

## Separate Peace Means Wider War

# Battered Beirut

Only two weeks after the Camp David summit produced the much vaunted "framework for peace" in the Near East, savage fighting erupted again in war-ravaged Lebanon. Since February the 35,000 Syrian troops stationed in Lebanon as the so-called "Arab Deterrent Force" have battled to disarm their erstwhile allies of the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, the Mafia-like right-wing Maronite Christian gangs. Maronite districts like Ashrifiyeh in East Beirut have been turned into charred rubble under the continual bombardment of Soviet-made Syrian artillery. Casualties, especially among civilians, have been high. But the Syrians seem more intent on the physical destruction of whole communities—the last attack on East Beirut destroyed over 20,000 homes and apartment buildings.

Ashrifiyeh is reminiscent of Tel Zaatar, a former Palestinian refugee camp which after a 52-day siege was laid waste by the same Maronite gangsters who are now crying about "Christian genocide." At Tel Zaatar it was the Syrian army which prevented Palestinian forces from lifting the siege. Now, under constant shelling by their former protectors, the Maronites are being turned into a refugee population like the Palestinians they have persecuted for 30 years. In the past year 100,000 Maronites have been made homeless, 120,000 are living off Roman Catholic charities and 28,000 are living in tents.

The Syrians have concentrated their firepower on two bridges that link East Beirut with the Maronite northern enclave around the port city of Junieh. These bridges are the conduits for Israeli military equipment unloaded at Junieh and destined for Maronite forces around Beirut and further south. This Zionist-Maronite alliance was forged by a common foe to their respective



Smoke from burning oil-storage tanks engulfed Beirut as shelling continued.

racialist and clerical-nationalist aspirations: the Palestinians. A Jewish state could be carved out of the Levant only by turning the Palestinians into a nation of refugees. The Palestinian refugees forced to flee to Lebanon and now numbering 400,000 upset a fragile statelet based on feudal communalism and Maronite privilege.

In the Lebanese communalist civil war between the Maronite militias and the equally reactionary feudal Muslim clans, the Palestinians, who represented the best armed and organized force in the country, threw their support behind the Muslims. When the Palestinian-backed Muslims threatened to get the upper hand over the Maronites, the Ba'athist regime in Damascus threw its

Soviet-supplied military might behind the Maronites. Syrian president Assad feared a Palestinian/Muslim victory would create another "radical" Arab nationalist competitor similar to neighboring Iraq, Syria's fratricidal enemy for two decades. Furthermore, Lebanon was a useful buffer between Syria and Israel.

### Why "Separate Peace" Means Syrian War

As *Workers Vanguard* warned after Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, a separate peace between Egypt and Israel would indeed transform Syria into the "main confrontation state."

"With Israel armed to the teeth with the

latest sophisticated heavy weaponry and Begin girding for war, Syria's rulers must escalate their defensive preparations. This means deepening their reliance on their sole benefactor, the USSR, with all that this implies in terms of a spiraling arms build-up in the Near East and the increased likelihood of a U.S./Russian nuclear confrontation."

—*WV* No. 186, 23 December 1977

With Egypt neutralized and the largest army among the Arab states removed as a threat, Israel can with impunity redeploy its troops, armor and planes along its eastern and especially northern borders. This enhanced flexibility on its northern borders and the increased danger of an Israeli-Syrian confrontation was demonstrated in the

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## The President's Pope?

Karol Cardinal Wojtyla, formerly archbishop of Krakow, Poland, is the new "human rights" pope. The first non-Italian pope since the 16th century, he is portrayed in the Western press as a man of "dialogue" with the Soviet bloc. But others struck a more ominous note. Wojtyla has "fought Nazis and communists for 40 years" exulted the *New York Post*. Then U.S. commander-in-chief Carter instantly announced that his sinister security adviser, Polish Catholic Zbigniew Brzezinski, is a personal friend of the new bishop of Rome. And when someone is Brzezinski's buddy, watch out!

It was the abrupt death of John Paul I, after a mere 34 days in office, which opened the way for the new Polish pope. This event brought much wonderment among the faithful at the mysterious workings of god's will. It also brought dark rumors of Vatican intrigue and ancient poisons, rumors that have been fueled by the Curia's refusal to allow an autopsy. Only days after his election Italian newspapers were already print-

ing criticisms of the ill-fated pope which could only have originated high in the Vatican bureaucracy.

By all accounts John Paul I was no stern-minded administrator but an amiable, simple priest whose hobby was writing "imaginary letters" to historic characters (among them Sir Walter Scott and Pinocchio). Hardly the sort to wield proper control over the Vatican's immense, labyrinthian financial, political and administrative machine.

Wojtyla is made of stronger stuff, and as commentators have approvingly noted, is a much younger man who can "take the church into the 21st century." Elected the evening of October 16, the new pope (who calls himself John Paul II) wasted no time in getting down to business. *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican mouthpiece, immediately published articles by him denouncing alleged persecution of the church by those who see religion "as the opiate of the people."

Polish Communist Party chief  
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# Military Victory to the Nationalist Guerrillas!

# Rhodesian Premier Strikes Out in U.S.

## Ian Smith's Last Ditch

As white settlers continue to stream out of Rhodesia at a rate of 1,000 per month, the leader of this unviable outpost of racist rule, Prime Minister Ian Smith, last week arrived in the U.S. to make a desperate plea for American backing. What he got instead was a cold shoulder from the Carter administration and hostile demonstrations led by liberal Democrats and leftists.

Smith's visit was sponsored by the right-wing fringe of the U.S. bourgeoisie. His chaperone was Senator S.I. Hayakawa, who first gained national notoriety for suppressing student protests at San Francisco State in the late 1960's and whose latest claim to fame has been as an outspoken opponent of Jimmy Carter's Panama Canal Treaty. Also sponsoring the Rhodesian premier's tour were 26 other rightist senators and the American Security Council, a cold war lobby associated with the John Birch Society.

The trip was a challenge to Washington, which claims to support the sanctions against Rhodesia declared by the UN. The State Department initially attempted to deny Smith a visa, relenting shortly before his scheduled arrival; and the British Labour government banned his projected visit to London. This did not, however, represent principled opposition to white supremacist rule, but only a diplomatic maneuver in order to retain credibility with the black guerrilla forces threatening Smith's regime.

In a desperate attempt to save itself, the white settler state has adopted a scheme initially proposed by Kissinger



Right-wing senator Hayakawa calls on reporter at press conference for Ian Smith (center) and Rev. Sithole on Capitol Hill.



Rhodesian guerrillas

in 1976—the "internal settlement" which brought several black puppets into the "transitional government." While promising free elections, this arrangement maintains intact the state apparatus which for 15 years has

administered the racist minority rule. Carter et al. realize that no one is taken in by this hoax, and that the whites cannot hold out indefinitely against the guerrillas.

U.S. and British imperialism are

insisting that the petty bourgeois nationalist factions led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo be brought into the government, in order to replace the archaic colonial regime with a black-administered neo-colonialist set-up. Smith adamantly refuses to accept this proposal and has come to the U.S. to tout the virtues of the "internal settlement" accompanied by the Rev. Sithole, one of the black stooges in his government.

The Smith visit sparked a series of demonstrations across the country protesting the murderous Rhodesian white supremacist regime. But as with the liberal-led anti-apartheid "divestment" movement, the protests were aimed at exhorting U.S. imperialism, the patron of dozens of reactionary dictatorships throughout the world, to punish the Rhodesian racists. It was therefore not surprising to find Democratic Party politicians at the head of these demonstrations. A march in Atlanta was led by strikebreaking mayor Maynard Jackson, while a demonstration at the White House was addressed by Marion Barry, the Democratic candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C.

At a demonstration in Los Angeles on October 16, the liberal organizers of the protest issued a leaflet demanding that Carter comply with the phony UN sanctions. But a Spartacist League contingent raised the proletarian alternative to reliance on U.S. imperialism. SL picket signs demanded "No Negotiations! Military Victory to ZANU and ZAPU!" While supporting the guerrillas against the colonialist regime, the SL placed no confidence in the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric of the nationalists. Our signs demanded: "Down with Smith and his Lackeys—For Workers Revolution!" "For a Zimbabwean Workers and Peasants Government!" ■

FLASH!

## Canadian Postal Workers Hit the Bricks

TORONTO, October 17—At midnight today Canada's 23,000 mail sorters and postal clerks organized into the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) launched a nationwide walkout under the threat of imminent back-to-work legislation. By late afternoon the federal parliament had rushed through a vicious strikebreaking measure. Postal workers are legislated back to work under the heavy guns of fines and possible jail sentences, with unresolved contract issues ultimately to be settled by compulsory arbitration. Individual workers who defy this back-to-work order will be fined \$100 a day. Union officials who counsel defiance will be fined \$2,500 plus \$250 for each day workers stay out, while the union will be subjected to a \$10,000 fine and \$1,000 a day.

CUPW has been without a contract for over 15 months as postal management has attempted to roll back gains won in its militant, 42-day 1975 strike. Following in the footsteps of its mentors in the U.S., Canadian postal management wants to eliminate thousands of postal jobs through mechanization and speedup. Since their last contract CUPW has more

than 52,000 grievances outstanding.

Most importantly, the Trudeau government needs to defeat the traditionally militant postal union in order to continue wage control in the public sector, as proposed in the reactionary bill C-28. Under the terms of the present back-to-work legislation, the arbitrated contract will be extended to two and a half years, retroactively to July 1977 and up through 31 December 1979. The government is claiming that the one-year period dating from July 1977 comes under the old wage control program, which limited wage increases to 6 percent while inflation soared to double-digit figures. The last government offer would extend the 6 percent limit for at least another six months, and Postmaster General Gilles Lamontagne has threatened that CUPW may get even less under arbitration.

For months CUPW president Jean Claude Parrot has ordered his membership to work without a contract, swallowing wage controls and job slashing. Instead, Parrot had pushed legislation that would turn the post office into a crown corporation,

where supposedly negotiations would take place under a less repressive labor code. Trudeau obliged only weeks ago—and CUPW members have suddenly discovered that with the "crowning" of the post office, their right to strike has been outlawed! Parrot is now wavering on what to do. CUPW members must demand that the union continue its nationwide strike in defiance of the strikebreaking legislation!

The CUPW strike is merely the most recent example of government back-to-work legislation imposed on public workers. Last month the Ontario provincial parliament ordered Toronto transit employees back to work with a 4 percent pay raise pending the outcome of arbitration, even though the transit commission's last offer before the strike was 5 percent. Also in September the other major Canadian postal union (LCUC) settled for a lousy contract completely within the framework of bill C-28. Under the threat of back-to-work legislation, the LCUC bureaucrats folded up their rotating strikes and penned their names to a sellout that strengthened the hand of the federal government to deal with the

historically more militant CUPW.

Trudeau's latest strikebreaking move has generated broad sympathy for the postal workers, particularly among public employees. The Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation declared its support for CUPW's right to strike, and in the strategic Toronto Local 1 of LCUC the executive has declared that "Local 1 will defend any member who is suspended for refusing to cross a picket line by all means up to and including strike action."

If CUPW defies the federal back to work order, the LCUC, the Toronto transit workers, Air Canada employees, and other government and transportation workers who have seen their struggle for decent wages and working conditions rendered impotent by wage controls and strikebreaking legislation should tear up their contracts, join the CUPW on strike and fight for their own demands. Militants in other unions should demand one-day work stoppages in solidarity with the embattled postal workers. That is the way to smash government strikebreaking and wage controls. ■

# Strikes Hit Bloody Shah Regime

Even as a "government spokesman" told Radio Iran that the regime "shared the feelings of the mourners," the butcher shah's troops opened fire October 16 on demonstrators commemorating September's "Bloody Friday" in which more than a thousand anti-shah protesters were slaughtered. Monday's demonstrations and a one-day general strike called by Shi'ite Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini from his Parisian exile represent only the latest and largest protests in what has become a continuous state of turmoil in Iran.

The current movement of putting symbols of westernization to the torch remains under the control of the mullahs, the Islamic holy men who utilize the oppression of the shah's tyranny to build a movement which seeks to return Iran to the medieval religious fervor of the 7th century A.D. The mullahs have not only graphically demonstrated their commitment to Islam's brutal subjugation of women by parading contingents of women swathed in the veil, but have made no secret about their intention to suppress the Iranian left. The slaughter of the Indonesian Communists by Muslim fanatics in 1965 provides an object lesson in the reactionary implications of a victory by Khomeini's followers.

However, a crucial new element has now entered the arena—the Iranian proletariat. A working-class strike wave has swept Iran in the past two weeks—posing the possibility of a *proletarian* axis of opposition to both the shah and the reactionary Shi'ite mullahs. While it is difficult to discern the direction and full implications of the rapidly spreading strike wave from a distance (particularly given a virtual news blackout by the American bourgeois press) and

grounding the national airline. Then, on October 8, the railway workers struck, halting all Teheran-bound trains and forcing passengers off. They were joined the same day by the radio and television workers.

On October 11 Iran's two major newspapers, *Ettelaat* and *Keyhan* ceased publication as 4,000 employees walked out in an unprecedented protest against the military censorship. The next day printers refused to put out the paper of the shah's political machine, the Rastakhiz party. The railway workers, who had returned to work after management promises to consider their demands, went back out on strike again. The strike wave spread to textile workers, agricultural laborers and the state-owned Sar Cheshmesh copper mines. Even more important is the walkout by 30,000 workers at the ultra-modern Isfahan steel works, one of the shah's pet industrial projects.

Furthermore, the extension of the strike wave beyond the ranks of white-collar workers took a qualitative step when 10,000 oil workers went out for more than a week. Many of the workers in the oilfields, located in the southwestern province of Khuzistan, are Arabs, subjected to national oppression at the hands of the brutally chauvinist Persian monarchy. For decades the oilfield workers were in the vanguard of the Iranian class struggle. In 1946, 100,000 of them took on the British oil monopolies, the real rulers of Iran in that period, and arms in hand fought off the tribesmen hired to smash the strike. It was yet another massive strike by the oil workers in 1952 which sparked the movement to nationalize the oil industry.

The tremendous social power of the



Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

## The butcher shah

maintains martial law in defense of its most elementary economic needs. What it now urgently requires is a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership which can mobilize it politically against both the murderous shah and the reactionary Muslim fundamentalist mullahs.

Despite assertions to the contrary by Iranian leftists tailing Khomeini, Iran's industrial and white-collar workers have remained aloof from the mullah-led movement of the past year. The "general strikes" proclaimed by the mullahs and their bourgeois nationalist allies affected only the shopkeepers and merchants. The Muslims obtained working-class support only from the more unskilled laborers fresh from the countryside.

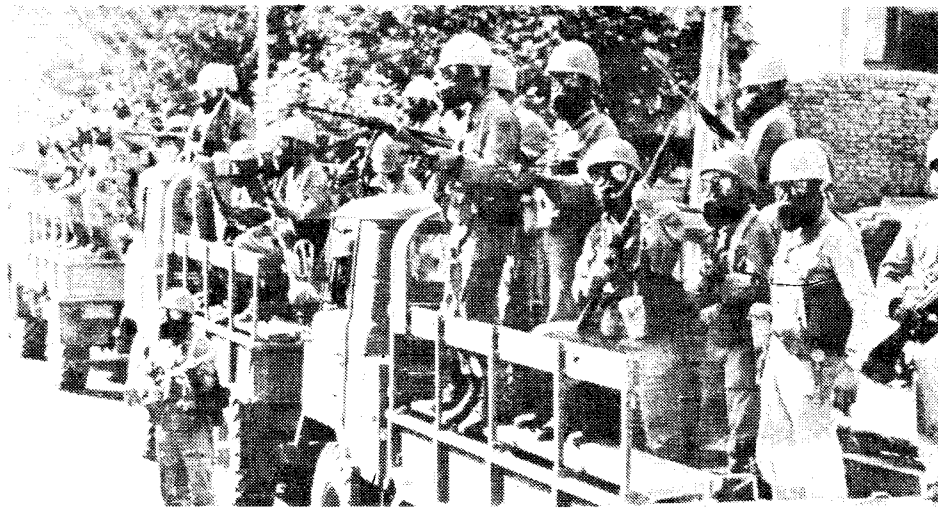
Large sections of the Iranian proletariat, welded into collective units by the conditions of capitalist oppression, who have become urbanized and even secularized, thus have little in common with Khomeini's reactionary dreams. In one illustrative case, many of those forced off the trains by striking railwaymen were religious pilgrims! It is also interesting that the Fedayeen Guevarists, in an attempt to justify their abstention from working-class struggles, echo the mullahs' anti-Western ravings by attacking the workers' "petty-bourgeois habits" (i.e., exposure to television, movies, newspapers).

