military action has clearly aided the liberation of the oppressed and the defense of the Soviet state against imperialism.

Afghanistan and Russia share a common border of over 1,000 miles. Like most backward regions, Afghanistan is a mosaic of peoples none of which has been able to compact a modern nation and many of which extend into the Soviet Union or other neighbouring countries. Out of an estimated population of 17 million there are more than 250,000 mullahs-- a tremendous weight on the skimpy social surplus of this barren land. Some 70 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, but two-fifths of them are landless. While 15 percent of the people are urbanized, there are only two factories in the whole country.

The enormous burden of the Islamic priest-caste in Afghanistan, as in Iran, is rooted in barbaric social institutions which are in turn conditioned by extreme economic backwardness. Marxists point out that social progress can be measured by the position of women, and what really drove the Afghan mullahs into opposition was the attempt by the Kabul regime to restrict (not even outlaw) bride price. For centuries women have been sold like chattel slaves. For most men the bride price was a lifetime's savings or a life-long debt to money lenders who charged usurious interest rates and gave the mullahs their cut in donations.

Clearly within the framework of Afghanistan alone there was no solution to national and social oppression. These questions are linked, historically as well as socially, to the fate of the Russian Revolution. The extension of the October Revolution to Afghanistan in 1921 was prevented only by the presence of British imperialism in India. And one need only look at the gains that women have made in the Soviet East to see what proletarian liberation of these pre-capitalist areas meant. The October Revolution proclaimed the full equality of women, and Bolshevik cadres in the Asian regions

Free Parrot !

Jan. 29--As we go to press we have just learned that Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), lost his appeal to the Supreme Court and has been jailed for three months. Parrot's "crime" was his defiance of the Trudeau government's back-to-work legislation brought down to break CUPW's militant, nine-day strike in October 1978. The strike was stabbed in the back by the treachery of Dennis McDermott, the head of the Canadian Labour Congress, and the rest of the labor brass who refused to lift a finger to defend the postal workers in their battle with Post Office management, the RCMP and the federal government. Trade-union militants must fight for united labor action to free Parrot and defend other CUPW members victimized for their participation in the strike. Free Parrot!

where the mullahs held sway struggled, often at the cost of their lives, to draw women out of enforced seclusion. Even though this work suffered with the Stalinist political counterrevolution, nevertheless women in the Muslim areas of the USSR have vastly more social gains and real equality than in any bourgeois Islamic country.

Although the Stalinist bureaucracy is imbued with Great Russian chauvinism, its conduct is conditioned by the fact that Russians are a minority people within the Soviet state--albeit the predominant minority. In order to integrate the peoples of diverse national and ethnic backgrounds who make up the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy retained a democratic national heritage. In contrast, the Chinese bureaucracy can and does resort to a policy of ruthless Sinification. The contrast between the USSR and China is clearest in their shared borderlands. For example, the Mongolians living in Outer Mongolia (a Soviet satellite) do not suffer anything like the national oppression of Mongolians living in China's Inner Mongolia, before that token of regional autonomy was abolished during the "Cultural Revolution." And an estimated 200,000 Turkic-speaking people from Sinkiang, seeking to escape the oppressive chauvinism of the Han Chinese, have fled to the USSR since 1961.

The Soviet regime is particularly sensitive regarding its Muslim borderlands, where it has often made the greatest efforts to grant local and national autonomy in order to maintain the loyalty of peoples related to the rest of Central Asia. Muslim peoples number 50 million in the Soviet Union and they dominate six of the 16 republics of the USSR. Notably many of the soldiers of the Soviet army units in Afghanistan are recruited from Uzbeks and Tajiks. And if "fiercely independent Afghanistan" is about to suffer such horrendous national oppression at the hands of the Soviets, why indeed can Moscow

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MANDEL

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Ernest Mandel vs. SC: Another Cold War?

"...I would deny that we are entering a new cold war situation in which imperialism, more or less allied to Peking, is preparing an aggressive drive against the Soviet Union and in which the Soviet bureaucracy therefore has to defend itself by becoming more 'anti-imperialist.'"

--E. Mandel, Revolutionary Marxism Today (1979)

"'Born-again' war monger Jimmy Carter, chief-tain of U.S. imperialism, has intensified his campaign to revive the anti-Soviet hysteria of the 1950's. While the Kremlin bureaucracy clings to the mirage of 'peaceful coexistence' with the imperialists, the U.S. government engages in provocative sabre-rattling and openly girds for war...."

