

Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!

Iran in Turmoil

For Proletarian Revolution Not Islamic Reaction

On September 8, this summer's uninterrupted wave of massive protests against the brutal Iranian monarchy reached a grisly climax when the shah's Royal Guard poured machine gun fire into the ranks of an anti-government demonstration in Teheran. At least a thousand protesters were slaughtered in the greatest single massacre in decades. The London *Guardian's* Teheran correspondent, Liz Thurgood, gave this eyewitness account:

In a brutal display of military force, troops and small tanks opened fire at 9:20 a.m. yesterday in Madan Jaleh [Jaleh Square] at a spot where between 5,000 and 10,000 young people had gathered for a peaceful demonstration against the Shah. Men, women, and young children, many splattered with blood, ran screaming, "They're killing us, they're killing us!"

Guardian, 9 September

According to other reports, tanks moved in from the corners of the square, crushing corpses and wounded alike. Hundreds of wounded swamped the hospitals, where many died because the supply of doctors and medical supplies was inadequate for the number of victims. Many more, fearing the likelihood of arrest at the hospitals, were



Anti-shah demonstration in Teheran before troops fired into crowd, killing over 1,000.

Setbound/Sipa-Black Star

treated by makeshift medical teams in the homes of sympathizers.

Marchers elsewhere in the city were similarly gunned down. The enraged survivors retreated through the city, attacking banks, luxury stores and government offices. The crowds overturned and burned autos in an attempt to block the patrolling tanks and army

trucks. Shooting continued into the night, when exchanges of gunfire between troops and unknown opponents were reported.

At Jaleh Square soldiers loaded the dead and dying into trucks while fire engines washed the blood off the streets. Although the government initially claimed that a mere 50 had been killed, it

later doubled the figure. In a Majlis ("parliament") debate shown on national television, opposition deputies denounced this obvious lie. And now even the U.S. embassy is admitting to 500 dead.

In response Teheran and other major Iranian cities were placed under martial law

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Camp David Hoax

SEPTEMBER 19 After 13 days of closed-door wrangling with Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, Jimmy Carter suddenly announced last Sunday that the trilateral summit meeting on the Near East held at Camp David had resulted in a far-reaching "framework for peace." Ending the White

House imposed news blackout, Carter staged a theatrical televised ceremony where he outlined two pacts said to represent a dramatic breakthrough. Amid much hugging, hand clapping and laughing between Sadat and Begin, Carter announced to the nation that peace was at hand for the Near East, possibly within a matter of months.

True to the Carter style, much of the "miracle" of Camp David was simply media hokum. In his televised address from the White House Carter glossed over most of the details of the two pacts, emphasizing instead how brotherhood and reconciliation had triumphed. On the spot to say something on such a

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Labor
War of
Words/6



David Hume Kennerly

Court Dismisses "Outside Agitator" Charge

SYL Victory at Chicago Circle Campus

CHICAGO On August 15 the University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) administration was thwarted in its attempt to drive the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) off campus when Judge John J. McDonald dismissed criminal trespass charges against SYL activist Sandor John. After months of delay costing hundreds of dollars in legal expenses for the defense, the circuit court finally ruled in favor of the motion by John's lawyer David Thomas to dismiss the case on broad constitutional grounds, holding that political activity by "non-students" at the UICC Campus Center could not be prohibited by administrative fiat.

The court's dismissal confirmed what the SYL had said from the outset: the November 22 arrest and permanent campus ban of Sandor John was a McCarthy-style witchhunt of leftist "outside agitators." It was part of a wider net of intimidation, aimed particularly at left-wing faculty, students, campus workers and Arab and Iranian

student groups. During the past year the UICC administration has banned the sale of newspapers by campus organizations, threatened to evict five student groups from their offices (including the student government!) and kicked union organizers off campus as "outsiders."

The Spartacus Youth League was singled out for a purge intended to cow all the administration's opponents. But in response the SYL initiated a united-front campaign to defend the democratic rights of all faculty, students and campus workers under attack. The committee held rallies and meetings, and received an impressive array of endorsements, including the Circle student government, Circle Women's Liberation Union and the Young Socialist Alliance as well as prominent professors, labor leaders and newspaper columnists from across the country. The SYL also initiated a broad-ranging civil suit with the American Civil Liberties Union against UICC's gag-rule harassment.

Publicity over the witchhunt greatly embarrassed the Circle Campus administration. Articles on the defense appeared in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Reader* and *Chicago Weekend*. Their inquisitorial ban exposed before a wide public audience, the UICC authorities took a red-faced dive. After the court finally dismissed the charges, one campus official remarked: "The whole incident was unfortunate and really shouldn't have happened. Some people thought that John shouldn't have forced the issue. But that didn't make the arrest right" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 August). Of course, for the administration the arrest was an "unfortunate" error only because it was forced to publicly back down.

The modest yet real victory of the Sandor John defense weakens the UICC authorities' hand, but it has not ended their vicious assaults against free speech and the left. The administration continues to prosecute a group of Palestinian and Latin American students arrested at

a May 11 anti-Zionist demonstration (on the same trespass charges) and has announced its intention to aid the prosecution of anti-shah Iranians (see "UICC Admin. Does SAVAK Dirty Work," *Young Spartacus* No. 65, Summer 1978). The SYL victory can and should provide a springboard for a campaign to defend all victims of these academic McCarthys. ■

Despite the court victory, outstanding legal expenses remain. *WV* urges its readers to aid the campaign with a contribution to the Sandor John Defense Fund, which is being administered by the Partisan Defense Committee. Please send contributions/make checks payable to: Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked Sandor John Defense Fund), P.O. Box 6729, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680

Free Nahuel Moreno and Rita Strasberg!

The lives of two Argentine socialists, Nahuel Moreno (Hugo Bressano) and Rita Strasberg, are in grave danger following their arrest August 22 by Brazilian police. Now being held prisoner in São Paulo, the two are threatened with deportation to Argentina where they face probable torture and possible death. It is the duty of the workers movement and all those concerned with democratic rights to take up the fight to save Moreno and Strasberg from the infamous Brazilian *esquadras da morte* (death squads) and the bloody hangmen of the Videla junta!

Nahuel Moreno (the pen name under which Bressano is known on the left) is a longtime self-proclaimed Trotskyist, head of the Bolshevik Tendency of the

United Secretariat as well as exiled leader of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (PST). He and his companion Strasberg were among 22 activists rounded up in São Paulo late last month in a police raid after a public meeting of the Socialist Convergence group. According to a PST communiqué (*Rouge*, 5 September) the group seeks to establish a Brazilian socialist party. Accused of being members of a "Trotskyist-line" group, the Liga Operária [Workers League], which had allegedly "infiltrated" Socialist Convergence, the 22 were charged with violating the National Security Law banning "subversive" political parties.

Among those arrested at the Socialist Convergence conference was Antônio

Sá Leal, a representative from the Portuguese PRT who has since been released following protests from the Portuguese parliament. At press time, eight of the Brazilian militants seized in the roundup remain in jail.

The arrests may be the opening shot in a new wave of repression by the Geisel government. For more than a decade the Brazilian military dictatorship has imposed its rule of savage terror, stilling liberal criticism by pointing to its fabled "economic miracle," which brought increased prosperity for the rich by imposing starvation wages on the workers. However, with the collapse of the "economic miracle" in the 1974-76 worldwide capitalist depression, and faced with increasing clamor from large sections of the bourgeoisie for a degree of political liberalization, even Geisel began mouthing vague calls for the advent of "relative democracy." But in the most recent period, the mounting unrest within Brazilian society has made the military increasingly nervous.

Thus in March-June 1977 hundreds of thousands of students took to the streets for the first time since 1968 and fought pitched battles with the cops (see "Student Struggles Engulf Brazil," *Young Spartacus* No. 56, July/August 1977). Then this past May metal workers at the São Bernardo SAAB-Scania truck plant walked off the job in defiance of the junta to begin a strike wave which quickly spread to the Ford, Mercedes-Benz, Volkswagen and Chrysler factories. This courageous action so electrified the Brazilian proletariat that within a few months the strikes encompassed bank workers, oil refinery workers, longshoremen, teachers and hospital workers.

In response to the workers' and students' struggles a "hardline" faction has crystallized in the military. General Antônio Ferreira Marques, one of the leading "hawks," recently declared ominously, "The chaos will not return."

It is in this context that the August 22 arrests took place. The arrests have sparked growing protests in Brazil, among them hunger strikes and street demonstrations by students in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre and elsewhere. Protests have also been raised by deputies in the Brazilian congress, as well as the state legislative assemblies of São Paulo and Rio de

Janeiro. Internationally, telegrams and protest letters denouncing the arrests have been sent by leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party, the Bolivian Miners Union Federation and others.

On September 6, in response to the PST appeal, the Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Organización Trotskista

6 September 1978
Brazilian Embassy
34 Cours Albert
75008 Paris, France

The Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile, sympathizing sections of the international Spartacist tendency, demand the immediate freeing of Hugo Bressano, Antônio Sá Leal, and Rita Strasberg and the twenty militants of the Socialist Convergence. In particular we demand that the two PST militants not be extradited to Argentina.

LTF
OTR

Revolucionaria de Chile, sympathizing sections of the international Spartacist tendency, sent a joint telegram of protest to the Brazilian embassy in Paris. In the U.S. the Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest telegram to the Brazilian mission to the UN, and at the recent September 11 demonstration in New York marking the fifth anniversary of the Chilean coup d'état, the Spartacist League contingent highlighted the plight of the socialist militants and leaders arrested in São Paulo with signs demanding: "Save Nahuel Moreno, Rita Strasberg from Brazil Torturers and Videla's Hangmen!"

It is urgent that the international protests to save the lives of these militants continue to mount. The fact that Moreno and Strasberg have not been released while Sá Leal and 11 of the arrested Brazilians were freed confirms the danger these militants face. Release Moreno, Strasberg and the imprisoned Brazilian militants! Drop all charges against the Socialist Convergence activists! No extradition of the Argentine socialists to Videla's junta! ■

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Nicaragua in Flames

For People's Tribunals to Punish National Guard Criminals!

No Deals with Somoza Regime—For a Constituent Assembly!

As the rubble smoulders in the seven cities and towns which rose up against the tyrant Somoza, the Nicaraguan people are burying their dead. The mercenary National Guard once again swaggers through the streets of León, Masaya and Matagalpa, but the obese dictator is still sweating in his air-conditioned concrete bunker in the capital. For if the pistol shots from the street barricades have subsided for the moment, a nation-wide work stoppage continues unabated, its effectiveness due to near unanimous support from the local bourgeoisie as well as the workers.

As the insurrectionists return to the shadows, the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) launched a second operation, an attempt to establish a "liberated zone" along the southern border with Costa Rica. And in the population hatred grows into cold fury against a rotting dynasty which in its death agony feeds on the blood of the youth in order to gain a few more weeks to line Miami bank accounts. The hours are numbered for "Tacho" Somoza, "president" and owner of Nicaragua, *caudillo* (boss) by the grace of the U.S. Marines.

"The dictatorship of the flies," Pablo Neruda called it in his *Canto General*, "Trujillo flies, Tacho flies...flies dripping with the thickened blood of the downtrodden, intoxicated flies buzzing over the people's graves...learned flies skilled in tyranny." For 34 years Somoza, Inc. has ruled this belt of the Central American isthmus as its private domain. Now the time is up for these parasitic insects.

In spite of all the sacrifices and days of heroic struggle, the Nicaraguan working people will not become their own masters without a bitter political fight against the last-minute "allies" of the "democratic" businessmen and ranchers. Until yesterday they were the underpinning of the corrupt regime, and today their courage extends only far enough to send their teenage sons and daughters into battle. Tomorrow they hope to "restabilize" the country under

the auspices of the Organization of American States (OAS), Truman's colonial ministry now turned into Jimmy Carter's overseer of "human rights" south of the Rio Grande.

The populist Sandinista Front is doing its best to ensure a "smooth transition." It sponsored the so-called "Group of Twelve," a blue-ribbon committee of anti-Somoza businessmen, Maryknoll Fathers, lawyers and technicians, formed last October, which calls for a provisional government dominated by bourgeois liberals, with only a minor role for the FSLN. And at

aftermath of a December 1972 earthquake which destroyed the capital, Managua, leaving 14,000 dead and 300,000 homeless. An international relief effort raised millions of dollars; the popular Dominican baseball star Roberto Clemente died in an airplane crash while flying a relief mission to Nicaragua; but meanwhile the Somoza family was using the calamity to eliminate business competitors and grab the lion's share of the aid. This overweening greed and traffic in death gave rise to the first serious bourgeois opposition to the regime since the

road shouting anti-government slogans while the National Guard looked on helplessly.

