

Down With the Mullahs!

Iranian Left in Life and Death Struggle

Islamic Mobs Unleashed

AUGUST 14—As we go to press thousands of Islamic reactionaries are rampaging through the streets of Teheran. Mobs armed with iron pipes and rubber hoses stormed the headquarters of the major leftist parties in retaliation for their resistance at Sunday's mass protest. The main avenue of the city is strewn with wreckage from Sunday's street fighting, the fiercest since the overthrow of the shah. For the first time since Khomeini came to power, the slogan "Death to this fascist government!" has become a battlecry of the Iranian left. Directly under the Islamic gun, some militants are coming to see

what we have warned from the start—the mullah rulers are deadly enemies. Now they must break—not just in the heat of battle, but in political opposition to Khomeini's rule. Their lives depend on it.

After months of intimidation, on August 12 more than 50,000 leftists and liberals fought off 5,000 Islamic thugs wielding knives, clubs, studded belts and chains. The Khomeinists came with trucks full of bricks and rocks to try to rout the demonstration protesting Khomeini's shutdown of the liberal daily newspaper *Ayandegan*. They had successfully broken up such protests several times before. With the authority of the viciously anti-communist ayatollah behind the thugs, the liberals and leftists had drawn back from any decisive confrontation.

But this time the leftists stood their
continued on page 2



Wide World

August 12—Tens of thousands march in Teheran against Khomeini's censorship. "Death to this fascist government!" they shouted, where once only cries of "Allah is great!" were heard.

Another Cuba?

What Next for Nicaragua?

For Workers and Peasants Government— Not Bourgeois Sandinista Junta!

When 100,000 jammed Managua's newly-named Plaza of the Revolution last month to cheer the Sandinista-led overthrow of the blood-drenched Somoza dynasty installed by the U.S. Marines 45 years ago, revolutionaries all over the world cheered with them. It was the first serious defeat for U.S. imperialism in Latin America since the Cuban revolutionary army annihilated the CIA-organized *gusanos* at the Bay of Pigs.

For two decades since the imperialist defeat on the Playa de Girón, the American ruling class and its local *gorilas*—haunted obsessively by the spectre of "another Cuba"—have taken a terrible vengeance against the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Latin America: the marines invading the Dominican Republic in 1965, the CIA hunting down and assassinating Che Guevara, the overthrow of bourgeois democracy in Brazil and Uruguay

followed by savage terror against the left, the murder of 30,000 workers and leftists in Chile in 1973, of thousands more in Argentina a few years later. But when West Point graduate "Facho" Somoza fled to Miami along with the entire command of his National Guard, it had happened again—the first popular revolution against a right-wing dictatorship since Fidel Castro's Rebel Army marched into Havana on New Year's Day, 1959.

Would Nicaragua become another Cuba? No wonder this was the question everyone was asking—not only in the headlines of the *Washington Post* and the Pentagon's war rooms, but among militants throughout Latin America. While syndicated cold-war columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wailed that "Central America is going red," most bourgeois journalists, as well as the State Department, maintain another Cuba is avoidable.

Nicaragua's future political and economic course is, at least from afar, not categorically predetermined. (Unlike Iran, where the clearly reactionary religious character of the Khomeinist opposition to the shah allowed revolu-

continued on page 8



Triumphant Sandinista rebels enter Managua.

UPI

Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

when bosses lose profits, workers get laid off. But when it's the big guns of the capitalist economy hurting, then suddenly it's a matter of "public policy." All the talk about "Saving Chrysler" is in reality about saving Chrysler's profits and propping up the capitalist system.

Whatever scheme is cooked up to revive Chrysler, it is certain that auto workers will be its victims, not its beneficiaries. "The Administration's willingness to consider aid will depend on Chrysler's submission of an operating and financial plan reflecting current conditions and prospects," Miller says (*New York Times*, 10 August). That means getting rid of "inefficient" and "unproductive" facilities—whether these are 70-year-old plants or 30-year-old workers.

Carter's bailout plan is modeled precisely on a similar scheme of loan guarantees extended to New York City during its 1977 fiscal crisis. The city was put in receivership to the banks, which demanded tens of thousands of layoffs and drastic cuts in social services as proof of financial "responsibility." Noting the parallels to Chrysler, former Treasury Secretary Blumenthal remarked that in New York, "The unions made a great many sacrifices... a lot of services had to be cut..." (*New York Times*, 6 August).

It won't be any different for auto workers. The government bailout is strictly for the benefit of the major Chrysler stockholders. If it goes into effect, it will mean *more* layoffs at Chrysler. As for dilapidated plants—the junking of Dodge Main will be just the beginning.

The pro-capitalist UAW leadership is no less concerned with the company's profits. "We'll take into consideration whatever is needed for the survival of... president Doug Fraser. Far from proposing to *fight* the wholesale attack on the UAW's 130,000 Chrysler workers, Fraser has already exempted the company from strike action when the national auto contract expires September 14, and indicated his willingness to negotiate a substandard contract with



Clark/Time

Unemployment lines in Detroit

the No. 3 auto maker.

It is not the task of the UAW to select the "best" of the various capitalist proposals to bail out Chrysler. The demand of auto workers must be not "Save Chrysler," but defend jobs and living conditions! Fraser has already wasted precious weeks lobbying Carter for handouts to Chrysler.

A Workers Auction?

If Chrysler has gone broke, because of bad investments or because it is being beaten by foreign competition, then let it go rather than further subsidize this giant loser. Why should taxpayers bail them out? All the social democrats' talk about nationalization of losing companies is really a cover for subsidization.

General Motors president Thomas Murphy expressed the spirit and logic of capitalism a lot better than Doug Fraser and the social-democratic reformists who want to subsidize losing companies. When presented with Fraser's tepid nationalization plan Murphy said not without a firm understanding of capitalist self-interest:

"I think it would be a horrible idea for... to get involved in ownership, because it's a step toward nationalization. ...competition is a discipline on all of us. ...having the government finance one segment is completely foreign to American industry."
—*New York Times*, 5 August

This sounds like the Hayakawa principle enunciated by the right-wing senator from California during the

recent gas crunch: let the price rise until it's available—that's the way capitalism works. (But at least the oil companies would be worth something if they were nationalized.)

The irrational workings of capitalism now threaten tens of thousands of Chrysler workers and their families with the loss of their livelihood. Chrysler workers: fight for your jobs! Organize effective and militant sit-ins in the plants!

The only way workers can hope to salvage this situation of sunk companies is to seize them. Not piracy but mutiny. What then? Either Chrysler is broke or it isn't. If it is broke then the workers ought to democratically elect a board to liquidate Chrysler. But not a cent to the Wall Street shareholders of Chrysler! Let the stocks, bonds and bank debts go down the tubes. All the money from the sale of assets should go to the Chrysler workforce including the foreign workers. At present market value this is roughly \$55,000 per employee (in addition to full unemployment, welfare benefits and guaranteed, unlimited SUB pay). It ought to be divided on the basis of seniority—a share a year. Even Iacocca gets his six-months' share.

Take It, It's Yours

That section of the American ruling class which opposes any government support to Chrysler has almost universally warned against taking the U.S. economy on the first step down the road

to "creeping socialism" à la Britain. And indeed Britain is living proof of the bankruptcy of social democracy, which poses a program of piecemeal nationalizations. Successive Labour governments have nationalized failing firms, for example Leyland, the big auto manufacturer. In doing so they give the bankrupt capitalists more money than they could get from otherwise liquidating their assets. The nationalized industrial cripples are then run in competition with more efficient private firms. In order to compete, they resort, sometimes even more than private capitalists, to wage restraint, speedup, layoffs, etc. Leyland, for example, pays lower wages than does British Ford. The utter failure of this miserable system is obvious not only to Wall Street, but to Detroit auto workers as well.

The reformist practice of nationalizing only the *least* efficient capitalist operations is in a sense the exact opposite of socialist expropriation. Socialist economic planning is based precisely on appropriating from the capitalists the *most advanced* means of production.