"The bellicose turn of U.S. foreign policy has been prepared by Carter's 'human rights' propaganda offensive."

--"NATO Chiefs Prepare Cold War Drive," Spartacist Canada, July-August 1978

Afghanistan...

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use Muslim-derived troops without fear? Obviously because they know they're better off than they would be under the Afghan mullahs or Khomeini. Reportedly one reason why the Soviet army deployed substantial forces in Afghanistan was the feeling that the Kabul regime was being too high-handed and insensitive to the problems of carrying out reforms and consolidating a centralized governmental authority in backward areas with diverse peoples and was thereby fueling the reactionary Islamic insurgency.

From a military point of view the Soviet inter-

vention may or may not have been wise, though certainly it is deeply just to oppose the Islamic reactionary insurgents backed by imperialism. There can be no question that for revolutionaries our side in this conflict is with the Red Army. In fact, although it is surely uncalled for militarily, a natural response on the part of the world's young leftists would be an enthusiastic desire to join an international brigade to Afghanistan to fight the CIA-connected mullahs. Most of the fake-leftists cannot see this, however--just as they cannot understand how workers are beginning to speak of particularly oppressive bosses as "ayatollahs"--because they support the analogous movement, Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," next door in Iran.

Defend the Soviet Union!

By giving unconditional military support to the Soviet army and PDPA Afghan forces we in no way place political confidence in the Kremlin bureaucracy or the left-nationalists in Kabul. While the Moscow Stalinists apparently presently intend to shore up the PDPA regime, and if anything limit the pace of democratic and modernizing reforms, the prolonged presence in Afghanistan of the Soviet army opens up more far-reaching possibilities. Speaking on the national and colonial question at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin foresaw that "...with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system, and through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage." Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!

If Afghanistan is effectively incorporated into the Soviet bloc this can today be only as a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Compared to present conditions in Afghanistan this would represent a giant step forward. The sharp contrast between the condition of women in Soviet Central Asia and that in any Islamic state provides an index. But the road to the socialist future of economic plenty and internationalist equality lies in a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. This in turn must be linked with socialist revolutions from South Asia to the imperialist centres.

The Kremlin and its flunkies of the pro-Moscow CPs will predictably launch a "peace offensive" to "isolate the warmongers" and "revive detente." To these shibboleths we respond as James P. Cannon did to the Stalinists in the 1950s:

"The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace."

--The Road to Peace, 1951 ■

(adapted from Workers Vanguard)

Morenoites, Lambertistes, SWP, IMG:**Fake-Trotskyists on Afghanistan**

The recent Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has produced considerable disorientation among the world's ostensible Trotskyists. Some people might think that Nahuel Moreno's tendency (recently expelled from the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat --USec) is leftist because it sent a brigade to Nicaragua and its members sometimes parade around in guerrilla outfits. But take a look at this call for counterrevolution in Russia based on their support to Khomeini. Of all the groups on the left this is the only one which tries to outdo the crazed anti-communism of Brzezinski:

"The counterrevolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy is discrediting itself by a criminal action against the Afghan people, trampling its right to independence, intervening on its territory without any justification. Defense against external action was not the motive in telling the USSR to intervene, but, on the contrary, an obvious attempt to reinforce its own control, to maintain the status quo in the area shaken by revolutionary ferment. The possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders of the USSR is what terrorizes the Kremlin bureaucracy. The Soviet border populations, tied to those in Iran and Afghanistan by religious, cultural and racial ties, can be infected by the radicalization of the area, can become protagonists in an anti-bureaucratic mobilization with the workers state, laying the basis for a political revolution. This is what the bureaucracy is afraid of, this is why the USSR intervened."

--Avanzata Proletaria, No. 28, 12 January

This is not an isolated deviation (and what a deviation!) by the Morenoites' Italian group. The Parity Committee of the bloc of Morenoites and expelled USec supporters of Pierre Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI--the mentor of the Quebec-based Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs) calls for the Soviet army to withdraw and leave its arms with the Islamic anti-communist guerrillas!