Somoza's capitulation was universally taken as a sign that the dictator's grip was weakening. Thus the kidnapping of the Congress was quickly followed by another national work stoppage, called by the FAO, which began the very next day (August 25). In Managua workers occupied one of the major banks, and everywhere compliance with the strike call was 80 percent or more. The few businesses open were those belonging directly to the ruling family or to Cuban



National guardsmen dodge Sandinista bullets in the streets of Masaya.

Meiselas/Magnum

the height of the uprising last week the Front gave its approval to a negotiating commission composed of a lawyer from the Group of Twelve, a businessman from the bourgeois opposition coalition UDEL (Democratic Union for Liberation) and a conservative industrialist supported by the State Department.

Nevertheless, for the past three weeks the Nicaraguan masses have been fighting it out, guns in hand, with Somoza's praetorian guard. And in Washington the Carter administration seems paralyzed with indecision over which horse to back, fearing that whatever it does the U.S. will be denounced for "outside interference." State Department liberals are worried that the longer Somoza holds on the greater the chances will be for a "second Cuba." The spectre of Cuba is in fact so omnipresent that the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie would not have made an alliance with the FSLN without the firmest guarantees.

But with armed workers in the streets the conditions are there for another Santo Domingo, where a mass "constitutionalist" movement against military rule threatened to escape the control of its bourgeois leaders. Trujillo, another CIA-backed dictator who had become an albatross, was removed by his masters in Washington with an assassin's bullet. The significance of the current uprising in Nicaragua is that it could be the first time in almost two decades that a Latin American despot is toppled by popular revolt. That prospect is unsettling both to U.S. imperialism and its client strongmen throughout the region (particularly the military regimes next door in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras).

The beginning of the end for the Somoza family can be traced to the

Marines left in 1934.

The second key event was the assassination of UDEL leader Pedro Joaquín Chamorro last January. With all of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" propaganda the local bourgeoisie figured they had a green light from Washington and called a work stoppage that brought business to a standstill for two weeks. However, the State Department was not yet ready to flick its little finger and adopted a "hands-off" posture (an absurdity in a country where absolutely everything has always been done following instructions or signals from the U.S.). And at the end of July the liberal opposition was dismayed by publication of a letter by Carter to Somoza praising alleged "human rights advances" in Nicaragua.

The dominant sector of the FSLN as well as the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), a body including everyone from conservative landowners to the Moscow-Stalinist Nicaraguan Socialist Party, had been banking on a move by Washington to ease out Somoza. So following Carter's letter the Nicaraguan opposition decided it would have to go it alone, or at least step up the heat. The Sandinistas' answer was a daring attack on the National Congress, a puppet body composed overwhelmingly of Somoza toadies. Led by "Comandante Zero," FSLN veteran Eden Pastora, the operation could have been a tragic adventure if it had not been greeted with the overwhelming support of the population. But instead of storming the palace where his few remaining cohorts were being held, Somoza was forced to allow the commandos to fly to Panama along with 59 released prisoners. A bus taking the guerrillas and remaining hostages to the airport was greeted by thousands of Nicaraguans lining the

exiles. And in Matagalpa, the third largest city in the country, open revolt broke out as teenagers led by Sandinista guerrillas (and armed by the local populace) set up barricades. The sniping battle lasted until September 7, when the FSLN broke into a leading radio station and broadcast an appeal for a general armed uprising.

Immediately the cities of Masaya and León and four other towns (Estelí, Diriamba, Chinandega and Peñas Blancas) fell into rebel hands. Somoza referred to a "Têt offensive" by the Sandinistas, slapped censorship on the opposition press (later extended to foreign reporters) and called up reserve troops.

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WV Photo

Poster at demonstration in the U.S. hit Somoza regime.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Iran...

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law and put under the administration of the commander of the army, General Oveissi, for a period of six months. This essentially takes all power out of the hands of the newly appointed prime minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami. Last week mass round-ups of hundreds of opposition figures began across Iran.

Scandalously, in the middle of this popular turmoil directed against the shah, Chinese Communist Party leader and prime minister Hua Kuo-feng winged into Teheran to demonstrate his solidarity with the hated Iranian dictator (see "Chairman Hua Embraces Butcher Shah," *WV* No. 214, 8 September 1978). While riot police shot down demonstrators in the streets of Qom, Hua was given a 21-gun salute and conveyed to the Shahyad monument in the royal carriage to receive the keys to Teheran.

The shah has decided to drown the protests in blood. Not only have the demonstrations shown no sign of diminishing, but those of September 4 drew millions of participants throughout the country, and half a million or more in Teheran itself. The march was led by mullahs (preachers) reading from the Koran and banners called for the return of Ayatollah Khomeini, a Muslim religious leader exiled by the shah. Other banners signed by leftist guerrilla groups called for "U.S. out of Iran." But the dominant theme was set by the religious opposition.

The marches not only indicated the extent of popular hatred for the Pahlavi dictatorship, but protesters in the capital openly fraternized with the largely conscript troops. The Iranian regime is facing a threat similar to that of the 1963 uprising, when the shah's military advisors believed that the troops in Teheran would mutiny if called upon to fire upon protesting crowds for a second day.

Fifteen years ago the shah brought in fresh troops and killed thousands in order to crush the rebellion; today, relying on elite units, he is again embarked on a desperate attempt to exterminate all resistance.

Three years ago, the shahanshah ("king of kings") had decreed a one-party regime, confident that his opponents had been reduced to an impotent handful; today it is his Rastakhiz Party that has been reduced to a shambles.

The opposition shows no signs of being intimidated by the September 8 massacre. New clashes have been reported from Teheran, Mashad and other cities, while shops in the capital were once again shut down by a protest strike. Only a short time ago, the self-proclaimed "light of the Aryans" boasted, "Nobody can overthrow me. I have the support of 700,000 troops, all the workers and most of the people.... I have the power" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 August). Now the fragility of this mass murderer's rule is demonstrated for all to see. For the first time in 25 years (in 1953 a CIA-engineered coup overthrew the bourgeois nationalist Mossadegh and restored the shah to his throne), the Imperial Palace is guarded by tanks.

The Aftermath of Abadan

Tension in Iran dramatically escalated after a fire killed nearly 400 people trapped inside a movie theater in the southern city of Abadan on August 19.

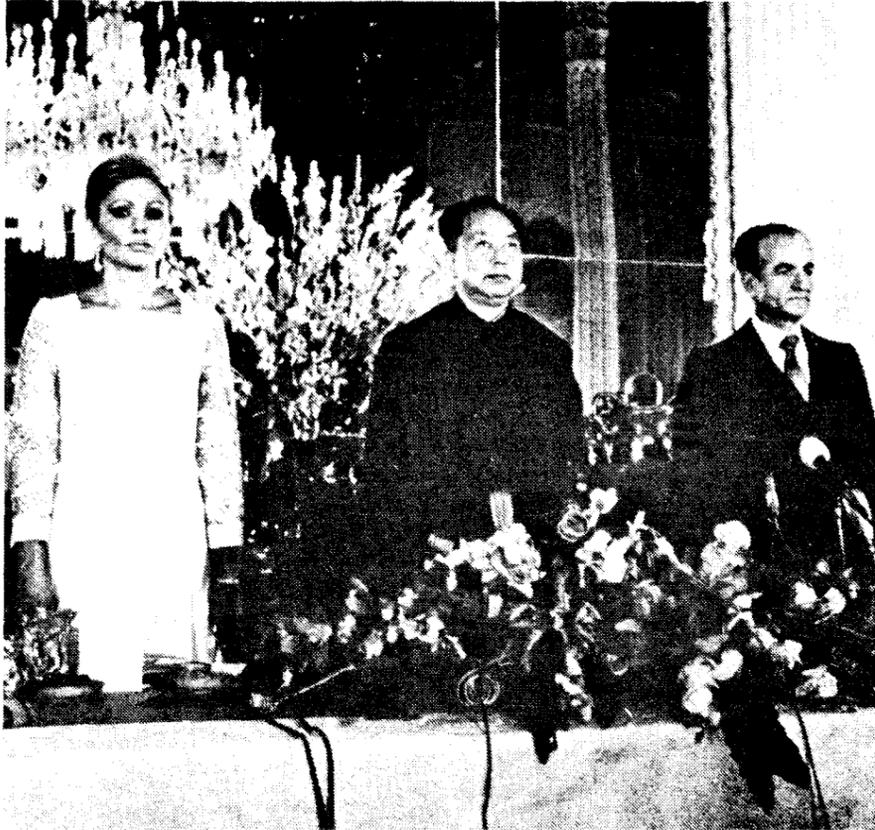
The government immediately declared that the fire was the work of anti-shah arsonists, and claimed to have uncovered a plot by communist school teachers who turned their classes into sabotage rings. Nothing more has been heard of this obvious frame-up.

It is not impossible that the arson was the work of Muslim fundamentalists—in the recent period, banks, restaurants, night clubs and liquor stores or breweries have been attacked or bombed by anti-shah protesters. In most cases the

was responsible for the Abadan fire spread across Iran.

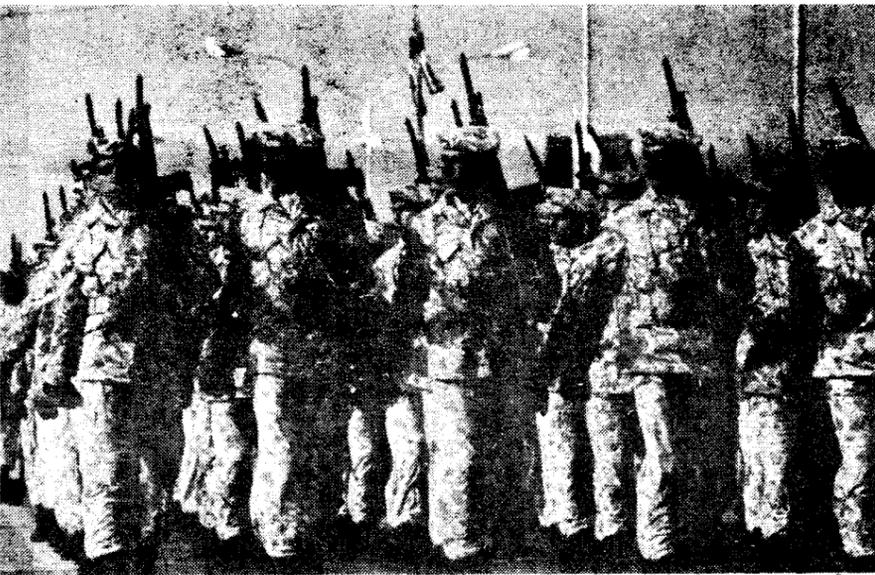
The "Liberalization" Fraud

On August 27, the shah announced a number of concessions designed to appease the Muslim fundamentalists and bourgeois liberals. Prime Minister Amuzegar resigned and was replaced by Sharif-Emami. The shah's "Imperial" calendar which began with the ancient Persian empire was replaced by the



Setboun/Sipa-Black Star

Disgusting: While Iranian troops shoot down demonstrators, Chairman Hua fetes Butcher Shah. The dilemma for Iranian Maoists: You cannot hate the shah and love China in the face of this "friendship association."



Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Imperial troops march in review.

attacks were clearly based on the Koran's prohibition on interest-taking and against alcohol, or a more general opposition to "decadent" Western culture.

But there is much circumstantial evidence suggesting that the Abadan fire was in fact a government provocation. Despite Abadan's ultra-modern fire-fighting system, fire engines arrived at the scene (100 yards from the police station) only after three hours, one of them with an empty water tank. Abadan's police chief initially claimed that the arsonists had used incendiary bombs, but retracted the statement when it was pointed out that these bombs were in the hands of the police and army.

Three days later, police and city officials were excluded from the mourning ceremonies, which became an indictment of police negligence, or complicity, in the fire. The crowd, predominantly relatives of the victims, then clashed with the police and attacked banks and restaurants. Troops and tanks had to be brought in to quell the protests. The belief that the regime

traditional Muslim calendar, and the new prime minister closed the casinos and other gambling spots. The post of women's affairs was abolished, and General Ayadi, a member of the Bahai sect, long hated by Iran's Shi'ite Muslims, resigned.