Unemployment, inflation and ravaging depressions will plague the workers as long as capitalism remains. So we have a response to Thomas Murphy of GM—a workers government that will take over Big Oil, GM, Ford and the rest of society's productive resources and run them in the interests of working people, finally providing jobs and a decent standard of living for all. ■

Iranian Left...

(continued from page 1)

ground. After the initial shock the marchers regrouped and counterattacked. They broke the Khomeinists' charges chanting "Death to this fascist government!" The Fedayeen raised the slogan, "Islam will be defeated, Communism will be victorious!"

On Monday, in the most direct and

massive assault on the left to date, government-backed vigilantes sealed off central Teheran, searched for leftists, beat up "suspected communists" and attacked unveiled women. Most importantly they attacked the headquarters of the Guevarist Fedayeen guerrillas, in an attempt to seize their arms. Those among the Fedayeen skeletal staff who did not escape were brutally beaten while the raiders ransacked the office, destroyed literature and looked for weapons. It is reported in the *Washing-*

ton Post (14 August) that the offices of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party and the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) were also hit.

The Khomeinists raged through Teheran University's Law School, its library and offices of student groups, destroying "satanic" books.

The clerical reactionaries have placed the offices of the Muslim populist Mojahedeen under siege, while armed Mojahedeen and a human wall of their supporters defend it.

The government has issued arrest warrants for Hedayatollah Matin-Daftari, leader of the left-liberal National Democratic Front (NDF) and for the editor of the leftist newspaper *Peygham Enrouz*.

At no time since the mullahs came to power have the left and Khomeini's forces stood so poised for final conflict. This could be the beginning of the end for the left, or it could be the beginning of an understanding leading to a militant and effective defense. But they must reverse their fatal course of "critical support" to the Islamic Republic, repudiate their faith in the so-called "anti-imperialist" Bazarghan, who stands with Khomeini in his desire to build an effective Islamic army to crush the left and national minorities.

There must be no question of pressuring this Islamic theocracy, drenched with the blood of the oppressed nationalities, into a democracy. The left and labor movement must prepare for the time when the regime's

loyal militiamen join with the clerical fascist goon squads in their anti-leftist pogroms. Time is running out. The millions-strong Iranian proletariat must be organized—in trade unions, factory committees, workers militias, drawing around them the peasants, the oppressed nationalities and all secular democratic forces—in a united front defense against the Islamic white terror. Either defeat at the hands of Islamic reaction or workers revolution. There is no other way. ■

In the '30s sitdowns forged the unions. Today, as auto layoffs spread, only one newspaper has a program for victory.

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Khomeini's Iran: Leftists in SAVAK Prisons

Under the grim shadow of Islamic vigilantism, dozens of leftists and worker militants await possible torture and death in prison. While helicopter gunships pounded Kurdish rebels in the northwest and a reign of terror continued against Arabs in the south, the Muslim clerical regime in Iran held elections for the first time since the overthrow of the bloody Pahlavi tyranny.

Black-robed mullahs presided over the polling stations on August 3, where tables were covered with lists of Khomeini's hand-picked slate of clerics for the 75-seat assembly which will ratify Iran's proposed constitution. Pictures of Khomeini's candidates covered the walls, while mullahs stood by to "aid" the voting of the 50 percent of the Iranian population which is illiterate. This was no secret ballot—voters had to put their name and identity card number next to their choice.

Meanwhile Khomeini has made new threats against the mullahs' secular and left opponents. While his ban on music has apparently not had its desired effect, censorship of the press has been intensified. Several months after Khomeini's attack on the Teheran daily *Ayandegan* led to its temporary shutdown as his followers stormed its offices throughout Iran, the government has moved to close it permanently. On August 7 elite Islamic guards seized its offices—eleven staff members are now in the high-security Evin prison. The daily *Bamdad* and the leftist *Peygham Emrouz* were issued warnings by the public prosecu-

tor, and the latter has already suspended publication. The satirical paper *Ahanar* was banned, and the National Democratic Front's organ *Azadi* and the daily *Azad* announced their shutdown because they had depended on *Ayandegan's* facilities.

Importantly, the Islamic guards met with resistance. When they tried to drag Massoud Mahadjari, an *Ayandegan* editor, out of his Teheran home on the night of August 8, his neighbors—many journalists and newspaper workers—quickly came to his defense. But he remains under surveillance, three other editors have been arrested, and one is in hiding. The next day, Islamic thugs broke up a National Democratic Front rally at the *Ayandegan* offices.

The new press law, mandating sentences of up to two and a half years for "insulting" Khomeini, the clergy and the Islamic Republic, will clearly be enforced. The press assault puts teeth into Khomeini's attack on strikes and worker unrest, which he announced "would displease God and are considered a major sin"! The penal code announced in June makes crystal-clear the government's intent to prevent political organizing among the working class and to suppress the left: two to ten years in prison for the "crime" of striking or any other workers' protest; imprisonment for political organizing in the army; three to 15 years for advocating "separatism" for the oppressed nationalities; death for "armed insurrection."

In rebellious Kurdistan and, the heavily Arabic southern province of

Khuzistan the elections were a dead letter. Further, the ayatollah Shariatmadari's Muslim Peoples Republican Party (based on the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijani minority), seconded by Karim Sanjabi's National Front, announced a boycott of the voting at the last minute. But virtually every other political tendency presented a slate, including the major parties of the opportunist left. The pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, the Guevarist Fedayeen and fake-Trotskyist HKS (Socialist

The veil? Merely a symbol of anti-shah protest! The Islamic Republic? Merely a pseudonym for a workers and peasants government! These were the miserable lawyers' arguments they used to justify hailing the all-important "mass movement"—of Islamic reaction.

HKS Abdicates on the National Question

For weeks renewed fighting has raged in northwest Iran as Muslim militiamen.



Arabs in Khorramshahr man barricade against Iranian army.

Workers Party) campaigned to prove their credentials as the loyal left wing of the "Iranian Revolution." These shameful "credentials" did not however prevent these opportunists from being banned from radio and TV, having their leaflets and posters destroyed, and being subject to continual intimidation. The Khomeinists from the beginning made clear they do not intend to debate with "satanic Marxists"—that there has been as yet no mass assault on the left is not the product of some illusory "anti-imperialist unity," or the mullahs' respect for parliamentary niceties, but rather because of the temporary disarray of their state apparatus. This power vacuum cannot last indefinitely, however.

It is the duty of all proletarian tendencies to denounce the fraudulent elections and expose the sham "assembly," whose only function is to rubber-stamp a theocratic constitution. Marxists counterpose to this fraud a sovereign, secular constituent assembly—but this demand must be fought for by class-struggle methods. It is necessary to form organs of workers self-defense. The growing Islamic repression must be fought by a united military front of the left, the workers organizations, soldiers' committees and secular democratic forces. Above all what is needed is the political determination to break from class-collaborationist tailing of the reactionary religious leaders!

The HKS claims a Trotskyist perspective: to stand for a workers and peasants government. In reality it peddles the most dangerous illusions in the mullahs' "democratic" pretenses. Together with their mentors in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) they hailed Khomeini's coming to power, supported the Muslim puritanism of his followers as "anti-imperialist," and even denied the political significance of the mullahs.

regular army units and helicopter gunships have been pitted against Kurdish nationalist forces. The strategic southern Arab province of Khuzistan seethes with unrest after the government's May assault on Arab nationalists in the port city of Khorramshahr, today flooded with Persian militiamen. In Abadan, Khomeinist troops fired on a mass Arab protest demonstration, while alleged Arab nationalist saboteurs of the province's all-important oil refineries and pipelines have been summarily executed in a massive terror campaign. Khuzistan's ruthless overlord, Admiral Mahdani, told *Le Monde* (24 July) he had arrested 300 Arab militants and already executed 40 "ringleaders."

The disruption of the Iranian state's armed forces after the shah's overthrow opened the way for the resurgence of the national minorities, now pitted against the Khomeini regime's efforts to maintain the Great Persian multinational state of the shah. The savage fighting is a key test of the mullahs' ability to consolidate their rule—and a key test for ostensible Leninists.

