

Young Spartacus

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FEBRUARY 1980

No to the Draft!

Down With Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

The man in the White House has gone mad. Jimmy Carter is talking as if he's about to start World War III over Afghanistan. And the imperialist press is railing against "Soviet aggression," painting visions of the sinister Russians swarming over Pakistan and Iran on their way to the shores of the Persian Gulf. To show the Russians he means business Carter announced in his State of the Union address his intention to start Selective Service registration, the first step in restoring the draft.

Who does Carter think he's kidding? Afghanistan is a nothing country with no strategic importance for the U.S. The notion that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is "the gravest threat to world peace since World War II" is an absurdity. With Carter on an all-out arms drive, the Seventh Fleet patrolling the Indian Ocean, the U.S. threatening to invade Iran and the CIA stirring up reactionary Islamic tribesmen in the country, the Soviets did the logical thing—they moved in to shore up their defense perimeter. So why all the hullabaloo when the Soviet Union comes to the aid of its allies in Kabul?

The imperialist uproar over Afghanistan is clearly a pretext to rearm U.S. imperialism for its global "holy



Young Spartacus



Wally McNamie/Newsweek

war" against the Soviet Union. Ever since the U.S. bourgeoisie was dealt a stinging defeat in Vietnam and suffered the humiliation of the Watergate fiasco the ruling class has sought to recoup its shattered moral authority. The "new" Carter doctrine is nothing but a continuation of his anti-Soviet "human rights" charade—only now the military threat behind the demagoguery is explicit. Carter believed that with a few slaps on the

Carter's threat to reimpose draft sparked "don't take me" protests on campuses. Above, SYL banner stands out at Columbia rally.

wrist for Pinochet of Chile and Vorster of South Africa and a relentless barrage of propaganda against the Soviet Union he could re-establish the democratic credentials of U.S. imperialism. While the divestment movement pleaded with Carter and the capitalist class he represents to make "human rights" a criterion for imperialist investment, the Spartacus Youth League insisted that all Carter's demagoguery served only one end: to build popular support for an anti-Soviet war drive. The bourgeoisie is desperate to recapture the one-sixth of the world that was ripped out of the clutches of the capitalists in October 1917.

The SYL responded to Carter's war threats against the Soviet Union and plans to reinstate draft registration with demonstrations and contingents on campuses across the country demanding: No to the Draft! Not a Penny or a Man for Carter's War Drive! Military Defense of the USSR! Hail the Red Army! Smash Islamic Reaction! Extend the Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghani Peoples! Our opposition to the draft is not based on pacifism—but on our commitment to working-class internationalism and the defeat of U.S. imperialism. While it is uncalled for militarily, a natural response of the world's young leftists would be to enlist in an international brigade and go fight the CIA-backed

Afghani mullahs and feudal tribesmen. The only army worth fighting for in Afghanistan is the Red Army!

Protests Mired in Social-Patriotic Pacifism

But the "now generation" has been infected with Carter's "human rights" demagoguery. In contrast to the SYL-initiated rallies the anti-draft protests were often as anti-Soviet as the flag-waving counterdemonstrations. Such was not the case in the tumultuous antiwar demonstrations a decade ago. For that generation of students the draft was synonymous with mass murder and torture in Vietnam. Hardly anyone believed in the myth of the "free world" or the "democratic" mission of U.S. imperialism as they nightly watched napalm and anti-personnel weapons rained on the villages and countryside of Vietnam to maintain the brutal, corrupt puppet regimes of Ky and Thieu. While the New Left was mired in the worst sort of counter-cultural lifestylism, its unifying theme was opposition to the capitalist state which was waging a genocidal war in Indochina. Thousands of young people, if only for a brief period, sincerely desired the overthrow of the American imperialist government.

The seizure of the embassy in Iran has sparked a patriotic frenzy not seen in this country since the Korean War. For

continued on page 9

We Will Not Be Silenced!

Workers Vanguard



TLD spokesman Fred Zierenberg

FEBRUARY 3—A near-fatal knife wound left German Trotskyist Fred Zierenberg fighting for his life in a Frankfurt hospital. The murderous, premeditated attack occurred on January 25 at a public teach-in on Afghanistan at the University of Frankfurt, West Germany. Reaction-

ary Afghanis, Turkish Islamic fanatics and their Maoist lackeys—members of "Fight Back" from the U.S. volunteer army stationed in West Germany—formed a bloc and planned the attack in advance.

The meeting consisted of a series of virulently anti-Soviet speeches and chants of "Death to Trotskyism!" and "Down with the Soviet Union!" During the discussion period a member of the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) went to the podium to take the time to speak that she had been granted by the chair. At a signal from the "Fight Back" members, the mullah-lovers launched their vicious attack. In the flurry of fists, boots and knives, seven TLD members and supporters received injuries. In addition to Zieren-

continued on page 9

Afghanistan: Hail Red Army!... 6

Funds Urgently Needed

CWA Militant Sues Carter's Secret Service

Jane Margolis, an executive board member of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, is filing an unprecedented lawsuit against the U.S. Secret Service. Her complaint asserts that the case "challenges in principle the government's interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade-union movement." Margolis, an elected delegate to her union's last convention, was attacked on the convention floor by a squad of Secret Service agents. She is suing for damages in excess of \$1 million.

Attack on All Labor

Agents invaded the CWA convention in Detroit last July in order to prevent Margolis from speaking out against the strikebreaking, anti-labor policies of Jimmy Carter, who was scheduled to address the convention at the invitation of CWA president Glenn Watts. The agents dragged Margolis off the floor, manhandled her, handcuffed her and held her without legal counsel, threatening her with arrest and imprisonment.

Margolis pointed to the motive for

this outrageous violation of her constitutional rights at a news conference held last November at the office of her attorney, Charles Garry:

"The Secret Service was not acting to protect the life of the president but rather they were acting as political agents for Jimmy Carter. This is government intervention in the labor movement, an attack on freedom of speech and it is an attempt to make it look like the labor movement was 100 percent behind Jimmy Carter."

The preliminary statement to Margolis' legal complaint asserts that her suit "concerns a special form of governmental intervention, intended to control the political climate of the trade unions in order to achieve specific ends. This case concerns governmental intervention designed to influence and predetermine the outcome of deliberations of the unions, to secure political advantage for particular government programs, and to stage a show of support for government officials, in the present case for the president."

Indeed, only weeks after the CWA convention, the Secret Service mobi-

lized to prevent members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) from confronting Jimmy Carter over his energy policies. The IAM has filed a complaint with the Secret Service, which claims to be investigating the matter. The Margolis case shows the need to repel all government attempts to subvert and manipulate the trade unions.

Margolis' statement cites the case of the 29 people charged with "seditious conspiracy" under the Smith Act of 1940 during the 1941 Minneapolis Labor Trial prosecutions. The Minneapolis Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union Local 544 was a militant CIO local that stood practically alone in its opposition to World War II on the eve of U.S. entry. President Roosevelt sought desperately to smash this militant, left-wing opposition in order to gear up workers for the war effort. As a result, 18 leaders of Local 544 were sentenced and 17 were imprisoned, as was the local leadership of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

It is because Jane Margolis is a well-

known, elected union official with a long record of opposing the subordination of her union to the dictates of the government and the capitalist political parties that the federal cops muzzled her. Her intentions to speak out against the millionaire peanut boss and imperialist president were known and expected. In attacking Margolis, Carter's agents were attacking the entire union movement. Margolis is a founding member and leading spokesman of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition in the CWA. MAC seeks to break the union from its present pro-capitalist misleadership. It stands on the tradition of working-class independence from the parties of the bosses and struggles for a workers party to fight for a workers government. The necessary precondition for this struggle is the complete independence of the unions from the bourgeois state.

CWA Members Back Suit

Margolis is winning significant backing from elected officials and rank-and-file members of the union. Outraged over the feds' invasion of their convention, CWA members have initiated the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) to support and publicize the case. *Young Spartacus* was told by committee members that UCASSH has received formal membership endorsements from CWA locals in Chicago and Portland, Oregon as well as a \$250 contribution voted by the Portland membership.

Individual militants from locals in several areas of the country have also declared their support. These include officers, executive board members and stewards in New York, Los Angeles and Michigan. The lawsuit has been endorsed by 20 stewards in Margolis' own local as well as by the executive board of Sacramento, California Local 9412. Margolis' own local so far has donated \$700 to cover legal expenses. UCASSH has raised \$1,100 and hundreds of dollars more have been pledged.

However, more funds are urgently needed. UCASSH spokesmen informed *Young Spartacus* that expenses have already run over \$5,000 and the total cost is expected to reach \$20,000 or more this year. Whereas the state has unlimited funds to carry out its anti-labor activities, militants who fight government repression must rely on their friends and supporters for financial assistance. Send donations to: Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, P.O. Box 12324, San Francisco, CA 94112. ■

10 Years of Trotskyist Youth Press

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST CAUCUS
Newsletter
VICTORY TO THE
VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!

Revolutionary Communist Youth
NEWSLETTER
IN WAKE OF ECONOMIC CRISIS:
**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
YOUTH FORMED!**

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST CAUCUS
Newsletter
LEFT OPPOSITION AT NEW HAVEN

Young Spartacus
Stop Racist Terror
in Boston!

Implement and Extend the Busing Plan!
Not Federal Troops, But Labor/Black Defense!

RU Calls for
Smashing Busing
CP SWP Demand
Federal Troops

Young Spartacus
ALL INDOCHINA
MUST GO
COMMUNIST!

Military Victory to the NLF and FALN!
Take Saigon and Phnom Penh!

Young Spartacus
Iranian Leftists Tail Islamic Reaction
Smash the Shah's
Reign of Terror!



reformist and centrist fakers on the left.

Today, Carter's war drive is aimed centrally at the USSR—the strongest military and industrial power of all the deformed and degenerated workers states, and the greatest challenge to world capitalist enslavement. Afghanistan has posed the question of defense of the USSR point blank. Revolutionists must take a stand. Contrary to the philistines and cowards on the left who downplay or deny the central importance of the Russian question, or like the Maoists side with the imperialists against the USSR, the SYL has championed defense of the gains of the first workers revolution against imperialist attack while fighting for political revolution to oust the criminal Stalinist bureaucrats who have usurped power from the proletariat. If you can't defend the past gains of the workers movement you cannot lead the working class to power. Just as we opposed Khomeini's Islamic reaction in Iran, so today we stand with the Red Army against the U.S.-backed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan who are fighting to maintain the veil and bride price. The frenzy of the U.S. ruling class which is bringing us to the brink of nuclear war underlines Rosa Luxemburg's warning that the only alternatives are socialism or barbarism.

While understanding the enormity of our tasks we look forward to the next decade with revolutionary optimism. *Young Spartacus* is the voice of the future—*subscribe now!*

This issue marks the tenth anniversary of the publication and development of a Trotskyist youth press in political solidarity with the Spartacist League. This is the only real and continuous Marxist youth press in America for the past 20 years. The development of our press from a mimeographed bulletin published by the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus into a monthly printed tabloid *Young Spartacus*, organ of the Spartacus Youth League, is testimony to the success of the Spartacist tendency in building a fighting Trotskyist movement in the U.S.

The *RMC Newsletter* grew out of the aggressive intervention of the Spartacist League into the pro-working class wing of SDS led by Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The RMC and its press crystallized a living youth section out of SDS through combat against PL-SDS' campus parochialism and the liberal pacifism of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance anti-

war work. The Revolutionary Communist Youth, organizational predecessor of the SYL, was founded in September of 1971 and published the *RCY Newsletter* until September of 1973. With the stabilization of a bi-monthly paper and the growth and increasing influence of the RCY we began the publication of *Young Spartacus*, named after the youth press of the Communist League of America—the American Trotskyist section of the thirties.

Young Spartacus and its predecessors have served revolutionary youth for ten years as voice, educator, and collective organizer—fighting for class opposition to the Vietnam war and U.S. imperialist militarism, campaigning for labor/black mobilizations to defend busing and defeat racist attacks, and reporting on student struggles around the globe. We have relentlessly defended the program of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism against all the

*Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth League
Public Offices*

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Crime Doesn't Pay

DSOC Backs a Loser

ANN ARBOR, January 21—The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) launched the new decade with a flashy conference here this weekend entitled "The 80s—Plight or Prosperity?" If the consensus of the participants can be taken as good coin, then the answer is clear—plight! In an abysmal display of capitulation to the capitalist status quo, DSOC's message to the American working masses was clear: "Things may be bad, but the best we can do is hope for more of the same. Vote Democrat!"

About 900 people converged on this small college town—long noted for being one of the last strongholds of the New Left—to help DSOC kick off its campaign to move onto the campuses in a big way. Liberals, labor bureaucrats and "socialists" came in babbling hordes, with the watchwords "coalition politics," "defeat the New Right" and "Kennedy in '80," on their lips.

What was immediately apparent was that this was not merely a DSOC conference, but a convergence of the swamp of the "democratic left." For those two days, everyone was one big happy family under the protective wing of that kingpin of anti-communist state department socialism, Michael Harrington. Naturally the fake-Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) ceded the stage to the Harringtonites—after all, DSOC has more bureaucrats in its pocket!