More important than these alleged proofs of the shah's devotion to Allah was the announcement that freedom of press, speech and assembly would be guaranteed to "legitimate" political parties (the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh Party and other leftist groups continued to be banned). Free elections were promised for the summer of 1979. Within a day after this announcement 14 political parties had surfaced, testifying to the diversity of political currents which has so far been suppressed by the shah's autocratic rule.

While some of the "moderate" opposition politicians and the religious opposition led by Ayatollah Shariatmadari, were willing to test Sharif-Emami's sincerity, both the bourgeois liberals and religious opposition continued to demand the dissolution of the Majlis and the holding of new elections. Ayatollah Khomeini who, unlike Shari-

atmadari, calls for the overthrow of the shah, denounced the "liberalization" from exile in Iraq as a "plot to deceive the Muslim people and derail their movement." Certain of the liberals demanded the abolition of the shah's secret police, SAVAK.

But whether the concessions were the result of fright or a calculated maneuver, it soon became clear that they were meaningless. Two hundred and thirty imprisoned Muslim leaders remained in jail. The reactionary hard-liner General Abbas Garabaghi, head of the National Gendarmerie, became Minister of the Interior.

The "Iranian Spring" was soon seen as the act of a regime that had been weakened, yet was clearly unreformable. The stage was set for the demonstrations of September 4. The capital had been the scene of a week of almost continuous streetfighting, but the crowds demonstrating on the 4th were able to fraternize with the soldiers. Shouting, "Soldiers, you are from us," and "Why do you kill your brothers?" they showered the troops with flowers. From before dawn until late at night, the demonstrations remained unmolested, and Teheran took on a carnival atmosphere.

Four days later more than 1,000 protesters lay dead in the street. The "Iranian Spring" lasted no more than 11 days.

The Spectre of American Intervention

When the "progressive," "modernizing" rhetoric of the "White Revolution" is stripped away what remains is but a brutal military dictatorship. And the shahanshah now faces the possibility that his only bulwark against the white-hot fury of the Iranian masses is eroding around him. At the top of the military machine both a major general and a leading official of the SAVAK were executed in the last year for allegedly organizing plots against the Shah. In the ranks, U.S. reporters interviewed soldiers and non-commissioned officers who swore to commit suicide rather than fire upon civilians.

It appears that on the 8th, some of these men were faithful to their word, and in at least one incident turned their guns on their commanding officer. Certainly, only a skeleton force patrolled the streets of Teheran; a force inadequate to stop many of the attacks on stores and offices, but one which had the advantage of being less susceptible to "contamination."

There remains one last resort for defending the shahanshah—the same one that restored him to power in 1953, has stocked his arsenal with billions of dollars of weapons and which has been his international press agent: the United States, the shah's godfather. No sooner were the bodies cold than Carter telephoned the shah to reaffirm the "close and friendly relationship" between Iran and U.S. imperialism and to congratulate his client about the "progress" made in "liberalizing."

The American bourgeois press immediately sent up a chorus in praise of the shah and his "modernization" and "liberalization." Unanimously, in near-identical editorials, the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times* and other leading "molders of (bourgeois) public opinion" called for unambiguous U.S. support for the Peacock Throne. Once again they explained that the Iranian workers and peasants "needed" the strong hand of a murdering despot. The more cynical did not even bother with this, simply calling for the defense of the oil companies' profits and for the maintenance of Iran as a strategic bastion in U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet drive. With all of the viciousness that a capitalist with an endangered bank account can muster, the *Wall Street Journal* (13 September) complained that "the Shah until now has been attempting to conciliate rather than crush what is obviously deep-seated unrest in Iran."

SPARTACIST

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There are already more than 35,000 U.S. military personnel in Iran. Secretary of Defense Brown is now discussing "the possible 'dispatch of appropriate U.S. forces to the scene'" and "100,000 U.S. troops are being trained for possible intervention in the Gulf," (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 August). U.S. intervention — no doubt to "save American lives" as in Santo Domingo in 1965 — is a real possibility.

Carter's "human rights" demagoguery stands exposed as a cynical cover for propping up the Pahlavis' blood-stained rule. Instead of hat-in-hand pleas to Carter to honor his "promises" and timid protest telegrams to the shah, the situation cries out for the American left and labor movement to fight to free all victims of the shah's white terror, boycott arms shipments to Iran through trade-union action and demand a halt to all U.S. aid to the shah!

No to Islamic Reaction

But what is the political basis of the current opposition to the shah? It is not proletarian socialism. It is not even the bourgeois liberalism of Mossadegh, although liberals and leftists can be found in the movement and even apologizing for the Muslim preachers.

No, fundamentally the current mass mobilizations against the Pahlavi family are under the ideological sway of Muslim fundamentalists whose idea of a golden age is the expansion of Islam by fire and sword in the sixth century A.D.

The hold of the mullahs over the Iranian masses is on the basis of a petty-bourgeois populist ideology, represented in its most radical form by Khomeini, who calls for the confiscation of the "immorally" gained wealth of the rich. The lavish ostentation of the decadent, corrupt, jet-setting Imperial Court renders this Islamic puritanism all the more appealing to the Iranian masses. This reactionary "anti-imperialism" virulently hates all aspects of Western culture which erode traditional Islamic society. The core of the mullahs' social support is thus the traditional middle classes—merchants and artisans, the small stratum of wealthy peasants and certain backward sections of the proletariat such as casual construction laborers.

The victory of a reactionary movement of Muslim traditionalism will represent a far-reaching historical *defeat* for communists, who seek a

revolutionary emancipation from semi-feudal backwardness. The religious opposition stands on the heritage of the Middle Ages, opposed even to the paltry social advances for women in past decades.

Thus in the Muslim holy city of Qom, Shariatmadari's stronghold, every female over the age of four must wear the *chador*, the black cloak/veil which is the symbol of centuries of brutal oppression of women by Islamic society. As for Khomeini, he states, "We wish to liberate women from the corruption that is menacing them" (*Le Monde*, 6 May). His followers exposed the real meaning of this delicate phrase when they chanted "Death or the Veil" in the streets of Tabriz in February.

Placing themselves in the tradition of the Islamic religious leaders in the 1906 revolution against the monarchy, when they fought for a constitution and a parliament, Khomeini and Shariatmadari can pose as the champions of democratic rights against the shah's tyranny. Do not be fooled! Numerous cases of dictatorial Muslim states masked by forms of parliamentary democracy can be found, including Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia.

More importantly, the Muslim

religious leaders' "democracy" does not extend to communists. Khomeini has ordered his followers not to engage in any collaboration with leftists against the shah. Shariatmadari opposes the legalization of the Tudeh party, as it would be contrary to the laws of Islam. Furthermore, at every key point in recent Iranian history (1906, 1946, 1953) there are many examples of anti-monarchical and "anti-imperialist" religious figures who returned to the side of the Peacock Throne because of their fear of the left and the plebeian masses.

Now that medievalist Muslims are calling for the overthrow of the shah in the streets of Iran, the cowardly reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have finally raised the slogan "Down With the Shah." The SWP believes that the mullahs' "anti-imperialism" and the call for parliamentary "democracy" have an inherently revolutionary thrust. But the SWP is confronted with the dilemma of reconciling its uncritical support to the Muslim preachers with its pose as the "best fighters" against the oppression of women. Once again these social democrats resorted to the "SWP school of falsification" by running a picture of the Teheran march, proclaiming that "Women played a prominent role in the September 4 protests" (*Militant*, 22 September). The caption fails to mention that every one of the women is swathed in a veil!

Furthermore, the entire Iranian left also trails behind the Muslim leaders. The Tudeh party accuses the shah of "pretending to respect the fundamental principles of Islam and...taking demagogic measures..." (*Le Monde*, 1 September). Their program goes no further than the confiscation of the property of the royal family. And what of the Maoist and guerrillaist groups which vehemently denounce Tudeh's reformism? They too speak only of the "progressive religious leaders," echoed by their supporters in the various wings of the Iranian Students Association. A particularly grotesque example was a leaflet issued by the Federation of Iranian Students and the Southern California ISA, which allied itself with Khomeini by attacking "corrupt pornographic culture."

The Iranian left thus marches on the road to suicide. An Iranian Islamic "republic" would have numerous precedents for a campaign to exterminate the left, from Libya to Pakistan to Indonesia where the army, aided by fanatical Muslim students, slaughtered more than half a million leftist, worker and peasant militants. Whatever their "anti-imperialist" trappings, not one of the states which swear by the Koran has abolished capitalism or imperialist domination.

The hundreds of thousands who are now marching behind the mullahs are by no means all Muslim fundamentalists. Many are primarily motivated by hostility to the real crimes of the shah. Many leftist workers have probably joined what they view as a potentially successful opposition to the hated regime. But the masses, particularly the workers, who are now supporting the Khomeinis and Shariatmadaris can and must be won away from the present Islamic reactionary offensive in favor of a *social revolutionary* opposition to the shah.

For Workers Revolution in Iran

The Iranian proletariat has not always been simple foot soldiers of the ulema. After the reigning shah's father was deposed by the Allies in 1942, the new government's authority was minimal, with Russian forces occupying northwestern Iran and British troops in the south. But class war erupted across the country. The city of Isfahan, in central Iran, saw three general strikes and one lockout between 1942 and 1946. As a result of the lockout the starving workers occupied the granaries and

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Drop the Charges—Stop the FBI Witchhunt!

L.A. Cops Savagely Attack Anti-Shah Protesters

LOS ANGELES — On September 1, 165 Iranian student demonstrators and several Americans were arrested on charges of rioting, inciting to riot, assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer, arson and noise violations as scores of baton-swinging Los Angeles cops savagely attacked an anti-shah demonstration of 400 in downtown L.A. Witnesses to the police riot reported numerous instances of demonstrators being beaten with police batons while lying bound and helpless on the ground. Thirty demonstrators and nine cops were taken to hospitals. All those arrested, including 35 women and ten juveniles, were released on bail ranging from \$250 to \$10,000.

The demonstration had been called to protest the U.S. media's coverage of the recent theater fire in Abadan, which killed nearly 400 people, as well as to oppose the "impending military intervention of the U.S. in Iran." It quickly became obvious that the cops were out for blood. They initially attacked the demonstration at the Federal building, attempting to prevent the demonstrators from using a bullhorn. The demonstrators responded with the chant, "Down with the Fascist Cops!"

The brutal attack on Iranian students which took place on September 1 is part of a familiar pattern of cop repression against minorities and leftists in Los Angeles. There has been considerable protest recently in response to the escalation of shootings by cops in L.A. ghettos, the strangulation deaths of two blacks this year while in police custody and the grisly murder of Andres Montes, a Puerto Rican supporter of the National United Workers Organization, the workerist front group of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party. Montes, who had been repeatedly harassed by cops, was chased and gunned down in his car on the night of July 24 on the official excuse that he had an outstanding traffic ticket! This ugly crime was not even reported to Montes' wife until two days later. Disarm the L.A. cops! Disband SWAT!



Nightstick-wielding cops charge Iranian demonstrators at September 1 anti-shah demonstration in Los Angeles.

When the demonstration moved to the *Los Angeles Times* building, the scene of numerous anti-shah rallies in the last two weeks protesting press coverage of events in Iran, about 50 cops moved in and began manhandling and arresting demonstration leaders. People coming to the aid of those being dragged away as well as others simply trying to get out of the area were viciously set upon by the marauding cops.

The police attack ended with over 100 demonstrators lying face down on the pavement with their arms tied behind their backs. An LAPD mobile booking station was brought to the spot to facilitate photographing and fingerprinting of those arrested before they were hauled off to jail.

Notwithstanding our serious political differences with all factions of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) and despite the unclarity surrounding responsibility for the theater fire in Abadan, the Spartacist League stands unconditionally for the defense of the anti-shah demonstrators against the bourgeois state.

The government has responded to the incident with a vicious redbaiting witchhunt of the ISA, whipping up public hysteria by attempting to link the

Iranian students with at least four different "terrorist" organizations, including the West German Red Army Faction (known in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang"). The hired killers of the FBI have already announced an "investigation" of the ISA to determine if there are "international terrorists" within its ranks who may have been responsible for violence at the September 1 demonstration!

This grotesque attempt to use a cop riot as a pretext for the harassment and victimization of leftists cannot be tolerated! The Spartacist League fully solidarizes with the ISA's demands for the immediate release of remaining prisoners, dismissal of all charges against them and the payment of all medical fees for cop-inflicted injuries. If these outrageous charges are upheld in court, it could well be the first step toward deportation proceedings for anti-shah militants, which would result in their likely torture and possible death at the blood-drenched hands of the shah's SAVAK executioners.