Khomeini's helicopter gunships and tanks have made the national question a practical military question. Leninists must boldly and emphatically demand the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities. The proletarian program of total opposition to all national oppression must be raised—revolutionaries must give unconditional military support to the Arabs and Kurds fighting the armies of Persian domination! It is precisely now, when Khomeini issues fiery interdictions from Qom against "separatists," that Trotskyists must forthrightly demand that the minorities have full freedom to separate, and nothing less. While relentlessly exposing the nationalist illusions of the minorities, revolutionaries must fight to unite the entire Iranian proletariat

continued on page 10

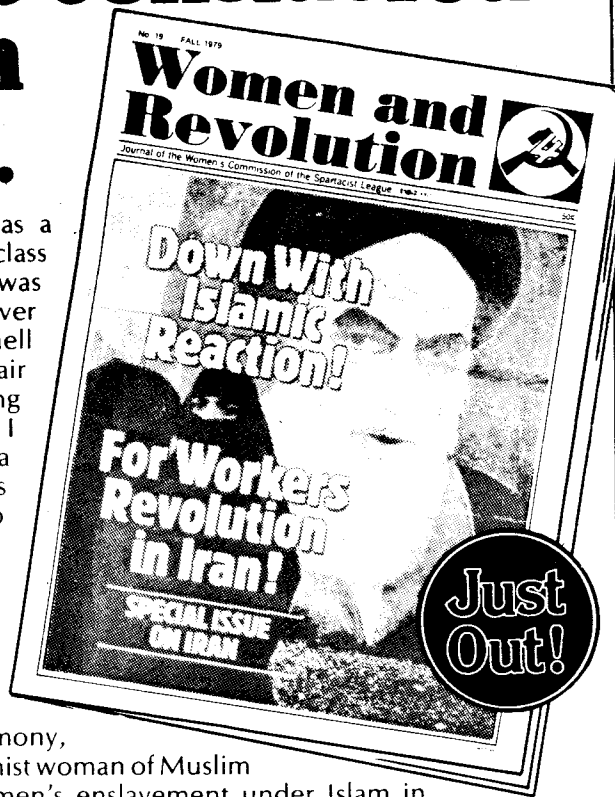
"In Iran, women are not considered human beings."

I remember when I was a young girl and went to class to study the Koran. I was told that if I did not cover my head, I would go to hell and every strand of my hair would turn into long snakes. I was told that if I showed my finger to a strange man when I was married, I would have to cut it off. Since it would not belong to my husband anymore, therefore it would not belong to me."

With this stirring testimony, Fatima Khalil, a communist woman of Muslim origin, denounced women's enslavement under Islam in her American tour. The story of her tour, the defense of persecuted leftists, women, labor and national minorities in Khomeini's Iran are told in this special issue of *Women and Revolution*. The Spartacist League's unique counterposition of workers revolution to both the shah and the mullahs contrasts sharply to the rest of the left's support to Khomeini's rise to power and the continuing enslavement of women in Iran. Order your copy now.

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Imperialists Borrow Time From African Nationalists

Smash White-Ruled Rhodesia!

Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has succeeded in buying more time for the beleaguered Rhodesian racist regime. When the Commonwealth Congress opened in Lusaka, Zambia on August 1, the assorted "anti-imperialist" and "socialist" states which still swear fealty to the Union Jack had spent the previous weeks vowing their undying opposition to white supremacy. On July 21 the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had proclaimed the Patriotic Front, the umbrella organization of the black nationalist guerrillas, as the "sole representative" of the black masses. By the end of the Congress, however, Thatcher had gained the approval of the so-called "front-line" states for a new scheme for continued white control behind a facade of black government.

There is really nothing surprising in this shift. The key lies not in the particulars of the diplomatic maneuvering, but in the failure of either the Patriotic Front or its "front-line" allies to deliver the coup de grace to the weakened Salisbury regime. George Orwell once observed of Churchill that he was "at any rate able to grasp that wars are not won without fighting." But that is exactly what the leaders of the Patriotic Front have attempted to do.

White rule in Rhodesia must ultimately perish. Over 1,500 whites leave each month for easier living in South Africa or England. The continued drain of money and manpower comes as black figurehead Bishop Abel Muzorewa announced an increase of the Rhodesian military budget to over 40 percent of total expenditures—nearly \$1.6 million a day.

But the question is, how long is the long run? Behind the petty squabbling and tribally based factionalism of the black quislings the white settler caste has regrouped behind its constitutionally protected control of the army. Ian Smith may no longer occupy the executive mansion, but his new offices



Ian Smith and his prime minister Muzorewa: white power, black faces.

are in the same building as Supreme Military Commander General Peter Walls and the military high command. Rather than simply collapsing of their own accord, the racists have launched a series of terror raids into Zambia and Mozambique, striking at guerrilla bases. They continue to penetrate with ease deep into Zambia and have backed a guerrilla campaign by Portuguese colons designed to harass the more militarily prepared Mozambique regime.

The barbaric anachronism of white settler rule must be smashed! Unlike the proportionally larger white population of South Africa, which can mount a massive military defense, the Rhodesian oppressors are cornered. Despite the mass murder and the Vietnam-style

"resettlement" of rural blacks, the arrogant white minority of Rhodesia cannot suppress the black resistance. Trotskyists reject any political accommodation with the butchers ensconced in Salisbury and support a quick military victory by the forces of the Patriotic Front.

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) of Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) of Joshua Nkomo, for their part, have not waged a struggle with any of the tenacity and self-sacrifice of the Algerian or Angolan independence struggles. The current military situation is summed up in this report from Maputo, Mozambique:

"Taking into account the spread of guerrilla warfare and the internal

dissensions in Rhodesia, Zambia and Nkomo's ZAPU were counting on the imminent collapse of the Salisbury regime. ZAPU therefore mainly trained and equipped its armed forces in order to seize the urban centers at the right time. The recovery of the situation in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, attributed to massive aid by South Africa during the last six months, rendered this strategy null and void: ZAPU will not be able to play any significant military role as long as its army, formed to maintain law and order, has not been converted into a real guerrilla force."

—Le Monde, 12 July

Mugabe is not likely to bear the brunt of the fighting and thus allow Nkomo to walk into the country and pick up the pieces unscathed. For years ZANU and ZAPU have been wracked by bloody factionalism, often tribal in origin. The venal leadership cliques are jockeying now to determine who will reap the spoils later of undisputed sway over "Zimbabwe." This is why they are geared up to "maintain law and order"—because they dream of being the future policemen of Zimbabwe. Nor is Mozambique inclined to face Rhodesia alone if Zambia comes to an understanding with the white supremacist regime. All of the front-line states are eager to accept some kind of face-saving peace in order to end the Rhodesian incursions and reopen their borders to international commerce.

So the Commonwealth Congress ended in a chorus of compromise. Its ballyhooed proposal contains nothing new however: cosmetic changes in the white racist constitution, a cease-fire and an "all-parties conference" leading to new, "free" British-supervised elections. Julius Nyerere, "African socialist" par excellence, decided that the rigged elections which installed black frontman Muzorewa represented "political change in Rhodesia" and pledged that he would welcome even Ian Smith into the OAU if he were elected in the promised "free elections."

Muzorewa labeled the call for new *continued on page 11*

Jesse Jackson Pushes Apartheid Reformism in South Africa

At first the headlines made it seem like Jesse Jackson, Chicago preacher and media-hyped black "leader," was getting away with defying apartheid under the noses of its perpetrators. As the *New York Times* (2 August) put it, he said things on his visit to South Africa last month "that could have put a local black leader in prison." Afrikaner bigots were outraged when Jackson denounced the apartheid government as a "terroristic dictatorship" and the system of brutal racial segregation as "legalized genocide." The head of the ultra-racist South African Party demanded that the government put Jackson "on the next plane out" and Foreign Minister Roelof Botha pointedly suggested that the preacher had "a lifetime of work awaiting him in his own country."