The Iranian fake left shows its bankruptcy when it joins the Muslim preachers in blaming the oppression of the working class and the imperialist exploitation of Iran on Coca-Cola and TV. Their craven class collaboration, which has taken the grotesque form of apologies for the mullahs, is the real barrier to the struggle to imbue the Iranian proletariat with revolutionary class consciousness and the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

While the rest of the left fulsomely praises the "progressive" Muslim religious opposition, the Spartacist League has been unique in calling on the Iranian proletariat, not the mullahs, to overthrow the murderous and corrupt shah. As we wrote last month:

"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."

—"Iran in Turmoil," *WJ* No. 215, 22 September



Syigma

## Riot troops prepare to move in on anti-shah demonstrators in September.

while it appears that strike demands by most workers focus solely on economic issues, the proletariat's entry into struggle against the shah is nevertheless of potentially immense significance.

The workers' strikes are clearly seen as distinct from the mullah-led protests. This was made explicit when strikes by taxi drivers, government, airline, hospital and postal employees, among others, broke out and the merchants of Teheran unexpectedly *opened* the city's main bazaar, which had been shut down in support of Khomeini and the mullah-led religious opposition. They wanted, said the merchants, "not to confuse the issue with the other strikes" (UPI dispatch, 7 October).

Strikes during the first week of October by workers at the Iranian National Bank, oil industry engineers and telephone and telegraph workers won quick promises of pay hikes from prime minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami. But the shaky regime could not stem the continually rising number of new strikes. Mailmen, doctors, teachers, water and power company employees went out demanding higher wages, food allowances and cheap housing. On October 7 more state workers went out, forcing school and hospital closings and

working class is illustrated by the government's response. On the one hand the shah has undertaken ferocious repression against strikers and particularly the strikes' spontaneously evolved leadership. But at the same time the regime attempts to appease the workers with economic concessions, sometimes even substantial ones. Currently, the instability of the dictatorship is glaringly exposed by the state's almost instant promises to meet the strikers' economic demands. Ground down under the staggering inflation of the "oil boom" of the 1970's, the strikers demanded wage increases of between 50 and 100 percent. The government immediately offered at least 25 percent. Moreover, the shah is willing to sacrifice some of his most precious projects as a result, such as his nuclear power station plan and a number of weapons purchases, including perhaps the \$1.2 billion AWACS radar system.

The very fact that the masses of Iranian workers are caught up in an unprecedented national strike wave starkly raises the question of the role of the working class, which has not been a visible, independent factor in recent years. The Iranian proletariat, emboldened by the regime's crisis, has defied

Citing the example of Indonesia and Khomeini's injunctions against cooperation with communists, we warned that the Iranian Maoists' present support of the Islamic fundamentalists could be literally suicidal.

Our refusal to join the reformists and centrists in giving "anti-imperialist" alibis to the mullahs has driven the disciples of Khomeini in the West to a frenzy. In recent weeks SL forums on Iran have been the targets of disruption attempts by Muslim student groups in Boston, Chicago and Madison. In Chicago members of one of the Maoist wings of the Iranian Students Association vehemently denied that the religious leaders advocated the suppression of communism and oppression of women. But this was immediately contradicted by their aggressive Muslim "allies," who brought a woman wearing the *hejab*, the medieval veil, and proudly announced they stood for "death or the *hejab*!"

The SL speaker warned that it is highly unlikely that the mullahs would seize power directly, and that their model would be something like Pakistan where the military seized power in order to "purify" the Islamic state. This warning is pooh-poohed by the Stalinists, but only a few days later Khomeini, from exile in France, explicitly declared, "The army must rise up and help overthrow the Shah" (*Washington Post*, 16 October). We wonder how comfortable the ISA leftists would feel in the company of the generals and SAVAK secret police torturers the mullahs are calling on to join them.

The current strikes must transcend simple economic issues and become an all-sided political assault on the shah's bloody dictatorship. There will be no revolutionary democratic gains—land to the tiller, liberation of Iran's oppressed nationalities—until the proletariat takes power. And this in turn requires a Bolshevik vanguard party to win the working class to an independent and intransigent class policy.

Despite their kaleidoscopic divisions, the Iranian Stalinists and guerrillaists are united in subordinating the proletariat's struggle against its exploitation and oppression to the needs of the "anti-imperialist" mullahs or "national bourgeoisie." The heroic struggles of the workers in the 1940's and 1950's were betrayed by the strikebreaking Stalinist Tudeh party. The call of the international Spartacist tendency to build an Iranian Trotskyist party means a struggle to prevent future betrayals and defeats of the working class and provide the revolutionary leadership which can bring the proletariat to power. Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For an Iranian Workers and Peasants Government! ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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Over the years we have witnessed the episodic appearance of a phenomenon we call the "Anti-Spartacist League"—a rotten bloc of parasitic "left" grouplets united only by their hatred of the principled Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League. During the past couple of years it has resurfaced in the form of a motley crew of cliques, cults and crazies with no apparent purpose in life other than the increasingly faint hope of chipping off a piece of our organization.

People attending SL forums in New York will encounter salesmen from groups like the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSI), League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP), Committee for a Revolutionary Party (CRSP), Communist Cadre (CTC), Communist Cadre-Marxist (CTCM), etc. In their hands they will be waving articles entitled, "Spartacist League: Racists in Revolutionary Clothes," "SL Corruption Deepens" and even a pamphlet, *What the Spartacist League Really Stands For: A Self-Exposure by James Robertson (The Speech the SL Wouldn't Print)*.

A newcomer to Spartacist functions might assume these vociferous opponents belong to the same organization. Their articles are indistinguishable and they often support one another's speakers in floor discussion. Of course, they span polar opposites on most political questions. For instance on the Russian question—central defining issue for ostensible Trotskyists—the Shachtmanite RSL and LRP hold that the USSR is capitalist-imperialist, while the Marcyite CTC twins and the Pabloite CRSP view the Kremlin and its sometime "Third World" nationalist allies as agencies of anti-imperialist struggle. The supporters of Khrushchev's crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the advocates of Stalin's defeat by Nazi Germany in World War II maintain diplomatic silence on the Russian question while making common cause against the SL.

The core of the attack is the slanderous charge of "racism." Why racism? Well, the charge of racism (like the charge of "cop") is the dirtiest mud that can be slung. In this racist society it is a charge that presumes guilt until proved innocent. To reply presumably confirms that suspicion is widespread and perhaps justified. To remain silent is taken as evidence of guilt.

It is not a new slander technique. The Big Lie has been around for a long time. Tell the most preposterous lie—but tell it often.

Our opponents are so used to mendaciousness that they assume everyone else lies too. So when in the SL press we have addressed some of the problems of the struggle to cohere a black Trotskyist



WV Photo

for the SWP a cynical ploy aimed at protecting its left flank is for the Anti-Spartacist League a life-or-death matter. When the SWP hid behind its "Letters" column (*Militant*, 29 April 1977) to slander the SL as having "similar slogans" to the Nazis, not even the SWP could take it very seriously. When Fred Halstead took the floor at the 1977 SWP national conference to read from a *WV* account of SL internal discussions on the black question and to lecture the SWP delegates on the SL's "anti-lumpen" line, it was an amusing diversion from the SWP's pursuit of the opportunist "main chance." But for the rats who are dancing to the Pied Piper's tune, the "exposure" of SL "racism" is a holy crusade to break out of pitiful irrelevance by winning over a chunk of the SL.

Fat chance. In general it is axiomatic that smaller socialist groups recruit from their larger opponents. We have made the SWP painfully aware of this fact of political life, winning dozens of members from the SWP over the last several years. Yet although the Anti-Spartacist League has devoted incredible efforts to reaching our membership, to our knowledge none of these cliques has recruited a *single member* from the SL since the unlamented Harry Turner launched the prototype for anti-Spartacist rotten blocs some nine (!) years ago (see "VNI/CSI, Form Anti-Spartacist League," *WV* No. 20, 11 May 1972).

It is not because we haven't given them the chance. The SL is scrupulous in our consistent defense of democracy within the workers movement. The aging New Leftists, personality cultists and JFK assassination freaks who comprise the present Anti-Spartacist League can sell the most hysterical, slanderous attacks on us a few feet from our meeting halls without fear of harassment or physical intimidation. Their members are called upon during discussion periods and allotted the same speaking time as our members. Their diatribes may even be reprinted in our special bulletin series, "Hate Trotskyism—Hate the Spartacist League." And when they can usefully be invoked as a foil for political discussion, they even hit the big time—space in *WV*.

Meanwhile, this pack of opportunist huffers and puffers has been no more successful in convincing others of their anti-SL slanders. Particularly frustrating for the Anti-Spartacist League was our fusion last summer with the Red Flag Union, formerly Lavender and Red Union (L&RU), which began as a serious leftist gay liberation group with broadly Maoist politics. When during 1976-77 this group began seriously investigating Trotskyism, the RSI, and

the Pabloists who later formed the CRSP fell all over themselves in championing gay liberation as a strategic "new vanguard." The Spartacist League, however, has been consistently hostile toward the life-style radicalism of the gay liberation milieu and toward all sectoralist conceptions of revolutionary organization. So when these former gay liberationists chose to unite with the SL, of all groups claiming to be Trotskyist, it must have appeared to our New Left moralist opponents as the ultimate political crime against nature.

All that the Crispies and the RSI could do was fulminate that the "gay Uncle Toms" of the former L&RU had joined the "notoriously anti-gay" Spartacist vultures. And those who may have thought that by bandying around charges of racism they could seal blacks off from the Spartacist League will be

Landy's *Socialist Voice* (Spring 1977) began hawking a diatribe against "The Spartacist League's Scandalous Chauvinism." The article claimed a January 1977 New York forum by SL National Chairman James Robertson "added a new, ugly, and damaging stain on the reputation of Trotskyism." The reason? "Robertson delivered a series of chauvinist epithets that insulted the revolutionary capacities of the working classes everywhere and denigrated almost every non-white, non-American and non-English speaking people...." To wit:

"The Greek population exists by selling its children or selling Swiss watches to one another."

"Albania, the only 'workers state' Robertson saw fit to mention, was a nation of 'goat-fuckers.'"

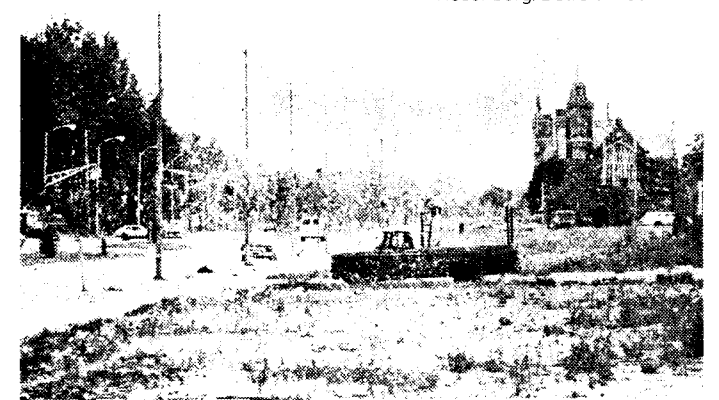
"Northern Europe is dripping with fat...."

"Canada was not worth considering (although the Spartacist tendency has a



Rosenberg/Detroit Free Press

Scene along Detroit's 12th Street at the time of the 1967 ghetto explosion, above, and the same area ten years later.



Sacks/New York Times

chagrined to learn that in the last two years the SL has steadily recruited blacks and Latins. In fact, the number of minority group members of our movement today is double that of July 1977. In short, the Anti-Spartacist League has recruited no one from the SL, and its Big Lie campaign has not prevented us from winning serious black militants to Trotskyism. Which goes to show that political integrity has its rewards.

#### Goat Fuckers and Guilt Trippers

The Anti-Spartacist League, however, has grown increasingly frenzied in its attacks upon us as its frustration deepens. Last year Sy

group in that country) because it is only the 'fringe on the surrey extending fifty miles north of the U.S. border.' Non-English speaking North America (Mexico and Quebec...) was specifically ignored in this talk....

"As for the U.S.... it too 'is a jaded country' which, like Northern Europe, 'drips with fat if you exclude the Negro from the statistics.' But Robertson saved his vilest spleen for the American blacks: 'The black population burned down the ghettos and it's now waiting for the Jews to come back and open up the drug stores.' High prices charged by storekeepers in the ghetto were attributed to the fact that 'black kids rip them off.'"

Whew! No one is safe, it seems, from the SL's acid comments.

#### What the Spartacist League Really Stands For

a self-exposure by James Robertson

THE SPEECH THE SL WOULDN'T PRINT!

WV No. 20, 11 May 1972

A COMMUNIST CADRE PAMPHLET



cadre, our opponents get excited. Stupidly imputing to *WV* the euphemistic style characteristic of the left press, where "problem" means big trouble and "struggle" means faction fight, the Anti-Spartacist League scented blood and began to buzz around us like frenzied mosquitos.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), reformist big daddy of all the fake-Trotskyist apologists for "consistent nationalism," calls the tune. But what is

But what is the frenzy really all about? Like all good liberals, the Anti-Spartacist League wants to deny that oppression oppresses. In their eyes, the downtrodden are morally cleansed by the very fact of their subjugation. By definition, there can be no black criminals. They rail against the likes of racist mass murderer Vorster in South Africa but you will not find a word in their papers against Idi Amin, who has directly killed many tens of thousands of black Africans, far more than the apartheid Führers.

And there is a program behind this priggishness: petty-bourgeois moralism. Citing Lenin's elementary observation that there is an important difference between the nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of the oppressor, these unwashed New Leftists fall into line behind the program of "revolutionary" retaliation. Marxists have a different program. We fight national oppression from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. We recognize the right of self-determination of *all* nations; cheerleaders for "Third World" nationalism hold, inverting a line from a recent rock song, that "big peoples got no reason to live." Socialism will transcend the national limits of capitalism; "consistent nationalists" seek to reverse the terms of oppression.

The anti-Spartacists go apoplectic because the SL does not abide by the liberal convention that in "polite society" one does not talk frankly about the race question. Case in point: Robertson's ghetto drug stores. We invite our outraged opponents to take a drive through the areas of Detroit that were burnt out in 1967. They will find the population indeed still waiting for the shopkeepers to return—and the few black-managed businesses that are open bristling with black security guards carrying shotguns. No, it's not pretty—it's just true. But for the New Left moralists, aimless outbursts of frustrated violence—testimony to the desperation and powerlessness of the ghettos—are to be dressed up as "ghetto rebellions," glorious celebrations of lumpen rage. If their only real result is to worsen the quality of life in the ghettos, Sy Landy couldn't care less.