Drop All Charges Against the Demonstrators! Down with the International Terrorist Organizations of the Bourgeoisie: the SAVAK and the FBI/CIA! ■

The idea of class war is generally regarded as something connected with the *Communist Manifesto*, Bolshevism and other things alien to "the American way of life." Thus, it caused a bit of a flap last summer when a respectable trade-union leader, Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers (UAW), accused the leaders of big business of waging "a one-sided class war in this country - a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle-class of our society" (*UAW Washington Report*, 24 July).

This denunciation was made in his resignation statement from the presidential advisory Labor-Management Group. Of course, no one believes that this cynical trade-union bureaucrat has suddenly become radicalized and hostile to capitalism. No, Fraser is simply piqued with Carter and the Democratic Congress and chose strong and vaguely socialistic language in order to catch headlines.

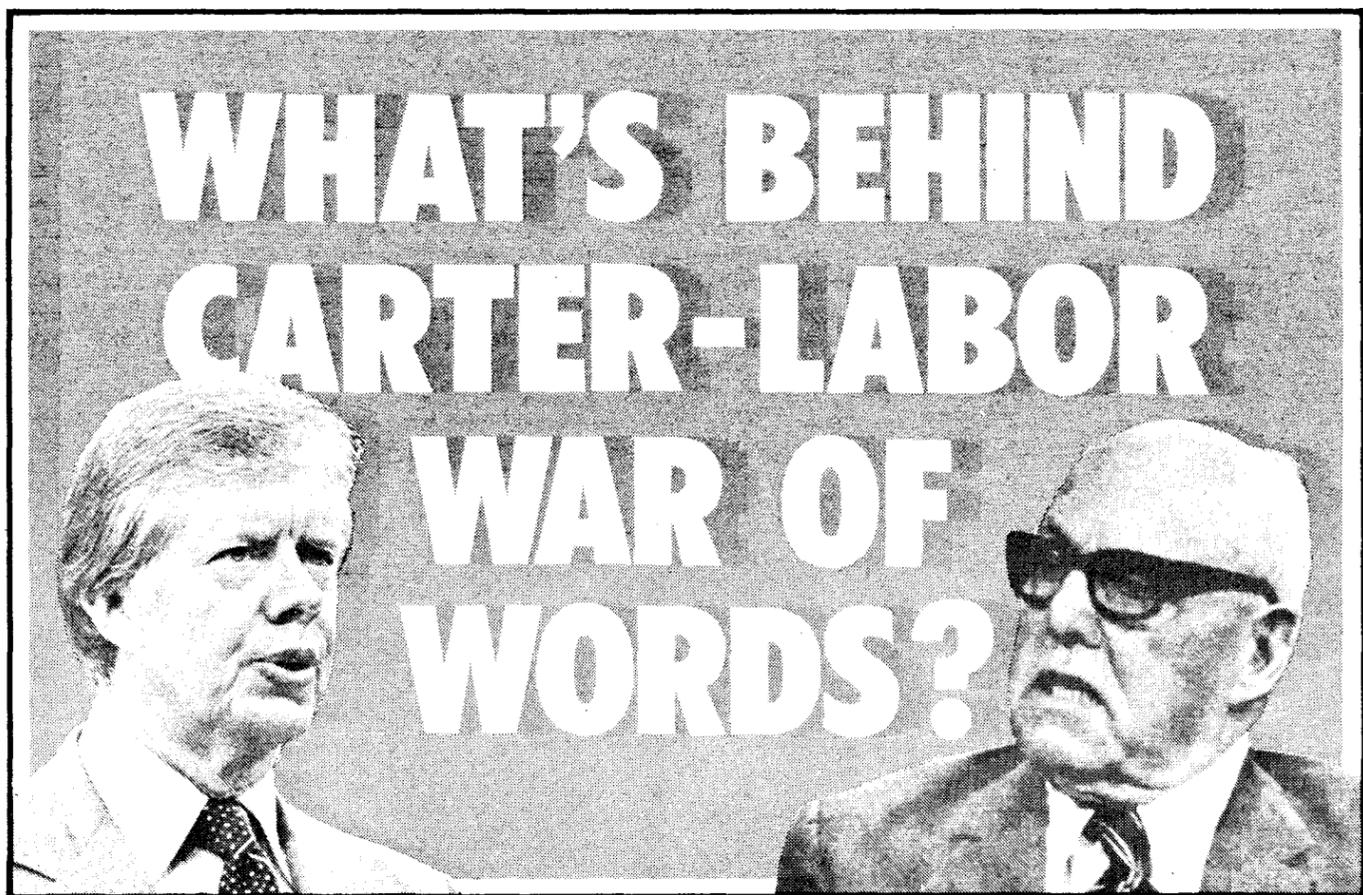
Significantly, that crusty old reactionary boss of all labor bosses, George Meany, backed Fraser up. Commenting on the UAW leader's "class war" statement, Meany's executive assistant, Thomas Donahue, said:

"Call it a class struggle, call it corporate power versus the people, call it the establishment overall.... We're the workers who want a bigger share of what they have, and they don't want to give it up."

New York Times, 30 July

And then Meany himself turned the heat up under Carter when in an almost unprecedented act he criticized the tentative postal settlement and predicted the ranks would vote it down. At this, Carter reportedly went through the roof. His secretary of labor, Ray Marshall, denounced the AFL-CIO chief for fomenting inflationary wage settlements. These heated exchanges caused *Newsweek* (21 August) to observe: "It was the sharpest breach between a Democratic President and organized labor since World War II."

It is perfectly understandable that the labor tops are fed up and infuriated with Carter, especially since their support probably gave him his narrow victory over Ford. All of labor's "must" legislation - a \$3 minimum wage, common situs picketing, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill, labor



the young wise-ass economist Barry Bosworth, is going around telling employers to take a hard line in wage settlements. More ominously, there is now much talk of Carter instituting "voluntary" wage-price guidelines.

Putting the Liberal Coalition Together Again?

So if the labor tops are finally reacting to Carter's right-wing economic policies, what do they intend to do about it? Fraser is calling for a meeting of labor, civil rights, environmentalist, women's and other "progressive" groups to counter the "new right." This is clearly a call to re-establish the old Rooseveltian coalition, which the labor bureaucracy did much to destroy in the 1960's. But however much Fraser and Meany are angry at Carter - and even at the majority of Democratic politicians, the present labor bureaucracy cannot and will not put back together the labor/minorities/middle class liberal coalition.

Against the background of the Great Depression, the organization of mass

Yet the fanatically anti-communist central trade-union leadership, under George Meany, remained one of the last bastions of bitter-end Vietnam hawks. In some ways the black question was even more destructive to the liberal/labor alliance than Vietnam. When the civil rights movement "moved north" in the mid-1960's, it encountered a race-caste system in unionized industry, not only in the labor-aristocratic job-trusted construction trades but also in "progressive" unions like the UAW.

These deep rifts in the Democratic Party hawks versus doves, labor officials versus black spokesmen—were largely responsible for Nixon's electoral victories in 1968 and again in 1972. Then along came Jimmy Carter to provide the momentary illusion of a reunited Democratic Party. Although well right of center in the Democratic Party (he nominated Henry Jackson at the 1972 convention), the Georgia governor had the advantage of not being centrally involved in the bitter faction fights of the late 1960's-early 1970's. Trade-union and black leaders could dupe themselves into believing that this "New South" millionaire-politician (Lester Maddox's protégé) would pursue liberal policies in the White House, and Carter encouraged such comforting illusions.

Once Carter was elected, the American people wanted to think the best of him. So he did well in the opinion polls in his first months in office. But in near record time all major sections of American society have turned against the man in the White House. Not one important constituency stands solidly behind Carter. And all his opponents smell the blood of a one-term president.

If Carter is now on the outs with the basic constituencies of Democratic Party liberalism, he is also increasingly unpopular with the forces of bourgeois conservatism. The homeowners' "tax revolt," with its spectacular victory in California's Prop 13, is essentially a right-wing Republican campaign which can only damage Carter and the Democrats. And to top it off, Wall Street is appalled that Carter has let the dollar fall right through the floor -30 percent against the Japanese yen and 15 percent against the West German mark in the past year (see "Behind the Dollar Crisis," *WT* No. 204, 5 May).

The root cause of Carter's near-universal unpopularity is the continuing troubled state of the U.S. economy. Although a stop-go recovery from the 1974-75 depression has continued under Carter, the unemployment rate is still significantly higher than in the early 1970's. And this recovery in particular has brought to the fore the racist nature of American society. The unemploy-

ment rate for blacks has been consistently twice as high as the national average, and at present the jobless rate for black teenagers is 37 percent (*U.S. Department of Labor News*, 4 August).

A more immediate cause of mass dissatisfaction with the Carter administration is inflation. In Ford's last year in office the inflation rate was slightly under 6 percent; in the first half of this year consumer prices have gone up more than 10 percent at an annual rate! Real wages have fallen sharply since last winter. Although total national income is now higher, the average real take-home pay for a worker with three dependents is today 3.5 percent lower than in 1974 (*U.S. Department of Labor News*, 28 July).

The "Tax Revolt" and Public Employee Strikes

The present attacks on Carter's economic policies from both organized labor and the suburbanite "tax revolt," though from opposite directions, center on government expenditure. For the moment one of the key economic contradictions of American capitalism lies in the relationship of the state sector to the rest of the economy. Perhaps the most important change in the structure of the American economy since World War II has been the enormous expansion of the state sector relative to private capital. Between 1950 and 1976 the labor force in private industry (manufacturing, construction, mining) increased from 18.4 to 23.4 million or 27 percent; in the same period the number of government employees increased more than two and a half times going from 6.0 to 15.9 million (*Economic Report of the President*, 1978).

For several years now the American ruling class has been increasingly upset about what it views as a grossly bloated, parasitic state sector. Demands for a radical redistribution of economic resources from government expenditure to private capital are far from limited to neanderthal right wingers of the Barry Goldwater/Milton Friedman stripe. In the early 1970's the prestigious liberal economic thinktank, Brookings Institute, published an influential study, *Capital Needs of the Seventies*. This study concluded that profits were inadequate to generate an acceptable rate of economic growth and recommended that the federal government run a budget surplus, channeling the unused tax revenue into private investment. Significantly, one of the authors of the Brookings study was Barry Bosworth, now one of Carter's top economic advisors.

Particularly since the 1974-75 depres-



Strike pickets in front of New York Post Office.

law reform, national health insurance—has been decisively defeated by an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. In some cases, such as the minimum wage and national health insurance, Carter himself shot down the AFL-CIO program.

But it is not only in legislative matters that Carter has kicked the labor bureaucracy in the teeth. The Carter administration is trying to eliminate the practice of union scale in work done under federal government contracts. To add insult to injury, the head of Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability,

industrial unions and a broad political radicalization. FDR put together an alliance which made the Democrats the dominant party for the next three decades. However, in the 1960's the component parts of the liberal coalition ripped apart and turned savagely against one another. The old Rooseveltian alliance was destroyed centrally over two issues: Vietnam and black equality.

Faced with a long, bloody and losing colonial war, first the liberals and then a majority of the U.S. ruling class became defeatist, that is, opted for withdrawal.

sion, fiscal austerity has been a major theme of bourgeois politics. And Carter, with his anti-big-government, phony populist campaign, also played this tune. A major Carter campaign pledge was a balanced budget by 1980 without new taxes, but by "economizing" on expenditure.

Of course, Carter's "balanced budget by 1980" has gone the way of all his other economic promises. Ford's last budget, for fiscal 1977, was \$45 billion in the red; Carter's budget for fiscal 1978 is projected to be \$62 billion in deficit (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, *The United States Budget in Brief*, Fiscal Year 1979). A particularly expansionary item in Carter's budget is the one labeled "national defense," which is slated to increase 20 percent in two years.

The brunt of the fiscal austerity drive is hitting state and particularly municipal employees. In the past several years almost every major city has cut the real wages of its workers. Since 1971 the real income of municipal employees in New York City, San Francisco and Atlanta has declined over 20 percent (*New York Times*, 7 June 1978)! In addition, according to Charles Brown, spokesman for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), in the past decade half a million public employee jobs have been contracted out to private firms, largely non-union.