Jackson wasn't deported however, because he was acting as semi-official "human rights" ambassador from the White House. Having obtained a visa through the intervention of Carter's man Cyrus Vance, Jackson was there to

convey imperialist blessings for Prime Minister Pieter Botha's token reform policy of "apartheid without tears."

So despite the flamboyant anti-apartheid rhetoric, Jackson held a well-publicized meeting with Pieter Koornhof, Botha's Minister of "Cooperation and Development" (i.e., chief enforcer of the pass laws and the rest of the grisly legal apparatus of apartheid) and the man who pushed through Jackson's visa at the Pretoria end. Jackson praised this Boer cop as a "courageous man" for whom he had a great deal of respect. Then, in the name of promoting "black unity," he set up a meeting between the government-appointed head of the Zulu "homeland" (bantustan), Chief Gatsu Buthelezi, and two prominent anti-apartheid black "moderates," Desmond Tutu and Nthato Motlana. The result—an agreement by Tutu and Motlana to refrain from public criticism of Buthelezi, a key front man for the racist regime's notorious bantustan segregation program.

Jesse Jackson was a good man for this dirty job. In the U.S. he pushes the moral equivalent of dope to black schoolchildren with a program of sermons on self-reliance called EXCEL. The message is that rampant illiteracy and 30 percent-plus unemployment among ghetto youth are not the product of the racist, capitalist social order but of their own laziness and indiscipline. In South Africa Jackson's well-practiced demagoguery gained him a hearing for his real message to South African blacks. You may think nothing is changing, he told them, "but you're wrong. This land is changing hands."

It suits Jimmy Carter and Koornhof to push this fantasy of reform within the system of white supremacy. Jackson has made himself the willing tool of these sworn enemies of the oppressed. For the black South African masses, however, there can be no compromise with apartheid. Its destruction requires the revolutionary uprising of South Africa's black proletariat. ■



Jesse Jackson in South Africa: hyping "human rights" for Carter.

Macho Man Meets Gay Power in the RSL

"Women... have real skills—cooking, organizing homes, warm emotional support...."

The women's auxiliary of the Republican Party? No, the speaker was Ron Taber, supreme leader of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), trying to display sensitivity on the woman question.

To be sure, the RSL is far from unique on the fake-left in combining arrogant male chauvinism with libertarian rhetoric. What makes the RSL singular even in America's unappetizing centrist milieu is the viciousness of the



Ron Taber

WV Photo

"We came out into the world an incoherent mess, not prepared to survive.... Little internal democracy.... Competitive, abrasive atmosphere. Non-hard people pushed aside...."

—Ron Taber

confrontations which dominated the internal life of the RSL when lifestyle radicalism came face to face with Macho Man.

To appreciate the poetic justice involved, a little background will be helpful. Some six years ago the RSL emerged from the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), advertising itself as a shiny new, oh-so-left-wing organization of world-beaters. It went so far as to claim to be Trotskyist (while of course "creatively" eschewing anything so old-fashioned as Trotsky's position on the Russian question). But old Shachtmanism with a mod veneer didn't make a stable niche for the RSL and, despite great expectations of going to the masses, the organization went nowhere. Frustration exacerbated the cliquist infighting so characteristic of the I.S. and all its split-offs. Soon the overweening ego of Ron Taber stood alone, the other big fish having gone off to swim in even smaller ponds (Margaret Brecht's "Truth" splinter, Sy Landy's LRP and so forth). The RSL was so manifestly irrelevant that the departure from the I.S. of a sizable nominally leftist clique/faction—now the ISO—brought the RSL exactly nothing (ditto for the more recent "Political Solution Caucus").

Still in search of a gimmick, the RSL proceeded at accelerating speed to strip

itself of every remaining shred of "sectarianism" (i.e., program). It staked its political fortunes on cheerleading lumpen rage, emerging with a tone reminiscent of the old New Left, the main difference being a reduction in the content from the issues of the 1960s (Vietnam, "black power") to the lifestyle of the 1970s. Along with provocative Panther-style paens to the vanguard role of prisoners, the cynical RSL discovered new fight-back heroes suitable for the me-generation:

"Francine Hughes also fought back. Her former husband punched her regularly for 13 years and threw her out of the house in her nightclothes. He threatened to follow her everywhere if she left him. Finally, Francine Hughes took her four children and left. To make sure he couldn't follow her, she burned down her house with him in it."

—"Battered Women Fight Back," *Torch*, 15 November-15 December 1977

But the newest vanguard of them all was the gays. When homosexual activism started making headlines a couple of years ago, the RSL proclaimed gay oppression a "strategic question" and became virtually a single-issue organization around the slogan, "Sexual Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." And when in Southern California the Red Flag Union (formerly Lavender and Red Union) started to develop toward fusion with the Spartacist League, the RSL's line became even more simple-minded: the SL is "anti-gay," don't you know about the SL's "closet rule"? Why, in your public political life as a Spartacist, you may not be able to fully express your personality. Horrors! Join the RSL and experience true liberation.

And indeed a small minority of the Red Flag comrades, unable to stomach the SL's hard Trotskyist position on the Russian question, went to the RSL to find freedom. We always suspected they wouldn't enjoy what they found instead. And now, thanks to roughly five pounds of orphaned 1978 RSL internal documents recently left on our doorstep by disgruntled ex-RSLers, we can give our readers some idea of the repulsive, cadre-destroying internal life of this politically bankrupt organization.

With a public line that women should fight oppression by emulating the legendary Lizzie Borden, it's not surprising that Ron Taber felt more than a little heat when the fight-back began inside the RSL. That Taber is an irritating, egotistical sexist does not seem to be seriously disputed by

"Our model is the Bolsheviks, a male chauvinist, 'hard' organization. Lenin hard, 'male'; Martov soft, 'female'. Bolsheviks used leather jackets and gangster types who robbed banks.... Women not expected to be leaders.... It was a macho organization."

—Ron Taber

anybody. And he has built an organization in his image. The overwhelming preoccupation of the documents (which look like nothing so much as old SDS position papers—garbled, typed-over, illiterate, undated) is sexism rampant. One writer charges:

"Generally, the social atmosphere in the organization is very oppressive, particularly for women. In fact, there is a lot of the Maoist-Stalinist 'stable couples only' atmosphere.... the implicit standards are Victorian...."

—"Some thoughts on sexism in the League," *Pre-Convention Report* No. 5, 21 October 1978

Another document ("Some notes on sexism," *ibid.*) chronicles the "women's role" inside the RSL: arranging dinner parties, coffee, typing, clean-up. Sounds a lot like the old New Left—arrogant male chauvinism, cliquism, cries of rage from the women, demands for rectification, guilty confessions. But whereas the old New Left also contained a measure of primitive revolutionary impulse, the RSL is simply cynical.

Predictably, RSL free spirits who tried to scandalize the SL for our "closet

But the RSL really couldn't help it, Taber insists: being "hard" was necessary to survive in a cruel capitalist world. Besides that, there was "our forced march atmosphere. We came out into the world an incoherent mess, not prepared to survive.... We militarized the organization. Little internal democracy.... Competitive, abrasive atmosphere. Non-hard people pushed aside...."

Most egotistical and "bizarre, however, is his ultimate justification:

"...the League does have the right to make decisions regarding comrades having babies, given the fact that this is not a purely personal question.... The rights of any individual... are subordinate to the rights of the League as a whole."

—RSL Political Committee statement

rule" (a common-sense measure of protection for comrades against the *outside* world) were dismayed to find their organization impinging on their lifestyle. One of the big controversies was over whether a Detroit lesbian comrade had the right to "come on" to a straight Chicago contact. After a flurry of lengthy, furious and recriminating documents, an uneasy consensus was finally arrived at, after much prodding by the Detroit RSL "women's committee," that the Chicago local had been incredibly insensitive in even "investigating" the incident, and had "received anti-gay prejudice from outside the organization, and instead of fighting it, along with whatever fact-finding it had to do, it simply transmitted the prejudice" to the comrade ("Draft CEC [Chicago Executive Committee] statement on the friction between it and comrade..." *Report* No. 17, 20 October 1978). Chicago, you see, had been "overconcerned and overwrought about the feelings of a Black contact," and thus offended the sacred right of sexual self-expression at any and all times. The Detroit women's committee angrily pressed home its point, noting the incident revealed "the refusal of many comrades to defend the right of Gays to sexually approach straights" ("Letter to CEC," *ibid.*). Apologies were made all around.