All that counts is to get the SL for "great nation" bullying." Of course, *Socialist Voice* fails to mention that Robertson's reference to a reported remark by Karl Marx had a political purpose: underscoring the political irony of the fact that the "Gang of Four" Maoists' last redoubt of socialist purity is a tiny, wretchedly poor and backward country composed largely of mountain tribes and shepherds:

"The harder Maoist types, looking for a spiritual homeland that has state power, are now looking at Tirana. We have had our comrades checking, and it is not yet assured, but we believe that Marx referred to the Albanians as 'goat-fuckers.' Is that true? But then he was prone to ethnically pejorative phrases. And it must be pointed out that, to this day, and under the conditions of the fourth 5-year plan, the production of goats is still the principal activity in Albania."

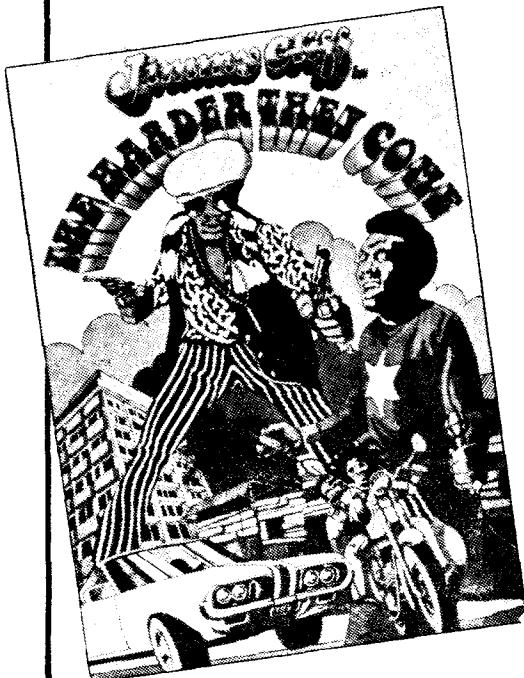
For people of such refined sensibilities that their hair is standing on end, we must advise them not to expand their obviously meager reading of Marx on the national question. For what will they say when they find Marx comparing Turkey to the stinking corpse of a dead horse, labeling the Poles slothful or speaking of the Chinese nationality "with all its overhearing prejudice, stupidity, learned ignorance and pedantic barbarism"?

Marx and Engels despised the hypocritical prudence of those who eschew strong language, and for their epithets were frequently attacked as racists and German nationalists, a charge they vehemently rejected:

"Let no one object that we speak here on behalf of German national prejudices. In German, French, Belgian and English periodicals, the proofs are to be found that it was precisely the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* who

## RSL: THE HARDER THEY FALL

Apparently a concerted slander campaign requires no agreement among its participants except the choice of a target. At least, it seems that every "Trotskyist" organization in the U.S. with less than fifty members has embarked on a crusade to "expose" the Spartacist League for



Lumpen capital of the world?

already long before the revolution most decisively opposed all manifestations of German national narrowmindedness.... But precisely for that reason we should be permitted not to share the fantastic illusions of the Slavs and allowed to judge other peoples as severely as we have judged our own."  
—"Democratic Pan-Slavism"  
(February 1849)

The Spartacist League takes second place to no one in denouncing the crimes and imperialist chauvinism of American imperialism. We were unique in denouncing Jimmy Carter's "human

"racism" and "chauvinism." They apparently feel no need to get together on the "evidence" they adduce to support their epithets. So the third-camp LRP waxes indignant over our presumed insult to the "Maple Leaf proclivities" of the Canadian bourgeoisie (see accompanying article) while the sour-grapes Pabloite fringe rails against the "notoriously antigay" SL and "Uncle Toms" of the former gay liberation collective with which the SL fused last summer. Meanwhile the frenzied Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) last year denounced the "racist" SL on behalf of Spanish-language monolingualism and the moral superiority of the Jamaican lumpenproletariat.

It all began when Spartacist supporters attending a Los Angeles RSL forum last spring requested the Spanish-language meeting provide translation for the English speakers comprising most of the audience. According to the *Torch* (15 April) the demand for translation "reveals the true nature of the Spartacist League" as "arrogant and racist" because "Anglo SLers in Los Angeles have not bothered to learn Spanish." Of course, when an

*continued on page 15*

29 forum, Communist Cadre apparently felt inspired to go one better, with a pamphlet purporting to contain the verbatim text of the forum "virtually in its entirety." In the introduction, CTC queries:

"What can one say of a man who claims to be a revolutionary and who publicly refers to the Albanian peasants as 'goatfuckers'? Who complains of the poor showing made by an SL candidate to student office even though 'we ran a very pretty girl'.... And what can one say of the SL membership who did not sit through this shameless performance

**Cyprus 1964:**  
Turkish woman mourns for her husband killed in village battle with Greeks. Then the Greeks were dominant, now the Turkish army holds sway. Which is the good people, which the bad? Communists oppose all indiscriminate terror and ethnic/communal attacks.



Don McCullin

rights" crusade from the outset as a campaign to morally and militarily rearm the bloodiest imperialist power in history. "The main enemy is at home," proclaimed our headlines when the reformists were calling on Carter to "make good" on his "human rights" rhetoric. We have steadfastly defended the democratic rights of blacks, women, homosexuals, immigrants and all the oppressed and we are not going to be lectured on "chauvinism" by people like the LRP and RSL who join the anti-busing racists in opposing "forced" school integration in Boston and elsewhere.

### The "Spartacist Tapes"

Following the publication of the LRP's distorted account of the January

in embarrassed silence, but who roared their approval at every turn, cheering Robertson on to the next indecency, to the next slap at the oppressed?"

One can say of the SL that it does not mince words, that it is not afraid to speak frankly to the socialist public about any subject—including itself. "We haven't been growing very much lately," Comrade Robertson told the January 29 forum.

After its introduction and six (!) "appendices," the CTC pamphlet finally gets around to its version of the Robertson speech, broken up every couple of paragraphs with clumps of CTC exegesis, meanwhile complaining that the half-page *WV* account ("Reforge the Fourth International," *WV* No. 143, 4 February 1977) presented only "innocuous" passages and "cleaned-up" paraphrase. But CTC's

"Spartacist tapes" must have been "edited" by Nixon's Rosemary Woods! The pamphlet deletes much of the central political material, which is apparently insufficiently titillating: Robertson's evaluation of the class struggle in different countries, emphasizing the key question of leadership (the betrayal of the French Stalinists in 1968, the fossilized British Labour Party, the United Secretariat majority's "self-criticism" on Latin America). Instead, we are treated to reams of distorted summary and editorializing ("There follows here in deleted remarks a lengthy, though scarcely illuminating discussion...").

Communist Cadre is indignant that *WV* treated the speech as a political statement, centering on an elaboration of programmatic points comprising a basis for principled regroupment among elements seeking to break from centrism and reformism, rather than focusing on the one-liners, personal observations and evocative images that make a good speech. In the "almost verbatim" pamphlet, only the jokes are given serious treatment and are highlighted with every typographical device (underscoring, italics, exclamation marks, *sic* notations, capital letters) available on an IBM Selectric. But despite the schoolmarmish commentary and crudely falsifying "editing," the speech still makes interesting reading. We give it an X-rating only for those who are shocked by Trotsky's admonition to "call things by their right names."

### Marion Delgado's Little Brothers

The charges of "American chauvinism" and "racism" directed against the SL are not simply random mud-slinging. Most of the Anti-Spartacist League consists of groups derived from the late 1960's New Left. There they learned it was wrong for an American ever to speak ill of "Third World" peoples. As Marxists, we do not pander to the national conceits of *any* people. So we become the target of guilt-tripping petty-bourgeois moralists

whose ideas are influenced far more by Frantz Fanon than Leon Trotsky.

To the vicarious guerrillas of the New Left, the "white" nations of capitalist Europe and North America had to pay for centuries of tyranny over the dark-skinned peoples. The entire working class of the "mother country" was a "white labor aristocracy" which had shared in the imperialist plunder. And the only expiation was to "pick up the gun," "follow Third World leadership" and join the global war against "honky Amerika." This was the time when Bernadine Dohrn praised the pathological killer cult of Charles Manson, when another Weatherman leader proclaimed "all white babies are pigs," when youth were urged to emulate one Marion Delgado, an apparently deranged five-year-old Chicano boy who in 1947

*continued on page 14*

# A Bolshevik Practice Revived

# The Candidate and the Party

At the same time that she was writing a statement to the NYC Board of Elections accepting the Spartacist Party nomination as candidate for New York State Assembly in Manhattan's 64th A.D., Marjorie Stamberg deposited a very different document with the Spartacist League central committee. It was a resignation from the post of assemblyman, signed but undated, to be tendered at any moment at the discretion of the CC.

Although it undoubtedly seems strange to most Americans, this practice is actually an old revolutionary tradition going back to the late 1800's. It is an integral part of the democratic-centralist organizational norms of parties which base themselves on the program and practices of the pre-Stalinist Communist International. And it is a guarantee that here is a candidate the working people can depend on. You are voting not for an individual, who is subject to a myriad of pressures, but for a party which stands or falls on its program.

To understand the reasons for this tradition, it is necessary to look at the history of electoralism in the socialist movement. During the short lifespan of the International Workingmen's Association, its forays into bourgeois elections were in order to use the campaigns as a platform to spur on the struggle of the working class. However, as its successor the Second (Socialist) International deepened its immersion in the quagmire of opportunism—eventually leading to the social democrats' shameful support of their "own" bourgeoisies in World War I—an altogether different spirit infused their parliamentary campaigns.

It was the spirit of encrusting themselves into the existing state apparatus and pressuring for a minimum program of piecemeal reforms. It also meant the domination of a privileged layer of

"socialist" lawyers and professionals who became increasingly independent of control by the party ranks. In the British Labour Party, for instance, the Parliamentary Labour Party (the group of Labour members of parliament) is not even formally bound by the decisions of the Labour Party membership. Thus the annual party conference has twice recently voted down the wage control policy of the Labour cabinet, but still it remains government policy. The prime minister, of course, is relatively independent from the rest of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and even of the cabinet, which he personally nominates on behalf of the queen.

Thus "independence" from party control actually means domination by

tionary communist representatives.

The question of party control of socialist deputies goes back to the 1890's and a left-wing split from the dominant faction of French socialism, the Possibilists. These forerunners of the French Socialist Party of Jaurès, led by Jean Alleman, were disgusted by the all-too-frequent spectacle of elected Socialists becoming careerists who resisted the political direction of the party which had put them forward. To protect the socialist movement, the Allemanists placed their parliamentarians under the direct supervision and control of the party body which had nominated them, and initiated the practice of securing an undated written resignation from every candidate.

In response to the mounting opportunism, chauvinism, corruption and all-round reformism centered in the Socialist parliamentary fractions, many left-wing social democrats in the pre-World War I period leaned toward syndicalist anti-parliamentarism. The Bolsheviks, however, demonstrated with their revolutionary work in the tsarist Duma that it was possible to carry on principled struggle in the "representative" organs of the bourgeoisie. Thus in August 1920 the Second Congress of the Communist International incorporated this practice in its "Theses on Communist Parties and Parliament," which stated:

"After elections, the organization of the parliamentary fraction must be completely in the hands of the central committee of the communist party.... The central committee must have a permanent representative in the fraction, with the right of veto and, on all important questions, the fraction must seek in advance guidance from the party central committee. The central committee has the right and the duty, when the communist fraction in parliament is about to undertake an important step, to

appoint or to contest the spokesman for the fraction and to require that the outline of his speech or the speech itself be submitted for approval by the central committee, etc. Every communist candidate must officially give a written undertaking that he is ready to resign from parliament at the first request of the party central committee, so that in any given situation resignation from parliament can be carried out in unison...."

—Jane Degras (ed.), *The Communist International 1919-1943*, Vol. I (1919-1922)

Organizational form is the handmaiden of political program. The mechanism of securing an advance resignation from any socialist candidate reflects Lenin's struggle to forge a revolutionary vanguard party whose electoral aims were fundamentally counterposed to the parliamentarism of the Second International. Because the social democrats' program was one of class collaboration rather than the independent mobilization of the working class for power, their "socialist" Sunday speechifying was a cynical tool for aspiring parliamentarians. When Lenin urged the communists to put their lawyers in the factories and their workers in parliament, he gave sociological concreteness to the Bolsheviks' insistence that communist electoral work differs from reformist electoral work not in degree but in kind.

Though our present numbers and influence are rather more modest, we emulate the Communist International's practices as fully consonant with our revolutionary program and purpose. Our aims in this electoral campaign are to expose the narrow and partial "democracy" of the bourgeoisie expressed in capitalist elections, and to use the elections as a forum to hasten the day when socialist revolution will sweep away the bourgeoisie's kept politicians and inaugurate real democracy and freedom for all the working people. ■

(undated)  
I, Marjorie Stamberg, hereby resign as a candidate for/elected member of the New York State Assembly. As a communist who shares Lenin's understanding of the dangers of parliamentary corruption of the representatives of the working people, I willingly submit this resignation should the Spartacist League of the U.S. so demand.  
(signed)  
Marjorie Stamberg

the capitalist state. Furthermore, the conditions of parliament, where the workers' deputies are in constant contact with the representatives of the bourgeoisie, exert a powerful pressure toward collaboration with the class enemy. The right wing of the social-democratic parties is almost invariably strongest in parliament. And the same pressures would of course be felt even by revolu-

## Pope ...

(continued from page 1)

Edward Gierek immediately sent a telegram expressing "great satisfaction" at the selection of Wojtyla, and the new pope is described as more able to get along with the government than the Polish primate, Stephan Cardinal Wyszynski, whose militant anti-communism is scarcely veiled despite a recent "unthawing" of church-state relations. Nevertheless, the selection of a Polish cardinal as pope can only mean a period of greater pressure on the Soviet bloc by the West.

To the Stalinists Pope John Paul II may seem a prince of peace and détente, a man of the post-Helsinki period. Domestically the Gierek regime portrays him as a symbol of Communist-Catholic coexistence. But he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a tremendous potential force for counter-revolution. *And it is precisely the Stalinists who are responsible for the existence of this grave threat to the social conquests of the degenerated and deformed workers states.*

Polish Catholicism is an extremely powerful political force, its influence extending far beyond the usual circles of seedy provincial intelligentsia and expropriated lumpen nobility who idolize Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of inter-war Poland. Their sullen offspring now flaunt tiny American flags on their ersatz blue jeans and buy pictures of John F. Kennedy. During President Carter's visit to Poland in

January 1978, Brzezinski and Rosalynn Carter made a special point of holding a private meeting with Cardinal Wyszynski.

Of all the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states, Poland is the most solidly and actively Catholic, partly for historic reasons. Polish Catholicism has always been an expression of intense nationalism in this historic battlefield of Europe. The Polish church is based firmly on the small peasantry, which remains intact despite 30 years of Stalinist rule, for alone in the Soviet bloc Poland has not collectivized its agriculture. Moreover, the peasantry has tremendous economic leverage as it produces much of the hard-currency exports to the West.

A landholding peasantry is everywhere a deeply conservative potential bastion of reaction, whose immedi-



Brzezinski meets Cardinal Wyszynski.

Fitzpatrick

ate interests run counter to those of the working class. The Stalinist bureaucracy, while resting on the foundations of collectivized industry, seeks to balance between the proletariat on the one hand and the peasantry, the church and imperialism—thereby attacking the workers, the only force that can defend the revolutionary conquests. This was graphically seen in June 1975 when Gierek abruptly raised food prices to appease the peasantry, touching off a nationwide wave of wildcat strikes. When the army was called in to put down the strikes, the Catholic church, mumbling a few words of "Christian concern" about the fate of the more than 2,000 arrested, lined up solidly behind the government.

The dangerous policy of Gierek & Co. is the very opposite of that pursued by Lenin and Trotsky to break the reactionary power of organized religion. The victorious Bolsheviks in Russia gutted the temporal power of the Orthodox church by expropriating its gigantic estates worked by knout-driven serfs. While carrying on some anti-religious agitation, their fundamental tack was to eliminate the hideous poverty and rural isolation which were the basis for the hold of religious obscurantism on the masses. The measures which began to free women from the oppressive limits of the family thereby undercut another of the principal sources of active religious participation.