The tone of the conference was set when the convener asked for—and got—a moment of silence for George Meany, dead at last, the ex-chieftain of the AFL-CIO! So what if Meany strong-armed his way to power by driving communists and socialists out of the unions! So what if he was a cold warrior and a war hawk! So what if he

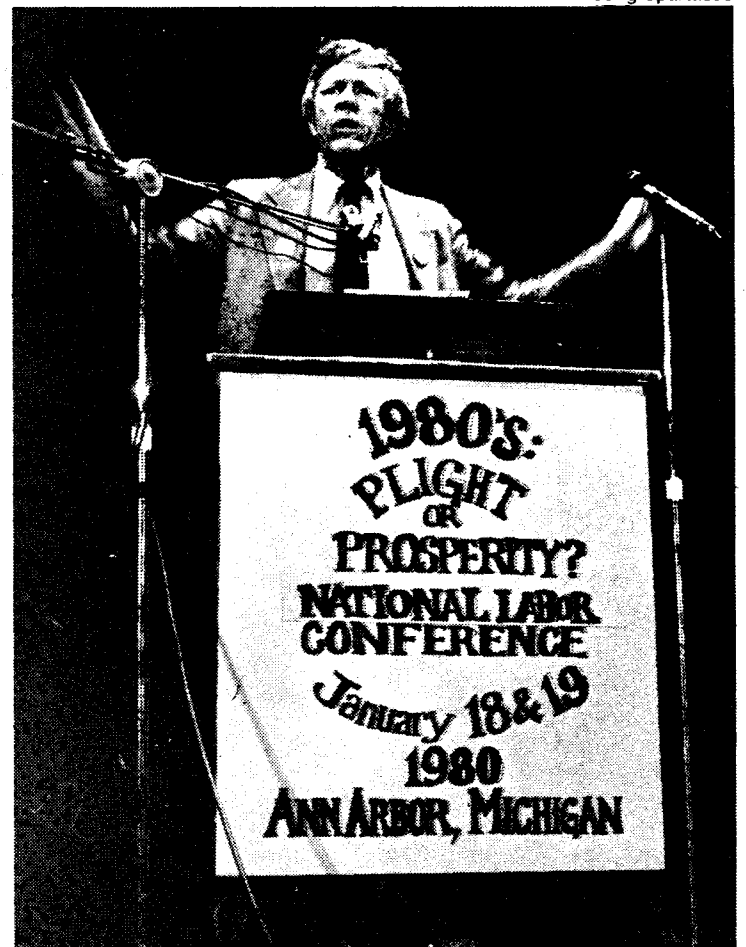
became the embodiment of treachery to the cause of labor whose proudest boast was that he never walked a picket line in his life! That despicable cur still gets accolades from DSOC.

If that was not enough of a slap in the face to those with even moderately "progressive" pretensions, immediately following the tribute to Meany the conference organizers introduced the president of the University of Michigan. President Shapiro has denied a contract to a union of university employees organized in the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO). But Shapiro didn't get off as easy as Meany did. He was greeted with chants of "GEO, GEO" and "How 'bout a contract?" When asked why union-buster Shapiro had been invited to endorse and speak to the conference, a DSOCer replied that DSOC didn't invite him, SEED (a DSOC front group) did!

The plenary sessions were organized so that no discussion from the floor could be presented. The intention was obvious: make the plenary a campaign platform for Kennedy. Even so, when William Winpisinger tried to speechify for Kennedy the audience began to heckle and boo, shouting, "Carter, Kennedy, not a dime's worth of difference!" The pressure from the audience was so great that the star speaker for the evening, Michael Harrington, didn't say a word about the Democratic Party or his support for Kennedy. Instead he confined his remarks to pleas to support various congressional schemes for "labor reform."

The conference participants were treated to more of the same drivel in the workshops. In James Farmer's "Minorities in the Unions" workshop they were lectured on the merits of preferential layoffs and union-busting affirmative

Michael Harrington: labor bureaucrats' pet socialist.



action programs. In the workshop on plant shutdowns, DSOC put forward its two-point program of "action" for auto workers: First, write your congressman. Second, buy your boss's plant and run it yourselves! A laid-off Chrysler worker pointed out that this was exactly the strategy that DSOC supporter and UAW head Doug Fraser had advocated, and it was a loser's strategy. "There are 120,000 laid-off auto workers in Detroit today to prove that it is a loser's strategy." He went on to point out how

ridiculous the plant takeover scheme is:

"We're going to take over Dodge Main, a plant they haven't put a dime into in 30 years and run it for ourselves? Competing with GM? The only strategy that can work—and I fought for this strategy in my union—is the strategy of sitdown strikes. It poses the question directly: Whose plant is this anyway? Ours, the workers, who've sweated in those plants year in and year out, or the bosses, who've done nothing but clip coupons and collect dividends. I say that whatever Chrysler's worth, the workers

continued on page 10

YSA: If It Hadn't Had a Convention, Would You Know It Existed?

At a December 30 cocktail party at the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Louisville, Kentucky national convention to kick off the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) 1980 election campaign, a Spartacist League supporter approached presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and asked him, "What about the leftists in jail in Nicaragua?" Pulley's response was swift and to the point. "DEFENSE!" he hollered, and a ten-man good squad rushed to escort the offender from the would-be presidential presence.

Why did the 250-pound SWP honcho need to be protected against one Spartacist woman about half his size? Well, he obviously didn't want to answer that question, in the worst way. Pulley illustrated what the SWP really means when it alleges "Spartacist disruption" and other slanderous excuses in order to exclude our comrades from SWP "public" forums. Like Jimmy Carter (see "Union Militant Sues Carter's Secret Service," this issue), the SWP reacts to political challenge with gangsterism.

The conference itself, like all YSA conventions, was most notable for what

wasn't discussed. There is never any real discussion or debate within the YSA because the YSA is not a genuine youth organization. Unlike the Spartacus Youth League, which is politically subordinate to the SL but organizationally independent, the YSA is a bureaucratically run front group for the SWP. SWP members in the YSA operate as a party fraction and may not express differences with the SWP line, thereby sterilizing the internal political life of the YSA.

Ever-Deepening Troubles

Attendance at the convention was way down—by at least ten percent—from last year's 600. And only a small number of the participants—at most 36—were black, a sharp decline from previous years. The YSA's declining membership led National Committee member Roger Horowitz to project the demise of the YSA within the next few years if the present trend is not reversed: "To be blunt, the YSA is in trouble right now. Our membership has fallen to less than 400, our average age is over twenty-three, sales of our press have gone from 4000 last spring to 3000 this fall, and most significantly, recruitment

of new members is way down.... The line of the draft political resolution and the turn to industry will result in a smaller and older YSA which will be a youth organization in name only... I would hate to be proven correct by having the YSA dissolve."

—YSA Discussion Bulletin No. 3, December, 1979

But Horowitz, a long-time YSA dilettante at the University of Chicago, opposes the YSA industrialization from the right. The only alternative Horowitz (mysteriously absent from the conference) has to offer to curtail the YSA's losses is intervention in such "mass movements" as the pro-cop "Take Back the Night" marches.

Several contributions to the internal discussion bulletins, under the guise of defending SWP policies for industrial implantation, revealed gross negligence by the SWP leadership regarding the security of newly implanted members, particularly in the South. YSAers wearing ERA T-shirts and passing out leaflets for SWP forums on Nicaragua soon discovered that such behavior is not likely to see them safely through the probation period on their new industrial jobs. Further, the trade-union bureaucrats whom the SWP had hoped to

court through their turn to industry prefer at this point to deal with better-known and more respectable social democrats like Michael Harrington's DSOC (see "YSA: Young Sadlowkis of

continued on page 11

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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February 1980

Interview With Malek Towghi

Iranian Baluchi Threatened With Deportation

The following is an interview with Malek Towghi, an Iranian Baluchi threatened with deportation because of his outspoken opposition to the Persian chauvinism of both the shah's regime and Khomeini's Islamic Republic.

In line with Carter's directive to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to round up and deport Iranians living in the U.S., Malek was called before the court on January 4, even though his hearing was reportedly previously postponed to June 1980 along with other Iranian citizens living in the U.S. with expired visas. At the hearing Malek was declared deportable on the basis that his visa had expired and his passport was not validated. In addition, he was threatened with possible deportation to Pakistan. The U.S. State Department has 30 days in which to answer his new appeal for asylum. Deportation to either Iran or Pakistan, both run by fanatic Islamic regimes, which oppress and persecute the Baluchis and other national minorities within their borders, would mean certain incarceration, torture and possibly death for Malek Towghi.

This is a very critical time in Malek Towghi's fight against deportation. We urge our readers to protest the threatened deportation. He needs both financial support and the support of champions of democratic rights in order to win. Malek's only source of income for himself, his five dependents and legal fees is his meager pay as a teaching assistant at Michigan State University and contributions from friends and supporters. The Ad Hoc Committee to Support Malek Towghi has been established by MSU faculty members and students. Checks should be made out to Malek Towghi, and sent to the Ad Hoc Committee to Support Malek Towghi, c/o Dr. Donald Lammers, 453 Kensington Road, East Lansing, MI 48823.

YSp: As a member of an oppressed national minority in the Middle East, could you tell us something of your background, your personal experiences which exemplify the oppression of the Baluchis and which have shaped your thinking on the national question?

Malek: Before answering the question it is appropriate to explain my race, religion, and nationality and compare this to the dominant population in Iran. The dominant population group of Iran adheres to Shi'ite religion—a sect in Islam. Most speak the Persian language and claim to be Aryans. I belong to a particular ethnic, religious and language group called Baluchis. Baluchis, like Kurds and Turkomans, belong to the Sunni sect of Islam. All the Sunnis have always been discriminated against in Iran. This has worsened during the present regime. My people belong mostly to the Semitic race... and speak a different language than Persian. The Baluchis form a different nationality and along with other oppressed nationalities such as Kurds, Arabs and Turkish peoples in Iran, have been struggling for their national rights....

My personal and family background I believe is the background of almost every Iranian Baluch, Kurd, Arab and Turkoman. My family, like hundreds of

thousands of Iranian Baluch families, has been on the "move"—migrating from place to place and country to country for the last four generations. My great grandfather was killed by Farmanfarma, a Qajar prince—ruler of Kerman, Iran. The family, along with the clan, moved from Narmashir, Kerman to Bampur, an interior Baluchi region in Iran... in order to escape the tyranny of the Persian rulers....

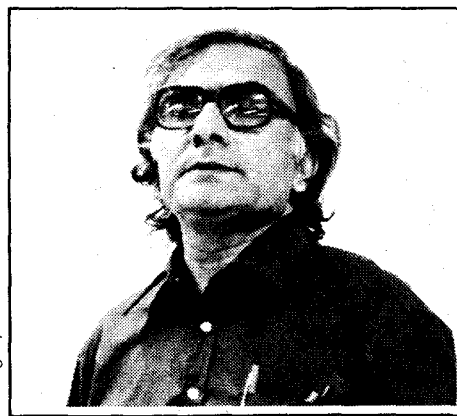
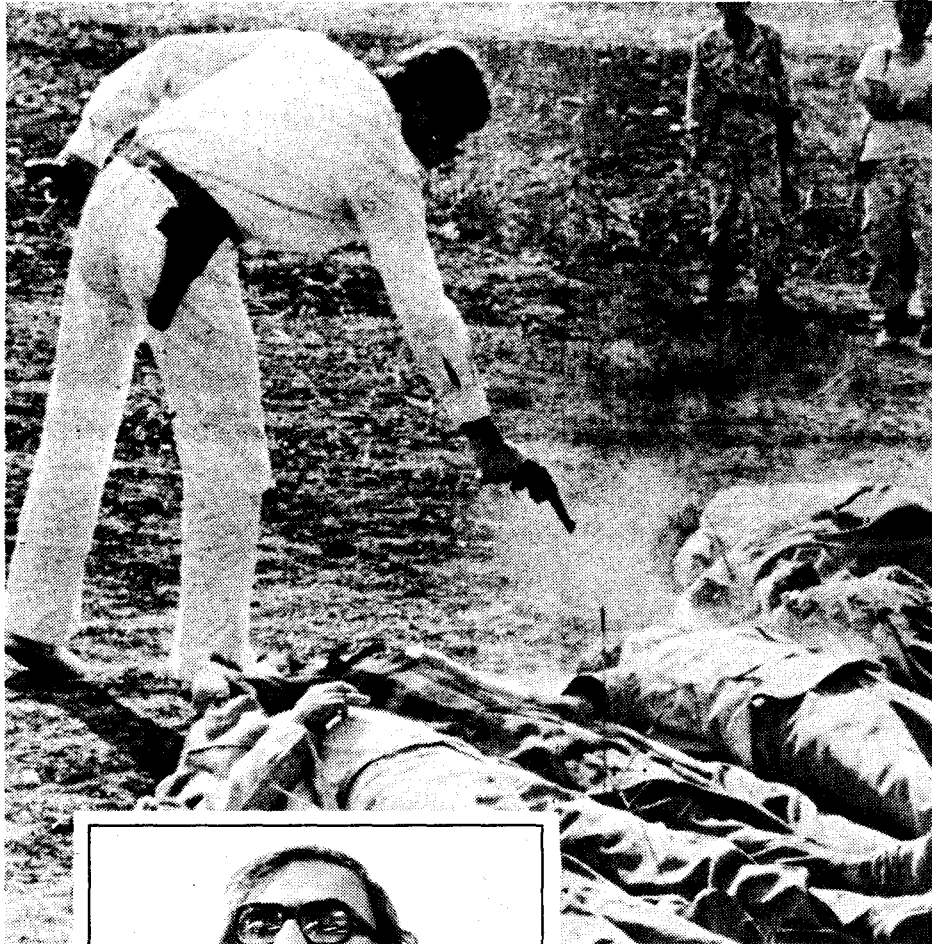
No Baluch family was safe from the Persian-Qajar chaos and oppression. Thousands of Baluch families fled from Western (Iranian) Baluchistan to the adjoining British Indian empire that

YSp: How did this affect you and your family?