Punk-Rock Politics

The RSL's central committee decided to get to the root of the problem. Taber led off with a presentation which

"Our model is the Bolsheviks, a male chauvinist, 'hard' organization. Lenin hard, 'male'; Martov soft, 'female'. Bolsheviks used leather jackets and gangster types who robbed banks. Leads to overvaluing some of this stuff. If you're fighting a rotten society some of these methods hard or impossible to avoid. Women not expected to be leaders among the Bolsheviks. It was a macho organization."

—"Edited Extracts from CC Discussion..." (undated)

This view of Lenin and the Bolshevik Central Committee as a bunch of nasty little boys playing cowboys and Indians seems self-evident to the RSL as a whole—at least, it is widely repeated and *no one* in the hundreds and hundreds of pages of documents objects to it at all.

A Look Inside the RSL's "Closet"—Programmatically Bare

This infantile fantasy-land view of the Bolshevik Party reveals just how far from genuine communism the RSL really is—it can't even recognize the essential programmatic and organizational practice of the Bolsheviks, which instead of being "macho" (we haven't heard such an accusation since the days of the most vehement anti-communist feminism) developed and carried out the most thorough and innovative program for women's liberation ever seen in history. To add insult to injury, the RSL doesn't have a program for women's liberation! A minor theme of the documents is this little "oversight." Several comrades suggested that maybe:

"The PC (Political Committee) should commission a theoretical/historical document on women's oppression.... "No program has been developed by the League to do work around women's issues or to highlight aspects of our ongoing work which particularly affect women. The leadership has taken no responsibility for developing such work."

—"Overcoming the League's Sexism and Fighting the Oppression of Women," 1 September 1978

What the RSL really is interested in doing is some consciousness-raising, because it's cheap, easy, and ultimately meaningless, besides allowing for some groveling guilty-liberalism. As one CCR put it at the CC discussion (already quoted): "I learned hardness consciously—but it's hard to reverse gears, sensitize yourself. It takes collective trust to do this."

The League's "negative and unproductive" atmosphere must change, they say, and that will solve everything. But a communist organization is not a group-

continued on page 10

"We want to get this union o

We print below an interview with Jane Margolis, an elected union delegate who was criminally seized by Secret Service agents and forcibly removed from the floor of the recent Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention in Detroit on July 16. The incident occurred just before Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak and was clearly intended to prevent her from denouncing the administration's anti-labor policies.

The Secret Service maintains that Margolis, a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) and executive board member in Local 9410, is "under investigation." The support of hundreds of rank-and-file phone workers and a significant number of local CWA officials has, however, at least temporarily, beaten back an ominous and unprecedented attack by the state on the trade-union movement.

WV: You were hauled off the floor of the convention by Secret Service agents in plain sight of hundreds of CWA members. What was their immediate response?

JANE: When I was pulled off the floor there were a lot of delegates sitting in the back of the hall that saw it and were quite outraged. While I was being held in the back room by the Secret Service, several members of my delegation were attempting to get recognized on the floor to demand from [CWA president Glen] Watts an explanation about why I had been hauled off, where I was being held, why I was being held and when I was going to be released. There was also

the beginning of a movement, mostly from the District 9 delegation, to walk off the floor until I was released and allowed to return to my proper place on the floor of the convention.

WV: What happened when you were finally released?

JANE: People in the area where I was sitting clapped when I came back onto the floor. Many delegates really did understand that the only reason I was pulled off the floor was to attempt to silence me. They could understand that this was an invasion of their union. It was pretty frightening to them, and they wanted to see that I would not be intimidated and that I would continue to attempt to make my remarks against the anti-labor, strikebreaking policies of Carter.

WV: So delegates perceived this as a deliberate attack, not merely a mistake by the Secret Service.

JANE: Right. It was frightening for them that the Secret Service could come, walk into their convention and pull an elected officer, an elected delegate, off the floor simply for her political views. And for a day or so after my arrest some delegates were wary of talking to me. Many were frightened that if they talked to me the Secret Service would then talk to them. The International was going around approaching people, telling them to stay away from Margolis, not to vote for anything that Margolis put forward. But after the delegates could step back from the situation for a while they saw that I was not going to be silenced and that I was going to insist on my



John P. Fishback

Carter goons seize CWA convention delegate Margolis.

democratic right to be on the floor of that convention. I was elected by my membership and I insisted on carrying out my program. When they saw that, several delegates approached me and said that they were outraged about what happened.

WV: Did union members at this convention take any action in your defense?

JANE: Seventy delegates at the convention signed MAC's petition demanding an apology from the White House. Many delegates came up and said that they thought it was a real attack on our union and told me to keep on fighting, and even though they might not agree with everything I say, they're glad that

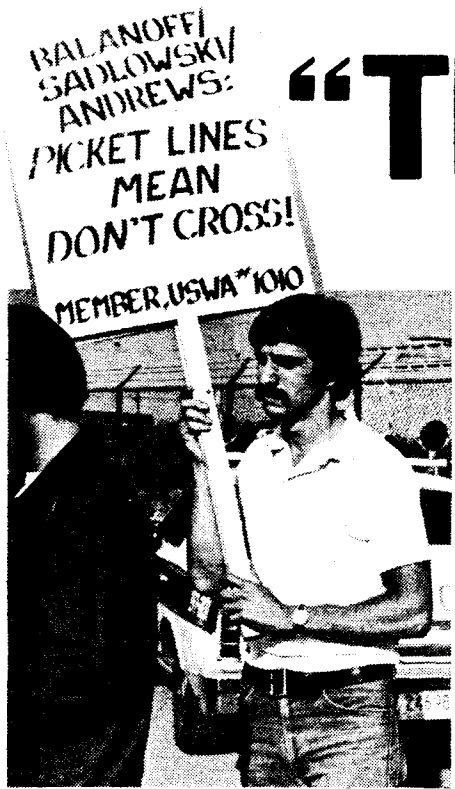
there's someone in this union that's not afraid to speak her mind.

WV: Glen Watts is one of the few union leaders who have already declared for President Carter's re-election. Even Lloyd McBride from the Steelworkers is holding off. And Carter's appearance at the CWA convention came just a day after his Sunday Night Sermon energy speech. Was Watts trying to turn the convention into a campaign rally?

JANE: There was a staged rally before Carter came in, with balloons and a band which was playing the despicable racist song "Dixie." There were several Confederate flags in evidence. They staged the rally to make it look like the entire CWA convention was backing Carter. But the truth of it is that a number of people, after Carter had spoken, were saying, "Well, he really didn't answer our questions. He really didn't say anything that was going to help the workers." The third day of the convention, when I was finally able to get the floor to denounce Carter's attempt to make workers pay for the economic crisis and to call on the CWA not to support the 7 percent wage guidelines, I was applauded. People came up to me and said they really liked what I had to say. They did not like the fact that there had been an attempt to silence me by the Carter administration.

WV: Did the Secret Service stop harassing you after Carter left?

JANE: No. They continued to come back three out of four days of the convention, following me around, attempting to approach me and ask me questions. They also came back in the



Keith Anwar WV Photo

Defend Anwar...

(continued from page 12)

ed considerable publicity in the Chicago media (see right). This pressure explains in part the International's decision to take Anwar's case to arbitration.

Even a hidebound union bureaucrat can see that it is not in his own best interest to allow the complete destruction of strikers' rights to picket effectively. The lengthy USWA organizing drive at the Newport News shipyard was lost, despite the militancy of the ranks, in large measure due to the failure of the bureaucrats to stop company scabberding. Real picket lines—the kind the coalminers use—win strikes. And hundreds of thousands of steel workers are tired of getting kicked around by the bosses.