Now facing even stronger attacks due to the "tax revolt," public employees are fighting back. The past few months have seen transit workers wildcat in Washington, D.C., garbage men walk out in Detroit, firemen strike in Memphis, Louisville, Wichita and Manchester, New Hampshire. At the beginning of the school year teachers' strikes broke out in a dozen states and are continuing in Ohio (Cleveland) and Connecticut (Bridgeport). This country is in the midst of a strike wave concentrated among city workers but by no means limited to them. Between January and June the number of strikes beginning in the month jumped from 185 to 545 (U.S. Department of Labor, *News*, 31 July).

The present strike wave is in part inspired by the long, militant coal miners' strike last winter. In terms of what the miners won, the strike settlement must be judged a qualified defeat. But to workers throughout the country, the miners' strike set an inspiring example of militancy. They saw the UMW ranks stay out 110 days, beat back massive scabbing, defy a presidential Taft-Hartley injunction and finally settle for a 37 percent wage and benefit increase over the three-year contract. (The coal strike was not actually over wages, but over defense of the right of locals to strike during the contract. In order to attract workers to this booming industry, the coal operators offered a money package of over 30 percent even before the strike began.)

The 37 percent the miners won is not only far greater than what most employers are offering, it is also far greater than most union bureaucrats are even asking for. When a postal worker looks at the coal settlement, he asks himself, "Why

the hell should I accept half of that?" The answer is: don't accept it — strike!

The Bureaucracy Against Unionization

While Fraser/Meany's sharp criticisms of Carter coincide with a growing strike wave, the union tops are not primarily responding to pressure from below. They are upset about their lack of political influence given a Democratic president and congress. Fraser made an interesting comparison between the status of the West European labor leaders and their American counter-



WV Photo

Striking miners protested government strike-breaking efforts as state troopers escorted scab coal haulers.



AP

parts. Although the West European unions are socialist-oriented, he said, "they [the West European labor leaders] get treated in a more civil manner over there than we do over here" (*Business Week*, 14 August).

Compared to the 1973-74 British miners' strike (which broke the Tories' wage control policy and brought down the government) and Italy's "hot autumn" of 1969 (which won a 100 percent cost-of-living escalator for all unionized workers), organized labor in the U.S. has caused little trouble for the capitalist class in the past few decades. The American ruling class, including the top Democratic politicians, are not so much hostile toward the union movement as contemptuous of it. The Carters and Rockefellers believe that Meany/Fraser are not only unwilling to engage in serious class struggle but are incapable of doing so. Some Democratic politicians still find the union machines useful in electioneering. But the bureaucrats can no longer turn out their members' votes as they used to.

The extreme conservatism of the Meanyite/Reutherite bureaucracy has damaged the unions at the most basic economic level—the organization of the labor force. The unionized section of the labor force peaked in 1954 at 35 percent and has been steadily declining ever since, reaching a new low of 26 percent in 1976 (U.S. Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975*; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Yearbook of the United States, 1977*). AFL-CIO membership is now actually 200,000 less than it was in 1975, a depression year!

Since 1950 there has been a massive transfer of unionized industry from the Northeast and Midwest to the "open shop" South and Southwest. Important union towns like Cleveland and Akron are becoming industrial burnt-over areas, with a growing population of closed-down factories. Almost all the industrial giants that have arisen since World War II (e.g., IBM, Texas Instruments) are non-union.

Yet the unions' present strategic positions should give the labor movement a powerful weapon in any organizing drive. Almost all important non-union products are transported by Teamsters or unionized railwaymen, and most are also processed and distributed by unionized workers. What is needed to organize the "right to work" South/Southwest is the systematic use of secondary labor boycotts in defiance of Taft-Hartley. But the cowardly, legalistic bureaucracy is afraid to confront the capitalist state in this life-and-death question. Thus, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers spends millions trying to organize J.P. Stevens, Burlington and the other Southern textile magnates, while every day its own members cut and sew non-union cloth!

What the Meanys and Frasers fear above all else is that a massive unionization drive against hardened capitalist resistance would radicalize the workers. The Carolinas or Texas cannot be unionized through routine, peaceful actions against individual employers. Organizing Southern textiles, for example, would certainly involve union defense squads going up against the cops, National Guardsmen and Klansmen. This would be real class war, not just talk. And this kind of class war would shake up trade unionists throughout the country, not only those workers directly involved. Imagine the impact in Detroit if the South Carolina National Guard attacked a group of black and white textile or rubber workers in an organizing strike.

The present (old) union bureaucrats remember the 1930's. They know that the violent class battles which built the industrial unions—the 1934 San Francisco and Minneapolis general strikes, the 1936 Flint sitdown, the bloody defeats in Little Steel in 1937, the final assault on Ford Dearborn in 1941—had an enormously radicalizing effect on the working class. A generation of young militants, usually affiliated with left-wing organizations, came to the fore and led the new unions. Through its role in the early CIO, the Stalinist Communist Party became a major force in the labor movement. Many of today's top bureaucrats, particularly in the more left-wing CIO unions like the UAW, won their spurs by purging the reds in the early Cold War years.

The top union leaders are pathologi-

cally afraid of radicals mobilizing the ranks against them. Members of left-wing organizations are not numerous in the unions today and, in good part because of their own opportunism, pose no immediate threat to the entrenched bureaucratic machines. Yet the bureaucrats react to any and every opposition by fulminating against the "communist conspiracy."

The bureaucrats sense that the membership, especially younger workers and blacks, are deeply alienated from and potentially hostile to them. They fear that any serious level of class struggle would quickly radicalize the ranks and

they would be thrown out by an angry explosion from below.

The Bureaucracy Against the Blacks

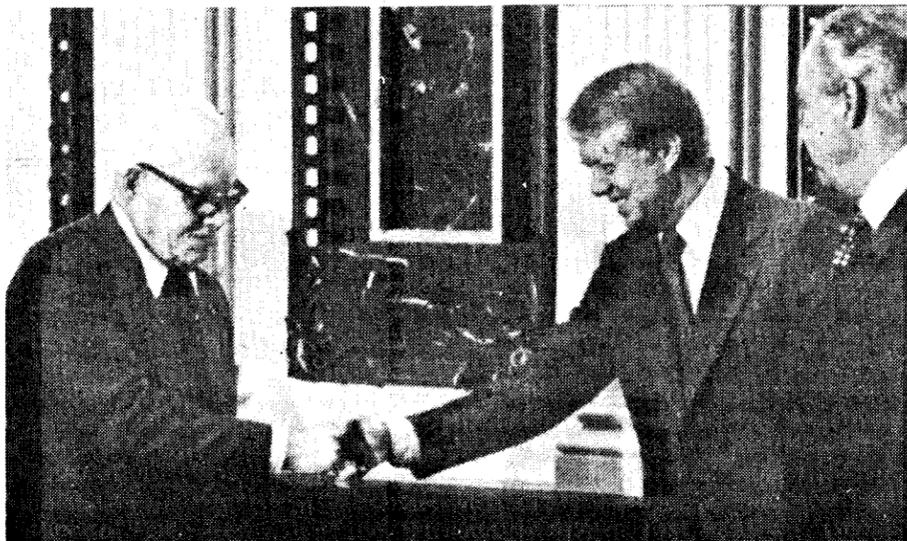
If the bureaucracy has seriously weakened the objective economic leverage of the unions, its undermining of internal working-class solidarity is an even greater crime. The Meanyite/Reutherite machines have created a situation where the black people, including a large section of its proletarian component, view organized labor as a pillar of an oppressive white society.

As long as racism was mainly identified with legal, institutionalized segregation in the South, it was cheap and easy for union leaders to pose as champions of black equality. But when the civil rights agitation shifted to the North in the mid-1960's, the labor officialdom found itself under attack for defending a de facto segregated system. Unionized industry is run along race-caste lines with blacks concentrated in the worst-paying, hardest, dirtiest jobs, while the skilled trades are overwhelmingly white. This condition is maintained by racially biased hiring, training, upgrading and seniority practices.

A genuine class-struggle leadership of the trade unions would have fought for all it was worth to eliminate racism in the shops. It would have instituted plant-wide seniority in place of departmental progression, thus removing the worst racist inequities of the present seniority system. It would have engaged in preferential recruitment of blacks and special training programs within the framework of a union hiring hall. In short, a class-struggle labor leadership would and must be the best defenders of specially-oppressed black workers and of the democratic rights of the black people in general.

Instead Meany, Reuther, Abel & Co. defended the racist status quo, often acting in concert with the employers. So in the late 1960's black leaders and their white liberal and leftist supporters turned sharply against the labor officialdom. They demanded the government eliminate racial discrimination in industry, if necessary taking legal, forcible action against the unions. Given their liberal and/or ethnic communalist political outlook, black activists natu-

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AFL-CIO

Meany welcomes peanut boss Carter to AFL-CIO meeting in May.

Carter-Labor...

(continued from page 7)

rally did not regard the American state as an instrument of *capitalist class domination*. Rather they saw in it a potential agency for social justice. Black activists and liberal reformers came to view trade-union independence as something akin to "states' rights," a doctrine designed to keep blacks down.

For bourgeois politicians "affirmative action" is a perfect divide-and-rule policy. These tokenistic gestures placate discontented blacks, while at the same time weakening and discrediting the workers movement. The ruling class advocates of "affirmative action" in unionized industry are far from limited to liberals, who normally try to stay on the good side of the black constituency. Richard Nixon, whom nobody would call a supporter of black equality, advocated "affirmative action," notably the 1969 Philadelphia Plan for the building trades.

"Affirmative action" is a dagger in the heart of the workers movement, and not only because it empowers the government to throw out and rewrite union-negotiated contracts. "Affirmative action" is designed to divide the working class from within. Black workers now look to the capitalist state—even under a Nixon or Ford—to eliminate racial oppression at the point of production.

Because the present labor bureaucracy is organically tied to the racist status quo in industry, it cannot gain the political confidence of black workers. Any talk about reviving the labor/black/liberal coalition of yesteryear is just that—talk. Carter can easily sabotage any attempt by Fraser, not to speak of Meany, to bloc with the NAACP/Urban League in order to pressure the Democrats to the left. All Carter has to do is make noises about pushing "affirmative action" in the UAW skilled trades, and the black leaders will once again turn sharply against the labor tops and line up four-square behind the Justice Department.

A trade-union leadership which defends the racist status quo will remain politically impotent. If the labor movement is not itself the best defender of black equality, bourgeois politicians, even notorious right-wingers like Nixon, can always exploit racial divisions within the working class.

Oust the Bureaucrats! Not Ted Kennedy, But a Workers Party!

The labor bureaucracy would not have to grin and bear Carter if some liberal Democratic politician were willing to stand against the president. But this is a big "if." The Democratic Party would rather not dump Carter in 1980. This would mean a messy fight, tearing open old wounds and inflicting

new ones. Still, Carter might just be inept enough to pressure Ted Kennedy into coming forward as the liberal great white hope four years earlier than he would have liked to.

While the bureaucrats are waiting and hoping for Kennedy to commit himself or Carter to become more conciliatory, some of them may indulge in a certain amount of left talk. In a July 19 press conference following his resignation from the Labor-Management Group, Fraser raised the vague threat of a labor party if the Democratic leadership didn't mend its ways:

"And for the first time in years our people are raising the question: 'Is this coalition that we have with the Democratic Party, is it futile? And if it is, should we start rethinking the old question of a Labor Party?'
"Well, I don't think we're there yet, really."

This kind of vague labor party talk has become a standard ploy for union bureaucrats who are opposed to the head of the Democratic Party, but don't yet openly want to support his opponent. In this regard, it is instructive to look at the last time union leaders talked about a labor party. This was at the 1972 Democratic convention. The Meanyite machine went all out in support of "the senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson. Meany and his cohorts were infuriated and disgusted with McGovern's victory, believing the Democratic Party had somehow been captured by radicals, pinkos and hippies. In the presidential election the central labor bureaucracy adopted a pro-Nixon neutrality.

However, in order to show their displeasure with the Democrats without openly embracing the Republicans, these hard-line pro-war bureaucrats also made a few labor party noises. An unnamed AFL-CIO official leaked to the press:

"I have heard union presidents here who have never in years talked of anything but support of the Democratic Party saying now is the time to have a labor party."
New York Times, 12 July 1972

In response to a leading question by the "labor party" cretins of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League (WL), Steelworkers head I.W. Abel (who made the seconding speech for Henry Jackson) said: "I think we have just about reached the point to have a labor party" (*Bulletin*, 24 July 1972). In 1972 the Meanyites thus identified the idea of a labor party with extreme imperialist militarism.