Malek: My parents along with me and my younger brother left eastern Baluchistan (in British India) before 1947 and settled permanently in their home region in Iran. Because of the continued anti-Baluch atmosphere and lack of security and other normal facilities in Iranian Baluchistan, my father sent me back to Karachi in 1950....

After I obtained my first B.A. in Karachi, I was appointed as a "research officer" in the ministry of information in Pakistan. I was given the post because of my previous flirtation with the Islamic

Riza/Sipa



Young Spartacus

Khomeini government executes national minority dissidents.

Could this be Malek's Fate?

included the biggest part of the Baluchi region. Some of them migrated to south Arabia and east Africa. My father was born while the caravan was moving toward Karachi in Pakistani Baluchistan.... I was born in Karachi where my parents had taken refuge... but I remained a citizen of Iran....

I have seen the Persian tyranny as well as Pakistani fanaticism against Baluchis and similar oppressed nationalities with my own eyes. Let me give you an example: during my childhood and adolescence it was a common pattern that the Persian officials and militiamen used to leave their posts once or twice a week for a "chicken hunt." They would enter a village and ask for chickens, a lamb or two, goats, food grains, cloth and all other kinds of available commodities. Usually the villagers would surrender whatever they had out of fear.... I saw old and young men being flogged and arrested and taken away—sometimes for months....

movement of Maudoodi. I was considered a "safe" Baluch. This job could lead to the post of ambassador. But I was soon blacklisted by the Pakistani government because of my continued sympathy and friendly connections with the Baluch leadership fighting for a secular federal Pakistan.... I found it difficult to put the human being in me on "sale." How could you be indifferent when you came to know about Quli camp (a famous Pakistani concentration camp at Quetta where, in late 1958, thousands of Baluch leaders and alleged and real participants in the 1958 Baluch uprising were kept for many years)?...

The 1958-1965 period was one of the most agonizing for "us": the cowards!... for those Baluchis who had government jobs in Pakistan. Baluchistan was under martial law. After hanging (and torturing to death) hundreds of Baluchi dissidents, the rest of the activists were either in jail or had taken refuge in the hills.... We, the non-

activists, the poets, the writers and the government employees... the ones who were "safe"... were cursing ourselves.... My frustration made me resign from my "promising" post—to the surprise of my Punjabi boss—and leave for Iran....

The Baluchis have always suffered from the chauvinism and religious fanaticism of the dominant (Shi'ite Persian) community in Iran. Under the present regime of Khomeini the religious fanaticism and ethnic chauvinism are being institutionalized and thus have taken on a more dangerous dimension. Some of my close friends and relatives informed me that many Kurds and Baluchis had been arrested in Teheran during the second half of August, 1979. They thought they might be arrested and persecuted at any time.... One of my relatives was arrested as a suspected Baluchi in 1970 and tried in a military court for some allegedly anti-government remarks he had murmured in a cafeteria while table-talking with some unknown persons... to earn his release he was forced to remain silent and never state anything against the shah's regime.

YSp: The Baluchi nation has a long history as an oppressed people. Many people are nevertheless unfamiliar with Baluchistan. Can you tell us something of the recent history of the Baluchis under the yoke of imperialism?

Malek: My community, Baluchis, as are the Kurds, are divided by many states against their wishes. The Baluchis are divided between Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan and the Kurds are divided into Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria and the USSR. Both of these two groups have always struggled for a secular federal democratic system within the above-mentioned nation-states. They never demanded disintegration of these states, though the right of self-determination is recognized by all civilized traditions. The Baluchis in Iran have always been sympathetic to political and intellectual movements and propositions for equal rights for all nationalities in these countries.... For the Iranian officials every Baluch, every Kurd and every Turkoman has been a suspect. Within the general religious-minded Shi'ite population every Sunni, every Jew, every Christian and every Bahai is considered a non-believer, a heathen....

The governments of Iran and Pakistan have always collaborated treacherously against the Baluch people, especially against the politically aware and active Baluch individuals and groups.... In hundreds of thousands of cases members of the same families live on both sides of the Pakistan-Iran boundary. My parent's family and close relatives are almost equally divided between Pakistan and Iran. This happened just because the mini-imperialists of Islamabad and Teheran insist on enforcing the border drawn by the British imperialists and their Qajar puppets in Iran, dividing a helpless people and millions of their family members. Even inside both countries, the Baluchi regions are divided into artificial sub-units in order to change their regional majority to a minority.... However, this division and subdivision of Baluchi regions and the continuation

continued on page 10

Abolish the McCarran-Walter Act

Stop INS Exclusion of Homosexuals!

"Your friend has already informed us that you are a lesbian... what do you have to say to that?" "When was the last time you slept with a man?" "What do you do in bed?" "Do you deny you are a lesbian?"

These questions indicate the kind of harassment and intimidation inflicted on hundreds of women—many of them lesbians—as they attempted to cross the Canada-U.S. border into Michigan last summer to attend a women's music festival.

In San Francisco, more widely publicized cases have come to light of the pervasive control the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has over anyone crossing the border, and in particular its obsession with and vendetta against homosexuals. In this city known as the gay mecca of the U.S., a London antique dealer wearing a "Gay Pride" button was denied entry into the country by the INS last summer. Carl Hill took his case to court, and subsequently the Public Health Service announced August 2 that it would no longer conduct examinations referred to them by the INS to determine sexual orientation.

Though the liberal National Gay Task Force (NGTF) joyously announced that this ruling signaled an end to such harassment, the INS was not going to give up so easily. The very next day two Mexican men were detained as suspected homosexuals by San Francisco immigration authorities. The evidence consisted of a small gold ring in one ear lobe, and possession of what INS authorities suspected was a woman's handbag. Also presumably used as evidence was that both men freely acknowledged their homosexuality. The two men challenged the decision to bar them from entering the country and were admitted pending resolution of the issue by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel.

In a ten-page memorandum dated December 10, 1979, Assistant Attorney General John Harmon concluded that Congress clearly intended to include homosexuals within the category of persons afflicted with a "mental defect or disease" who are denied entry into the U.S. under the provisions of the Immigration and Nationalities Act (INA). The Public Health Service had earlier argued that "generally accepted cannons of medical practice with respect to homosexuality" no longer classify it as a "mental defect or disease." Moreover, "determination of homosexuality is not made through medical diagnostic procedure." Public health officers, trained in a science, are thus ill-equipped to believe in medievalist superstitions which lump homosexuality with viruses as a potential contaminant of the American population. Yet

the Justice Department ruled that "the INS is required nonetheless to enforce the Act's exclusionary provisions," even without the cooperation of public health officials.

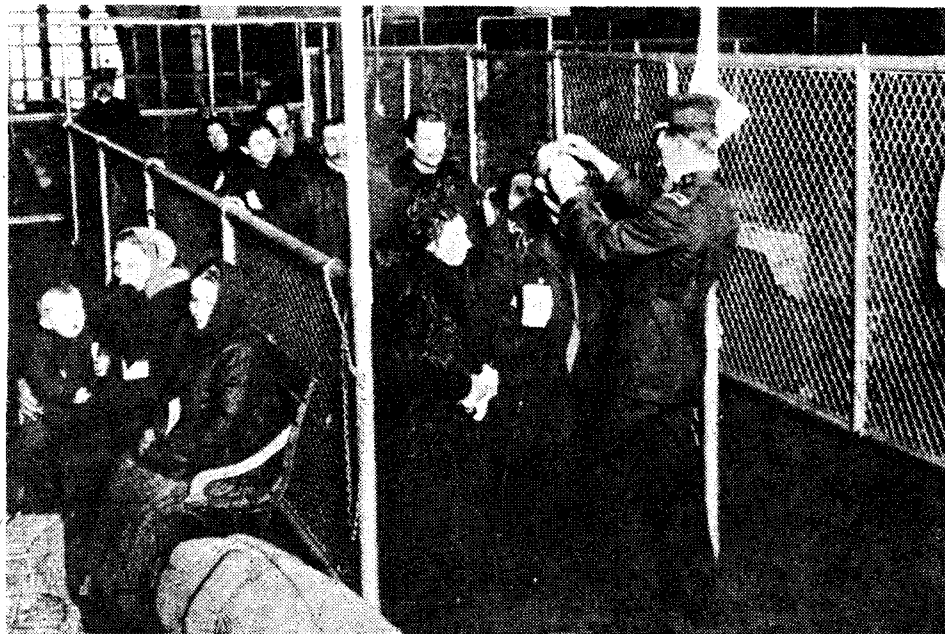
Thus, on December 29, a Mexican dress designer was stopped in San Francisco because he carried a suitcase containing—dresses! He also freely acknowledged his homosexuality and for this information was strip-searched, locked up, held incommunicado for 24 hours and denied entry into the country.

Product of McCarthyism

Where did this law come from? Best known as the "McCarran-Walter Act," the INA was part of a series of congressional legislation that contributed to the anti-communist hysteria of the 1950s. Homosexuals along with communists were targeted by a U.S. government which sought to whip up a frenzy about the "Soviet menace." Homosexuals were deemed unreliable and witch-hunted out of the government bureaucracy as potential informants and "comsymps."

Pat McCarran was a Democratic senator from Nevada. A gross, right-wing character, he was notorious for going down the line with the silver mine bosses. He made headlines in 1950 by sponsoring the "Internal Security Act," also known as the "Communist Control Act." Besides requiring registration of all communists and members of "communist front organizations," this act called for the establishment of detention camps for "known communists, potential spies and saboteurs," and barred application for or use of U.S. passports by members of "Communist Action Organizations" and "Communist front organizations." The act also included a proposal for setting up a new "special status" (read: carte blanche for the government) bureau of passports and visas in the State Department. The infamous phrase "contrary to the best interests of the U.S." came from the rulings spawned by this act.

McCarran's Immigration and Nationality Act was an omnibus bill designed to combine the existing immi-



INS officer inspecting immigrants at Ellis Island, early 1900s.

gration legislation and make it tougher for people to immigrate to the U.S. and easier for the government to deport them. Besides outlining grotesque indices for those of "special inferior status" ("attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to Asiatic races"), the law prohibits entry of aliens "afflicted with psychopathic personality," sexual deviation or mental defect.

INS statistics state that only 31 persons were barred for all medical and psychiatric reasons from 1971 to 1978. The NGTF, however, has different figures. They maintain that "private conversations with INS officers indicate closer to 2,000 people per year" are affected, and also that the INS has a well-known practice of intimidating and harassing people into withdrawing their applications for entry. The customs officials that guard U.S. borders keep their jobs not just through inhuman treatment of alien homosexuals seeking temporary visas, but also by systematically looking for "irregularities" in everyone entering the country—including U.S. citizens. This demonstrates that the status of democratic rights for homosexuals is a measure of real democracy for everyone. The harassment, intimidation and persecution of gays strengthens the

authoritarian and bonapartist mechanisms of the bourgeois state.

The U.S. is a haven for hundreds of Nazi war criminals, thousands of extreme right-wing terrorists like gusanos and Croatian nationalists and any number of deposed right-wing dictators. Among the latter are Syngman Rhee, Lon Nol and Nguyen Cao Ky. Batista and Somoza got the State Department's help in relocating to friendlier surroundings elsewhere—as did the shah. Why do we have to put up the friends of the murderers of Letelier? Extermination camp managers and guards? CIA agents past their prime? Murderers, torturers and general right-wing scum? Send them back for trial by their victims!

The crackdown against homosexuals by the INS is just one aspect of the right-wing turn in this country. As the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League has pointed out on many occasions, the state of democratic rights in capitalist society is determined by the strength and combativity of the working-class movement and not by any presumed beneficence on the part of the bourgeois state or its agencies. Building a revolutionary leadership within the working-class movement is the key to the struggle for democratic rights. Smash McCarran-Walter! ■

Chauvinist Anti-Iranian Deportation Order Upheld

Much to Jimmy Carter's electoral benefit, patriotic and anti-Iranian fervor have been growing in the U.S. ever since the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran by pro-Khomeini Islamic students last November. So swiftly did the chauvinist backlash take hold that Carter's November 10 directive ordering the round-up and deportation of all "illegal" Iranians living in the U.S. gave the notoriously corrupt Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which has been exposed in major media feature stories for its arbitrary, brutal, racist and corrupt practices, a big shot in the arm. "Suddenly the public is behind us," said one INS official. "We're even getting large numbers of complaints about Iranians. They're being turned in wholesale" (*New York Times*, November 19, 1979). From anti-Soviet trade sanctions and the Olympic boycott to his racist campaign against Iranians, Carter has

given a green light to the most rabid display of American chauvinism since Japanese-Americans were locked up in concentration camps in World War II.

After thousands of Iranians were forced to register with the INS and several were deported, a federal district court judge ordered a halt to special immigration checks of Iranians on December 11 and forbade the INS to use the information it had gathered. The judge ruled that, by singling out Iranians, Carter's deportation order violated the Fifth Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law.

A federal appeals court reversed this decision on December 27, giving the Carter administration the go-ahead to resume special immigration checks on the estimated 250,000 Iranians living in the U.S. and to begin deportation proceedings against any found to be here "illegally," or who do not report to

the INS as ordered.