Anwar does not stand alone. As the

defense committee put it in a recent leaflet: "The real defendant is the union and its right to strike and have its picket lines respected. A victory for Anwar would be a big victory for the union." ■

The following is excerpted from a radio interview with Keith Anwar broadcast by WJOB (Hammond, Ind.) on July 12.

WJOB ANNOUNCER: Mr. Anwar, I'm curious as to why you did this on your own. Did you just wake up one morning and decide that the people at the other local should be supported in their problems in labor disputes with Inland and so you took it upon yourself to be a hero? Did anyone urge you to do this or did this just come to you as an individual inspiration?

KEITH ANWAR: Well, there was really not any decision involved in the sense that I've always believed it was wrong to cross picket lines. So when I found out that there was a strike going on down at Inland and that they were picketing the plant, it was already decided, as far as I was concerned, what I was going to do. This is the second time in a year that this has happened. Last summer the bricklayers at Inland went out on strike for about a week, and the important thing about their strike was that they did win that strike on the picket line through massive pickets at the gate where construction workers go in and shutting down Inland's northward expansion for one day. So I had also honored their picket lines, and Inland had toyed with the idea of firing

me at that point and gave me a disciplinary letter which I grieved and won.

WJOB: But this is in turn a case of you writing your own rules. Isn't that because neither Mr. Balanoff [USWA District 31 Director] nor Mr. Andrews [President] of [USWA Local] 1010 or anybody else as I understand it sent out any kind of dispatch saying "Thou shalt honor the picket line of the other strikers." So this was sort of a case brought about by yourself....

KEITH: Yeah, that's right, although I don't think I wrote the rules. I think the rules were written by the history of the labor movement and that there's a strong tradition in the labor movement that picket lines mean don't cross. Now unfortunately this tradition has been eroded over the last decade. And so that very often nobody takes picket lines seriously. And many strikes are lost because of that. And I believe that a picket line does mean that, that that's how the unions were formed, by picketing plants and shutting them down. And what's important about this case is that Inland would like to take away even the last vestiges of tradition. And this has also happened in other companies in the area.... ■

Workers Vanguard urges all supporters of the trade-union movement to send donations and solidarity statements to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680.

"The traditions of the labor



ff its knees!"

evening, hung around the hospitality rooms where delegates were drinking and talking.

WV: Did they identify themselves as federal agents?

JANE: They had badges on from particular locals and they were exposed because we knew they were not from those locals. And people had recognized them from being on the floor of the convention. Delegates were talking about how they were very sick of having cops running around their convention so that they could not really discuss issues with fellow delegates.

WV: When you returned to San Francisco, some members of the Local bureaucracy were attempting to blame you for the Secret Service attack, is that right?

JANE: Yes, but the membership didn't buy it. We held a union meeting, one of the largest union meetings since the August 1977 contract, and over 150 members came. They voted overwhelmingly for motions to support me, to demand an apology from the White House, to call on this local to hold a demonstration outside of the Secret Service offices protesting my being dragged off the convention floor. Over 600 members in one week signed petitions and telegrams demanding an apology from the White House. One telegram to Carter had over 100 signatures. Another had 23. And there was one from a retired former local president in Michigan who said that if Watts had anything to do with my being removed from the convention he brought a great disgrace onto the CWA.

If not, he said that Watts should protest to Carter. And wherever I go around the local, the membership has been extremely supportive; congratulating me, shaking my hand, saying "finally we have someone in this union that has put CWA on the map, that has shown the company and the rest of the labor movement that there is some group, some person in this union that is going to stand up, say what she believes and fight for policies for the workers instead of kowtowing to the company and the government." So the membership really came through. Many support us and are very proud that there is someone in their local that had the guts to stand up to Jimmy Carter.

WV: Were your local officials involved in any way in this Secret Service harassment?

JANE: The president of my local, Imerzel, as reported in a *Detroit News* article, was approached by the Secret Service early on Monday [July 16] and was asked if there was any way he could help in getting me off the convention floor when Carter was going to be there. He told them that there was no mechanism for that, but he did not come up to me and tell me that the Secret Service was trying to get rid of me. He also gave an interview to the *Detroit News* where he said that I was very disruptive in the San Francisco local's activities and that the Secret Service had just been doing its job. Naturally he refused to sign the petition demanding an apology from the White House.

WV: How did MAC answer this?

JANE: We said this was comparable to



WV Photo

Jane Margolis

the company taking a union steward into its confidence about impending action against a member and the steward not telling the member, leaving him open to company attack.

WV: Was Imerzel's attitude typical of other local officials?

JANE: No. Several other members of the executive board did sign the petition and in other locals as well, there are officials that signed the petition and felt that the seizure was an attack on the union.

WV: What effect have the events at the convention had on CWA militants outside of the Bay Area?

JANE: Well, the most exciting development is that a group of militants in Los Angeles has just decided to form a Militant Action Caucus. Two members of this group were alternate delegates to the convention. They returned to L.A., reported the events in Detroit to the local membership and

raised a motion which demanded an apology from the White House. It passed overwhelmingly. Many of these new MAC members are black or Chicano and need no explanation as to the role of the police and Secret Service.

WV: Have you heard from other areas?

JANE: Yes. We have gotten word from around the country that the issue is being discussed in stewards' meetings, at executive board meetings, at local meetings, by the rank and file who have read different articles that appeared in the press like the one in the *New York Village Voice*.

Members are talking about the fact that if the Secret Service was going to handcuff me, try to silence me from asking any so-called embarrassing questions of Carter, then to what extent will they go in 1980 when we are in a possible national strike against the phone company? What will Watts do in order to avoid any embarrassment of Carter while he's in a primary election campaign?

WV: Has some of this recent interest in MAC come from members of local leaderships?

JANE: Yes, there were many delegates at the convention who are local presidents but they are working local presidents. They hold jobs just like the rest of us do. They are faced with the company's harassment. They are faced with the force freezes, with the increased firings. They are faced with having to fight a growing number of grievances which never get processed by the International. And they see and feel the

continued on page 11

oor movement are at stake!"

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CHICAGO DEFENDER - MONDAY, JULY 23, 1979

Working on the inside, outside

By JUANITA HILLMAN

Keith Anwar spends a lot of time outside Inland Steel Company's Plant in East Chicago, Indiana, lately. He passes out leaflets, talks intensely with the men and women going in, chases down grievance men and passes the hat. Almost daily he goes to the union hall to talk with officials there, and he's been a vigorous participant at every union meeting recently.

It wasn't long ago that Anwar spend a lot of time inside the Plant, at work, but he can't go in now. He's been fired for honoring a picket line.

Anwar, a Chicago resident, was fired by Inland May 18 because he refused to cross a picket line of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) local 8180 to go to work. Like most workers at Inland he is a member of the 18,000-strong USWA local 1010, but he felt that "it was crucial to show solidarity with local 8180. Anytime a local is on strike they should get the support of other workers in honoring their lines." Local 8180 is employed by the Apex Steel and Supply Company inside the Inland complex, and the local set up picket lines May 1. The strike was settled subsequent to Anwar's firing.

The company maintains that his refusal to cross during the duration of the

strike was an "unauthorized absence" which justifies dismissal.

To win his reinstatement, and defend several steelworkers recently disciplined for honoring picket lines in this area, Anwar has helped to form the Keith Anwar Defense Committee around the demands "That Inland Steel immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay," and "defend all union members victimized for honoring picket lines."

Also participating are Damon Lewis and Tom Knight, two steelworkers at U.S. Steel Southworks in South Chicago, who received one-day disciplinary suspensions for honoring picket lines of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks at Southworks last fall.

The Committee has thus far collected over \$600 for Anwar's legal expenses in bringing his case before the National Labor Relations Board, with most of the money donated by steelworkers at the plant gates.