But with the triumph of Stalin, all this was reversed. The family was reinforced, collectivization was carried out in a brutally bureaucratic manner, and during World War II Stalin directly

built up the authority of the Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox church in order to tap nationalist sentiment in the "Great Fatherland War." Likewise in Poland the Stalinist policy of conciliating the solidly anti-communist Catholic hierarchy is part and parcel of its overall program of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism/imperialism.

This program is not only utopian, it is positively dangerous. The Polish Stalinists' conciliation of the church and peasantry embolden these reactionary forces, who now have one of their own in the Vatican. And Jimmy Carter may figure he has a pope in his pocket, which can only increase the intensity of his bellicose anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. ■

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**WORKERS VANGUARD**

SPECIAL ELECTION SUPPLEMENT OCTOBER 1978

## For a Socialist Fight to Save New York!

The following is an excerpted speech by Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York State Assembly in Manhattan's A.D. 64, delivered at New York University on October 14.

People ask why we're running a socialist campaign in New York City. We have a very simple answer, and that is that the crisis in New York City is so intense that there is absolutely no other kind of politics that makes any sense whatsoever in this town.

Take a look at the situation. Here it is in 1978 and you have people literally freezing to death in Harlem in the winter, and you have the South Bronx looking like Dresden after the allies firebombed it, and what is the program that the ruling class has for this city? There are laws about how you are not supposed to smoke in the elevators and how you should clean up the dog shit after your dog. Maybe you would feel more sympathetic about not smoking in the elevators and getting out your pooper scooper if people were not dying in the hospital corridors and you didn't have trucks falling through the highways with the result that the highway is not used again for five years!

How did New York City get this way? Well, it is fairly complicated. One thing to keep in mind is that because the labor movement in this town was very strong during the twenties and thirties, New York was a city that tried to act halfway decently to the population. You had welfare that was somewhat higher than the rest of the country, and it was the only city in the entire country that had a decent free higher education system.

Irish schoolteachers brought up a generation of Jewish kids, and the Jewish kids grew up and they are the teachers in the schools right now. The problem is that the Jewish teachers can't educate the black and Puerto Rican kids because the society is not the same. But myths go on about the great melting pot.

So, that's partly what it is, and, also, New York is really the victim of a racist plot. Middle America and Congress look at New York City as a city filled with Puerto Ricans and blacks and run by Jews and Italians, so that when it came time to cut back somewhere, it was made the scapegoat. It reminds you of the old joke in the McCarthy era when people used to say what you ought to do to New York is to float it out to sea and use it as a nuclear testing ground.

Those are some of the political aspects, and then you have the financial

aspect that is connected with New York being the finance capital of U.S. imperialism. You have a situation where a lot of money goes in and out of New York, and what the city pays out in federal taxes is far higher in proportion to what it gets back than in the rest of the country. And then you have the Rockefeller's.

You know, the Rockefeller banks owned the BMT and the Morgan bank owned the IRT. Then the subways went bankrupt and the city bought them out for \$320 million. But the city didn't have the money, so back they went to the Rockefeller banks and back to the Morgan bank to negotiate a loan to buy the subways from the Rockefeller's and the Morgans! That is what we pay debt service on year in and year out, so that by 1971 we had something like \$720 million of the city budget going to pay for the interest on the loans for the subways and the rest of the boondoggles.

That's the kind of stuff that Jack Newfield and these *Village Voice* muck-rakers are always talking about, and there is an interesting book, *The Abuse of Power*, that talks about where the money is going, and they are onto something. But, of course, we differ from them in that we don't have an "evil genius" theory that claims one man—Rockefeller, for example—or a small conspiracy is responsible. We say that the crisis in New York City is essentially the crisis of capitalism itself.

It was the inability of U.S. capitalism in this period of economic crisis to deal with the running sores of the big cities, with their huge unemployed and minority populations, their welfare rolls and city services, and their municipal unions. The immediate crisis came about directly because of the enormous growth of the UFT and AFSCME in this town in the sixties, combined with the economic situation in the seventies. There was a decision of the ruling class to go after the unions and to go after the other social services, and they decided on New York for both economic and political reasons.

\* \* \* \* \*

So how do we get out of it? Well, we are not utopians and we're not reformists; we deal with reality. So you start talking about getting a little money to rebuild the South Bronx, and you ask where the money is. The money is in the banks. So let's talk about wiping out the



Marjorie Stamberg speaking at campaign rally in Sheridan Square.

debt and expropriating the banks. As soon as you start talking like that, you realize that you can't have a program for a New York City commune, because the money is going to federal income tax, and pretty soon the IRS is going to show up looking curiously like the U.S. Army. So you're already talking about socialist revolution, and that is the one main point that we want to bring out in this election: if you talk about doing anything in this city, whether you're talking about education or housing or jobs, you find yourself talking about socialist revolution.

It is not as if the situation can go on like it is, because it can't. The alternatives are a socialist fight or something like Crown Heights, the situation last summer where you had virtually the entire black population of the area pitted against the Jewish community, being led in attacks against each other by Democratic Party politicians.

So we have been going around Greenwich Village and saying that we're running on the program of socialist revolution, and everybody says, "Well,

that's very nice, but isn't it kind of far-fetched to talk about the labor movement in this city leading a united fight against the Democratic Party and the Rockefeller's and the banks and Big MAC?" And we say, "No, it's not very far-fetched at all. In fact, as recently as 1975 a situation existed that was utterly ripe for that kind of fight—the period when MAC and the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) and welfare cutbacks were first coming down." This was a situation in which every sector of the population was feeling the heat, and there was a felt need to fight back against it. You had the labor movement, which had lost 60,000 jobs and was having its union contracts ripped up; you had the Co-op City rent strike; you had students at City College demonstrating to save the open admission program and free tuition; and you had all kinds of sit-ins and demonstrations in the South Bronx and Harlem against the fire station and hospital closings.

Of course, the leadership of the labor movement—the Gotbaums and the

*continued inside*

# STAMBERG FOR 64th A.D.



WV Photo

## Socialist Fight...

(continued from front)

Shankers—are intimately connected with and politically support the Democratic Party, which was the party that was carrying out the cut-backs, and they were the reason that the New York City labor movement could not fight. But you could really taste the opportunity and the SL fought very hard at that time to turn this opportunity into a reality by calling for the Transit Workers, the UFT and the rest of the labor movement to lead a political fight and a general strike to smash Big MAC. But it didn't happen, because of the labor bureaucracy.

\* \* \* \* \*

Let me talk a little now about this particular election. We're running against an archtypical liberal Democrat, William Passannante, who has been assemblyman in this district for the last 25 years. Yesterday Passannante was one of your liberal reformers and today he is a law-and-order liberal, so we like to run against him because he personifies a political type that is very important.

This guy has got a 90 percent ADA [Americans for Democratic Action] rating. It's sort of funny, the stuff you get interested in when you are running for election. I would never have looked at this stuff, but it is interesting because they don't include who voted for the Albany EFCB package, to put the unions into 19-year receiverships directly under the banks last spring in Albany, or whether you oppose Carey's crime bill. But anyway, Mr. Passannante got this 90 percent rating. We thought our opponents in the CP and the SWP would probably have a pretty high ADA rating as well, because the SWP is really the biggest builder of liberalism. But you see we're not even on the scale, because we're not liberals, and that's the difference. In this particular election campaign there are two issues that knock us right off the ADA chart: Westway and gun control.

Yesterday we had an interview with a reporter from a local Village paper, and she said to me, "All right, I can see you need Westway, but does it have to be *ten lanes*?" And I said, "Well, we're flexible. I'll tell you what—let's make it 11 lanes. We'll build a great big one down the middle and we can land the Concorde on it [laughter]. I wanted to make a political point with her. Everybody says we only have a limited amount of money and we've really got to fix up the subways, and therefore you can't have any roads. Well, we don't accept that, and that's what makes the difference between revolutionary politics and reformism. We will not be bound by the confines of decaying capitalism. We say that the money is there, and we will start from the framework of what we need and go about getting it!

The other thing that really differentiates us is our position on gun control, because that is the other classic liberal solution. We're opposed to gun control and to the Sullivan law. We don't want a

situation where only the cops and the criminals are armed. We do not want a monopoly of violence in the hands of the state.

Ten years ago politicians would at least have given a fig leaf of support to the idea that you change crime by changing the conditions that caused it. Now from Carey to Duryea, everybody in this town is running on the politics of death, whether it's stiffer sentences or the death penalty. Law-and-order liberalism is rampant all over New York. The flip side of this is a kind of Pollyanna reformism which preaches that if you say that lumpen crime exists and that people are afraid on the subway, you're some kind of racist. But if you can't deal with it, you can't deal with reality; you cannot make a revolution because you can't understand the situation, and you will become a cheering squad for nationalism, like the ostensible left did, when a situation like Crown Heights arises, which was a dress rehearsal for a pogrom.

What happened in Crown Heights? First of all, you have this Arthur Miller, a black Democratic Party junior hack. He goes out with his brother to see about a parking ticket one day, and he hasn't paid off the cops, and so they strangle him in cold blood at 6:00 p.m. in front of hundreds of people. Here is a situation where there should have been a united mass protest against police brutality. Instead, the incident led to the brink of race war, because black Democrats and nationalists took the heat off the cops and off Koch by turning it against the Hassidic population. And the "leftists" followed them!

The most criminal aspect of this was not the threat posed to the Jews but the threat posed to the blacks. Anybody who leads blacks into race war in this country is the worst enemy of the black population, because this is a racist country, and in a race war the blacks are going to lose! That is the reality in the United States! So we called for stopping the cycle of ethnic vigilantism and for a united struggle of all the oppressed behind labor in a fight against the capitalists.

\* \* \* \* \*

We run against both parties of capitalism, and that is one way in which we are distinguished from our reformist opponents. The CP, for instance, doesn't even bother to call for the independence of labor; its position, of course, has always been secret support to the Democratic Party. Everybody knows how one third of its central committee voted for McGovern. The CP's position has been secret support for the Democrats for the past 35 years, ever since the popular front—whose expression today in the U.S. is Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade.

The SWP gives lip service to an independent labor party. But then they turn around and tell us that the present leadership of the trade unions—the Arnold Millers and George Meanys—along with the NAACP and NOW will build it! We say you have to break with the Democrats and *oust the bureaucrats*.

Another difference between us and

### Victory to Labor Struggles!

The heroic miners strike showed what the American working class is capable of.

From the heroic lines of last summer's Daily News walkout to the present bitter pressmen's strike, provoked by sinister union-buster Rupert Murdoch, New Yorkers are on the picket lines to defend past gains.

■ **Victory to the press strike!** For labor solidarity—Picket lines mean "Don't Cross!" For NYC pay and manning scales at all dailies distributed in the city! For a daily newspaper published by the labor movement! New York Labor: Don't Beg—Strike! Give Koch the Lindsay Treatment!

For the criminal conspiracy to hold up, loot and bludgeon the citizens of New York we indict Carter, Congress, the banks, the Wall Street trusts, the Democrats and the labor traitors who rolled over and played dead. Koch pits the "public interest" against the unions. But the fight to save New York is the fight to save the unions.

■ **For militant labor action to smash Big MAC, the EFCB and the bank dictatorship!** Cancel the debt! Expropriate the banks and the blood-sucking utilities, Con Ed and the phone company! Take back the billions in union pension funds poured down the Big MAC rat-hole Reverse the "Give-Backs!"

■ **Dump the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats—For a work-**

the reformists is that it is easy to make a list of good things around election time—that is what the CP and the SWP do with their "community control" schemes and "tax the rich" gimmicks. Their campaigns are virtually indistinguishable from each other. The CP says let's put "people before profits," and the SWP says "human needs before profits." We have one thing to say about that: There will never be *anything* before profits in the capitalist system!

We also denounce parliamentary cretinism. We run because we want the platform from which to rally the working masses and all the oppressed around the program that calls for a socialist fight to save New York—a program of socialist revolution.

When Lenin was asked by Badayev, a Bolshevik deputy in the czarist Duma, what bills the Bolsheviks should advance, he replied: "You had better introduce a 'Bill' stating that in three years time we shall take you all, black-hearted landlords, and hang you all on the lamp-posts. That would be a real 'Bill'" [applause].

So that's what our campaign is about. We say that the future of the working masses lies not at the ballot box, but on the picket lines, the battle lines of the class struggle. ■

## Labor/Gays...

(continued from back)

wielding thugs who savagely attacked six men last July in a section of Central Park frequented by homosexuals—a grim reminder of the vicious prejudice faced by lesbians and gay men even in liberal NYC.

At a Sheridan Square street rally in early October, Stamberg, who is running in the Greenwich Village-Chelsea district, pointed out: "The Democratic Party runs the city, state and federal governments, but they don't stand up for rights for homosexuals because they're busy denying democratic rights to women, blacks and other minorities." The liberal Democrats who once claimed to support school integration in

ers party to fight for a workers government! Rescind the layoffs! Restore the budget cuts! Jobs for all—30 hours work at 40 hours pay! A penny-for-penny cost-of-living escalator! Smash the no-strike Taylor Law!

■ For a massive program of public works under union control! Let the Concorde fly! Build a ten-lane West Side highway underground!

■ Triple welfare! Unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages! Free quality health care for all! Restore and expand rent control Expropriate the real estate corporations! Free mass transit! Billions to save the subways!

### For a Working-Class Defense of Democratic Rights!

The capitalist government belongs to the anti-busing racists rampaging on the streets of Boston, the anti-homosexual bigots of the Anita Bryant reaction, the right-to-lifers in the White House. The reformists taught the mass movements to rely on the courts and Congress. Now the courts and Congress are leading the backlash and only a fight by labor can even restore the limited democratic gains won in the 1960's.

■ **For busing and its extension to the suburbs!** No platform for Nazis and other racist terrorists! For labor/black defense against right-wing attacks!

■ **End discrimination in schools, housing, education, jobs!** Not union-busting "affirmative action"

the South, dropped busing like a hot potato as soon as it came under fire from mobs of racists in the streets of Boston and other northern cities. Democratic president Carter axed poor women's right to abortions by cutting Medicaid funding with the excuse that "life is not fair."

Liberal Democratic legislators like William Passannante, Stamberg's opponent in the 64th assembly district, used to say that the answer to crime was social reform. Now the bleeding hearts of the '60's have become the "law and order" liberals of the '70's. Passannante recently supported Governor Carey's bill to authorize life sentences for 13-year-olds. In a period when long-time liberal Ed Koch can be elected mayor as the champion of the death penalty, the dedication of a machine politician like Passannante to the rights of homosexuals is not something you would want to stake your life on. Today he wants to send seventh graders to Attica—who knows what he'll stand for tomorrow?

The Anita Bryant bigotry crusade produced a turn to Democratic Party electoral politics by "mainstream" gay organizations. The votes of the large homosexual communities in such cities as San Francisco and New York are seen by groups such as the National Gay Task Force as a way to buy into the Democratic Party as one more "special interest" constituency. And right behind the "gay power" Democrats are their "best builders" on the left, the reformist Socialist Workers Party. The Communist Party, of course, keeps its mouth shut on the whole issue, not daring to challenge reactionary prejudices in the working class and eager to ignore the persecution of homosexuals in the Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states.

While passage of legislation such as Intro 384 might make it harder for bigoted landlords and employers to openly discriminate against homosexuals, it will not fundamentally alter their oppression in capitalist society. Formal legal equality will not eliminate pervasive anti-homosexual prejudices, which



# Fighting Program

but union programs for upgrading and special programs for minorities! Jobs for all! For union hiring halls! Cops out of the unions - Courts out of the labor movement!