Although the present labor bureaucracy always presents the idea of a labor party in a hypocritical or even outright reactionary manner, that they mention it at all indicates the American working class, despite its political backwardness, does not regard the Democratic Party as its own. Most workers view the Republicans as the party of big business, while believing the Democrats can serve the interests of organized labor. They regard the trade unions as "their"

maneuvers of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Today Iran's working class has just begun to re-enter the battle. Throughout the 1960's a number of militant but scattered strikes were waged, but the veterans of the struggles of the 1940's and 1950's had been largely decimated and a new generation of proletarians had flowed into the factories from the villages. Under the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party this

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NEW YORK CITY



IMPOTENT LEGALISM OR CLASS STRUGGLE: WHAT PROGRAM TO ORGANIZE SOUTHERN TEXTILE WORKERS?
On September 14 a rally sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union was held in New York's garment district to boost the consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens products. The union bureaucrats, black preachers and right-wing social democrats who spoke at the rally offered only the moral pressure tactics which for more than a decade have proved ineffective in organizing the mills of the southern textile giant. Seamen of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, however, had an answer. Their signs called for putting the weight of the entire labor movement behind the struggle of southern textile workers for union wages and benefits—by "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) J.P. Stevens products.

organizations in a sense in which they do not so regard the Democratic Party. This distinction expresses an embryonic sense of class consciousness in the political field.

Since the rise of mass industrial unions in the late 1930's, revolutionary Marxists (i.e., Trotskyists) have considered the labor party demand a legitimate and important tactic. The need for such a tactic arises from the vast disproportion in forces between the revolutionary vanguard and the trade unions. A revolutionary propaganda league numbering in the hundreds cannot present itself to the American working class as a credible alternative to the Democratic Party; the AFL-CIO can. But revolutionaries do not call upon the present committed pro-capitalist bureaucracy, whom militant, class-conscious workers hate, to build a labor party which would fight for working-class interests and ultimately power.

Of course, no one believes that Meany, Fraser & Co. are actually going to break with the Democrats and set up a labor party—well, almost no one. The bizarre WL sect, led from Britain by Gerry Healy, claims the present union officialdom will build a labor party or can be pressured into doing so. The WL's *Bulletin* (21 July) blew up Fraser's vague, guarded labor party remarks as an expression of mass pressure from below:

"United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser admitted that pressure was

mounting in the ranks of his union and throughout the labor movement for a break with the Carter administration and the Democratic Party and for the formation of an independent Labor Party."

In 1972 the WL was also ecstatic about I.W. Abel's mention of a labor party, whose basic aim would have been to bomb Vietnam back into the stone age. The American Healyites' attitude toward the labor bureaucracy on this question resembles the famous dog trained by the Russian psychologist Ivan Pavlov. Whenever some big labor faker mentions the four syllables "labor party," the WL starts salivating and wagging its tail in expectation.

The Workers League's perpetual campaign for George Meany to build a labor party (no doubt with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as his would-be secretary of state) has become a joke in the American left. However, the Healyites' caricature of the labor party demand highlights the difference between a revolutionary and an opportunist use of this tactic. Revolutionaries demand that an independent party based on the trade unions fight for proletarian class power, i.e., a workers government. We do not call for a workers party based on the unions with a reformist program like the British Labour Party; much less do we call for one based on the fanatical anti-communism and national chauvinism of the Meanyite bureaucracy.

During the 1972 presidential elections, we wrote an article which dealt extensively with the labor party question ("The Only Choice: Build a Workers Party!" *WV* No. 13, November 1972). Today, when the working class is engaged in greater economic struggles than in the past few years, when the Democratic Party leadership is openly contemptuous of organized labor, the conclusion of that article retains its full force:

"The rising line of working-class discontent can sweep the entrenched bureaucracy from office, but in the absence of a powerful and fully class-conscious leadership it may do so only to replace the discredited Cold Warriors with a slicker version of the same, armed with social-democratic rhetoric for duping the class instead of with the old lead pipes. Those who would pose a labor party demand stripped in advance of its revolutionary transitional program, in alliance with the labor bureaucracy instead of over the political corpses of the Meany and Woodcocks [Fraser's predecessor as UAW president], would doom the working class to an illusory victory in the consolidation of a new 'progressive' facade for the more effective continuation of the same class treason."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Candidate...

(continued from page 12)

are closed while entire blocks rot and then burn up, subway service is cut back while its cost is raised again and again. The human cost of capitalist decay is appalling. Jobless youth hang out in the doorways of broken-down buildings on streets where survival often means crime. Killer cops terrorize the ghettos, shooting first and asking questions later. Old people live in poverty and constant fear of lumpen violence.

Meanwhile, the city's communities, long governed according to traditional ethnic Democratic Party politics, sporadically explode in bouts of organized race hate. The recent Crown Heights confrontation between blacks and Hasidic Jews is a bizarre eruption of the racial hostility which underlies New York's social life. Such grotesque outbursts increase as the potential for a class-based fight is derailed into race battles by "community control" reformists and pork-barrel Democratic hacks.

As New York perceptibly slides into barbarism, it still remains the center of U.S. finance capital. The guardians of imperialist interest cannot afford to let the city go down the drain just to please reactionary nativists to whom New York represents the dominion of Jews, Italians, foreigners, sex "deviants" and "welfare chiselers." But while local politicians cloyingly proclaim "I Love New York" and promise to keep the city functional for the businesses and banks, they offer the city's desperate masses nothing but belt-tightening admonitions and racist "war on crime" rhetoric.

It is not that the politicians do not want to make false promises to the people (such is the liberals' stock-in-trade), but rather that the emptiness of the usual false promises is obvious to all. Who could really believe Jimmy Carter when he stands atop the rubble that is the South Bronx and mouths born-again baloney about a New York renaissance? The city's problems are so immense and interconnected that liberal lies and reformist illusions ring hollow.

How can anyone talk about decent health care, mass transit, housing, sanitation, etc. without posing a fight to

expropriate the banks which are bleeding the city white with their billion-dollar debt service? What prospect can there be for quality education for ghetto youth when there are no jobs to offer them after graduation? Isn't it obvious that elementary rights—like the right to walk around at night without fear—would require a cataclysmic social transformation? A principled socialist



Marjorie Stamberg campaigns.

campaign can make more sense to thoughtful working people in besieged New York than the politicians' cynical promises of too little too late.

Mobilize NYC Labor—Break with the Democrats!

New York has long been a Democratic town. The Democratic primaries are the elections that count; "fusion" candidates like former Republican mayor John Lindsay can win only through the support of the Reform Democratic clubs. The Democrats administer the city on behalf of the banks, whose program is to drive the unions into the ground. And their loyal flunkies, the labor "statesmen," cheer them on and deflect the union ranks from struggle.

But if New York is a Democratic fiefdom poisoned by explosive ethnic politics, it is still a union town. And that crucial fact is at the heart of the Spartacist program. In this city which has been led past the brink of disaster by

Democratic reformers and their union bureaucrat accomplices, the Spartacist candidate is running against the Democrats on a platform of class struggle: dump the labor bureaucrats who tie workers to the party of capital, build a political party of labor based on the unions to fight for a workers government!

Only a combative New York labor movement can hold ground against the banks' assault. The Spartacist campaign stands for the mobilization of city labor—for a working-class fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited, a fight that can cut through the ethnic divisions which pit working people against one another and cripple the potential for united militant action against the banks.

New York's powerful labor movement has been paralyzed by the reactionary, job-trusting trade-union bureaucracy. The bureaucrats' indifference to the plight of the masses has led directly to counterposition along racial lines between unionized workers and other strata of the working people. The bureaucrats' criminal passivity in the face of the "fiscal crisis" abetted Big MAC as it slashed jobs, froze wages and extorted the unions' pension funds.

If the unions' Gotbaums, Shankers and Guinans really represented the interests of city workers, they could unite the city's working population behind the leadership of the working class. The 1975 "fiscal crisis" cried out for a citywide strike to beat back the banks' assault on the living standards of New Yorkers. Such a strike could have been broadly popular among sections of the middle class and black and Spanish-speaking poor who generally view themselves as competing with unionized workers for a share of "the pie." For as the banks waged war on the unions, they also attacked the masses—cutting welfare, abolishing rent control, destroying the free-tuition city college system, etc. If the labor movement were to mount an effective challenge to the banks' stranglehold over New York City, it could rally the bulk of the population to its side.

Our Campaign and Theirs

New York, the financial heart of the imperialist world system, provides a

good opportunity for a revolutionary internationalist electoral campaign. But it's a tough city for reformists with their honey-coated panaceas and inch-at-a-time schemes. Nevertheless the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are pushing their usual reformist plabum.

The CP and SWP have nearly identical election slogans. The CP says its candidates stand for "People Before Profits." And the SWP? "Human Needs Before Profits," of course. Both serve up the usual smorgasbord of tax-the-rich fare: one exempts incomes below \$25,000, the other below \$30,000. But there's not a dime's worth of difference between their programs. Both aim at appealing to the "progressive" liberals to reform the capitalist state. Both redefine socialism as if it were a matter of the capitalist rulers merely adjusting their "priorities" between merciless profit-gouging and "human rights" tokenism. The SWP has even gone so far as to portray its version of the Transitional Program—Trotsky's program to mobilize the working class for the seizure of state power—as if it could be an amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Only the Spartacist candidate stands forthrightly for the smashing of the capitalist state apparatus and the destruction of the profit system. Her program cannot be won at the polls, but on the battle lines of the class struggle through the fight for revolutionary leadership in the unions.

Down with Big MAC and the EFCB Wipe Out the Debt—Expropriate the Banks!

Restore Open Admissions—Free Tuition with Living Stipend! Down with the Bakke Decision!

For "30 for 40"—Jobs for All!

Abolish Gun Control Legislation—Disarm the Cops!

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

Down with Carter's Warmongering Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade—For Strike Action Against Imperialist Military Adventures!

Oust the Pro-Democratic Party Union Hacks For a Labor Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Strike Against Postal Arbitration Ruling!

SEPTEMBER 16 - Some 500,000 U.S. postal workers, who have been battling for six weeks to dump the miserable contract that the Carter administration imposed on them, were greeted yesterday by the announcement of the terms of a settlement arrived at under compulsory arbitration. This contract, although it contains some improvements in the wages package, is if anything worse than the last management offer, including a major inroad into the vital no-layoffs clause.

The arbitration "award" provides a grand total of \$300 in additional wages to be paid out over the life of the agreement, raising the estimated increase in pay from 19 percent to a piddling 21 percent over three years. The contract decreed by special federal mediator James J. Healy also removed the cap on the cost-of-living clause. At the same time, however, Healy grievously assaulted the postal workers' traditional no-layoff clause, requiring newly hired workers to put in six years of continuous service before they are protected against layoffs. The no-layoff clause had, in fact, been maintained intact in the government's previous offer. Thus while Healy was handing the unions a few more pennies with one hand, with his other hand he was giving a green light to management to accelerate its automation and speedup cam-

paign to slash labor costs by massive cutbacks in the workforce.

The estimated wage hike of 21 percent over three years is vastly lower than the 37 percent increase won by coal miners and the 35 percent recently won by major rail unions. Not coincidentally, Healy's "award" to postal workers lies within the 7.5 percent yearly increase limits that the Carter administration has been trying to impose on unions by "jawboning" and which even conservative labor skate George Meany has balked at.

Postal union leaders responded to this outrageous deal by feigning disappointment, a complete show of hypocrisy. These hacks have acted as the lackeys of the government throughout the contract negotiations. The head of every union endorsed the original deal offered by Postmaster General William Bolger and President Carter. Then, after being soundly repudiated by their memberships, they backed the new negotiating procedure proposed by the government, which permitted bargaining only over wages and the no-layoff clause. Not only did they agree to compulsory arbitration of these two issues if they were not resolved within 15 days, but they handed away the just demands of postal workers for a shorter workweek, better safety conditions, an end to speedup and forced overtime, upgrading of part-

timers and casuals, and defense of dozens of bulk mail workers fired and facing criminal and civil charges for wildcatting against the contract.

Postal workers are only the latest group of trade unionists to get the shaft under compulsory arbitration, presided over by such blatantly pro-capitalist tools as Healy, a professor of labor relations at the Harvard Business School! While the two-bit reformists on the left are busy proclaiming that the "right to ratify contracts" is the solution to the problems of all trade unionists, the government contemptuously spits on the postal workers' fully justified rejection of the contract, precisely because it knows the postal union leaders are too gutless to undertake any militant action. Labor must rely on its own strength—only the prompt and solid exercise of the *strike weapon* can defeat the Democratic Party government's vicious anti-labor policies!