They have also received, according to Anwar, endorsements from Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo, Vice President of USWA local 1010 (Anwar's local); Jerry Wilson, president of local 8180 which put up the lines he honored; Joseph Gyurko, chairman of the local 1010 Grievance Committee; Rudy Schneider,

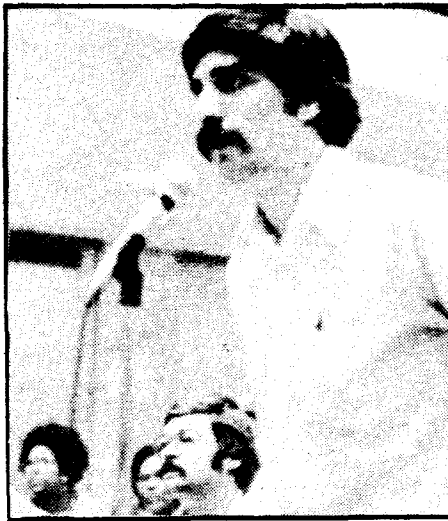
head of local 1010's Strike Support and Boycott Committee; and Doreen Labby, editor of the USWA District 31 Women's Committee newsletter.

Anwar told the Defender that Keith Anwar, Defense Committee's most important support came in the form of a defense resolution, including the Committee demands, unanimously passed by the USWA District 31 Conference June 30. District 31 represents more than 100,000 steelworkers in this area.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee address is Box 7914, Chicago, Ill. 60680.

"I'm not trying to be a hero," says Anwar on the subject of why he honored local 8180 picket lines in the first place. "I just believe it's imperative to re-establish the time honored labor tradition that picket lines mean don't cross. Strong picket lines built the trade union movement in this country, and without them strikes are often lost.

A Keith Anwar Defense Committee leaflet distributed at steel plants July 16 described Anwar as "fighting an attack on the union's strongest weapon—the strike, and for the right of the trade union movement to protect its strikes — to have picket lines no one crosses." Anwar says he believes that, ultimately, the existence of



On firing line...

Chicago Defender

CHICAGO'S DAILY PICTURE NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, JULY 23, 1979

trade unions themselves is at stake.

The 27-year-old Anwar is the son of an Afghan immigrant who left his native Afghanistan during World War II, under threat of imprisonment for criticisms of the old feudal regime. "When my father left, most of his friends had been killed for expressing their criticisms," Anwar said. "So, you see, dissent runs in my family."

Anwar, who is single, was born in New York City and later moved to Cleveland, where he worked as a janitor and in a non-union machine shop. "More than anything else," he said, "it was that job which taught me the value of having a union to represent you in your workplace. Without unions, workers have no rights."

After moving to Chicago in April, 1977, he worked

first at U.S. Steel Southworks, then at Inland where he became an apprentice millwright in the 24' Bar Mill. In June, 1978, Anwar encountered his first picket line when members of Bricklayers local 6 working on expansion at Inland struck and there were lines at his gate. He refused to cross, and eventually participated with the Bricklayers in mass picketing which shut down construction at Inland and won the strike. He asserts that Inland "toyed with the idea" of firing him at that time; but instead he received a disciplinary warning letter which he successfully grieved.

At present, Anwar is taking his case to the National Labor Relations Board, has hired a lawyer for this purpose and plans to use the fund collected by the Defense Committee to pay these legal expenses. On July 17 he was awarded unemployment benefits, an important victory because, he says, "this ruling that I'm entitled to benefits and strengthens my legal case against Inland. It shows I wasn't fired for dereliction of work duties."

"But the most important thing I'm doing now is seeking support from my fellow steelworkers," he said. "We need help in publicizing the case, more donations and endorsements for the Committee, and especially we need to put on the pressure from inside the plants where it really counts. I believe what I'm doing is in the in-

terest of all steelworkers because it's not just my job, but the traditions of the labor movement that are at stake."

He cited as the best example of support so far the resolution passed at the recent District 31 Conference, which resolved that the District "use all available resources to reverse these attacks by defending all union members victimized for honoring picket lines" and demanded "that Inland Steel reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay."

He also cited a motion passed by USWA local 65 at Southworks June 27, which condemned the USWA International for dropping grievances filed by Defense Committee members Lewis and Knight against discipline they received for honoring picket lines. The motion pledged local 65 "defense of all militants victimized for honoring picket lines," and invited Anwar to address the local in his behalf.

Anwar stressed that his is not the only "picket line" case to come up in steel recently, "but only the most serious example of an offensive by the companies on the right to honor picket lines." There have been disciplines against several workers at Southworks, not only against Knight and Lewis, he told the Defender, "and there was a case in Gary where a worker honored railroad picket lines got a 38-day suspension."

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

tionaries to predict beforehand the nature of the new regime.)

The destruction of the Somoza regime has severely damaged the Nicaraguan bourgeois order. Somoza had more reason than Louis XIV to have said "L'état, c'est moi." Not only was the Somoza family a major component of the ruling class, owning a substantial chunk of key sectors of the economy; the state power had become reduced to Somoza's personal praetorian guard. The civil war shattered it.

In bargaining with the revolutionary junta over the terms of Somoza's ouster, the State Department was less concerned to add a few more conservative bourgeois figures to the future government than to preserve the National Guard. And the Sandinistas did agree that "honest and patriotic" Guard officers would be integrated into a new national army, with no reprisals against any of them.

What a cruel betrayal of the Nicaraguan people, who have seen their husbands, children and parents massacred by Somoza's gangsters in uniform!

"They left the bodies here for 27 days, then they allowed them to be burned in front of the house. All that was left of my father was his head.

"They should kill every one of them. They shouldn't let one of them live, but they shouldn't kill them with just one shot, they should kill them so they suffer."

—New York Times, 3 August

This cry of torment and vengeance is from a young woman who saw Somoza's troops machine-gun her elderly father and mother. Later the Guardsmen's wives came back and looted her home.

Somoza's private army however did not trust the Sandinista leaders, whatever their promises to Jimmy Carter, to protect them against the blood fury of their victims. When their chief fled, the Guard crumbled into a mass of panicked refugees. The sight of Somoza's troops abandoning their guns, stripping off their uniforms and piling into helicopters to escape recalls similar scenes during the fall of Saigon. Most of the Somoza Air Force, commandeered by fleeing troops, is now parked on runways in Guatemala and Honduras. Fishing boats were hijacked by desperate Guardsmen in a dash to El Salvador; others formed a ragtag column that hot-footed it over the Honduran border, while the more unlucky troops took refuge in churches, Red Cross camps and foreign embassies. Hopefully at least some of them will be tried for their atrocious crimes.

The country Somoza left behind is in ruins. Every major city was repeatedly bombed and Estelí, the scene of heavy fighting since last September, is practically a ghost town. Factories are destroyed; crops are lost. Transport services are in total disarray as many

buses served as barricades during the fighting. Hundreds of thousands are returning from refugee camps to a country without housing or work. Tens of thousands have died in the fighting.

The power vacuum in Nicaragua arises both from the gravely disrupted condition of the bourgeois order and the weakness of the working class, lacking consciousness and organization. This vacuum gives the petty-bourgeois layers and their radical Sandinista representatives exceptional social weight and

property form, did not exist in the Marxist sense...."

—"Guerrillas in Power," *WV*
No. 102, 26 March 1976

The Lessons of Cuba

The Cuban Revolution therefore definitely casts its long shadow over Nicaragua, and not primarily because Castro has for many years supported the Sandinista guerrillas. Castro's Rebel Army was a heterogeneous petty-bourgeois force temporarily independ-

Somoza have, each in their own way, drawn some lessons in seeking to avoid another Cuba. About two years ago the largest grouping within the Sandinistas, the *terceristas*, decided that voicing support to socialism à la Cuba was a fundamental barrier to a broad alliance against Somoza. So they dropped their Castroism and adopted a purely bourgeois-nationalist program. The anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, a large majority of the Nicaraguan capitalist class, responded favorably and has since tried



Jubilant Nicaraguans celebrate downfall of Somoza dynasty.

autonomy from the two counterposed decisive class camps of the proletariat and capitalism. The Sandinista guerrilla army is now the dominant military force. The decisive question is whether a new capitalist state apparatus will be reconstituted from among these petty-bourgeois and bourgeois radical forces or whether the revolution will lead to a break with the capitalist-imperialist system.