■ **Full democratic rights for homosexuals!** Pass Intro 384! Pass the Equal Rights Amendment! For free abortion on demand! Keep the repressive state out of consensual sexual activity! No laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution! Down with all censorship!

■ **Down with the Bakke decision!** Restore open admissions! For free quality higher education for all! Nationalize the private colleges - For free tuition and living stipend! For bilingual education!

## Down With the Racist "Law and Order" Campaign!

From Koch's call for the death penalty to Carey's stand for non-parole life sentences, the liberals' "law and order" campaign is aimed against blacks, minorities and the poor. While pollyanna reformists pretend crime doesn't exist, the capitalists' answer is increased punishment, more cop terror - a license to kill for the racist cops who are New York's biggest narcotics pushers and gun control laws guaranteeing that only cops and criminals are armed.

■ **Down with the death penalty!** Junk the Sullivan Law - No to gun control! No guns for cops!

■ **No to ethnic vigilantism! Jail killer cops!**

## Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade!

The "human rights" campaign of Carter/Young/Brzezinski means South Africa's Vorster, Chile's General Pinochet and the bloody Shah of Iran. Its real purpose is to prettily U.S. imperialism's "image" after its debacle in Vietnam and the embarrassment of Watergate, and to build Cold War support for a provocative arms build-up against the USSR.

As Trotskyists, our movement has fought for 50 years against the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary suppression of workers democracy. But our call for the overthrow of the Kremlin usurpers through proletarian political revolution means uncompromising opposition to Carter's imperialist appetites to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, Cuba, China and all the deformed workers states.

■ **Defend the gains of the October Revolution!** For workers democracy! Oust the Stalinist bureaucrats - For workers political revolution!

■ **No to reactionary protectionism!**  
■ **For international labor solidarity!** Smash apartheid in South Africa! For international labor action in defense of the black trade unions! Throw out European and American colonialism and imperialism! For African self-destiny!

■ **Stop the deportations - Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!** For the independence of Puerto Rico!

■ **Down with imperialist "human rights" hypocrisy - The main enemy is at home!**



Marjorie Stamberg, a 34-year-old labor militant, has been active in struggles against imperialist war, poverty and social injustice since 1965. In the mid-1960's she was an SDS and civil rights activist, writing for the *Washington Free Press* and later joining the *Guardian* as a staff writer. During 1969-72 she was a leader of the Oakland Women's Liberation. Stamberg was among those student radicals whose commitment to fighting oppression brought them to a working-class socialist perspective. Today she writes for the Trotskyist newspaper of the Spartacist League, *Workers Vanguard*.

Marjorie Stamberg, candidate of the Spartacist Party in Manhattan's 64th assembly district, draws on nine years experience as a telephone worker, many of them as a leader of the Militant Action Caucus, in campaigning For a Socialist Fight to Save New York.

Now the liberals are for cutting back because they can fool almost nobody with dreams of going forward. The ecology movement is made up of aggrieved liberals who blame growth itself for the destructive irrationality of capitalism in decay. The "zero growth," "small is beautiful" crowd accuses science and technology of having failed us by opening the way for some horrific environmental disaster. Their gloomy forebodings are reminiscent of the butter ad warning, "It's not nice to fool Mother Nature." And their "solution"? Bring to a screeching halt any more "progress" and let nature take its course, healing our wounded ecosystem so snail darters, bats, albino fish and fuzzy green things on the Hudson River bottom can flourish.

So the anti-Westway sentiment has a profoundly conservative basis. It is the ecologist version of the Emergency Financial Control Board's anti-working-class austerity plans. Having accepted Felix Rohatyn's view of the limits, the rad-libs choose to protest the symbols of growth rather than the government's refusal to supply what is necessary. Is Westway a boondoggle? Of course, but that is not what the anti-Westway forces are protesting. The Rockefellers are not the object of their ire; instead they bemoan big roads and fast planes because they assume the Rockefellers, in one form or another, are eternal. Indeed, if you believe that capitalism will last forever, continually decaying, there is good reason for frenzied pessimism and the desire to go to hell slower, making it last with less.

But we have had too many cutbacks already. More than 600,000 jobs have been lost from New York in the last ten years. "Scaling down" means further factory shutdowns and the loss of even more productive capacity.

The rad-libs, from urban planner Jane Jacobs to the Clamshell Alliance to the *Village Voice's* Jack Newfield, have reinvented "benign neglect" as the way to "save the neighborhoods." They point proudly to Soho as an area which just "naturally" grew and revitalized itself by being left alone. Of course, those small businesses and their workers pushed out of the lofts to make way for galleries, expensive restaurants and hip boutiques are of no concern to the new Soho middle class.

Soho is making it today because a lot of "beautiful people" invested a lot of capital in it. The South Bronx has been let to "naturally develop" for decades - a hideous tragedy for the people trapped in the rotting ghetto, which has come to resemble Nagasaki after the bomb was dropped. What we need is vast new public works projects, more new con-

struction. And while we're at it, we can expropriate Rockefeller's World Trade Center and turn it into a decent welfare hotel.

## Capitalism Can't Do It—Labor Is the Key

The ecology reformists and the Socialist Workers Party point out that "Capitalism fouls things up." But that's the end of their wisdom. Their "solution" is to turn things over to the "community," which will presumably cut itself off from the major productive forces of modern industrial society.

Of course capitalism fouls things up - things and people. Nuclear power in the hands of the capitalists is indeed dangerous - even its peacetime uses pose safety and environmental hazards (like the West Valley site, which Getty Oil is abandoning, leaving nuclear wastes to just sit there); modern industry is wasteful and polluting; and lots of beautiful country is being callously damaged. And given the disastrous record of New York City construction projects (like the World Trade Center and those mega-potholes once optimistically described as "the Second Avenue subway") New Yorkers' suspicions that Westway is just one more bank/construction industry rip-off, which will tear up the neighborhood for years and then never open, are justified. But the solution does not lie with cutbacks!

The Spartacist Party does not support these utopian, bucolic fantasies which feed into Jimmy ("life is not fair") Carter's austerity schemes to make the working class pay for capitalism's economic crisis. It should be obvious to anybody who lives in New York that capitalism can't solve this city's problems. It has long since exhausted its progressive role in fostering economic development and today retards the further development of humanity, choking off technological and scientific advancement. But there is a class capable of replacing the capitalist rulers - the proletariat - and carrying out a thorough overturn of the capitalist property relations which are a fetter on progress.

The labor movement is the key to smashing the banks' blood-sucking grip on New York City. The question is not where money is going to come from for construction, but where it has gone to over the last decade: to finance the city's debt to the banks. We demand: Cancel the debt! Take back the pension funds sucked into Big MAC! Start a program of public housing, roads, mass transit - at union wages, under union control! Both a ten-lane underground highway and renovated, free subways! For a socialist fight to save New York! ■

are rooted in the conception of "normal" sexual roles in the nuclear family. And the family - which chains poor and working women to the kitchen, laundry and nursery - will survive until a socialist society can collectively assume the burdens of cooking, cleaning and child care.

Today Democratic liberals may give token support to democratic rights for homosexuals - tomorrow they will turn their backs on "gay rights," just as they have already abandoned busing and abortion. Gay activists in the homosexual ghettos of Manhattan and the Bay Area should not forget the pogroms of the Jewish ghettos of central Europe. The very existence of "Gays for Carter" can only be explained by incredible political myopia and death-wish on the part of groups who count on a millionaire Southern Baptist who considers homosexuals morally damned to defend them against the likes of Anita Bryant and the sinister forces which stand behind her.

In NYC elections this fall there is only one candidate who is running on a program to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of democratic rights. Vote Spartacist - For Marjorie Stamberg in the 64th A.D. - For a socialist fight to save New York! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Pass Intro 384! Pass the Equal Rights Amendment! Free abortion on demand! Break with the Democrats - For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

## Expressway...

(continued from back)

linking New Jersey and Brooklyn directly with Manhattan. Such a road would be of enormous value. Objections about smashing up Chinatown and Little Italy and choking the city with more exhaust fumes would be resolved by building it underground. More expensive, sure, but that's what we need. Meanwhile, in the absence of such an expressway, Canal Street is a perpetual

traffic jam from one side of the island to the other.

We supported bringing the Concorde to New York while others were waving the flag to denounce the European supersonic jet as un-American. (*Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League, was the first to point out that the hearing discomfort caused by the brief overflight of the Concorde was considerably less than the earsplitting torture experienced daily by millions of NYC subway riders.) And we are for creating an efficient transportation system, both for commuters and for industrial and commercial activity. We need a West Side expressway and we need to rebuild the filthy, decrepit subway system - install air conditioning and rubber wheels on the subway cars; finish the Second Avenue subway line; repave the bus routes; fix up the Long Island and Penn Central railroads. There are all sorts of good plans gathering dust in architects' offices for how to revitalize the port area, bring rail freight into the city, and so on. We demand that these plans be brought out of mothballs, presented to the working people of this city for approval, and then built!

## Rad-Libs Reinvent "Benign Neglect"

It's no surprise that the anti-Westway fever infects Greenwich Village and other traditional strongholds of middle-class liberalism. What appears as utopian hostility to technology is in fact a deep pessimism about the future - a pessimism based on liberalism's failure to make good on its promises of a decent society through industrial development and economic growth.

During the building boom years it seemed the Rockefellers' and Robert Moses' dreams of Xanadu-on-the-Hudson would spring up overnight with only a wave of the government's magic bond-issuing wand. The dreams turned into nightmares in the fiscal crisis of 1974-75 as the debts came due in the midst of a depression and the banks and federal government told New York to drop dead. And the liberal bubble burst.

# VOTE SPARTACIST! VOTE STAMBERG!

**Pass Intro 384! Pass the ERA!**

## Labor Must Defend Civil Rights For Gays!

One hundred fifty demonstrators picketed outside New York City Hall on Thursday, October 12 to demand passage of Intro 384, a bill which would outlaw discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment and public accommodations. It was announced at the rally that the City Council's General Welfare Committee in a meeting that same morning had again postponed hearings on the bill, this time until after the November elections. The news came as a surprise to no one as similar bills have repeatedly failed or died in committee throughout this decade, even at the height of the gay liberation movement.

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for State Assembly in the 64th District, led the Spartacist contingent, the largest in the demonstration, under the banner: "Labor Must Defend Democratic Rights for Gays! Pass Intro 384 Pass the ERA! Break With the Democrats!" But while Spartacist signs and slogans attacked the "people's party" of American capitalism as an enemy of homosexuals and other

oppressed groups, the organizers of the demonstration intended simply to pressure the Democratic liberals to "do it this time."

Almost twenty speakers, including three Democratic City Council members and a leader of the Gay Independent Democrats were permitted to address the crowd. But in a blatant display of anti-communism, Marjorie Stamberg was barred from speaking by the rally's sponsors, the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights. When the Spartacist candidate attempted to speak at the end of the announced speakers list she was shouted down and physically threatened; yet another Democrat mounted the podium and cops moved in to prevent the largest group at the demonstration from being heard.

So why don't the Democrats pass Intro 384? The bill is nothing but a formal statement of democratic rights. But year after year the liberal Democratic-dominated Council turns thumbs down on equal rights for homosexuals. Polls show a majority of New Yorkers favor such a measure, yet



October 12 rally at City Hall in support of Intro 384.

WV Photo

this carries less clout than the powerful opponents of Intro 384, led by Catholic bishops and Orthodox Jewish rabbis. And in the rightward-moving political climate of 1978 there is no good reason to believe that Intro 384 will fare any better than its predecessors.

The anti-homosexual holy war launched by Anita Bryant has succeeded in rolling back "gay rights" ordinances

in Miami, St. Paul, Wichita and Oregon. It inspired California state senator John Briggs to sponsor a witchhunting ballot proposition which, if passed, will fire teachers for "encouraging" or "advocating" homosexuality. The well-publicized victories of the fundamentalist hate campaign no doubt also encouraged the gang of bat-

*continued inside*

## No to Eco-Faddism! Let the Concorde Land!

# NYC Needs a West Side Expressway!

"Stop the Westway!" is the banner slogan of New York City's rad-lib faddists and conservative environmentalists. Opposition to the projected highway running along Manhattan's West Side from the Battery to 42nd Street has become an article of faith, like opposing nuclear plants and the Concorde and preserving endangered species—symbols in a holy crusade against the noxious effects of industrialism and the supposed evils of "bigness." The Westway, we are told in apocalyptic terms, will wreak environmental disaster; it will pollute the air, offend the eye, break the eardrum and corrupt the "ethnic purity" of the neighborhoods.

The "Stop Westway" crusade has also been taken up by the electioneering politicians, from silk-stocking district reform Democrats to old-time Tammany Hall wardheelers, to demonstrate their "progressive concern for the quality of life" and to appease the wide-mouthed clamshells who inhabit their districts. They explain it as a trade-off: not Westway, but money for mass transit; not transportation for smelly, noisy trucks, but fixed-up subways for people. And they are joined by this year's crop of reformist, pseudo-socialist "people's candidates" always on the lookout for the latest "mass movement" to tail after.



The West Side Highway: a symbol of the decay of New York.

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg, a revolutionary socialist running for State Assembly in the 64th A.D., is not riding the eco-faddist bandwagon. Her program calls for both adequate highways and mass transit: "Build a ten-lane highway underground! Billions to save the subways Free mass transit!"

Stamberg's Marxist approach to environmental problems is based on the real needs of working people. And the Spartacist Party offers a strategy of independent working-class action to get

it, through a socialist fight to save New York. The fight for a decent future will not be a fight for less. It will be a working-class fight against the austerity programs of the administrators of decaying capitalism. In New York City the workers must meet the bankers' belt-tightening ultimatums with a struggle for more more jobs, more social services, more wages. And the same goes for transportation.

This is our fundamental difference with the anti-Westway clique: we do not

accept the limits of capitalism. We do not pretend to figure out how this rotten system can be "cleaned up." The revolutionary socialist program breaks through the contracting possibilities of decaying capitalism to establish a rationally planned economy in the interests of all working people.

This city needs a fast, efficient transportation system not only for suburban commuters, but for the trucks which carry goods in and out of the city. Back-to-nature types don't like trucks, but what do they think carries all the food into Manhattan? Back-alley vegetable gardens and foraging for nuts and berries in Central Park won't feed the city. The garment center, meat market, flower market and printing trades are only a few of the job centers which would be directly served by a new highway on the West Side. Or would well-heeled, chic Greenwich Village liberals prefer to preserve the area's charm by going back to deliveries by horse and wagon?

Westway itself is only a small piece of a much larger road system conceived in 1929, which would entirely encircle Manhattan with several crosstown links. One of these, much debated a few years ago, was the cross-Broome Street highway (later switched to Canal Street)

*continued inside*

# Tommy Lee Hines Is Innocent!

In Jimmy Carter's land of "human rights" the Ku Klux Klan makes its lynchings legal. The racist mob had its rope out for Tommy Lee Hines, a severely retarded black man, as he was convicted of rape October 13 and sentenced to 30 years.

Hines sat motionless as his trial opened in Decatur, Alabama where more than 40 years ago the Klan had formed a similarly murderous alliance with capitalism's racist "justice" in an attempt to hang the "Scottsboro Boys." It is the same old cross-burning Klan and the same old lynch law in the "New South."

The Decatur cops knew they had to get some black for the rape of three white women. Hines seemed an easy mark. On May 23 they picked up a young black man for loitering. By the end of the day the cops announced that Tommy Lee Hines had "confessed" to the rapes. He was charged with "forcibly ravishing" the three women.

The "confession" was taken from this man who had never been questioned before by the cops. Forced into a patrol car, Hines supposedly waived his right to a lawyer. The cops claim he was asked, "How many women did you rape, two or three?" And they say he answered "three." But Hines can't even count, much less could he have planned the abductions and rapes, which required driving the victims' cars.