Predictably, Moe Biller, head of the strategic New York Metro chapter of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), denounced the arbitration award. The opportunist Biller has all along been sniping at the national APWU leadership from the sidelines, while carefully avoiding any confrontation with the government. Biller and his counterpart in the New York branch of the Letter Carriers, Vince Sombrotto,

have consistently refused to call the key New York locals out on strike, repudiating the militant traditions responsible for the success of the 1970 national postal wildcat.

Today Biller is wrangling with national APWU leaders over a new mail ratification vote. Postal workers must place no confidence in any of these labor traitors. They must demand an immediate strike. Joint mass meetings of the unions should be held in every city; strike committees should be elected and picket duty assigned. Shut down the Post Office nationwide! ■

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New Fascist "Bookstore" Opened

UAW Must Drive Out Detroit Nazis!

DETROIT—A tiny band of local fascists opened their third "bookstore" here September 3 after being evicted from two previous headquarters. The new black-painted office, its outside walls provocatively emblazoned with slogans like "We bury our competition" and "C'mon inside, it's a gas," immediately provoked community dismay and anger. The racially mixed West Side neighborhood of Poles, Mexicans and blacks has held almost daily demonstrations against the Nazis, the largest drawing over 250 in a neighborhood march led by the Michigan Avenue Community Organization (MACO).

The small clot of Hitler lovers led by one Bill Russell has already proven its terrorist aims. During demonstrations against the fascists' previous headquarters in Brightmoor last spring, the Nazis singled out one black protester for a four-month campaign of terror, includ-

ing firebombing threats. Finally these scum jumped his 14- and 11-year-old sons in front of their home, knocking out one boy's teeth. The cops' reaction, as usual, was to laugh off the threats and tell the black resident to "get along" with his "neighbors." Finally he pressed charges, but was arrested himself for "misuse of firearms." (After three court appearances and \$400 in legal fees the charges were finally dropped last week.)

Community figures like Reverend Stokes of MACO and the local trade-union bureaucracy keep preaching reliance on the cops and courts to take care of the Nazis. But this is the *third* time in less than eight months that the fascists have resurfaced, their morale intact, after cat-and-mouse legalistic maneuvering under police protection. It was only last winter that a young woman was slashed in the thigh by a razor-wielding fascist right in front of a United Auto Workers (UAW) anti-Nazi

meeting. How much longer will the fascists be allowed to get away with these bloody provocations?

It is high time that the labor movement takes things into its own hands and drives these would-be mass murderers out of Detroit once and for all! Two militants from UAW Local 600 (River Rouge) have been fighting for this perspective. On September 10 one of them, Matt Prince, raised a motion at the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit meeting:

"That this unit of Local 600 UAW initiate a mass, labor-centered demonstration in front of the Nazi headquarters within two weeks around the slogan, 'Smash the Detroit Nazi Threat.' We call on the General Council, International and other Detroit-area trade unions, black and other minority organizations and all other anti-Nazi organizations and individuals to mobilize and join us in this demonstration."

As their leaflet pointed out, "We

cannot rely on the Mayor [Coleman Young] whose anti-labor record includes his strongarming of the sanitationmen's strike. It's Young's cops who routinely terrorize the black communities and stand guard at the Nazi headquarters." There are over 40,000 auto workers employed at the Cadillac and River Rouge complexes only five minutes from the fascist headquarters. It is these workers, who have both the interest and the power to drive the fascists out, that must be mobilized!

Although this little gang of racist terrorists on the West Side may today look like just a few crazed fanatics, the potential threat of fascism is real. It's no accident that the cops protect *them* and arrest those who fight back against the Nazis—they know that the fascists are ultimately their best allies against the working class and oppressed.

For a working-class mobilization to drive the Nazis out of Detroit! ■

Press Strike...

(continued from page 12)

ing only the drivers was asked after Murdoch's statement if the other unions would abandon the pressmen. "At this time, absolutely not" was his ominous response. McDonald then scandalously echoed Murdoch's charges against the pressmen: "We want to make sure the issues are trade-union issues and not featherbedding."

Though a special meeting of the Council on September 18 reaffirmed solidarity with the pressmen, what is clearly going on is mounting pressure on the pressmen to be more "reasonable" in the negotiations—or face going it alone. The Council has retained mediator/arbitrator Theodore Kheel, veteran of many newspaper strikes, as an "advisor" to determine, as McDonald put it in another dig at the pressmen, if "both sides" are engaged in "good faith bargaining" and to try to arrange a compromise.

Both McDonald and driver's union head Doug LaChance, who ordered his members to cross the picket lines in June at the *Post*, made clear that their continued support is conditional on the pressmen being more "flexible," i.e., giving up jobs to the rapacious publishers. Kheel is these bureaucrats' front

man to help the publishers force a sell-out on the pressmen. The meeting succeeded in getting William Kennedy, president of the pressmen's local, to accept Kheel's presence in future negotiations, something Kennedy had reportedly been resisting.

The publishers, out for blood, have little use for a mediator and have resisted Kheel's role in the talks. But there should be no illusions as to what kind of "compromise" he will try to engineer. His last major settlement, between Local 6 of the International Typographical Union (ITU) and the New York papers in 1974, gave the publishers just what they wanted. In a dispute strikingly similar to the present one, over manning scales, Kheel got the ITU to agree to an 11-year contract which guaranteed current members' jobs in exchange for letting management gut the union through attrition. "Big 6," once the proud powerhouse of ITU militancy and strength, will be a shadow of its former self at the end of the agreement and is already weak and cowering, the only union in the current strike to refuse to back the pressmen out of fear that the publishers might cancel its contract.

But the pressmen need more than the lessons of history and appeals to union solidarity to keep the strike solid. They

need a strategy to defeat Murdoch's wooing of the other unions, the impact of which will increase with every payless payday, and to win the support of the news-hungry New York populace. A winning perspective, rather than the prospect of isolation, would be opened up by the launching of a *daily labor newspaper*.

A labor daily, staffed by the strikers at full union scale and financially backed by the New York unions, would be enormously popular with everyone but the publishers and their first cousins putting out the parasitic "interim" papers. It would provide work and income for the reporters (only about 25 percent of whom have found work with the "interim" papers), mailers, drivers, etc., eliminating the threat of defections. A campaign to financially support the paper would draw the rest of the labor movement behind the strike. And a high-quality paper, without the capitalist advertising which is the bulk of the "interim" papers, would be a hit with millions of New Yorkers.

In addition to solidifying and popularizing the strike, a labor daily would really put the screws to the publishers. A union-scale daily would further expose the inherently strike-breaking nature of the parasitic papers, whose "independent" facade was already exploded by revelations of Murdoch's secret bankrolling of an option to buy the *Daily Metro*. Though Murdoch and *Metro* publisher Fred Iseman reversed a staff walkout by canceling the option contract, Murdoch still has a lien on the paper for his "loans," and it is widely rumored that he may attempt to continue the morning paper on a non-union basis, perhaps folding the money-losing *Post*, after the strike.

The publishers have the unified support of New York business and financial interests, backed up by the Democratic mayor Ed Koch and Democratic governor Hugh Carey, both of whom have bemoaned the "chaos" in the city and blamed it on the striking unions instead of the banks who have been bleeding the city dry. The unholy alliance of big business, the capitalist politicians and the publishers is headed by Rupert Murdoch, the sinister multimillionaire with an empire of nearly 100 newspapers, magazine and T.V. stations in Australia, Britain and the U.S. Murdoch built his fortune in Australia and played a key and pernicious role in backing the toppling of the Labor Party government there in 1975. He went to Britain and bought up papers, fighting the unions and making a specialty of

baiting left-wing Labour M.P.'s. He came to the U.S. to expand his holdings and bust a few unions in the process.

Murdoch, his cronies and backers can only be combatted by a solid front of the labor movement. Though five of the nine unions in the Allied Printing Trades Council have now declared strikes against the major dailies, each continues its own separate negotiations. Strike committees in each union must be elected and joint bargaining established—no separate deals, no more *Washington Posts*! Through such a policy the printing workers can win this strike, lay the groundwork for the amalgamation of the separate craft unions into a single industrial union and turn the tide on the arrogant press lords and their union-busting. ■



Strikers picketing offices of Murdoch's Post.

WV Photo

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 3)

Although the army is still holding together, some of the top leaders have seen the handwriting on the wall. Last month an incipient rebellion by unnamed officers was quashed, and at the height of the FSLN-led uprising the commander of the National Guard's counter-guerrilla forces, apparently trying to flee the country, died in a plane crash near the Costa Rican border. He was accompanied by an American ex-Green Beret mercenary and a former South Vietnamese officer!

After more than a week of bloody fighting, the National Guard was able to reoccupy the center of León, the second largest city. Journalists described a horrifying scene. Indiscriminate aerial bombardment, typical of an occupying army, had reduced many buildings to rubble and at every street corner there were shallow graves of victims of mass executions by the Guard. According to a UPI dispatch, which passed government censors:

"A woman crying hysterically yelled, 'Tell your readers what a bunch of sons of whores the National Guard are. They are nothing but killers.... They are killing the youth of our town'...."

"About every 50 feet were swarms of flies buzzing over small scorched areas where the Red Cross had burned bodies to prevent outbreaks of disease...."

"...relatives picked up most of the identified bodies and quickly buried them in backyards to prevent them from rotting under Nicaragua's torrid sun."

"The bodies of unidentified guerrillas were buried right in the dirt they had left at street intersections where they ripped up paving blocks to build barricades, residents said...."

"Residents said at least 13 people were buried in one block alone."

UPI dispatch, 17 September

Government foot patrols entering the

city were preceded by a group of about 30 women and children who were forced to walk in front to prevent the guerrillas from firing. (In Esteli, Guard troops brutally beat priests, then used them as a human shield; during earlier fighting in Matagalpa they had advanced behind the car of a nun who was announcing a "truce" through a megaphone.) The towers of the León cathedral, which contain the remains of leftist Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, were also bombed. In the streets more than 100 men were press-ganged at gunpoint into tearing down the rebels' barricades.

Given the primitive armament of the workers and youth who led the fighting, the Guard "victory" is primarily due to superior force. However, in the midst of the battle, on September 13, the FAO opposition front announced a commission to negotiate a ceasefire and "open the way for a democratic provisional government to replace President Anastasio Somoza" (*Washington Post*, 15 September). In particular it was empowered to seek mediation by OAS governments, i.e., by Washington. One of the commission members, Alfonso Robelo, is brain-trusted by the State Department and has been calling, in essence, for a "Somozist regime without Somoza"—no nationalizations, no reprisals and an agreement with the murderous National Guard.

But the Nicaraguan masses have entered the fight and that changes matters drastically. After years of submitting to endless abuse by this personal army, after atrocities such as the massacre of several hundred peasants by the Guard during 1975-76, and particularly after the wanton savagery of the "mopping-up" operations following the September uprising, the population will not easily put up with a "solution" which leaves these killers in

place. In Nicaragua everyone can understand the urgent necessity of dismembering the existing state apparatus, which can only be an instrument of brutal repression of the masses.

After the events of the last two weeks, even if the bourgeois opposition manages to remove Somoza through the "good offices" of Jimmy Carter, a smooth transition to a stable capitalist democracy is highly unlikely. But it is necessary that revolutionaries put forward demands which exacerbate the fundamental class divisions and thus frustrate efforts to "reform" the dictatorship or impose a bourgeois provisional government. Naturally Marxists would unite in action on the barricades with the populist petty-bourgeois FSLN and even with the bourgeois anti-Somoza opposition against the present bloody dictatorship. But we would at all costs fight for the *political independence* of the working class from all capitalist and pro-capitalist forces.

As Trotskyists we fight for the *class* program of the international proletariat. This includes numerous revolutionary democratic demands directed against autocratic and bonapartist rule. Thus we demand not a negotiated pact with liberal capitalist forces but a democratic *constituent assembly*, which could give free expression to the will of the population after decades of silence enforced by the rifle butts of Somoza's hired guns. We also call for *smashing the National Guard* and the formation of a *people's militia based on the workers and peasants organizations*. That is the only way to guarantee against new massacres by these guard dogs of capital.