"The revolutionary wave born in Iran could only have destabilizing effects in Afghanistan. If religion can be included as an element of national affirmation, the movement which allows a rebellion to develop against the central power is not anymore than in Iran, a 'religious' movement. It takes part in the totality of the mobilization of the masses in this region, and directs itself against a state which remains a semi-colonial bourgeois state....

"If it were a question of aiding the struggle of the Afghan people to realize their national and social aspirations in opposition to imperialism,

the rulers of the USSR would need only order their troops to leave their weapons in the hands of the Afghan mass revolutionary movement."
--Informations Ouvrières, 19-26 January

This shrill anti-Sovietism must please the notoriously Stalinophobic French OCI with whom Moreno has blocked to split the United Secretariat. But any radical who thinks that Moreno represents any kind of revolutionary Trotskyism had better think again. You might find yourself in the mountains of Afghanistan fighting in an "Imam Khomeini Brigade" against the godless Communist menace.

The reformist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been supporting the "Afghan revolution" of the pro-Soviet bourgeois nationalist Afghani officer corps in the same terms that it hailed Khomeini's "Iranian revolution" next door. What the SWP and its Canadian satellite the Revolutionary Workers League, are having trouble explaining is why the "revolutionary" Imam of Qom is supporting his fellow mullahs in Afghanistan in their counterrevolutionary war on the "infidel."

Just as during last year's China-Vietnam conflict, the SWP is once again pretending that imperialism's strategic aim of capitalist restoration in the USSR is beside the point. But Jimmy Carter's war drive is not aimed at Iran, as the SWP would have us believe but, as Carter has taken pains to make clear to the Iranian priest-caste, at the Soviet degenerated worker state. The RWL's British sister section in the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), the International Marxist Group (IMG), has not been so circumspect. Taking their cue from Margaret Thatcher the IMG's initial coverage of the Red Army in Afghanistan was headlined "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" (Socialist Challenge, 3 January.) ■

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à Detroit! p.10

SPARTACIST CANADA

No to the Veil! Down with the Mullahs!

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY 1979: TEHRAN

Ten years ago the women's liberation movement was at its height in North America. Tens of thousands of women across the continent flocked to join a movement to fight the institutionalized oppression of women under capitalism. But today the women's movement is practically inert in the face of the widespread and vicious attacks on women's rights that have come with the ever-deepening economic recession.

Ten years of dead-end feminist politics and "instant liberation" schemes have taken their toll in the coin of passivity and despair. In the hope of reviving "the movement" feminists across the country have, for the past several years, held annual demonstrations to mark March 8, International Women's Day. Despite the "Sisterhood is Powerful" rhetoric and calls for women to "unite," the spirit of sisterhood usually ends with the demonstration. For the rest of the year the few remaining hard-core feminists retreat to their "conscious-

ness-raising" groups and various other nooks and crannies.

The oppression of women through the nuclear family plays an integral role in the maintenance of capitalist society. But Marxists have always rejected as utopian the notion that the emancipation of women can be achieved through pure voluntarism. As Leon Trotsky wrote: "The family cannot be abolished, it must be replaced." The fundamental precondition for this is the abolition of poverty, the root of inequality. Only with the destruction of capitalist property relations and the tremendous development of society's productive powers through rational socialist economic planning, can poverty be eliminated, the family replaced and women integrated into the labor force on an equal basis.

As communists we also celebrate International Women's Day--not under the banner of "Sisters Unite," but under the banner of proletarian revolution. With Lenin we assert that women must be an integral part of the revolutionary struggle, for without their participation it will not succeed. But the road forward to the emancipation of women does not lie through feminism, which holds that the primary division in society is the division between the sexes. Only through the united struggle of working class men and women under the leadership of a Bolshevik vanguard armed with a Trotskyist program can the socialist revolution be victorious and the road opened to the liberation of women.

International Women's Day--A Proletarian Celebration

International Women's Day is not a celebration of sisterhood, it is a proletarian holiday. Celebration of the day originated among women garment workers in New York City in 1908. By far the most important celebration of International Women's Day took place in Petrograd on March 8, 1917 when women textile workers led a strike of over 90,000 workers which signaled the beginning of the Russian Revolution.

Last year on International Women's Day in Teheran, 100,000 Iranian women and their male supporters marched against Ayatollah Khomeini and his reactionary Islamic priest-caste, chanting

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