At the trial, teachers at the North Central Alabama Center for the Developmentally Disabled where Hines spent several years testified that he could not count to three, nor name the days of the week in order. He has an IQ in the 30's and a mental age of six. According to the prosecution's description of the events, it is obvious that Hines has neither the mental ability nor physical coordination to execute the crimes of which he is accused. Said his father, Richard Hines, "They had Tommy driving a car. The boy can't even ride a bicycle" (*Time*, 16 October). But the frame-up went on as one of the rape victims claimed she could identify Hines even though her attacker had a garbage bag over his head.

The frame-up was so obvious and terrible that from the outset it sparked outraged protest from blacks throughout the South. Even the moribund Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) set up a "tent city" in front of the Decatur City Hall as a gesture of protest. The Klan, emboldened by the support it has received from the courts and mainstream capitalist politicians, set up its own "tents" as bases for racist provocations. Anxious to prove itself the defender of the virtue of "Southern womanhood" and white "ethnic purity," the Klan commenced a campaign of terror that culminated in a cross burning on August 14 at Decatur's Civic Center.



Klansmen block defenders of Tommy Lee Hines outside Cullman, Alabama.

With a lynch mob estimated at 6,000 gathered in Decatur, even the court was willing to grant Hines' attorney's motion for a change of venue.

However, he is now being tried in nearby Cullman, a town with a 1 percent black population. To no one's surprise, an all-white jury was seated, while the Decatur Klan simply packed itself into cars and drove the 30 miles to reinforce Cullman's hooded vigilantes. On the eve of the October 3 trial opening, the SCLC risked the lives of 60 Decatur blacks when it led a tiny group on a march to Cullman. The intended symbolism of this re-enactment of the bloody, 1960's civil rights marches was not lost on the fascist Klan "action squads" which have a murderous tradition of their own. They met the march with force...and the Cullman police. Joseph Lowery and John Nettles, national and state leaders of the SCLC, together with 21 marchers were arrested.

As the trial has progressed, Klan terror has continued. Two bomb scares caused the emptying of the courtroom. Police confiscated automatic weapons at the door, and defense attorneys monitored CB radio conversations calling on the jury to "hang the nigger" (*Time*, 16 October).

The vicious Klan mobilization—evoking vivid memories of white-hooded lynch mobs surrounding a small, Scottsboro, Alabama jail in the 1930's—are not an aberration in these later days of "enlightened Southern justice." Throughout the South, Klan mobilizations are on the rise as black misleaders hark back to the golden days of the civil rights movement. Demonstrations in Lexington, Kentucky and several small towns in Mississippi for jobs and federal poverty funds, led by the liberal-black United League, have been met by organized Klan violence helping the cops "keep matters in hand." In Tupelo, Mississippi a black boycott against the downtown merchants has brought the racist vigilantes onto the streets in the light of day. And some have revealed the blue uniforms beneath their white sheets.

## Scottsboro Revisited?

The striking similarity between Tommy Lee Hines and the Scottsboro

Boys has been noticed by the bourgeois media. *Time* magazine titled its article on the Hines case, "Scottsboro Revisited?" But only parallel incidental facts interest the bourgeois media, which can well afford to lambaste "isolated examples" of Southern "backwoods justice" in the hope that an embarrassingly grotesque frame-up can be avoided.

Marxists, however, see the thread of racial and class oppression which reinforces the fabric of capitalist "law and order." It is a thread which runs through the countless legal persecutions of the oppressed intended to enforce class rule through legal terror. Marxists see Tommy Lee Hines, Gary Tyler, Johnny Ross and Delbert Tibbs rotting in jails, all victims of class injustice, and we remember Scottsboro. We remember the courts and the Klan united in a campaign to lynch nine black men for rapes which never occurred.

We also remember a defense of the Scottsboro Boys which the bourgeoisie would rather forget. Mass international protests of hundreds of thousands marked the years-long fight to stay the hangman's noose. The protests were organized by the CP *against* the moderate advice and cowardly obstruction of the NAACP. No longer revolutionary in the early 1930's, the CP of that time nevertheless still reflected some of the flame of its earlier revolutionary days. But today the traditions of mass proletarian defense have been obscured by decades of betrayal.

No such mass, activist protest exists to save Tommy Lee Hines, or, for that matter, the countless other victims of racist frame-ups that populate American jails. The liberal politics which would have finished off the Scottsboro Boys, now dominate the cause of Tommy Lee Hines.

Hines faces charges for the other two rapes, while a new battery of lawyers tries to win a retrial and appeal. In the meanwhile he stands alone to face trials he cannot understand for crimes he could not possibly have committed. That is the real tragedy of Scottsboro revisited. Free Tommy Lee Hines! Drop the charges against the SCLC marchers! ■

## Faces Firing For Respecting Picket Lines

# Defend Steel Militant Gene Goldenfeld!

Gene Goldenfeld, a journeyman motor inspector at the coke plant of U.S. Steel's huge Gary, Indiana mill, is being victimized by the company in an attempt to intimidate and silence all union members and deal a blow at the fundamental defensive weapon of the labor movement: the picket line.

For refusing to cross the picket lines of striking rail workers at the Gary facility last month, and for issuing a public statement demanding that leaders of the United Steelworkers instruct their members to respect the lines, Goldenfeld was handed a stiff 38-day suspension. Thus he has been set up to be summarily fired on the next available pretext.

In a leaflet to his fellow members of U.S.W.A. Local 1014 to rally support against the vindictive management attack, Goldenfeld stressed:

"U.S. Steel is not just trying to root out an active union supporter. In the rail strike and last spring's coal strike the company witnessed the power of the trade union principle of honoring picket lines. They want to destroy any possibility of that happening in the steel mills."

Pointing out the outrageous lengths to which the company is willing to go to root out solidarity in the mills, Goldenfeld emphasized that he was being victimized not only for respecting the picket lines, but for merely expressing his views on union policy. Using the "no strike" clause of the contract as its justification to trample on the democratic rights of steelworkers, management is seeking to establish a precedent whereby it can discipline any union member who advocates militant struggle against U.S. Steel.

Already saddled with the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which bans strikes even after their contracts expire, steel workers must not allow the bosses to purge militants who comply with the most elementary obligation of labor solidarity: honoring the picket line. U.S.W.A. Local 1014 and all Chicago/Gary-area labor must demand that the victimization of Gene Goldenfeld be stopped. Drop all disciplines—Full back pay!

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed) Jan Norden, editor

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# Victory to California Teamsters Strike!

# Safeway Strikers Vote Down Fitzsimmons Sellout

SAN FRANCISCO—For the second time in the bitter three-month-old strike against four major northern California supermarket chains, 3,500 striking members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) this weekend overwhelmingly voted down a "settlement" cooked up by the IBT International and the bosses' Food Employers Council.

The rotten deal pushed by International president Frank Fitzsimmons would reportedly retain Safeway's computer speed-up plan designed to increase work loads by up to 50 percent, which triggered the strike last July, would institute takeaways in the cost-of-living allowance formula and new-hires' pay rates and would substantially alter traditional union work rules.

The bosses are also reportedly demanding the right to fire up to 300 strikers and have asserted that strikers who return to work would be reassigned jobs without regard to seniority! Union members correctly view this as total capitulation to the companies.

Such a vicious assault by the employers, directed at a major union like the Teamsters, is unprecedented in recent years. Scores of strikers have been arrested and assaulted; one, Randy Hill, has been murdered. The bosses, operating with a multi-million-dollar war chest used to hire hundreds of scabs, are determined to crush an important center of Teamster militancy.

## For Mass Picketing to Halt Scabbing

The treachery of the IBT International had been obvious from the beginning. Union president Frank Fitzsimmons and his Western Conference of Teamsters agent William Grami refused to sanction the strike until they were finally forced into doing so because the membership would not buy the first rotten offer and the bosses initiated a lockout. Then on August 22 Grami announced a new "settlement"—that would submit all issues to binding arbitration. This was so unpopular with the ranks that it was not even put to a vote! Since then, the bosses, buoyed up by a massive strikebreaking force of 2,500 scabs, local cops and private guards, have decided to cut the union apart. Grami's response? To call off picketing at distribution centers in Denver and southern California on September 29 and to cancel plans for dispatching pickets to Seattle and Portland!

Both the International and local

Teamster leaders have capitulated to court injunctions limiting picketing. The handful of officially sanctioned mass pickets have only been taken showpiece affairs such as the September 9 demonstration in front of Lucky's Gemco Store, which the bureaucrats used to bolster the sagging image of the strikebreaking Democratic Party by allowing politicians like Congressman Ron Dellums to be the main speakers. (Only the most craven bootlickers for the union bureaucracy such as the Communist Party's *People's World* had the gall to label this picketing a "militant fight back.") Ironically, even this timid affair was assaulted by company guards after the Democratic Party notables had left the rally, and several Teamsters (including Local 70 secretary-treasurer Chuck Mack) were later charged with "assault, battery and inciting to riot."

In fact, the token picketing ordered by the union tops has been largely ineffective in halting the massive scab-herding efforts. Teamster militants reported that the food chains are retaining at least two thirds of their business, while at the same time accumulating a massive scab workforce. If the picket lines are not made effective, the strikers are doomed. Mass picketing, directed particularly at the critical distribution centers, must be initiated immediately and expanded statewide! The periodic threats by Teamster leaders to shut down Safeway operations nationwide must be implemented now! Over-the-road Teamster drivers must halt all transport of scab goods!

## For Union Solidarity

Decades of cozy relationships between union leaders and Democratic Party politicians, reflected in the suppression of the class-struggle tactics which built the unions, have disarmed the labor movement in the face of the vicious onslaught of the food employers. While the various Bay Area union leaderships have mouthed their usual cheap statements of "solidarity," when it came down to the wire they all took a dive. On September 8, the Retail Clerks withdrew its sanction, thereby permitting up to 20,000 clerks to cross the Teamster picket lines and return to work.

Trying to justify this scabbing policy, the clerks' regional vice president Jack Loveall asserted that his membership had been confused and angered by the "disorganized and sporadic picketing by Teamsters." Incredibly, IBT spokesman Dennis Shaw excused the scabbing



Teamster pickets stop delivery truck in front of Safeway store in San Francisco. WV Photo

policy: "As far as we're concerned, the clerks have done everything they possibly could to support and help us. We understand. We feel it's our fight and we'll continue the battle on our own" (*Oakland Tribune*, 8 September). Similarly, on September 23 Butchers union Local 115 announced its withdrawal of strike sanction.

The conduct of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) leadership is hardly less reprehensible. While some 350 ILWU members are respecting picket lines at the Safeway Preserve and Coffee plants and the Safeway Distribution Center, Local 6 officials have ruled that in non-Safeway houses, ILWU members must fill orders and move goods bound for struck stores, even when Teamsters are present picketing scab trucks. The bureaucrats are making the absurd claim that as long as ILWUers don't physically enter the trucks, they are "honoring" the lines. Therefore ILWU warehousemen have been instructed to move struck goods from the warehouse to the shipping dock all the way to the loading plate. Then all the scab drivers need do is move the cargo a few feet into the truck and be on their way!

The class-struggle Militant Caucus initiated a campaign to halt this disgusting back-door scab policy. Signed by 40 Local 6 members, including ten chief stewards, a petition was submitted to the October 5 meeting of the stewards council, demanding that "the ILWU must support the IBT strike by refusing to work orders of struck goods where there are picket lines." The response of Local 6 president Keith Eickman was to rule the motion "out of order."

With Teamsters making up the dominant partner in the ILWU-IBT bargaining alliance which negotiates its master warehouse contract next year, many ILWU militants realize only too well how such backstabbing directly

undercuts their own interests. Six of the houses represented in the list of endorsers had already refused to move scab goods until the union business agents ordered them to violate the ILWU's traditional observance of picket lines. Unfortunately, many would-be leftists in the union have lacked even this elementary level of class solidarity.

At a previous stewards meeting, the Militant Caucus had presented a motion calling for hot-cargoing of scab goods, whether or not a picket line was present, but that proposal was defeated with the aid of well-known CP supporter Joe Lindsay. Supporters of the CP and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) then refused pointblank to endorse the petition presented at the October 5 meeting. CP supporters have functioned consistently as lawyers for the ILWU bureaucracy, aping their masters in excusing the despicable scab policies by citing the Teamster leadership's failure to vigorously prosecute the strike.

Such is the rationale always offered by cowards and opportunists. It is not merely the strikers who stand to lose if the supermarket bosses are victorious, but warehousemen, meat cutters and retail workers up and down the West Coast, as well as the broader labor movement. It ought to be crystal clear that if the bosses can get away with it here, they will do it next time to weaker unions. The Teamster strikers' fight is the fight of all labor!

Despite their as yet undaunted courage and will to fight on, the strikers are in grave danger, confronted by a vicious anti-union assault and betrayed by their leaders. The defeatist policies of the bureaucracy must be dumped now—no more kowtowing to the courts and looking to liberal Democrats for help. Militants must demand election of strike committees to carry out a fighting policy that can win. For mass picketing! Hot-cargo scab goods! Extend the strike! ■

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# Miller Goes After Dissident Miners

Since the conclusion of their electrifying and bitterly fought 110-day strike last winter, coal miners have receded from the national news. Though the impact of their militancy is being felt in a wave of strikes involving railroad workers, teachers, municipal employees and West Coast Teamsters, this past summer was the first since 1974 that did not see a major coalfield wildcat.

But as miners were paying off their creditors, rebuilding their bank accounts and assessing the results of last winter's strike, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Arnold Miller took advantage of the lull in militant action to move against his opponents within the union. Miller emerged from the coal strike a despised and isolated figure—scorned by the capitalist media for his inability to control the ranks and hated by most miners because he continually capitulated to the bosses and the government and finally saddled the miners with a contract that is universally viewed as a major setback. Without the following or the authority to purge his opponents outright, Miller has instead resorted to salami tactics aimed at slicing off his critics one by one.

Miller's first post-strike victory came at the July meeting of the union's International Executive Board (IEB). Recall petitions demanding Miller's ouster and bearing 31,000 signatures—twice the number required to set the recall machinery in motion—were submitted to the IEB. By a vote of 14 to 5 with five abstentions, the IEB upheld Miller's claim that the petitioners had failed to prove the charge of "malfeasance" and refused to submit the question to a vote of the union membership. Many of the so-called "dissident" Board members who under the pressure of the ranks had opposed Miller's contract proposals simply folded up and went along with the suppression of the recall petitions.

Buoyed by this victory, Miller called a special IEB in August with the intention of snuffing more opponents by consolidating three western UMWA districts into one. This would have instantly eliminated dissident Board members Robert Long (District 14; Iowa, Missouri, Kansas) and Donald Lawley (District 21; Oklahoma, Arkansas).

Frying to assure that he would have the two-thirds vote necessary to push through this maneuver, Miller first moved against Bill Lamb, one of his most strident critics and the Board member from District 6 (Ohio). Under the first order of business, the IEB suspended Lamb by a 16-8 vote for alleged financial "insubordination." The charges came without warning and stemmed from Lamb's failure to submit expense account vouchers for March 1977 through August 1978. In an interview with *WV*, Lamb claimed that he had saved the union \$8,000-10,000 by personally absorbing his hotel, food and travel expenses over this period. Whatever the ins and outs of this financial wrangle, it is clear that Miller went after Lamb mainly to knock out another oppositional vote. As IEB member Lawley told *WV*, "they suspended Lamb immediately, knowing for sure where his vote was at." Miller's vote to consolidate the oppositional districts fell short of the necessary two-thirds majority by just one vote.