Judge Roger Robb of the appeals court wrote, "... it is not the business of courts to pass judgment on the decisions of the president in the field of foreign policy" (*New York Times*, December 28). In other words, whenever the president decides that a group of "aliens" is a threat to "national security," all their rights can be suspended and the courts will go along with it. Undocumented workers during an economic slump, foreign nationals critical of U.S. policy, even American citizens who were born in an "enemy" country—all are threatened by Carter's police-state deportation order.

Iranian students are being used as pawns by a desperate and crazy American president. American students and working people must oppose the victimization of Iranians in the U.S. Stop the deportations! For workers revolution in Iran and the U.S.! ■

Spartacus Youth League
Forum

U.S. Imperialism's New Cold War

- Why Revolutionaries Defend the USSR
 - Defeat Reactionary Islamic Insurgents!
 - Hail! Red Army in Afghanistan!
- Speaker: Ed Clarkson,
Spartacist League
Central Committee

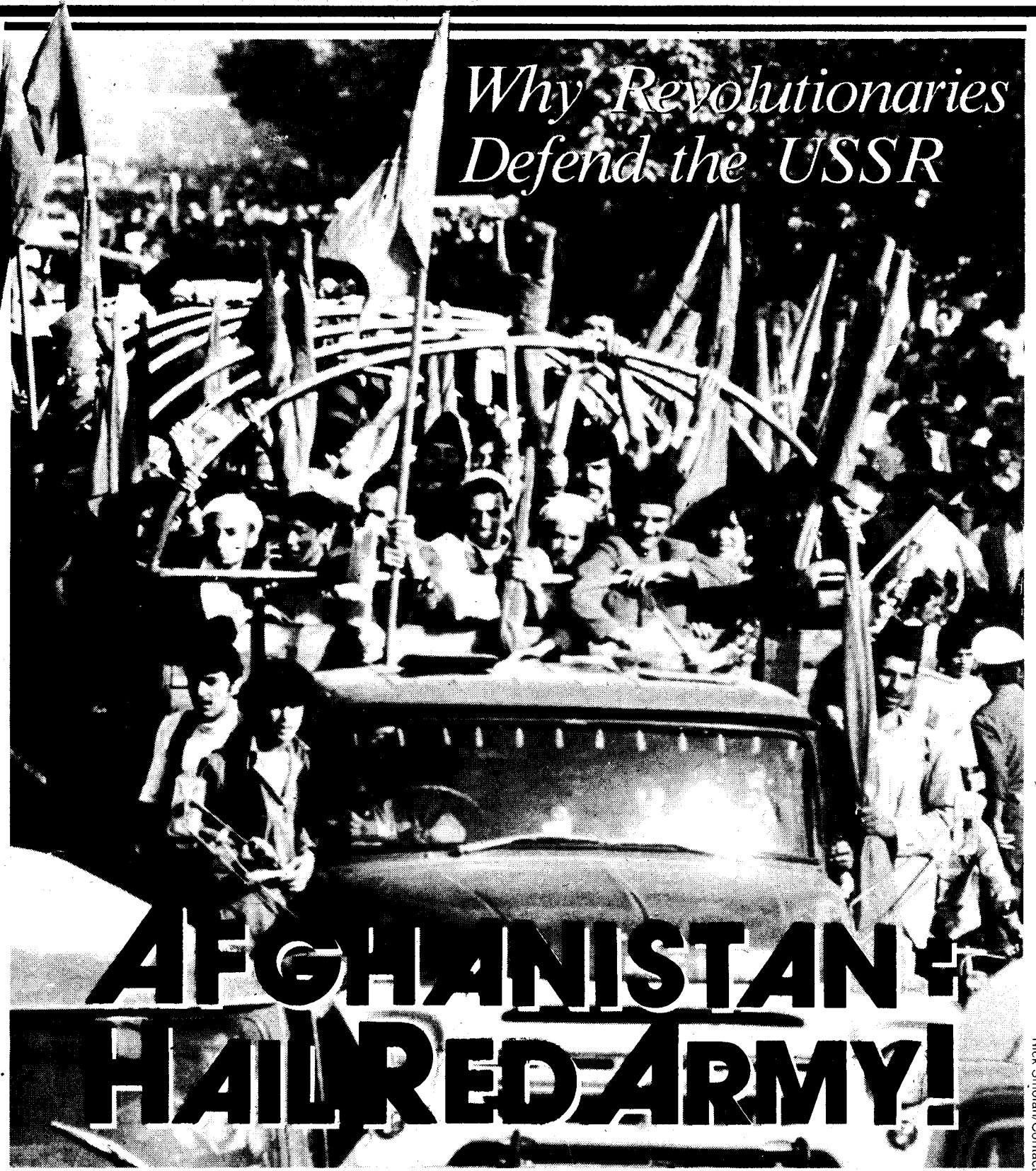
Friday, February 8
Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin
Madison

For room information:
see "Today in the Union"

We print below substantial sections of a public forum given at Cleveland State University January 24 by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour. The forum, entitled "U.S. Imperialism's New Cold War: Why Revolutionaries Defend the USSR!" was also given in Ann Arbor, Detroit, Toronto and New York. Comrade Seymour's talks highlighted the international Spartacist tendency's forthright support of Soviet military aid to the left-nationalist Afghanistan government as part of the struggle to defend and extend the social gains of the October Revolution. Amid the fanfare given the renewal of Cold War patriotic sentiment on college campuses (which parallels equally patriotic opposition to the draft) these forums attracted widespread interest.

So the president of the United States is talking like he's about to go to war over Afghanistan. Now most people in this country have never even heard of Afghanistan, they don't know where it is and they don't care about it and they're right. Afghanistan is one of the most backward nothing countries on earth. It has no economic and no strategic importance. About a year ago the *New York Times* wrote an editorial and said that Afghanistan is a footpath to nowhere, which about sums it up. So how does Carter generate all of this? We get one more version of the domino theory that's perhaps even more bizarre than the old version of the domino theory which is that from Afghanistan the Russkies are going to subvert Baluchistan and then they're going to take over Abu Dhabi and Qatar and therefore they're going to get their stranglehold on the Persian Gulf oil and they're going to freeze all of us Americans to death. And we have to get 'em before they do that.

That's crazy. Everybody knows it's crazy except Carter. Unfortunately Carter is sitting on more nuclear weapons than you could imagine. At one level we are being ruled by a madman who actually believes that the Russians are on the path to take over the world via the route of Afghanistan and Baluchistan.... Anybody who believes that Jimmy Carter has suddenly become this militant anti-Soviet over the take-over of Afghanistan believes in the tooth fairy. And in fact, the end of détente, what was "détente," and the beginning of a rather serious war drive long antedates the landing of five or six or seven divisions of the Soviet army in Kabul. And in fact, at the level which counts, the military level, Carter has been on a war drive for the past period. Insofar as one wants to give it a date, probably the China/Vietnam war was a turning point. It is clear that in this case the U.S. at least approved of and perhaps encouraged the Chinese to attack an ally of the Soviet Union. That is, that the diplomatic huffing and puffing was transformed into the military plane. And we also have to understand that in the past six months,



the U.S. has taken a qualitative step on the military level. So the Cold War started well before Afghanistan. And in fact, if one looks at the economy, you have an almost grotesque caricature of the guns vs. butter situation. The military budget is supposed to increase by five and a half percent every year—at the beginning of a major recession, with thousands of layoffs already in auto and steel, with real wages falling for more than a year and at the same time, one has... armaments stocks going up as soon as the troops went into Afghanistan.

"Détente"—The Fraud of Peaceful Coexistence

So here's where the question of détente comes into its own. Because in order to understand the so-called death of détente one has to understand the birth of détente. Basically I think that the origins of détente can be summarized in one word: Vietnam. Or more

precisely, the *defeat* of U.S. imperialism by the forces of the South Vietnamese workers and peasants and the North Vietnamese army. And that defeat produced détente at two levels: on the one hand, the United States hoped and presumed that by making certain concessions, economic and diplomatic, like recognizing East Germany, it could induce the Soviet regime to put pressure on the North Vietnamese not to carry the war through in the South. The other element (which from the standpoint of revolutionaries is more important) is that Vietnam affected a very considerable change in the attitude of the American people and particularly the generation which fought it and came of age during that time, toward the Cold War, toward anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. So that I don't know how many thousands of Americans were killed.... Every night on TV you saw American planes bombing defenseless Vietnamese villagers...you could

Sipa/Black Star

see the American army killing 10,000 defenseless people every day for six to seven years. And for what? For a government one of whose passing presidents described that his hero was Adolf Hitler. So this didn't sit very well. What could be called enthusiasm for the great crusade against godless, aggressive, etc. communism died along with much else in the swamps of Vietnam.

One had in the early '70s, therefore, a popular mood which could be termed a kind of pacifistic isolationism. Some of the manifestations of the so-called "me generation" were not very healthy ones for communists but neither were they very healthy ones for the Cold War. Because on the one hand, the draft became deeply unpopular and on the other hand, the draftees became extremely unpopular with their officers. So in the last years of the Vietnam War the American army turned into a bunch of spaced-out pot heads who would just as soon frag their own officers as the Vietcong. So the American ruling class got rid of the draft because a lot of people didn't like it, and they thought a smaller and more limited army would be more reliable. But who volunteers? A bunch of black lumpens. So this army's not very reliable and that's a damned good thing. The draft army's no damned good unless there's some level of ideological commitment on the part of the draftees. The old Prussian feudal army worked but we're not living in that kind of society.

Carter Ignites Cold War

So what's happened in this country is to a certain extent the *popular* support for a new cold war—or more specifically—the preparation for a new



Soviet tanks rescue left-nationalist regime in Kabul.

hot war is lagging behind the actual policies of the Carter administration. In the last months you had some insane anti-Soviet provocations—this kidnapping of the Soviet ballerina, that they actually held a Soviet plane for 72 hours with 40 some odd people. Reverse it: imagine the KGB walked into Moscow airport and stopped a plane for 72 hours and you try to convince an American citizen that he should defect. The Polaris missiles would certainly be on their way out of the North Sea about 12 hours later.

And then there's this ridiculous stuff about Cuba, where they discovered the great Soviet menace in one of the divisions who've been there 15 years or something like that. So what's with Afghanistan? Whatever Jimmy Carter believes, fundamentally it's a pretext, but an important one. And that is, the effect of it is to bring the formal diplomatic posture into line with the real policies that have been going on at the military level and diplomatically but under the table. You have Brown dispatched to China. He says, now we have to coordinate our defense policies as well as our diplomatic—that's what they've been coordinating for years. Everybody knows it too, but now they can say it. All of these diplomatic games are ultimately the result of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. But of course the main aim is not diplomatic, but is rather to engender in the American people this kind of hate-Russia, fear-Russia hysteria. If you confront the Soviets at every point on the globe, there is the real possibility that one of these confrontations will lead to war.

Why Afghanistan?

The key analytically is that Afghanistan has long been in the Soviet sphere of influence, not for the last couple of years, you know, since the so-called revolution of April 1978, but for decades. That is, most of the weapons in the Afghani army, not just the last couple years, but in the last 30 years, have been supplied by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union spent more for aid per capita for decades on Afghanistan than on any country outside of its own bloc. Most of the school teachers, most of the civil service, most of the officers in Afghanistan... were trained in the Soviet Union. And that's sort of the key to what's happening at a couple of levels. Because these Afghani intellectuals went not only to European Russia but they also saw Soviet Central Asia, which two generations ago socially and economically was like Afghanistan is today.

So these Afghanis went to a society in which women were not degraded slaves of their husbands and fathers. The difference can be expressed in terms of statistics. That the illiteracy rate in Afghanistan is about 98 percent. In Uzbekistan, which is the largest of the Soviet Central Asian provinces, it is probably zero, maybe a few old men and women don't know how to read. Everybody else can read. The life expectancy in Afghanistan is about 40. And it's probably a lot less now. The life expectancy in Uzbekistan is 70. I think

that's higher than in the United States. There is one doctor for every 380 people in Uzbekistan. There is one doctor for every 6,000 people in Pakistan. There's probably no doctors in Afghanistan. And if there were, the rebels would have killed them by now. And if you compare Afghanistan to Uzbekistan, the difference is night and day.

This myth that the Soviets invaded Afghanistan because they are afraid of Islamic fundamentalism infecting Soviet Central Asia is not merely bullshit, it's not merely wishful thinking, it's the exact opposite of what happened. Now people say that the Russians have invaded. You see the pictures. Overwhelmingly, the soldiers in Afghanistan in the Soviet army are from Central Asia. They're Uzbeks and Tajiks. They are not European Russians. So presumably, the people who they are afraid are going to be infected are exactly the people who are fighting the virus. And there's a logic there. Because these people, their grandfathers and their great grandfathers were people who lived in the same kind of squalidness and backwardness that exists in Afghanistan. So in fact, the European Russians would be much less committed to the liberation of Afghanistan than the young soldier who only has to walk into a village and see his own past.

Now, of course, this has a history. So that in the mid-1960s a group of mainly Soviet-trained intellectuals formed the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. This was basically a pro-Soviet, pro-Stalinist petty-bourgeois nationalist party. It was a party mainly consisting of school teachers, government officials and junior army officers. That is, a rather large section of the country's very small intellectual elite. And the leader of the party, interestingly enough, this man Taraki, was the country's best-known writer. In the 1940s he was the cultural attaché to Washington, a very prominent leader.