The proletariat does not follow the maxim of "forgive and forget," of which the priests and other treacherous advocates of "social peace" are so fond. So

we call for *people's tribunals* to punish the criminals of the Somoza regime, tribunals staffed not by learned jurists but by the poor who were the victims of the tyranny. We call for *expropriation of the properties of the Somoza family and its accomplices*, but Marxists do not stop there. We must destroy the social bases and the imperialist domination which will give rise to new Somozas. Thus communists demand an *agrarian revolution* distribution of the latifundia to the peasants who work the land and *expropriation of the industry and commerce* of those who profited while the workers and peasants suffered under the yoke of the despot.

The accomplishment of such revolutionary aims requires breaking the political coalition with the "democratic" exploiters and the establishment of a *workers and peasants government* based on the democratic rule of soviets, not on nationalistic bureaucracies as in Cuba, Russia or China. And this requires above all the leadership not of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN but of a *Trotskyist party* fighting for a *Central American Workers Republic* in a *Socialist United States of Latin America*.

Only with such a transitional program can the long-suffering working people of Nicaragua ensure that the "Tacho flies" are not replaced with another tyranny, cloaked in phrases of "human rights" but armed by the same Pentagon. The overthrow of the Somoza dynasty by a popular revolt would be a cause for rejoicing and a spur to revolutionary action throughout the Americas. The Sandinistas' efforts to achieve a negotiated solution are today the main obstacle, possibly leading to civil war as today's "democratic opposition" seeks to repress the armed masses. Don't stop now! ■

Camp David...

(continued from page 1)

supposedly historic occasion, both Begin and Sadat mainly paid tribute to the statesmanship of Carter. With down-home schmaltz Begin effusively thanked Carter: "The president of the United States won the day and peace now celebrates a great victory for the nations of Egypt and Israel and for all mankind." With no less pomposity Sadat lionized Carter for his "spirit and dedication," praying that the Camp David pacts would "usher in a new chapter of history for the Near East."

But in reality Camp David will have less effect on resolving the Near East crisis than on boosting Carter's rating in the Gallup polls. None of the crucial issues was resolved by the two pacts, so that the concessions made by both sides are not binding. In the "framework" for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty Begin agreed to negotiate a phased troop withdrawal from the Sinai that would ultimately restore the Sinai to full Egyptian sovereignty. But Begin refused to concede to the Egyptian demand that the thirteen Zionist settlements in the Sinai be vacated.

According to Begin, the question of

the fate of the Zionist settlements will be decided by the Israeli Knesset within the next two weeks. So war weary are the masses of Israel that the Knesset just might sacrifice the settlements for the sake of a separate treaty with Egypt. Recent demonstrations numbering in the thousands have been staged in Israel demanding concessions on the settlements. Yet the die-hards in the right-wing Likud coalition are preparing for a showdown in the Knesset. Moshe Arens, a member of Begin's own Herut Party and chairman of the powerful Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, has denounced any concession on the settlements as treason. Thus, Sadat made major concessions—agreeing to a separate peace settlement and to the presence of Israeli military forces in the Sinai up to three years after the treaty is signed—in return for no hard commitments from the Zionists.

Even if the Sinai pact survives the debate in the Knesset over the settlements, it may well be torpedoed by Arab opposition to Sadat's concessions. Out in the cold as the "sole representative of the Palestinian people," the PLO has begun a campaign to sabotage the Camp David pacts, backed by Syria and the so-called hard-line Arab regimes (Iraq, Libya, Algeria, Yemen) whose intransigence is inversely proportional to their distance from Israel. More significantly, without anything to show for his concessions Sadat is certain to come under mounting criticism at home. Already Egyptian foreign minister Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel has resigned in opposition.

While an Israeli/Egyptian settlement is not entirely inconceivable, the Camp David pact dealing with the West Bank and Gaza Strip is simply a truncated version of Begin's absurd 26-point plan. It does not even address the central issue of Palestinian self-determination (even in the deformed form of a mini-state). It projects a five-year "transition period" during which Israeli occupation forces will make the transition from the streets to their garrisons, while the Jordanian army, the butchers of the Palestinians during the "Black September" uprising,

will be encouraged to join in maintaining "security."

Only after an Israeli/Jordanian treaty has been signed would certain unspecified "representatives" of the West Bank Arabs be permitted to express their opinion on the settlement. Not only the PLO but all Palestinians living outside the West Bank and Gaza, including the more than one million Palestinians who comprise the majority of the Jordanian population, would simply be excluded from this settlement.

If the "framework" for the West Bank accepted by Begin has met with approval by diverse elements of the Likud bloc, it is not because it represents a concrete victory for the Zionists. Rather, the "framework" simply buys time. And time is what all Begin's critics want: Begin is an Israeli Humphrey who can well afford to make five-year diplomatic promissory notes, since he won't be around to have to deliver. Instead, the Israeli hawks-turned-doves (like the majority of the recently split Movement for Democratic Change) are now banking on Defense Minister Weitzman that secularized version of Begin who wears Air Force wings instead of a yarmulka.

Regardless of whether the "framework" pacts lead to further summit meetings, Camp David clearly signified that U.S. imperialism is moving ever closer to direct military presence in the Near East as every one of its exercises in "shuttle diplomacy" or protracted talkathons ends in failure.

Even before the Camp David summit was convened Carter, faced with the intransigence of Begin, hinted that the U.S. would consider introducing U.S. military forces into the occupied territories if Israel, which has long been falsely regarded as simply a puppet of Washington by virtually the entire fake left, didn't make concessions. While the Camp David pacts do not mention possible U.S. intervention, the Sinai accord explicitly stipulates that in return for Israeli withdrawal from two air bases in the Sinai the U.S. would build two air bases in the Negev desert of Israel. No

doubt these bases would be a cover for U.S. military personnel.

In addition the Camp David pacts allow for the introduction of more United Nations "peace-keeping" forces to implement any treaties negotiated. But experiences since the Korean War have shown that such UN "peace-keeping" forces intervene to safeguard and advance the interests of imperialism. What kind of "peace" would result in the Near East can be judged by the role of the UN forces in Cyprus, in the Sinai before the 1967 war and on the Golan Heights and in southern Lebanon today.

Imperialist military presence, either directly by the U.S. or through border guards for Israel, dressed in UN fatigues, not only represents a continuation of the brutal national oppression of the Palestinian masses and serves to stabilize the rickety regimes in Jordan and Israel; more significantly, it would qualitatively escalate the dangers of a direct U.S./USSR military confrontation in the Near East. If the USSR were to respond to such an American provocation in kind, "human rights" Carter might very likely place the Pentagon on nuclear alert, as Nixon did during the 1973 war in response to the threatened Soviet intervention in the Sinai. Thus, not far behind any U.S./UN military intervention into the Near East is the threat of a third world war.

The duty of the international workers movement is clear. It must oppose any imperialist military intervention in the Near East, whether in the form of Marines who landed in Lebanon in 1958, CIA operatives working hand-in-hand with the Israeli army in the Sinai or the UN "peacekeeping" forces who have proved their mettle from the Congo to southern Lebanon. Peace will come to the Near East only when the Sadats, the Begins and the Assads are overthrown by the revolutionary struggles of the Arab and Hebrew workers and poor peasants. Only in the framework of a soviet federation of the Near East can a just solution to the legitimate national demands of the Palestinian Arabs be ensured while guaranteeing the national rights of the Hebrews. ■

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FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism
vs.
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Socialist Trade-Union Militant Marjorie Stamberg

Spartacist Candidate in New York Elections

NEW YORK CITY, September 16—Spartacist supporters here are campaigning for Marjorie Stamberg, "Spartacist Party" candidate for New York State Assembly in the 64th Assembly District in lower Manhattan. A successful petitioning effort gathered over 3,300 signatures, more than twice the number required by undemocratic election laws to put an independent candidate on the ballot. This campaign is the first electoral intervention by the Spartacist League (SL) since its active

support to socialist anti-Vietnam war candidates in the late 1960's.

Stamberg is a 33-year-old former SDS activist, "socialist-feminist" and *Guardian* staff writer who was won to Trotskyism as part of a layer of militants who sought to transcend the bankruptcy of New Leftism. She draws on her nine years as a telephone worker and many years as an activist in an oppositional trade-union caucus: "We will get nothing," she says, "not even the restoration of past gains, unless the labor movement throws off its bureaucratic shackles and really fights for the needs of New York's working people." Stamberg explains the Spartacist campaign as an opportunity to present the program of proletarian revolution with immediacy and concreteness to the working people of New York.

The SL will use its campaign to combat electoralist illusions and explain our Trotskyist program. We will use the campaign as Stamberg would use the office if elected as a platform from which to rally the workers to the battle lines of the class struggle, to mobilize them in the direction of the revolutionary conquest of state power. A valuable adjunct to the more constant forms of socialist propaganda and agitation, the campaign is a vehicle to gain a hearing from working people at a time of heightened political interest and to expose the parties and candidates who



Marjorie Stamberg talking with striking pressmen.

WV Photo

falsely claim to represent the interests of the working masses.

Since the "fiscal crisis" of 1975, New York residents have been living with a siege mentality. From Big MAC to the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), the direct assault of the bankers has battered the city. While the Rockefellers boondoggled billions and cashed in on the municipal bond crisis,

jobs were slashed and services cut back to the bone and then some—all in the name of the "public interest" in solving the "fiscal crisis."

So New Yorkers know the hard, bitter taste of real capitalist decay and venality. They can see the city coming apart at the seams: overhauled highways collapse in the dirt, firehouses

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Flash

As we go to press, the Board of Elections has informed us that a challenge has been entered against the petitions nominating Spartacist candidate Marjorie Stamberg. The challenger, one Carl Daszkal, a registered Democrat, is not now required to provide us with any information about the specific allegations of the challenge or whether he is acting, for example, on behalf of Democratic candidate William Passannante.

Under the undemocratic election procedures, a Democrat or Republican seeking ballot status for state assembly must furnish the signatures of 500 registered voters, while an independent candidate must obtain three times that number. Signatures can then be disqualified on numerous grounds, for example if the person subsequently voted in a primary election.

Having fulfilled these time-consuming requirements by presenting petitions signed by more than 3,300 people, the Spartacist Party now faces this cowardly harassment. And should legal pretexts be found to disqualify the petitions, the Trotskyist campaign faces the prospect of costly appeal litigation.

An independent candidate put forward by a small socialist organization, possessing neither a patronage "machine" nor guaranteed access to the mass media, financed by the contributions of working people, can hardly be expected to outpoll the Democrats. No doubt the fear of losing votes is what impels the venal capitalist politicians to seek to deny the Spartacist Party the chance to make its political case before the voters of the 64th Assembly District. But the real threat to Passannante & Co. is that the Stamberg campaign exposes the bourgeois electoral shell game by giving these people something real to vote for—a candidate who puts forward the program of working-class revolution.

Murdoch Plots to Break NYC Press Strike Front

The New York City newspaper strike, the most important labor battle this city has witnessed for years, is in danger. The city is awash with threats, reports and backroom rumors that the publishers of the struck *Daily News*, the *New York Post* and the *New York Times* will soon attempt to put out a scab paper, perhaps in a matter of days. The unity of the newspaper unions which has so far kept the strike solid is threatened by overtures from the bosses to cooperate with the scab venture and by indications that at least some union chiefs may be willing to sabotage the pressmen, whose fight against a 50 percent cut in their manning scales has spearheaded the strike and is at the core of the dispute.

On Friday, September 15, Rupert Murdoch, the sinister Australian press lord who owns the *Post* and heads the

Publishers Association, broke off talks with the pressmen. Murdoch brazenly announced that "We [the publishers] do have plans to publish" a scab paper without the striking pressmen but added that "we are not at the stage yet that we can go ahead with them." Since the publishers could almost certainly produce a non-union paper and get it printed, their real fear is getting it distributed and sustaining the operation in the face of the united opposition of the unions. Spokesmen for both the *Times* and the *News* told the *Wall Street Journal* (18 September) that they had plans to re-open but were "fearful" of the violence which would ensue. The massive picket lines which surrounded the *News* in last June's Guild strike, the burned-out trucks, the eventual refusal of the drivers union to cross the lines—

these memories are still fresh in the publishers' minds.

What the publishers want before attempting a scab paper is to split up the solid strike front which has kept the papers closed. When Murdoch broke off the talks with the pressmen, he made an open bid to the other unions for separate meetings to discuss returning to work. Denouncing the pressmen as "completely intractable" and simply out to defend "featherbedding," Murdoch said he hoped that the other unions "will agree with us that they should suffer no further." Thus, the wolf offers to lead the flock home.

This pernicious appeal is having its effect. George McDonald, head of the Allied Printing Trades Council—which includes nine of the ten unions, except—

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