Miller's vendetta against his critics reaches down to the local level, where it is ultimately aimed at the volatile UMWA rank and file. Outspoken anti-Miller local presidents in West Virginia and Ohio told *WV* that Miller has recently conducted or ordered audits of their local books in hopes of discovering some grounds for disciplinary action. And in rebellious Pennsylvania locals, Miller has gone after local officers for



WV Photo

**West Virginia miners protesting Miller's sellout contract on steps of Charleston state house last spring.**

their militant actions against the coal companies.

In mid-August Local 2874 (Bethlehem Steel mine in Marianna, Pennsylvania) president Clemmy Allen and vice-president Paul Lemon were called to Washington by Miller to discuss matters "of mutual concern." When they arrived, they were separated, called into Miller's office and confronted by Miller. UMWA vice-president Sam Church, International secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn and District 5 IEB representative Marty Connors. With a baseball bat leaning against his desk, Miller blamed Allen for the occupation of the UMWA headquarters by militant Pennsylvania miners last February during protests against the first sell-out contract proposal. According to Allen, Miller told him in no uncertain terms that turmoil in the coalfields was going to stop, or else.

At the same time, safety grievances were piling up in Allen's mine, where 12 men died in a 1958 explosion. Workers complained of improperly examined escape ways, water accumulation and unsupported roofs, as well as falsified inspection reports. The company denied the charges, federal inspectors wrote citations but refused to prosecute and state investigators sought only to charge two union members for safety violations, letting 24 implicated foremen off the hook. Finally, a special union meeting was called on September 5 and close to 200 miners voted unanimously to strike. The walkout lasted five days and ended with a written statement by the company to comply with federal and state safety laws.

The right to strike is the coal miners' first-line defense against the deadly conditions underground. But loyalists of Miller and his flunkey District 5 president Lou Antal, organized in the "Miners for Unity" group in southwest Pennsylvania, immediately began charging that the strike was a waste of time and clamored for Allen's removal from office. At the next, ill-attended local meeting, Miller supporters pushed through a 30-to-17 vote castigating Allen for calling the strike without the required three days notice. Despairing of a further fight, Allen angrily submitted his resignation. "The time and money that went into knocking me out was unbelievable," Allen told *WV*. Miller's attacks on his opponents in

the union have gone largely unreported in the press of his left-wing apologists, most notably the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), both of whom backed Miller in his 1972 election and are reluctant to give him up in the absence of a more "popular" alternative. The CP's *Daily World* (11 October) can only breathe a sigh of relief that "the movement to recall Miller seems to have run its course" while the SWP's *Militant*—which during the coal strike argued that it was wrong to criticize Miller and deliberately downplayed the growing movement to recall him—continues its cover-up. A September 22 *Militant* article on the Marianna safety walkout—written by an SWP supporter at the mine—failed to even mention Miller's attacks on the local UMWA officers.

In the wake of the coal strike, many of Miller's opponents in the union hierarchy have retreated or thrown in the towel altogether, as reflected in Miller's growing majority on the IEB. "Miners for Recall" leader Bill Bryant is now working as a foreman at Cedar Coal Company in West Virginia. A group of Miller's remaining critics, led by Ohio's Bill Lamb and former District 6 board member Don Nunley, have joined with local-level leaders to circulate hundreds of petitions demanding a special convention to reform the recall procedure, review union expenses and reform the dues structure to relieve the hard-pressed districts, amend the union constitution to allow the membership to pick a chief negotiator other than Miller for the 1981 contract talks and move the 1979 convention out of Florida, the spot picked by Miller to keep the convention distant from the coalfields and avoid the presence of large numbers of miners.

Mine militants should certainly support an early convention in the

coalfields so that the ranks can straighten out the mess Miller and his cohorts have made, by fighting for a class-struggle leadership. But the loose anti-Miller coalition is a diffuse lot without clear goals or a concrete program to solve the union's problems, even were Miller to be dumped. Some are supporters of Lee Roy Patterson, the right-wing former flunkey of past UMWA president Tony Boyle. Some were active Miller supporters who broke with the UMWA president only when his sell-outs grew so outrageous that the rank and file was up in arms. Some are sincere young activists who have only been active in union politics for a year or two, while others are hard-boiled anti-communist careerists, even more hostile to class-struggle unionism than they are to Miller.

Such a heterogeneous group, united only around getting rid of Arnold Miller, has not and cannot answer the threats against the UMWA's power and very existence. Miners have been on strike for over ten months at mines in Virginia and Kentucky, trying to gain acceptance of even the weakened UMWA national contract. At the Jericol mine in Glenwood, Kentucky, 100 strikers have been repeatedly fired on by company guards armed with automatic weapons, who have been escorting scabs into the mine in armored coal trucks. For almost two and a half years miners in Stearns, Kentucky have been striking for a contract. Largely unorganized Western coal and the growing number of scab mines in the East threaten to swamp the union's hold on the industry. Unable to force a no-strike clause on the miners last winter, the coal operators and courts continue their war of attrition against picket lines and the right to strike. Determined to increase the use of coal to reduce oil consumption, the Democratic and Republican parties are united in backing the operators' drive to break the resistance of the militant miners, as shown in the unanimous bipartisan support for Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners' strike.

Such a corporate/government offensive demands a political response: a fight for complete independence of the labor movement from the bosses' parties and courts, and for a workers political party to combat the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans. It means demanding expropriation of the parasitic mine owners and the energy conglomerates who stand behind them. It requires a fight for a workers government which will end the need for the miners to wage endless bloody battles against the coal operators—by establishing a rationally planned economy without the bosses' private ownership and profit greed.

Miller's critics who eschew such demands will end up leading the miners down the same road upon which Miller has led them, which inevitably subordinates the needs of the miners to the interests of the bosses and their paid-for politicians. Aspiring UMWA leaders who remain confined to militant trade unionism and disgust for the treachery of Arnold Miller cannot break the union out of the impasse it is in. ■

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# New Left ...

(continued from page 5)

derailed a passenger train in California, causing the death of scores of innocent people.

The nationalist-populist ideology which justified such wanton, senseless carnage was the product of the open rejection of Marxism by the early New Left. In 1963 a French West Indian intellectual, Frantz Fanon, wrote a book whose title became the watchword

been most pampered by the colonial regime," who "because of the privileged place which they hold in the colonial system constitute also the 'bourgeois' fraction of the colonized people."

Fanon saw the revolutionary vanguard in the landless peasants and the permanently unemployed urban slum dwellers:

"The men whom the growing population of the country districts and colonial expropriation have brought to desert their family holdings circle tirelessly around the different towns, hoping that one day or another they will be allowed inside. It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the *lumpen-proletariat* that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead. For the *lumpen-proletariat*, that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and their clan, constitutes one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people."

Implicitly accepting Fanon's explicit anti-Marxist lumpen vanguardism, the rat groups embrace his program of terrorist vengeance. Fanon highlighted the "cathartic" role of random violence in enraging the lumpenproletariat. The nationalist FLN deliberately made use of indiscriminate terror to sow panic among the French colons.

The same anti-proletarian tactics have been used by nationalists all over the world, from the airplane hijackings of the Palestinian guerrillas to the London subway bombings of the IRA Provos. Marxists stand on the side of those seeking to fight imperialist oppression, and defend even bourgeois nationalists in military confrontations with the oppressor state, but we in no way condone such criminal acts whose targets are not the class enemy but



Weathermen said "Marion Delgado, live like him."

for a generation of radical petty-bourgeois intellectuals. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Based on his experience in the Algerian independence struggle, Fanon dismissed the proletariat in backward countries as "the nucleus of the colonized population which has



Pabloists sputter over fusion of L&RU/Red Flag Union with SL.

random individuals. South African whites and French colons in Algeria play the role of an oppressor caste vis-à-vis the non-white majorities. But our program is not to exterminate these privileged social layers which possess an important reservoir of skills and culture that could be invaluable for working-class rule.

At bottom it comes down to the question of genocide—do all peoples have the democratic right to exist, or only the "good" peoples? Alleging that we "equate the rights of oppressor and oppressed," *Socialist Voice* inquires: "If the South African whites demand 'self-determination' on the verge of a black victory in that country, whose side will the South African Spartacists be on?"

In fact, the same question was raised at the January 29 forum. And the Spartacist spokesman responded:

"There's a theory—it's a Stalinist theory—that all the peoples on the earth are to be divided (it jumps from time to time you see, the Jews used to be progressive, now they're reactionary), that all the peoples are either progressive or reactionary. If you are progressive, not only do you have the right to exist, you have the right to do anything to your oppressors; but if you are a reactionary people, you have no right to exist and I have the right to kill you. Now, oddly enough, the peoples on the earth—the Irish, the Biharis, the Turks, the Armenians, the Jews in Israel, the Palestinians—they all want to exist.... "It's all wrong, the methodology of the horse race of peoples. The Germans are good or bad, the Armenians and Cyprus, who's good or bad? Used to be the Turks were good because they were being oppressed by the Greeks. Then the Turkish army arrived now the Greeks are good. It's a scoreboard of who you get to kill because of their culture, their ethnic origins. We reject that—you're absolutely right. "And there's several million Boers in South Africa. They have no right to exploit and oppress the blacks. They do have a right to live. You think they have no right to live? Well, then, go try to kill them!"

The program of "revolutionary" revenge is a formula for forcing the Jewish workers of Israel, the white workers of South Africa, to cleave ever more tightly to the crimes of their "own" imperialism.

Encouraging the national chauvinism of oppressed peoples, now pervasive among those who twitch when the SWP pulls the "consistent nationalist" strings, is profoundly alien to the Marxist world view. It used to be that implacable hostility to indiscriminate mass terror was universal in the socialist movement—so much so that the Armenian Dashniki were expelled from the Second International over precisely this question. Now Communist Cadre dubs George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which set off the wave of airplane hijackings, a *centrist* party i.e., part of the workers movement.

Blanket endorsement of any and all acts of retaliation by members of an oppressed population has nothing to do with proletarian communism. The RSI's perverted idea of "defending" the Livernois Five (black youth arrested in a cop sweep following a Detroit ghetto explosion in 1975) was to initially dismiss the killing of an innocent white motorist. And last year the RSI found a real heroine—a woman who in

response to years of abuse by her husband retaliated by burning the family house down with him in it (*Torch*, 15 November-15 December 1977). What a way to win the working class to the idea that they have a vital interest in fighting for the liberation of all the oppressed!

The real architect of the rat groups' sociopathic cheerleading is the SWP, which makes up in patronizing corruption what it lacks in missionary fervor. While Marion Delgado's little brothers are vicariously torching individual whites in their press, the SWP is egging on the black Democratic demagogues of Crown Heights in making aged Jewish immigrants the scapegoat for capitalism's systematic degradation of black youth.

For Leninists, recognition of the right of national self-determination is not based on do-goodism, and certainly isn't necessarily a good turn for the peoples involved. The strategic purpose of Leninist support to the right of self-determination is to clarify the centrality of class oppression by eliminating foreign domination, so that combative sections of the proletariat are able to see that the latter is not the root of all evil. At the risk of offending our oversensi-



Frantz Fanon

tive opponents, we would point out that the post-independence regimes in Asia and Africa are frequently more ruthless and violent in their exploitation of the workers and peasants than were the colonial governments. While the Dutch colonial authorities were far from tolerant toward the Indonesian communist movement, it was the national bourgeois state of Sukarno/Suharto which in 1965 massacred half a million leftists, workers and peasants. It took the new Sudanese "anti-imperialist" colonels to orchestrate the genocide of the South Sudanese black population.

Lenin never maintained that imperialism transformed the economically and culturally underdeveloped peoples into progressive nations imbued moreover with the right of revenge upon their historic oppressors. The Leninist position is based upon the democratic principle of the equality of national rights, not on the "progressive" extermination of oppressor peoples. The path to equality and freedom for all the peoples of the world lies through the construction of a world vanguard party based on the revolutionary Trotskyist program of proletarian internationalism—the unique program of the Spartacist tendency. ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

Sub Drive a Success at 135%

Spartacist supporters have just concluded another successful drive to bring *Workers Vanguard* to new subscribers. Again this year, the hard work of SL/SYL comrades is reflected in substantial overfulfillment of the quotas set by the Central Office. In fact, half the SL local branches were encouraged to end the drive a week early after meeting their quotas in only three weeks. This year's individual leaders were comrades Ann W. of San Francisco with 63 points and Steve Ha. of Berkeley/Oakland with 62.

This year, subscription quotas were modest, set at approximately two-thirds of the 1977 sub drive levels, as part of the limited cut-back and reordering of SL priorities decided last spring (see "WV to Go Biweekly," *WV* No. 206, 19 May). Instead, emphasis on single copy sales was increased and the locals placed highest priority on continuing the Summer Expansion Drive, to broaden the *WV* readership to new localities through placing the paper in bookstores in areas where the SL does not have an organized presence. During the sub drive, more than 300 bookstores in cities like Boulder, Colo., Kalamazoo, Mich. and Morgantown, W. Va. were visited, bringing

the number of new bookstores stocked with *WV* and other SL/SYL publications during the Expansion Drive to 176.

The successful 1978 sub drive brings *WV*'s domestic subscription base up to 2,804. As usual, this year's drive stressed full-year subscriptions; nearly three-quarters of the *WV* subs sold were one- and two-year rather than introductory subs. In addition to *WV*, 274 subs to *Women and Revolution* and 326 to *Young Spartacus* were sold.

In addition to the 2,605 points sold in the U.S., 110 points were sold by the comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada.

Those who find all these numbers bewildering may be amused by another set of figures. Readers of the *Militant* will have noticed the current ballyhoo about the SWP's drive to sell 100,000 copies over 15 issues. They may not have noticed, however, that the SWP's method for figuring "sales" includes counting subscriptions. Thus, each new 10-issue subscription sold counts as ten copies sold. Using the same method by which the SWP calculates it has sold 43,951 copies over the last five issues, the SL has sold 35,099.

Local	Quota	Points	%	Local	Quota	Points	%
Berk./Oak.	250	425	170%	Detroit	225	270	120%
Boston	125	137	109%	Los Angeles	225	347	154%
Chicago	250	276	110%	New York	300	419	106%
Cleveland	200	275	137%	San Francisco	225	436	193%
At Large	50	20	40%	<b>Total</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>2605</b>	<b>135%</b>

## Beirut...

(continued from page 1)

March Zionist invasion of southern Lebanon, in which over 1,000 Lebanese and Palestinians were killed and tens of thousands driven north to add to Lebanon's refugee burden.

During its invasion of southern Lebanon Israel avoided direct military confrontation with Syria. At the same time, Israel solidified its military alliance with the Maronite militias and turned captured positions over to them, as opposed to UN forces. Therefore, Syria views these Maronite militias as Israeli military mini-clients and as its enemies in any confrontation with the Zionists. Thus the present Syrian attempt to disarm the Maronites and cut off their Israeli military supplies is viewed by both Maronites and Zionists as a proxy war with Israel.

### Zionists to the Rescue?

Maronite calls for direct Israeli intervention have grown increasingly strident as their situation deteriorates, and have not fallen on deaf ears. Israel responded to the present offensive against its Maronite clients in its characteristic fashion... by killing Palestinians. On October 5 the Israeli navy sent five gunboats up the Mediterranean to shell beach houses which had become shelters for Palestinian refugees, claiming that they were guerrilla naval bases about to launch an attack against Israel! Not only were these hovels not naval bases, they were southwest of Beirut, far from the fighting between Maronite militias and Syrian forces.

But while Israeli leaders publicly denied a direct link between their naval actions and the Syrian campaign against the Maronites, they nonetheless made it clear they were not about to see their Israeli-trained and equipped military allies smashed. Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan, in the U.S. for upcoming peace negotiations with Egypt, was asked about the naval bombardment on "Face the Nation" and stated: "Maybe indirectly it served as a signal that we won't hesitate to send our forces to strike, whether by sea or by other means, as far as Beirut or to other parts of Lebanon."