In 1978, the government, partly under the pressure of the shah and behind him, of the U.S., attempted a crackdown on this party. It assassinated one of the party leaders. There were mass demonstrations. And the officers in the party, loyal to this party, rose up and overthrew the Daoud dictatorship. And they established the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a secular republic—not Islamic—and started to carry out a series of reforms. And remember, we are talking about a society that by and large has not changed, not merely in a century or two centuries, but in 20 centuries.

Down with Islamic Reaction— For Women's Liberation!

There's a bride price, you know, which is codified in Islamic law. So the government didn't eliminate the bride price because they wanted to be somewhat conservative. They simply reduced it. But the bride price is important, because it means that in order to buy their wives, most of the population goes into debt to money lenders for years. And of course, the mullahs, that is the religious leaders, get their cut. In a population of maybe 17 or 19 million there are 250,000 mullahs, priests, living off the blood of a very poor population.

Sipa/Black Star

You cut the bride price, you're cutting one of their main sources of income. The regime's limited efforts at democratic reform, like reducing the bride price, provoked a major insurgency led by the mullahs, the usurers and landlords. In summing up what they're fighting for, one of the rebel chiefs told a *New York Times* reporter: "This is the way we have lived for twenty centuries. It is a good way."

Women in Afghanistan have to wear the veil. It's not like a yarmulka. It's not rosary beads. It's not some sort of little frill that you wear. What are we talking about when we talk about Afghani women? A typical veil, *chador*, is 30 yards of muslin, heavy cotton. And the way it's made, it's folded into half-inch strips. So you sort of wear it around you, you know, a half inch. You know, it's open. So you have these women with this enormous weight and there are not even eye slits. You just sort of open them up so you're looking through a grill.

gary and Czechoslovakia were different. And our attitude toward them was different. A main difference is that Hungary and Czechoslovakia were societies of the same type as the Soviet Union, which we would characterize as bureaucratically deformed workers states. In Hungary in '56 one had a proletarian uprising against that bureaucracy. The uprising had the rudiments of workers power, and most of the leaders of that uprising considered themselves communists or socialists of some sort. In Czechoslovakia in 1968, you had a Stalinist regime which was being forced to liberalize. And therefore the possibilities for development of a revolutionary workers movement and a political revolution existed.

Just because Carter or the U.S. denounces the Soviet action somewhere doesn't necessarily mean that it's positive, which is another way of saying that we're not Stalinists. We are for the Soviet Union in a historic sense but we

David Burnett/Contact



Baluchi rebels on Afghanistan/Pakistan border.

And the roads in Afghanistan are not paved. So you walk on them, all the dust comes up and you are breathing dust. And when it rains, 30 yards of muslin hold the rain and these women are walking around, you know, carrying their baby because they're always pregnant, right? So the veil is and is meant to be a prison. It's an instrument of torture. Not less so, but probably more so, than people who are working on chain gangs. And this is the good life of Afghanistan.

So we say yes, "Hail the Soviet Army." If they transform Afghanistan into anything like Soviet Central Asia it will be an enormous liberation. Now, of course, Brezhnev did not send an army into Afghanistan because he's suddenly become interested in liberation of Afghani women, or become interested in alleviating the poverty of the Afghani peasantry although that may well be the outcome. But mainly for reasons having to do with a conflict rather more important than the one in Afghanistan, namely the Cold War, which can turn into a hot war.

So Brezhnev has been very conciliatory. On the one hand, first he sees Carter on an all-out arms drive, openly seeking first-strike nuclear weapons. Then he sees Carter in his diplomatic provocations. Now with the hostage crisis he sees Carter threatening to invade Iran, which is right on the Soviet border. And then there's a reactionary rebellion, insurgency in Afghanistan which is backed by the U.S., mainly through Pakistan, but perhaps somewhat directly. So he moves in, to defend his sphere of influence.

Well, it's a good thing on a couple of levels. Now, we say "Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan." We don't say "Hail the Red Army" always and in general. And Carter, who while crazy is not completely lacking a sense of publicity, got on TV and said this is the third time that the Russians have invaded outside. He said, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. Well, Hun-

are not for that leadership. And it's not only inside the Soviet bloc, but Soviet intervention in capitalist countries can also be reactionary. And one thinks for example of Ethiopia where the Cuban army and the Soviets in general are placing themselves in the service of a man who can best be described as a left-talking Idi Amin. This guy Mengistu as far as one can tell has done his best to kill every young leftist, every militant worker, every Eritrean and every Somali in Ethiopia. And the Soviets and the Cubans have acted as his military arm. We don't support that. They're fighting on the wrong side, they should be defeated.

Right now the 80 or 90 or 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan raise for us Trotskyists a couple of very important questions: one, it raises the possibility which did not exist under the old regime, which after all was essentially a bourgeois regime, of a social revolution. Now the Soviet policy, even before the invasion, was not to push forward these reforms but if anything to slow them down. Brezhnev says he's just going to crush the rebellion and pull out: that would be a crime, to leave Afghanistan as it is. To have the power of the mullahs unbroken at the base, the power of the money lenders—that would be a real crime, not the invasion, but the pulling out. That's a possibility. It seems likely that what is going to happen is a deformed social revolution, from above, from the Russian army, mainly because Afghanistan is too backward to have an indigenous social revolution. Now it's not what one would like to see, but it is nonetheless progressive. It would be a good thing.

The other point is that precisely because basically the Soviet army is the power in Afghanistan right now, it means that effectively the Soviet Union has militarily extended itself into Af-

continued on page 8



Chinese foreign minister with CIA-backed Afghani feudalists in Pakistan.

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 7)

ghanistan. And the question of the defense of the Soviet Union directly is posed in the Afghanistan invasion. For us communists, for us Trotskyists, that is a principled and important question.

Unconditional military support for the Soviet Union should be the ABCs for a Trotskyist. Unfortunately most of the groups that call themselves Trotskyists are not, and for them it's not an ABC.... The attitude of the ostensible Trotskyists is entirely bound up with their attitude toward Iran and the so-

exchange stock, right? You don't hire a lawyer which in itself may be a good thing. You write a very involved contract and you have laws, partnership—no. What you do is you marry your daughter to his son or vice versa. And then your children inherit the businesses. So these forced marriages have an important economic purpose in these societies. It's a way of accumulating wealth. And therefore, when you tell one of these people that his daughters should be free to marry who they like, or free to divorce, it's not just a question of some sort of male chauvinist prejudice. You're taking away one of the key means of the way he gets wealth, and that's why he wants to

Spartacist Britain



Marxism vs. Islamic reaction: Left, Spartacist League/Britain demo in London. Right, reactionary Islamic mobilization in San Francisco.

called Islamic revolution. The Spartacist League was unique, not only among the ostensible Trotskyists but perhaps on the left—by saying that the so-called Islamic revolution represents a reactionary mobilization against the shah, who is also a reactionary. But all these other groups simply saw the masses in the streets, the vague anti-imperialist rhetoric, and rah-rah, right on, the Islamic revolution—which naturally conditions their attitude toward Afghanistan, because in Afghanistan you have a movement which not only ideologically is similar to Khomeini's, but is in fact supported by him, not merely after the Soviet invasion, but before.

SWP: Shi'ite Social Democrats

The American fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) defends the Soviet army, but it does so by an argument that is sophomoric and absurd. But there's a political purpose to that, because basically they still want to appeal to liberals and at the same time to prettify Khomeini. For Marxists, Islamic fundamentalism is reactionary. But the SWP can't say that because of their position on Iran. This is how they characterize the rebels: "Virtually all of the groups claim to be fighting in the name of Islam against the godless regime in Kabul. But this was nothing more than a cover for their counter-revolutionary aims." So obviously when you see all these pictures of these guys praying...it's all Israeli Zionists, it's staged in the Golan Heights, there are no Islamic fundamentalists. But basically religion—religious doctrines, religious laws—represent the way of life of the ruling class. That's what religion is all about...the interests, the way of life of the rulers are sanctified, they're given a kind of supernatural premise. This is the ABC of Marxism. This is not some peculiar Spartacist talk. If you read the *Communist Manifesto* it says that.

Now I made a lot of the woman question. Women are brutalized and enslaved not because their husbands are male chauvinists—they have bad ideas, they should go to a consciousness-raising session.... Nor are Afghans unusually sadistic. The enslavement of women has an economic purpose; it's related to the class structure of that society. The enslavement of women is key to the economic workings of a pre-capitalist society. So that if you're an Afghani or a Pakistani merchant, and you want to merge your business with some other merchant, well you don't

kill you. And he will kill you. Unless you kill him or have the power so that he doesn't even think about it.

And these are the ABCs. To break the power of Islam and the reactionary laws of Islam...the ERA won't quite do. Right? Not in Afghanistan. You have to break the power of that class in society and in the present epoch the only way to do that is through the overthrow of capitalist property forms. Because the way it was done in the West, the bourgeois democratic revolutions, cannot occur in the modern East.

Those of you who are familiar with the SWP know that for them every problem in international and domestic politics is always reduced to the right of self-determination. Cuban revolution, poor little Cuba, being bullied by the U.S. Poor little Vietnam. Nothing about social revolution and that Russia's usually in the background. So during the China/Vietnam war they managed to write two editorial statements which did not mention the existence of the Soviet Union. So along comes Afghanistan, and they can't duck the Russian question on this one! No way. How are they going to pretend that the Russian troops aren't there?

So according to the SWP, the reason that the U.S. moved in is because they're afraid of the "Afghani Revolution," this great world-historic radicalizing force. According to the *Militant*, "the issue is not Soviet intervention" (nobody in the world believes that!) "but of growing U.S. intervention and taking back the gains won by the Afghani masses." This is bizarre. To try to turn this into some kind of self-determination for the Afghani revolution is an exercise in a willful denial of reality.

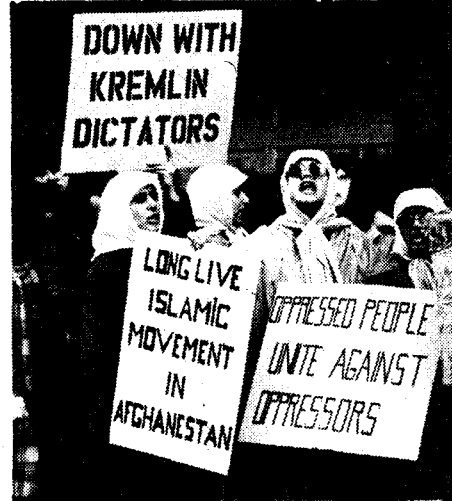
For Military Defense of the Soviet Union!

Carter is not known for his sense of history. Nonetheless, in one of his speeches last fall he made an interesting [statement]. He says, "We have had serious differences with Russia since 1917." Not under the tsar, right, which in fact was basically true: the U.S. and tsarist Russia got along pretty good. So it all goes back to the Russian October or Bolshevik Revolution. And that's really what we're talking about. Afghanistan, the missiles, the draft, everything has its origins in this, which is far and away the greatest event in modern history.

What happened in 1917 is that the socialist idea became realized in a

potentially powerful country—Russia. For the first time the working masses, the proletariat and peasantry, ruled directly. And the term soviet, incidentally, is simply the Russian term for workers council. For the first time in history, the capitalist class was expropriated, and had the beginnings of a rationally planned economy, under terrible conditions, conditions of civil war and the exhaustion of [imperialist] war but nonetheless the beginning.

The Russian Revolution was not seen as narrowly economic, or even narrowly class. To take a peripheral but somewhat symptomatic issue, the Soviet Union was the first country in the world, in 1921, to abolish all discrimination



Right, reactionary Islamic mobilization in San Francisco.

against homosexuals.

The Bolshevik Revolution was viewed, not by a small group of people, but by most socialist workers, as *their* revolution, under very bad conditions in a country which was (a) backward and (b) devastated; but it was their revolution. And also the peoples of the East, in China, in Korea, saw the Russian Revolution as overthrowing the shackles of imperialism. So it had an impact not even narrowly on the industrial proletariat of the advanced countries, but also gave rise for the first time to mass working-class parties [in the East].

Well, Russia doesn't look like that now. It doesn't have that effect, particularly not in the U.S., but also not in Western Europe or in Japan and the backward countries. So what you see is a kind of gray police state in which the minimal democratic rights American workers enjoy, the right to strike, to participate in politics, do not exist. All political opposition is crushed by police. I'm not talking about people like Sakharov, that is, pro-imperialists who call upon the imperialists to take action. I'm talking about people who raise demands within the framework of upholding the gains of that revolution.

Although the extremes of poverty and wealth that exist in the U.S. certainly do not exist, [in the Soviet Union] one has an obviously economically privileged elite, the bureaucracy.

So what happened between the Russia of 1917-1918, which inspired a

majority of the class-conscious socialist workers in the world to defend it, and the Russia of today? Russia emerged from the revolution after four years of war and two or three years of civil war exhausted economically. Industry was destroyed, the urban working class was decimated. And [the Soviet state] began to evince a tendency toward bureaucratism. The conditions in the country were very bad, and it was also isolated.

So Trotsky tried to sum it up in a simple analogy. He said that when food is scarce, people have to line up to buy bread. And when it's very scarce, the line grows long and you have trouble; some people are trying to get ahead and it becomes unruly. So you need a policeman to keep order. Well, somehow the policeman always makes sure that whatever bread's available, he gets. And that's basically what happened: the Soviet bureaucracy. And it tended to coalesce in an internal struggle in the early 1920s between the figures of Stalin and Trotsky. The ideological expression of it was the doctrine of "socialism in one country." What Stalin said was, "Yes, we can build socialism in Russia." And as Trotsky said, what he meant was that for the bureaucracy, the fruits of socialism had arrived. And Trotsky said, "No, the only way one can create the conditions for socialism in Russia, socialism as Marxists had always understood it, is by extending the world revolution."

For Political Revolution in the Deformed and Degenerated Workers States!

Now, Carter, and not only Carter, always pushes the idea that the Soviet bureaucracy is expanding and wants to communize Afghanistan...you know, first Afghanistan and then us. Which is the exact opposite of the truth. Because the existence of that bureaucracy is based on the isolation of the Soviet Union, which finds its ideological expression in the notion of "socialism in one country." The thing that would lead to an immediate mass upheaval in the Soviet Union is a proletarian revolution in the U.S. or in the advanced capitalist countries in general. Because that bureaucracy rules on the basis of a real state of siege. The entire foreign policy, far from being expansionist and aggressive, and seeking to communize the world, is just the opposite. It's to conciliate.

If you look at the history since the 1930s, at every point the Soviet Union has, at least in the advanced capitalist countries with respect to proletarian revolution, played a counterrevolutionary role. In the Spanish civil war, after World War II, when proletarian revolution was possible in Italy and France, the Soviet Union moved against it, moved to give back West Europe and Japan to the United States. These are the real crimes. And they did so basically to preserve themselves. So as Trotsky summed it up, the Soviet

continued on page 11

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 825
Canal Street Station, New York, NY
10013

Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, Room
4102 Michigan Union, Univ. of
Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, or
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Bay Area: SYL, Box 273, Civic
Center Station, Oakland, CA
94604, or call (415) 863-6963

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5138

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Houston, TX 77207

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Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA
90029, or call (213) 662-1564

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Street Station, New York, NY 10013,
or call (212) 925-5665

San Diego: SYL, Box 2034, Chula
Vista, CA 92012

Santa Cruz: SYL, Box 2842, Santa
Cruz, CA 95063, or call (408) 426-
3769

Trotskyist League of Canada

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Toronto, Ontario, or call (416)
593-4138

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A,
Vancouver, B.C., or call (604) 224-
0805

Winnipeg: Box 3952, Station B,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, or call (204)
589-7214

TLD...

(continued from page 1)

berg, one comrade received a knife wound in the abdomen, another was beaten unconscious, the others got teeth knocked out and serious blows to the ears. The woman who attempted to speak received a series of vicious kicks to the abdomen. It is clear that these right-wing thugs planned to maim and kill.

The Islamic fanatics and their Maoist goons particularly singled out Fred Zierenberg for attack. Zierenberg, a leading spokesman for the TLD and a trade unionist for more than ten years, was immediately surrounded at the "Fight Back" signal and knifed from behind, receiving a potentially mortal wound that resulted in a 30 percent collapse of one lung. He required an emergency operation, was in danger of losing his life and is still recovering in the Frankfurt hospital.

The TLD was targeted for the bloody assault because of its outspoken support for the Red Army in Afghanistan and its well-known opposition to Islamic reaction.

After fighting their way out of the room, the TLD comrades reassembled outside chanting, "Down with NATO! Hail the Red Army!" They announced that a TLD public meeting on Afghanistan scheduled for January 29 would be held as planned, despite threats of disruption from the Afghani reactionaries.

The TLD meeting was held, with substantial defense by members of the iSt, and the attempt to impose the norms of an "Islamic Republic" at Frankfurt University was successfully repelled. Members of several other left organizations participated in the defense.

Like the pro-Khomeini Iranian students who last year attempted to disrupt forums sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League of the U.S., the Afghani reactionaries in Germany and their Maoist accomplices will learn that the voice of authentic Trotskyism will be heard. Drawing the Russian question in blood, this attack has only steeled the determination of the TLD to win new recruits to Trotskyism. Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan! Smash Islamic Reaction! We Will Not Be Silenced! ■

Draft...

(continued from page 1)

the first time in decades thousands of students are again "proud to be American." As might be expected the draft issue has polarized the campuses. The anti-draft protests have provoked a right-wing "love-it-or-leave-it" counter-mobilization on the campuses from Columbia University to the University of Chicago to the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Raving right-wing students staged a counterdemonstration in reaction to the SYL-initiated rally at the University of Chicago. The pro-imperialist demon-

strators brandished signs reading: "Liberate Soviet Empire from Totalitarianism," "Tass doesn't speak for the Russian people" and "To hell with the SYL." At the January 30 Columbia anti-draft rally, right-wing students seized the historic statue Alma Mater at Low Library and draped her in an enormous American flag. They scuffled with anarchists who burned an American flag in protest and menaced the SYL for carrying a banner which not only opposed the draft but proclaimed, "Hail Red Army!" But the SYL stood its ground against the super-patriots.

The rally at Columbia, once a hotbed of radicalism, typified the social-patriotic pacifism which has characterized many of the anti-draft protests. The rally began with a grotesque display of nostalgia for the New Left, replete with guerrilla theater, costumed figures parading on stilts, a percussion band and "flower-power" banners fluttering in the breeze. Like many of the rallies across the country it was called to protest "peacetime" conscription. And what if there is a war? Well, no one wants to die for Afghanistan, but if it's a war to contain the "Russkies," that's a different question. Hundreds of students chant "Hell no, we won't go" and in the next breath rail against "Soviet aggression." The message is clear: "We may be draft dodgers, but we're good patriots."

Well, somebody's got to go. The U.S. bourgeoisie will have its army and it will fight its wars. Nobody's protesting the volunteer army. The only people concerned about the volunteer army are the American bourgeoisie and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They're concerned because the piddling \$419 a month they offered for the "New Action Army" attracted mainly poor black youth. One of the Pentagon's underlying fears is that the current army just won't fight. They rightly recognize that blacks have little stake in defending Carter's America. Perhaps they remember Muhammed Ali's comment during the Vietnam war, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger," and know this expressed the attitude of most black youth. The military brass doesn't want an army of lumpen victims of oppression, but one which will identify with the U.S. government's appetite to police the world.

Much of the opposition to the draft is based on white, middle-class resentment that there is no provision for student deferments. The old 2S deferment assured the bourgeoisie that their sons could hide away at school while working-class and black youth died in the swamps of Vietnam. As Marxists we oppose any such system of blatant class privilege, not because we want everyone to do their fair share to defend American capitalism, but because we oppose all forms of class, race and sex discrimination. For that reason, if there is to be a draft, students, women and homosexuals should not be exempted.

And while we oppose the draft, we are also opposed to the impotent strategy of individual draft resistance. During the Vietnam war this pacifist policy effectively purged the army of those radicals who could have and should have organized the mass of working-class draftees against the war. Refusing military service has never been an option for the tens of thousands of working-class youth who have been drafted.

Where Have All the Liberals Gone?

So this is an election year. The draft has of course become an issue for the candidates. Carter's acting as if he'd rather be the last president than not president at all. He's stolen the thunder from all the Republican candidates by wrapping himself in the flag, draft registration and the politics of the "new" Cold War. In a pathetic attempt to scramble back into the running, Ted "Loser" Kennedy ended up talking out of both sides of his mouth in a speech at Georgetown University. First, in a play



Draft card burning in 1960s.

for the sorry remnants of liberalism he came out against a "peacetime" draft or registration and resurrected some of his old hobbyhorses like the national medical health plan. Then, he turned around and denounced Carter for being soft on the Russians. Kennedy alleges Carter invited the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by refusing to get tough with the Russians over their troops in Cuba, which have been stationed there since Teddy's older brother was president! And of course, in the event of a "real emergency," i.e. war, Kennedy would certainly support the draft. There's not a dime's worth of difference between the bourgeois candidates: all agree that U.S. imperialism must be armed to the teeth against the Soviets and all would, given the chance, throw an entire generation on the scrap heap to recapture the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation.

For the Red Army Against Islamic Reaction!

The bourgeois media has been working overtime to build sympathy for the "freedom-loving" rebels battling the Soviet troops and tanks in Afghanistan. But try as they may it is difficult to depict the Russians as tyrants forcing a totalitarian regime on a land of simple people enjoying peaceful progress. Afghanistan is one of the most wretchedly backward countries on earth: women are still sold like chattel; 95 percent of the country is illiterate; and life expectancy is only 40 years!

Moreover, the hypocrisy of the U.S. ruling class is transparent. One day, beating the war drums against Khomeini, Carter rails against "Islamic terrorists" in Iran—only to turn around the next day and offer the imam the olive branch and U.S. protection for the "deeply religious Moslem people" against the "godless Communists" of Russia! What a hoax! If only Khomeini will release the hostages, sober up and realize that the main enemy is the Soviet Union in the north, Carter is willing to give this medieval fanatic massive military and economic aid. If America's youth couldn't stomach fighting to keep the brutal dictator Ky in Saigon it is hard to believe they would want to fight to put the Khomeinis of Afghanistan back in power in Kabul.

We stand with the Red Army against Islamic reaction. The forces backed by U.S. imperialism are fighting to maintain the veil, bride price, usury, serfdom and the squalor of a feudal society. The U.S. bourgeoisie is trying to secure a place in the Persian Gulf by backing regimes that are every bit as tyrannical and reactionary as those of the shah and Khomeini. General Zia of Pakistan, the self-appointed "soldier of Islam," has now become the voice of the "free world" in the Middle East. Yet Pakistan has been under the jackboot of martial law since Zia assumed the reigns of power. And this "forward-looking democrat" has instituted the corporal punishments dictated by the Koran—floggings and amputations. These are the freedom-loving forces that "democratic" imperialism seeks to protect

against the Soviet menace.

The real target of Carter's war drive is the USSR. We unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Despite the massive bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet workers state since the time of Lenin and Trotsky and the absence of workers democracy, Marxists recognize that the planned economy and collectivized property are a great historic advance for mankind and must be defended.

While we hail the Red Army in Afghanistan we in no way place political confidence in the Stalinist bureaucracy or the left-nationalists in Kabul. We do not support the reactionary ploys of Kremlin foreign policy. When the Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary in 1956 to crush a workers uprising and the workers councils which supported socialist property relations, we opposed them. And while the Soviets at times intervene on behalf of oppressed colonial revolts against the imperialists (as they did in backing the Cubans and the MPLA against the CIA-South African forces in Angola) they are equally capable of backing a blood-soaked tyrant like Mengistu of Ethiopia against the just national struggles of the Eritrean and Somali peoples. Only workers political revolution can oust the parasitic nationalist bureaucracy and open the road to socialism.

Fight for a Socialist Future

The obsession with "personal growth" and "self-fulfillment" of the 1970s has bred a generation which believes that nothing is worth fighting for. The protest movements of today largely ignore the countless crimes of imperialism and assail "technology" as the source of all evil. Everyone wants to forget about the past, especially Vietnam. So they demonstrate to stop nuclear power, save the whales...and now to save their ass.

The SYL believes there's something worth fighting for—a socialist future. We're seeking to build a revolutionary youth movement and a revolutionary working-class party to overthrow the desperate capitalist class that has brought the world to the brink of nuclear destruction.

The only road to peace is through socialist revolution. The "Resolution on Youth" of the founding conference of the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1938 retains all of its relevancy today:

"...only the Bolshevik-Leninists can promise youth a future in which it can put its abilities to full use. Only they can say to the youth: 'Together with you, we want to make a new world, where everyone works and is proud to work well, to know his job down to the smallest details; a world where everyone will eat according to his hunger, for production will be regulated according to the needs of the workers and not those of profit; a world where one must constantly learn, in order the better to subordinate the forces of nature to the will of man; a world where, by ceaselessly extending the domain of the application of science, humanity's theoretical knowledge will daily be increased; a new world; a new man who can make real all the hopes and powers he bears within him.'"

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YSp 79

Malek Towghi...

(continued from page 4)

of dictatorial regimes in Pakistan has always been resisted by the Baluch people....

YSp: When you moved to Iran, did you and your family suffer harassment? What experiences can you tell us about which illustrate the repression of the shah's rule against national minorities?

Malek: My family, especially my two sons Farough and Omar, suffered and were insulted, sometimes beaten by other children, and teased in various ways because of their typically Sunni names. We were denied the privilege of renting a house many times or forced to vacate already rented houses because of our religious background.... Another excuse for the landlords to harass my family was the fact that I never had any big portraits of the ruling family on the walls of my rented house.... One landlady used to compel my five-year-old son Omar to kiss the pictures of the shah and bow before the portrait of the royal family. Then she would tell him, "Now you are a good boy, but I don't like your name—ask your father to change your name." This type of inhumane treatment of my innocent son sometimes took place in front of my helpless wife and she would relate it to me later with tears in her eyes....

YSp: How did you become an opponent of the shah?

Malek: After joining Radio Iran where my services were needed, due to my perfect knowledge of Urdu/Hindi language, my professional media background...I remained honest to my professional duties as program director. Though my superiors were satisfied with my performance, I came to know, gradually, about the conditions of my people and other peoples of Iran in general. I came to realize that the first condition to survive physically in Iran is to shut one's mouth and mind to all types of political talk and thought. One could open his mouth only in praise of the shah and his family. I abided by this, but slowly creeping frustration revived my potentials for poetry, which I had buried long before....

My resurfaced poetry was enough to prove for the Iranian intelligence authorities that I was a "thinking animal".... A poem caused me two years forced military service as a private, though I was exempted before....