Israeli government radio reported that defense minister Weizman before the parliament's foreign affairs and

defense committee warned that Israel might militarily intervene on behalf of the Maronite militias if Junieh was closed or Israeli military supplies were cut off. As in March, Israel is presently avoiding a direct military confrontation with Syria only under U.S. pressure to let nothing interfere with the conclusion of a separate peace between Israel and U.S. imperialism's new-found client in Cairo. But when those negotiations are concluded—or if Israel feels the Maronite militias are decisively threatened—the next Zionist invasion of Lebanon will not stop at the Litani River.

### Back to Versailles?

In the Near East the film of decolonization is being run backwards.



Sadat, Carter and Begin sign the Camp David "peace" agreement.

with the U.S. replacing Britain in Egypt and Palestine (Israel and Jordan) and France reconquering its "mandate" in Lebanon. Beginning with U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger's "salami" tactics in the Sinai ("a slice of land for a slice of peace") up to Camp David, U.S. diplomacy has resulted in increased direct U.S. imperialist intervention in the Near East, including militarily. No matter how much Washington may squabble with the "inflexible" Zionists it continues to pick up half the tab for Israel's \$3 billion war budget.

In Egypt, the U.S. and the oil sheikdoms have developed a division of labor. In the last two years the U.S. has provided \$2 billion in so-called "economic aid" while Saudi Arabia has shelled out \$1.2 billion directly for military hardware. One half the budget of Jordan's government has traditionally been picked up by some imperialist patron; today the remittances are paid out in dollars instead of pounds sterling.

As a result of Kissinger's Sinai agreements, U.S. military and CIA personnel are strategically placed between Israeli and Egyptian troops. A final peace treaty between Israel and Egypt will inevitably be "protected" by dramatic escalation of direct U.S. military presence.

Of course Israel is already ringed by United Nations troops: since the 1949 armistice they have served as the landmarks and border guards for each act of Israeli expansionism and annexation. Most recently, 4,500 UN troops were sent to sanctify the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon and share guard duty over Israel's northern frontiers with the Israeli-equipped Maronite militias.

His head swelled with the success of Camp David, on September 28 U.S. president Carter called for an international conference on Lebanon, a demand also often raised by the right-wing Maronites who since the Crusades have looked abroad for patrons and protectors. Carter's guest list was particularly revealing: the various communal factions in Lebanon (but not the Palestine Liberation Organization), Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, France and the U.S.! Of course such a conference would be conducted "under the aegis of the United Nations."

The invitation of Lebanon's old colonial master, France, was not accidental. The U.S. has increasingly looked to French imperialism to discharge its "responsibilities" for its former colonial possessions in the Near East as well as Africa. Thus, of the 4,500 troops sent to southern Lebanon under UN auspices, 1,400 are French! As in Africa, so too in

Lebanon France has been increasingly willing to reestablish its imperial prerogatives.

Syria's response to Carter's conference proposal was to dramatically escalate its offensive against the Maronites. Assad, touring various Arab capitals to line up support against Camp David and a separate Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement, rushed off to his military patrons in Moscow. No doubt the Soviet bureaucrats took note of the fact that they were not included on the guest list for Carter's conference on Lebanon.

France, of course, took the initiative in proposing a cease-fire, albeit a ludicrous plan calling for the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Beirut and the creation of a buffer zone manned by the shattered and almost phantom "Lebanese army." The UN Security Council unanimously passed a call for a cease-fire without the French-proposed separation of forces, a cease-fire which broke down two days after it was halfheartedly implemented by the Syrians. Ominously, a group of 17 U.S. senators sent a letter to Carter urging him to expand the French-dominated UN forces in southern Lebanon and send them to Beirut to replace the Syrians!

In the meantime the Soviet Union squanders arms on reactionary Arab regimes like Syria and Iraq while even the political supporters of the Moscow bureaucracy are hung in the streets of Baghdad and Damascus. Tomorrow no doubt these regimes will treat Soviet generosity no differently than did Egypt.

Henry Kissinger has observed that what the Balkans were to World War I the Near East could become to a future World War III. He should know, since he was quite willing to plunge the globe into nuclear holocaust over the October 1973 war. Ironically Israel's recent shelling off the Lebanese coast "celebrated" the fifth anniversary of that war. In five years the threat of direct imperialist confrontation with the Soviet degenerated workers state over the Near East has only escalated, threatening not merely the gains of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union but the fate of all humanity. If blood-soaked and battle-ravaged Beirut is not to be the dress rehearsal for world war, the workers of the Near East and the world must find the road to international proletarian revolution. ■

## British Ford...

(continued from page 16)

pro-capitalist tops. The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, is uniquely championing that fight, at a time when most self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups in Britain are urging continued electoral support to the Callaghan government. The SL/B is backing the Ford workers' fight and urging that the struggle against wage controls be expanded by bringing other unions with pending wage demands out on strike.

Critical electoral support to a mass reformist workers party is a legitimate tactic for a revolutionary propaganda group, in order to expose the anti-socialist policies of the present leadership of the labor movement by placing them in office. In both 1974 general elections the Spartacist tendency gave critical support to Labour against the Tories. However, when it recently looked like a general election was in the offing, the SL/B was virtually alone on the British left in not calling for a vote to Labour, because of Callaghan's policies of wage-freezing, strikebreaking and coalitionism with the Liberals. The reports of growing anti-Labour sentiment among the militant Ford workers indicate that many in the union ranks are itching to dump their treacherous misleaders. It is precisely at a time when substantial numbers of British workers are most open to a genuine socialist

alternative to the Labour Party that the pseudo-revolutionary "far left" is calling on them to return Callaghan to power again so they can "go through the experience" of five more years of wage slashing. Four years of Callaghan, Foote and Benn are more than enough to expose the anti-working-class policies of the Labour leadership.

Victory to the Ford strike! No productivity deal! Down with wage controls! No vote to the wage-freezing Labour Party! Split the Labour Party along class lines — Build a mass Trotskyist party in Britain! ■

## RSL...

(continued from page 5)

RSLer spoke from the floor in English this was translated. Finally, a Chicano member of the SL provided the same right for the rest of the audience. The RSL's pique at not being able to seal off its contacts from the SL by a language barrier led straight to the slanderous charge of racism.

And it didn't stop there. The *Torch* complains that at an RSL forum, an SL spokesman referred to Jamaica as "the lumpen capital of the world." The SL repeated this at a later talk by the RSL's Jamaican fraternal group, the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML). Predictably our New Left opponents jumped up and down, their faces contorted with indignation as they screeched "racist." The real motivation is the same: the RSL is now using the incident as an

excuse to exclude Spartacist supporters from its forums.

It is an empirical fact that the lumpenproletarian population of Jamaica is huge. Even according to official statistics, the unemployment level has never fallen below 20 percent during the 1970's (International Labour Office, *Yearbook of Labor Statistics*, 1976). A British sociologist who studied Kingston slums found them populated by long-time residents "either scorning or failing to find employment in 'Babylon,' the modern industrial city." After listing the various trades (fishermen, potters, traders in ganja [marijuana], washerwomen, bar girls) he concludes: "The characteristic shared by all these occupations was that they were outside the sphere of industrial organization (and domestic service); they were on the margins of the economy" (Adam Kuper, *Changing Jamaica*, 1976).

For those unconvinced by mere statistics, the immensely popular Jamaican film, *The Harder They Come*, presents an accurate picture of Kingston social life. The ganja trade is a major economic activity of the urban poor. And the two-gun rebel ganja trader played by Jimmy Cliff is just the kind of hustler folk hero spawned by the conditions of social disorganization in the lumpenized slums. He is the embodiment of undirected, individual lumpen rage, whose targets could just as easily be a cop, a white tourist or a rival hustler.

The RSL takes our reference to the

social weight of the lumpenproletariat as an insult to "the most oppressed layers of the working class." But lumpenism dominates every fact of life in the Jamaican rural and urban slums. There is the marijuana culture with its Rastafarian fringe, the semi-criminal cult whose badge is wearing hair in dreadlocks and whose adherents view former Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie (originally named Ras Tafari) as god on earth. The lumpen gang culture also shades over into politics, with the ruling People's National Party of Michael Manley and the opposition Jamaican Labour Party both dominating various slum districts through their gangs of bullies.

Our supporter did indeed say that it was no accident that the Jamaican group was the RSL's only international supporter. For the RML is deeply bound up in this lumpen politics. It gave critical support to Manley in previous elections, and though it now reportedly dissociates itself from this position, it still gives "military support" to Manley's youth gangs in the endemic turf wars between the two competing bourgeois parties. The SL points out that just as Louis Napoleon was able to recruit goon squads from among the Paris lumpenproletarians, Jamaica's populist bonapartist regime does the same (with the RML tailing along behind). But to the RSL, to say this is to be racist.

Adding its voice to the chorus of slander, the RSL "exposes" only itself. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## British Ford Strikers Challenge Labour's Wage Freeze

The strike of 57,000 Ford Motor Company workers in Britain has sparked a first-rate political crisis for Prime Minister James Callaghan and the Labour Party cabinet. The Ford workers walked out September 21 demanding a 25 percent pay raise and a 35-hour workweek, directly challenging the government's "Phase Four" wage-control ceiling of 5 percent. This is potentially the most serious union vs. government confrontation since 1974, when the striking coal miners toppled the Tory government of Edward Heath and Labour was boosted to power. The Ford strikers are spearheading what the *Financial Times* nervously calls "the shopfloor revolt against wage controls," a rebellion which may well prove the downfall of the wage-freezing Callaghan government.

The Ford workers have already scored an important victory. Despite massive government pressure to "hold the line" and threats of economic reprisals, British Ford, losing £10 million a day during the strike, broke with the government's pay policy on October 9 and offered to resume negotiations "under conditions of free collective bargaining," i.e., outside the government's limits. Ford subsequently made an offer of 8 percent, which was flatly rejected by the unions. The same day Ford announced its breach of the government's standards, the large British Oxygen firm followed suit with an 8 percent proposal to its employees, which was also turned down, with shop stewards demanding a 15-20 percent increase.

Callaghan is now desperately caucusing with leaders of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), trying to salvage the "social contract" incomes policy of wage restraint which has been the cornerstone of the Labour government since 1974 and whose success the prime minister hoped would insure his re-election. But

under the impact of the Ford strike, which millions of British workers are hoping will shatter the wage controls, the outlook for formal controls is problematic.

Last month, the annual conference of the TUC voted overwhelmingly against continued wage controls and, in the first week of October, the annual Labour Party conference also rejected, by a vote of two-to-one, "totally any wage restraint by whatever method." Callaghan may be forced to rely on the often repeated pledges of the TUC tops to be "responsible" at the bargaining table, backed up by his threats to slash the budget and impose even more austere fiscal and monetary restraints should inflation begin to pick up. Though government ministers are still publicly invoking the 5 percent limit, the most likely result of the TUC/cabinet talks is a slightly more liberalized pay policy which will link future wage increases to productivity gains.

British workers must not tolerate their leaders' swapping the 5 percent freeze for productivity deals which will continue to make them the scapegoats for the outmoded plants and aging machinery of the British economy, the "sick man of Europe." For four years, the British working class has been saddled by their "socialist" leaders with wage controls that have, in the name of salvaging British capitalism, reduced their standard of living to below that of the workers in Spain. The Ford strike is the clearest indication that the fragile social peace of the "social contract" is now on the verge of exploding. British workers must turn thumbs-down to any more appeals that they "sacrifice" for the sake of Callaghan's ministerial portfolios.

### Workers Back Ford Strike

The eruption at Ford clearly caught the union leaders, Labour ministers and British capitalists by surprise. Callaghan had only recently unveiled the government's White Paper *Winning the Battle Against Inflation* (outlining the 5 percent wage limit) and postponed general elections, hoping that a few additional months of relative economic stability at the workers' expense would take the wind out of the Tories' sails. But Callaghan's plans went up in smoke when Ford delivered to all its workers a copy of its reply to union negotiators: no pay raise can exceed the government's limit.

Thousands of angry Ford workers walked out at nearly all of the company's 23 plants that night in response. Mass meetings the following Monday overwhelmingly backed the call for strike action. Leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU) and Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), the two major unions at Ford, were left little choice but to sanction the accomplished fact and back the strike. British workers quickly and enthusiastically rallied to the support of the Ford strikers. Dockworkers and railwaymen are preventing the loading and unloading of Ford cars



Striking Ford workers picket meeting of union bureaucrats.

and parts at major ports. The National Union of Seamen likewise "blackened" (refused to handle) all Ford shipments.

The Ford strike is also serving as a rallying point for the millions of British workers who have been stifled by wage controls and are now seeking to catch up. Ron Keating, assistant general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, which is demanding a 60 percent raise, told the press: "The men at Ford are not alone. They will be followed by one million local council [government] workers and 250,000 hospital staff." Tanker drivers are demanding a 40 percent raise and at least 30 other unions are asking for 20 to 30 percent increases. Miners' union leader Joe Gormley has threatened strike action later this winter and auto workers at GM's Vauxhall and at British Leyland have made pay claims far in excess of the government's limit.

British unionists whose leaders are currently talking tough must not wait until these very same leaders have worked out a new modus vivendi with the Labour cabinet. They should demand that their unions link up with the Ford workers and *strike now* to bury wage controls once and for all.

### Beware the Labour Traitors

The biggest obstacle to the burgeoning wage offensive of the British workers is their own union leaders. Though the growing discontent of the rank and file has forced many of these leaders to distance themselves from Callaghan's 5 percent limit—the most stringent in the four-year-old incomes policy—the TUC tops are desperately looking for a way to avoid leading major strikes and breaking sharply with the government.

Thus, just before the closed-door meetings between the TUC and Callaghan's cabinet, TUC general secretary Len Murray said, "I have never taken the view that we are on a collision course." Similarly, Ron Todd, national organizer of the T&GWU and London treasurer of the Labour Party, has

pleaded, "I don't want to get into confrontation with the Labour government." The TUC spokesmen fear above all that aggressive union demands might endanger the electoral position of Labour and undercut its main appeal for the British bourgeoisie: that it can handle the unions better than the arch-reactionary Tories.

Under pressure from the ranks, the union brass vote against the government's policies—as at the recent TUC and Labour Party conferences—and then scramble around looking for a way to sabotage those votes. This is old hat in Britain. Last year the TUC also voted to oppose the government's wage controls, then set at a more liberal 10 percent. But the bureaucrats proceeded to keep wage settlements within the 10 percent limit. This year, the union leaders—whose bloc votes account for 90 percent of the total at the Labour Party conferences—voted down Callaghan's 5 percent, then gave the prime minister a standing ovation the following day.

The current Ford strike is just one indication that the British workers are tiring of this cat-and-mouse game. The sing-song "We must keep Labour in power" is wearing thin. On September 26, a delegation of shop stewards from Ford's biggest plant at Dagenham went to the prime minister's residence at 10 Downing Street with a message that warned, "Proposals that we should work for the return of Labour MP's are now being openly derided." During the Ford workers' strike-vote meeting at the Southampton plant, workers hoisted the banner "Bring back hanging—Big Jim first." These are not sentiments that bode well for Labour in the next elections.

The key to leading the class struggle forward in Britain lies in breaking the working class from its traditional illusions in social-democratic Labourism. The Labour Party must be exploded by setting the base against the

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### Solidarity With British Ford Strikers

Militant trade unionists in the U.S. and Canada are demanding that their unions take action in support of the strike against British Ford. At Ford's River Rouge complex near Detroit, members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600—the largest in the union—called for financial aid to the British strikers and for the UAW to refuse any work Ford might try to divert to its North American plants. Similar demands were made by auto workers at Ford plants in Mahwah, New Jersey and Oakville, Ontario and at General Motors' Fremont, California plant. The Militant Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union urged U.S. seamen to halt all Ford shipments to Britain for the duration of the strike.