After surviving the shock of two years of military service as a private and showing a "satisfactory" conduct during this period, I was reinstated as a program director in Radio Iran (now NIRT).... During the second phase of my career with NIRT, I maintained my reputation as a hard-working, efficient, honest and qualified program director in the related fields, though I failed to pass other "examinations" which are so necessary to pass in the Iranian society, if one wants to enjoy the "fringe benefits" and desires to be left in safety

and with peace of mind....

YSp: Can you tell us about the continuing attempt to deport you and your family from the U.S.?

Malek: I applied during the shah's reign for asylum in the U.S. My papers were finally rejected before the shah was overthrown. Further problems with my passport were created after the present Islamic government of Khomeini came into being. Soon after the overthrow of the previous regime, Khomeini's government exposed itself for what it was. Shortly after the revolution I came to realize that Khomeini's government's attitude toward the historically oppressed nationalities and religious minorities of Iran was worse than that of the shah.

As a result of my connection with the oppressed nationalities of Iran and my open criticism of Khomeini's regime the Iranian authorities and Iranian supporters of Khomeini's regime have created problems for me and my family. They have tried to intimidate us in different ways. My passport problems are a part of this intimidation campaign run by the Iranian authorities against me....

I have been living in the U.S. on a student visa (F-1 visa). Normally this and other types of visas are obtainable on the basis of a valid passport....

In the beginning of March 1979, I applied as usual to the Iranian embassy for the annual renewal of my passport. After a long delay I received my passport back without the necessary verification or renewal. Accompanying my passport was a one-sentence handwritten unofficial note saying in Persian: "Contact Iran for the renewal of your service passport."...I contacted the Iranian embassy on the telephone and through some friends, asking the embassy why my passport was not being renewed. Usually there was no official response and I was simply told that necessary action would be taken. Finally, in response to my repeated telephone calls, letters and telegrams to the embassy, I was asked by an official in the embassy to send the passport for the second time to the embassy....

I was informed that "following inquiry from authorities in Iran" my service passport could no longer be renewed and the extending of my service passport was not possible.... Finally, on January 4, 1980, an immigration judge declared that I, along with my family, was deportable. They also mentioned that the only other "choice" I had was to be deported to Pakistan!

YSp: What kind of harassment have you and other members of minority nationalities faced from Khomeini's supporters on campus here in East Lansing?

Malek: After I started my criticism of the Khomeini government, my wife and I have been receiving continuous verbal threats and threatening telephone calls from well-known supporters of Khomeini. These supporters of Khomeini who are mostly students at Michigan State University and have close contacts with the Iranian government have threatened me and my wife—sometimes by calling at 3, 4 or 5 a.m. in order to disturb our peace of mind. With their threats they imply that if I don't declare my loyalty to Khomeini, they will kill me and destroy my whole family and burn my house; and if I go back to Iran they will get me hanged because I am a counterrevolutionary in their opinion.... [They] have used the worst type of obscene language against me... alleged that I am a CIA agent or SAVAK collaborator... and threatened that something bad may happen to my brother and his family, my parents and other relatives who are in Iran.

YSp: You have made it perfectly clear to Khomeini's representative at the Iranian embassy your support of national minorities. Given the mullah offensive against them, and given your anti-Khomeini stance, what reprisals do you fear if the deportation order goes through?

Malek: Discrimination, intimidation,

arrest, torture and possibly death....

YSp: Malek, in January 1979, you wrote an article in the *State News*, the local Michigan State University newspaper, implying that the Khomeini-led movement was going to install a democratic and constitutional regime. That same month you participated in the disruption of a Spartacist League forum on Iran by Khomeini supporters. But by April in another article in the *State News* you wrote about Khomeini's "dark and armed forces" and said that "it is now obvious that they aim to impose a medieval and exploitative system along with the fanatic elements of a beautiful but unfortunate country—Iran." How did you come to change your view on the nature of the Khomeini regime and the mullah movement?

Malek: At that time, I came to realize that the shah was really being overthrown. And in those days I thought the shah and some of his supporters would have benefited from any differences in the so-called leadership of the anti-shah campaign. I thought it was not the right time to start a kind of internal quarrel. I will say I was wrong. This was something which I think I can reconcile with the fact that I was acting as an individual, though every individual is also responsible. What was more important was the stance of groups who were doing some political work in an organized way. Their blunder was more tragic than mine. I just took a wrong position and wanted everybody to know that I was wrong.

YSp: In your article published in April you wrote: "It is ironic that the self-styled anti-imperialists are massacring those who do not believe in the sanctity of the boundaries of the British Colonialists."

Malek: First, when I said "self-styled anti-imperialists" I was referring to a kind of fashion. Even the shah tried to give a picture to the Persian audience or to the Iranian audience—that he also did not like the CIA, or he also did not like American domination. And now the supporters of Khomeini, because they know that this "anti-imperialism" is in fashion have picked up some slogans, some terminology. So this word is a part of that, I should say, stealing. The Khomeini supporters would always portray him as an anti-imperialist. Now this is a false picture.... But what he started doing inside the country shocked me, as it shocked many other people.

YSp: Khomeini's posture as an "anti-imperialist" not only impressed you but also the majority of the left which, historically, should have learned the lessons of clerical-led movements. With the exception of the Spartacist League, the rest of the left—in Iran and the U.S., throughout the world—uncritically jumped on the Khomeini bandwagon. From your particular experience in Iran, why do you think this happened?

Malek: I use a lot of radishes. And they always remind me of middle eastern leftists. There is just a very small layer of redness and you know how the radishes are inside. So I really suspect their credentials as Marxists sometimes. Sometimes they would say they are Marxists, but when you sit with them and when you talk with them and when you study their activities and strategies you find them more chauvinist, more fanatic than leftist. There is a lot of chauvinism instilled in the Iranian left—in the middle eastern left in general....

YSp: You've already spoken of many events and experiences which moved you away from your initial support of Khomeini and the mullah-led movement. As first an opponent of our line on Iran and now as a supporter, how has our political work contributed to your change of position?

Malek: It gave me initially the courage to speak out against a lunatic who was being followed by every self-styled revolutionary. You were the only group that opposed Khomeini before he had exposed himself. ■

DSOC...

(continued from page 3)

should get it—not a dime for the bosses. Now Doug Fraser ain't going to fight for that because he's been in bed with the bosses too long. We need a class-struggle leadership in the unions which is going to fight in the workers' interests and for a workers government."

A supporter of the SWP, unmoved by hours of preaching by ossified windbags, was moved to respond to this forthright union militant. Parroting the cowardly picards the SWP seeks to serve, he moaned: "Now's not the time for talking about sitdown strikes. They may have worked in 1937, but we should be discussing strategy, not tactics!"

YSA Covers for Cops

It was not enough that YSA supporters put their *Militants* into their knapsacks and pretended to be the best builders of DSOC for the day. One YSAer, Jackie Rice, chaired a workshop on "Unions and the Public Sector." The problem was that one of the "unions" represented on the panel was the Detroit Police Officers Association: the logical conclusion of the SWP/YSA line of reliance on cops and federal troops to "protect" the rights of blacks! The YSA now presides over a discussion on how to improve the "public services" provided by the same cops who brought blacks in Detroit the infamous STRESS squad and defended a Nazi headquarters from the outraged community. It was a Spartacist League spokesman who expressed her outrage that cops were a part of the panel, making the point that cops are not part of the workers movement, but its mortal enemy, thereby polarizing the meeting. Other "leftists," including the Brezhnevite Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League, disgracefully remained silent while the panelists called for "unity" among those in the room. Another SL/SYL spokesman pointed out that the only unity needed was unity against the class enemy—the cops. The revolting social-democratic traitors who ran the conference would not recognize the class enemy if it pistol-whipped them. In a later workshop, a supporter of the New American Movement (NAM) defended the "boys in blue": "It's been a big problem with cops shooting black kids...but they don't deserve bad working conditions."

Long-time Teamster "militant" Pete Camarata even called on the government to protect *him*, saying that it is necessary to call for government intervention in the labor movement, if only for "self-defense." One need only ask the militant coal miners who had the government invoke the Taft-Hartley Act against them in 1978 how well the government "defends" them. The point was clearly made in the numerous showings of the videotape of the Detroit Rally Against Klan Terror: labor and blacks must rely on their own power, not on the bosses' state, to defend their interests. After one of the video showings, the president of a Michigan AFSCME local expressed his disgust with the conference, took a handful of *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the anti-KKK rally and said that he wanted to make arrangements to show the video to his local.

The only workshop that presented a real strategy for social progress through smashing the shackles of capitalist oppression was that presented by the SYL. A discussion of the anti-Marxist politics of social democracy followed the showing of the anti-Klan videotape. SYL spokesman Meg Griffin pointed out that Harrington's demagoguery about the need to support the "left wing of the possible" merely translates into support for one wing or another of the capitalist Democratic Party—in the present case the not-so-liberal Teddy Kennedy. Several participants, initially enthralled by Harrington's "eloquence" and "sin-

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YSp 79

cerity" abandoned their support for him after the discussion with comments like, "I guess Harrington is pretty slick."

Indeed there are indications that many DSOCers may be growing skeptical about their organization's attitude toward the Democratic Party. One member wrote in a DSOC discussion bulletin:

"The DP cannot be the vehicle for such a movement for socialist ideals. Controlled by conservatives, corporate Political Action Committees, and war hawks (who call themselves liberals and pragmatists), the DP is a classic example of misleadership. If the DP has been more responsive than the Republicans to mass movements, it has also been the party of the Bay of Pigs, Santo Domingo, and the Vietnam war. Furthermore, the realignment scenario, our original justification for large scale DP work, now seems to be working in reverse—the Right is on the rise, while the support of the democratic left is taken for granted, with little given in return."

—Howard Corey, *Socialist Forum*, vol. 1, no. 2

But to a man the would-be oppositionists in DSOC see work within the Democratic Party as a *tactical* rather than a *principled* question. Marxists insist on the complete independent political organization of the working class at all times. Any departure from this principle is a betrayal of the socialist cause.

The labor luminaries who were the drawing cards for this conference have been around for a long time and they know that increasing immiseration is the lot of the working class in the epoch of capitalist decay. They are the "labor lieutenants of capital" and they have made their choice. They will sink with a capitalist politician like life-long loser Ted Kennedy rather than fight for the interests of their union membership, let alone fight to destroy capitalism. Their water boys for imperialist politicians on the left are making their choice too. From the brazen DSOC to the shameless SWP, the miasma from the social democratic swamp is doing its best to give a left cover to the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party! Forward to a workers government! ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 8)

bureaucracy plays a role something like the trade-union bureaucracy that most workers in most countries are familiar with. That is, that on the one hand they're subject to the pressure of their base, in this case the base being the collectivized economy, and at the same time they're agents, a medium of the capitalists within the workers movement. So that the Trotskyist program is therefore codified as the defense of the remaining social conquests of the October Revolution and a political revolution by the Soviet workers against the bureaucracy. And, in fact, the two are not different but the defense of the Soviet Union, of those gains, can only be realized over time by overthrowing that bureaucracy, which, of course, can most expeditiously be done by a proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

I just want to finish with a last point. The Spartacist League does not believe in the "Chicken Little" school of revolutionary politics. You know, you keep saying, "The world is coming to an end, join us." That's not good. The sky isn't always falling. But sometimes it is and sometimes it can. And Carter's pretty crazy and he's on a war drive and it's entirely possible—believe it or not, like it or not, think it or not—that the recent events in Afghanistan can in a relatively short period of time lead to a nuclear war and the destruction of mankind. And there's only one way that that can be prevented. And that's to throw out that crazy man in the White House and the class that he stands for. ■

YSA...

(continued from page 3)

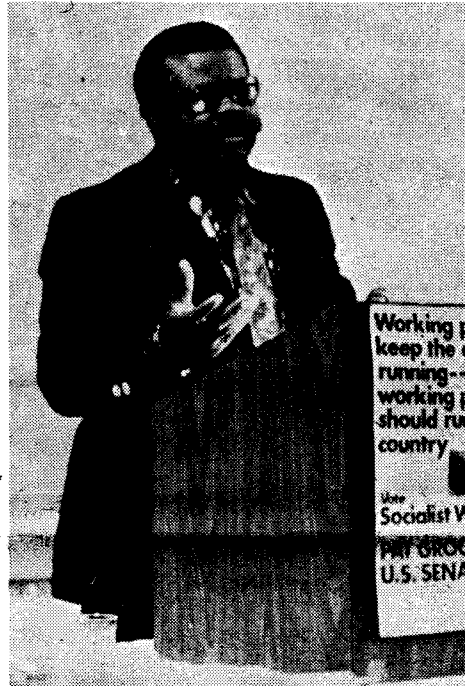
America," *YSp* No. 77, November 1979).

Mum on the Imam, Friends of Nicaragua

Predictably, no convention time was allotted to discuss the SWP/YSA's abject capitulation to the Iranian mullahs. YSAers recently implanted in U.S. factories no doubt have had difficulty selling their co-workers on Ayatollah Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" as a workers' paradise. Accustomed to the popularity of their line on Iran among rad-lib "third world" circles, the YSAers hit the plants just before rabid anti-Iranian chauvinism swept large portions of the American population in reaction to the embassy seizure.

Life is hard for Khomeini's press agents in the SWP/YSA. It is also hard for the seven members of the HKE (one of two Iranian sections of the United Secretariat [Usec], the international rotten bloc with which the SWP is

Workers Vanguard



SWP's scab for president, Andrew Pulley

"fraternally related") who still languish in Khomeini's prisons. No mention of its imprisoned "comrades" was made at the YSA convention, but a lone banner in Islamic red and green proclaimed "Solidarity with the Revolution."

Understandably mute on their criminal support for the ayatollah, the YSA is gambling everything on those dashing Nicaraguan Sandinistas. Head cheerleader for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) at the YSA convention was SWP demagogue Peter Camejo, who brought the YSAers to their feet in wild applause as he proclaimed, "We have a section in Nicaragua—they may not know it, but it's the FSLN!... They are just like us."

Camejo's comparison between the SWP and the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FSLN is not very flattering to either. "Compañero" Camejo has been accused by former members of the Usec of personally fingering the Simón Bolívar Brigade to the FSLN, leading to the arrest of the Brigade members and their deportation from Nicaragua. The Bolívar Brigade was organized by Argentine charlatan/adventurer Nahuel Moreno. It consisted primarily of various Latin American Usec members who went to Nicaragua in "solidarity" with the Sandinistas, only to incur the FSLN's wrath after leading militant trade-union demonstrations in Managua. The Usec majority's tailist condemnation of Moreno's Nicaraguan adventure was the occasion for the recent Usec split which, by the SWP's own estimate, ripped out 25 to 30 percent of the international membership. Among those sacrificed on the altar of Usec capitulation to the FSLN was the former Usec section in Nicaragua, the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria

(LMR), many of whose members were jailed by the bourgeois Sandinista junta.

"If the YSA was born and baptized in the Cuban revolution, we're about to be born again," exclaimed one YSAer caught up in the heady atmosphere of vicarious guerrillism. The U.S. bourgeoisie, however, learned a lesson in Cuba—its uncompromising hostility helped to push the wavering Castro regime into a bloc with the Soviet Union, and Castro's expropriation of private industry and nationalization of the land led to the establishment of a deformed workers state. Hoping to avert a "second Cuba," Congress recently approved a \$75 million grant and loan package for Nicaragua (60 percent earmarked for private business) to be cut off the minute Soviet or Cuban troops set foot in the country. U.S. "aid" to Nicaragua now can only have the effect of strengthening the bourgeoisie and landlords and strangling the possibilities for workers revolution. It is part of the State Department's strategy to maintain Nicaragua as an exploitable neo-colony for U.S. imperialism.

The SWP has, revoltingly, taken up the FSLN's call for U.S. "aid." It is one thing to defend a revolution under attack from U.S. imperialism and *just the opposite* to ally with the popular-frontist FSLN in their appeals for imperialist "aid" which can only strengthen the hand of bourgeois counterrevolution. The YSA's "solidarity" campaign to raise money for Nicaraguan "reconstruction" is literally State Department socialism.

Free Speech for Fascists; Goon Squad for SYL

On two occasions, up to a dozen Nazis, John Birchers and assorted other right-wingers demonstrated outside the Louisville hotel where the convention was held. But the SWP/YSA showed considerably more vigilance in physically harassing SYL salespeople and observers than in guarding against the fascist and right-wing thugs. Before the convention proceedings had officially begun, YSA leaders ran to the hotel management to evict the SYL from a room which had been rented in order to display our literature and show the videotape of the November 10 anti-Klan labor/black rally in Detroit, initiated by union militants and the Spartacist League. This videotape, which shows hundreds of black auto workers, ghetto youths and leftists militantly protesting Klan terror in the wake of the Greensboro massacre was, according to the YSA, a "provocation"!

Exposure is more like it: the SWP/YSA champions, ACLU-style, the "democratic rights" of fascist scum like the Nazis and the KKK. The November 10 demonstration exposes as reformist cowardice the SWP's contention that labor/black defense against fascist attacks is "unrealistic." Given the SWP/YSA's civil libertarian defense of "free speech for fascists," their turn away from tailing black nationalists and their call on the racist labor bureaucracy to form a "labor party," it is not surprising that blacks comprised only a small fraction of those in attendance at the YSA convention.

Despite the YSA's energetic attempts to hinder political discussion and literature sales at the conference, *Young Spartacus* and *Workers Vanguard* were widely circulated among conference participants and the videotape was shown in another hotel room. On the third day, the YSA excluded SL/SYL observers from the conference for refusing to turn over all of our literature to the YSA for "safekeeping."

A fitting finale to the convention was the campaign rally for the SWP presidential candidates. Previously, a few YSAers had expressed the fear that conducting their campaign work under the name "Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann" might unnecessarily

narrow their base of support. After all, they argued, you don't need to be a socialist to support *this* slate... witness the featured speaker at the rally. Ron Long, editor of the Louisville *Defender*, opened by welcoming the FBI and CIA agents in the audience ("I don't count anybody out") and spent most of his time expounding on the holy bible, polemicizing against technology and extolling the Golden Rule.

Even the YSA could manage but limp applause for *this* broad support for its opportunist campaign. But the YSA has even more reason to be embarrassed by its own candidates: Andrew Pulley, who crossed a picket line of striking railroad workers at the Gary, Indiana U.S. Steel plant in 1978 and Matilde Zimmermann, the main publicist for the SWP's support of reactionary, anti-gay, "age-of-consent" laws. With a scab and a bigot on the platform, why complain about a fundamentalist Christian? Certainly anyone looking for socialist politics at this gathering could only have found it by talking to the SYL. ■

Madman Silber...

(continued from page 12)

maintaining closed-circuit television watch over the workers.

Silber is in the vanguard of the anti-democratic and anti-labor policies which are increasingly being instituted on American campuses. He is running an experimental police-state university in the heart of academia's capital—metropolitan Boston/Cambridge. The threatened firing of five professors—all outspoken opponents of the administration and some among them former anti-war activists—for honoring picket lines of striking campus workers, is Silber's most recent outrage. Silber's techniques in getting rid of the BU 5 are remarkably similar to those employed by the UT Board of Regents to get rid of Caroline: "...agreement that the professor be thrown out in a way that would outsmart the guardians of academic freedom and so tight a secrecy the university community would now play out the rest of the farce without knowing that's what they were doing" (Ronnie Dugger, *Our Invaded Universities*). "Philosopher-king"? Hardly! It's high time to dump the penny-ante tyrant, union-buster and self-proclaimed censor. No faith in "student-faculty" input committees! Abolish the administration and the board of trustees! For student/worker/teacher control of the university! ■

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Young Spartacus

Dump Madman Silber!

John Silber has outdistanced reactionary U.S. senator and former president of San Francisco State University S.I. Hayakawa in unpopularity. All university administrators engage in budget-slashing, union-busting, political purges and victimization in the service of their bosses, the trustees; such is the nature of the university under capitalism. But Silber has carried the normal functions of a university president to a notoriously anti-democratic, anti-union, anti-faculty and anti-student low. So much so that even the bourgeois media has been miffed and titillated. Narrating a broadcast of CBS' *Sixty Minutes* this January, Mike Wallace listed Boston University president Silber's "contributions" to BU's financial and academic improvement but had to close by noting, "And still and all John Silber remains the most hated man at Boston University." The *Boston Globe* and the campus *bu exposure* (subsequently banned by Silber's administration) have carried articles on such financial irregularities as disguising university profits as "reserves" and extorting "indulgences" from prospective BU law and medical students.

While the bourgeoisie and liberal academics argue about Silber's managerial techniques and the resulting "problems" of campus unionization and student protest, those who work and

study in the shadow of Silber's byzantine-cellar administration have faced nine years of administration suppression. Silber summed up his attitude neatly when he stated, "The more democratic a university becomes, the lousier it gets." When questioned on *Sixty Minutes* about the more than ten student publications banned from funding by the administration, Silber was equally blunt: "We decided it is a mistake to be publishing a student newspaper because either you are held responsible for the slip-ups and infelicities that students get engaged in, or that students are responsible for, or you end up having to censor them."

Soon after he was fired from a deanship at the University of Texas (UT), Silber was selected as president of BU by a "student-faculty input" committee which included left-liberal professors and student "radicals." Subsequently Silber earned a reputation as the most hated college administrator in the country. No surprise, since at the time of his hiring Silber brought with him the "credentials" of an active participant in the UT Regents' war against students and faculty on behalf of LBJ and the imperialist slaughter in Vietnam. UT Regent, Democratic Party national committeeman and Johnson loyalist Sam Erwin taught Silber a few tricks before he canned him. Erwin banned SDS meetings, fired leftist anti-war

professor Larry Caroline and harassed homosexuals and campus "gay lib" groups in his blatant prostration before the LBJ clique. Silber's UT mentors instructed him on the heavy-handed running of a university. At the time of his sacking Silber was cautioned by Erwin, "You don't ever want to take another administrative job where you're not the top man." Ex-dean Silber took this advice with a vengeance.

When Silber took over BU's presidency in 1971 amid massive protest against ROTC he came out strongly for the maintenance of this training ground

for imperialist butchery. That year his house mysteriously burned to the ground. Silber was fond of boasting to potential BU benefactors that he could "handle" student demonstrators with "only one cop." BU became infamous for some of the most spectacular police brutality of the early 1970s under Silber's rule. Like Erwin, who bugged Silber's phone at UT during the intra-bureaucratic fight which ended in Silber's ouster there, Silber employed electronic surveillance on BU clinic workers during their organizing drive—

continued on page 11

Flanked by cops, Silber addresses students and strikers, 1978.

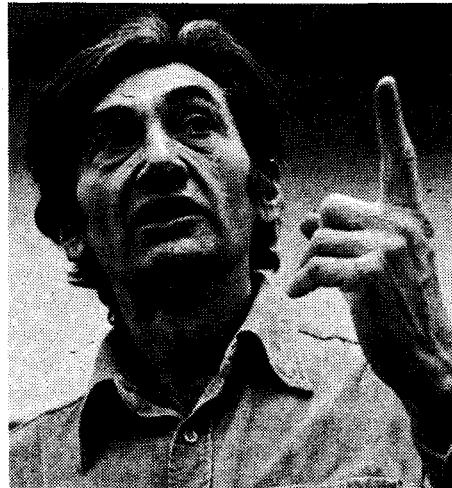


Young Spartacus

Defend the BU Five!

BOSTON, January 25—Gathering support from students, faculty and campus workers, the Boston University Spartacus Youth League has launched a campaign to defend five tenured BU professors who stand to lose their jobs for expressing solidarity with the struggles of low-paid campus workers. The "BU Five"—Andrew Dibner, Murray Levin, Fritz Ringer, Caryl Rivers and Howard Zinn—honored picket lines set up by striking clerical workers last fall. Because they chose to teach their classes off campus rather than cross the lines, tyrannical BU president John Silber is threatening to fire them. The SYL has played an active part in demanding that Silber's charges against the professors be vigorously protested by all those who work, study and teach at BU. By threatening the BU Five, Silber is rearming his arsenal to smash every union on campus!

To mobilize support for the BU Five, the SYL initiated a petition drive with the demands "Drop All Charges Against the BU Five! Dump Silber!" In less than a week the SYL has succeeded in gathering over 500 signatures. Many students, faculty and campus workers have offered to help circulate the petition. Several campus organizations have also come out in support of the SYL petition. The student governments of the College of Liberal Arts (CLA) and the School of Public Communication both voted to endorse the petition, and the CLA agreed to co-sponsor an SYL forum/fundraiser for the BU Five. The January 30 meeting will feature two guest speakers: Howard Zinn is a well-known radical professor and one of the



Howard Zinn, one of BU Five

BU Five; Keith Anwar is a militant steel worker from USWA Local 1010 in East Chicago who was fired from his job at U.S. Steel for honoring picket lines set up by striking contract laborers in his plant.

Silber has been relentless in his attacks on everyone at the university (see "Dump Madman Silber," above). He has maintained veto power over funding for student organizations and is currently promoting a new student judicial code containing a "proscribed conduct" clause which would effectively allow him to snuff out any student dissent at BU. To add insult to injury, he has implemented yet another of his nearly annual tuition hikes—this time to the tune of \$800! At a December 18 general meeting the Faculty Assembly passed by a 2-to-1 margin a motion calling for Silber's ouster as president of BU.

Silber has been full of schemes to



Press conference following BU faculty meeting that voted for dumping Silber.

smash the campus unions. He spent a fortune to hire a union-busting consulting firm, and has ruthlessly harassed and fired union organizers. But his "divide and conquer" strategy to split campus workers has met with little success recently.

The joint strike last spring of the clerical workers, librarians and faculty began to cut across the sectoralism and parochialism that had plagued the campus unions. The refusal of the BU Five to cross the clerical workers' picket lines points the way forward for real labor solidarity. The strike would have been helped even more if the faculty union (the American Association of University Professors) had called out all its members, canceled all classes and attempted to shut down BU altogether in support of the clericals. Campus workers and faculty would be much more powerful if they were united in one

campus-wide union. A single union could replace the defeats rooted in the isolation of different sections of the campus workforce with victory through united action against the draconian BU administration.

The case against the BU Five is now in the first stage of proceedings. An ad-hoc faculty committee began an inquiry in mid-January in an attempt to reach an informal settlement. But Silber is not bound to comply with the recommendations of this committee, so it is likely that formal charges will be pressed soon. Clearly, the jobs of these five professors as well as the future of all unions at BU are at stake. Now is the time for united action! Defend the BU Five! Dump Madman Silber! No to the tuition hike! Nationalize BU and all private universities! For open admissions, no tuition, and a full living stipend for all students! ■

Young Spartacus