The destruction of Somoza's National Guard, just like the destruction of Batista's Cuban army 20 years before, had opened up a period in which the class nature of the emerging state is not yet fundamentally determined. The Sandinista commanders pledge to respect private property—but so did the initial government of the Cuban Revolution. As we wrote three years ago:

"...what existed in Havana following the overthrow of Batista was an inherently transitory and unstable phenomenon—a petty-bourgeois government which was not committed to the defense of either bourgeois private property or the collectivist property forms of proletarian class rule.... such a regime was temporarily autonomous from the bourgeois order—that is, a capitalist state, namely armed bodies of men dedicated to defending a particular

ent of the bourgeoisie. Generally such formations on coming to power have transformed themselves into new bourgeois bonapartist regimes integrated into the imperialist system. But in Cuba an exceptional development occurred leading to a break with the capitalist-imperialist order.

On first coming to power the 26th of July Movement guerrillas established a coalition government with old-time bourgeois politicians who in fact held the top posts: Manuel Urrutia as president, José Miró Cardona as prime minister and Roberto Agramonte as foreign minister. But Castro's initial reforms, especially the agrarian reform of June 1959, provoked a violent reaction from U.S. imperialism, which launched an economic boycott and encouraged domestic counterrevolutionaries. Castro in turn reacted with increasingly radical measures, which drove away all bourgeois support. Fearing the wrath of Yankee power, the Cuban bourgeoisie in large part fled to the U.S., expecting to return with the Marines.

To defend itself against U.S. imperialism and the Cuban bourgeoisie's economic sabotage, in the summer-fall of 1960 the Castro regime expropriated capitalist property. In carrying out this social transformation the petty-bourgeois radicals of the 26th of July Movement also transformed themselves into a Stalinist bureaucracy of a deformed workers state, politically expropriating and oppressing the Cuban workers and peasants. As we pointed out:

"...the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is in one of its central aspects—i.e., the transmission belt for the pressure of the world bourgeois order on a workers state—a petty-bourgeois formation. The decisive section of the Castroites could make the transition to the leadership of a deformed workers state because in the absence of the egalitarianism and proletarian democracy of a state directly won by the working people, they never had to transcend or fundamentally alter their own petty-bourgeois radical social appetites, but only to preface and redirect them."

—Preface to *Marxist Bulletin*
No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory" (1973)

The chief actors in the overthrow of

to domesticate the Sandinista guerrillas.

The social revolution from above in Cuba took place only because the bonapartist Castro regime faced exceptional historic conditions. Among them, a decisive factor was the belligerence of the U.S. toward the Cuban rebel government. U.S. imperialism also has learned a lesson from this experience, and in many Washington circles it is now recognized that the U.S.' blind hostility to Castro in 1959 helped drive him toward the very expropriations it sought to forestall. In contrast, today the American rulers seem to have opted for the carrot instead of the stick in Nicaragua.

At first, fear of Castroite guerrillas coming to power caused the U.S. to support Somoza long after it was clear that his National Guard was fighting literally the entire Nicaraguan people. But when it became obvious that only direct military intervention could save Somoza, the Carter administration changed its tack and has since taken a conciliatory line toward the revolutionary junta. When Sandinista leader Tomás Borge states he's never said he is a Marxist, Washington is now willing to let him prove it. Even Castro remarked that Yankee imperialism has "learned something" and is not acting toward the Nicaraguan revolution as it did toward his.

Carter is trying to remove the onus of having backed Somoza until the eleventh hour. The new U.S. ambassador to Managua, Lawrence Pezzullo, strongly denounced any attempts by the defeated National Guard in exile to carry out counterrevolutionary actions. Washington is funneling funds to the new Nicaraguan regime via the Red Cross. And behind the scenes State Department men and CIA operatives are no doubt promising much more if the Sandinista commanders will play ball.

At the same time, the American rulers are not about to give the Sandinistas a blank check. Managua has requested that the U.S. supply it with weapons for the new People's Army. Washington's delay in agreeing to do so prompted the famous guerrilla chief and new deputy interior minister "Commander Zero" (Edén Pastora) to threaten that the

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junta would go to the "socialist bloc" for arms, although this statement was later repudiated by Interior Minister Borge.

Despite the Sandinista regime's repeated assertions that it wants good relations with Washington, U.S. diplomats are uneasy about the continuing anti-American rhetoric emanating from Managua. According to the *Washington Post* (7 August), *Barricada*, the official government organ and only newspaper currently published in the country, portrays the anti-Somoza revolution as a defeat for "U.S. imperialism" and refers to the Organization of American States as the "Department of State's Ministry of Colonies." The willingness of Yankee imperialism to deal with the Nicaraguan regime will strongly affect its course and may prove to be decisive in bringing about the reconsolidation of a state committed to defending capitalist property forms. But however shrewd the policy of Washington, the fate of the Nicaraguan regime will also depend upon the development of the class struggle within Nicaragua.

Castroite Guerrillas Govern with Millionaires

This government of "Marxist-Leninist" guerrillas and big capitalists will not easily master a country whose economy has been ruined, whose army has fled and whose masses expect more from the revolution than just slogans about "a new Nicaragua." One doesn't have to be a Marxist to figure out that the provisional government of national reconstruction is anything but a stable ruling group committed to a definite program. As the *New York Times'* Alan Riding put it on 22 July:

"Anastasio Somoza Debayle was ousted last week because he succeeded in uniting almost all sectors of Nicaragua against him. In the heat of war, he even inspired the strangest of bedfellows to join a provisional government of national reconstruction. But can this potpourri of classes and ideologies work in government as it worked in opposition?"

"In reality, the nearer the opposition came to power, the more fragile the coalition seemed. It was always easy to draft joint denunciations of the dictatorship, but it was less simple for conservative businessmen, Social Democratic intellectuals and Marxist guerrillas to agree on what should replace it."

The Sandinista guerrillas seem to have given the bourgeois representatives the larger share of governmental power. Only two of the dozen or so ministers are leading Sandinistas; the rest are big capitalists, priests and technocrats. But this ministry is not where the real power lies. Castro, too, was not a member of the first post-Batista government; he just happened to be commander of the Rebel Army. If the Sandinista leaders have been generous in allowing their bourgeois allies ministerial portfolios, they have not allowed them to take command of the guns. The more sophisticated bourgeois press points out that the strongman in the Nicaraguan situation seems to be the Sandinista veteran Borge, who is both minister of the interior and one of the three commanders of the new People's Army. It is Borge, not the minister of defense (an old veteran of the National Guard), who is calling the shots in the armed forces.

But to date the Sandinista commanders have been no less insistent than their bourgeois colleagues that the "new Nicaragua" will be capitalist. Borge, tagged as "Nicaragua's Castro," protests: "I've never said I'm a Marxist," going on to substantiate this:

"That's one thing we want to guarantee. Private property in this country will be respected. The only thing the revolutionary state has taken over to administer is the property of Somoza and his henchmen. The industrialists can keep calm."

—*Washington Post*, 25 July

One might think that Fidel Castro might be upset that the Sandinistas, whom he befriended when they were weak, now reject Cuba as a revolution-

ary model. But no, the Stalinist *lider máximo* has joined the chorus proclaiming that the Sandinistas stand for a social system unique to Nicaragua:

"To those who have said that Nicaragua will become a new Cuba, we respond to them in the way the Nicaraguans have responded, that Nicaragua will become

taken over by the new regime.

What is to be done with these vast holdings will be an area of major conflict between the different social classes now supporting the Sandinista/bourgeois junta. The peasants expect and will demand that the Somoza estates be the basis for a radical

model for socialist reconstruction of the country. The *New York Times* (29 July) quotes one of León's leftist leaders who criticizes the Managua regime as reformist and states, "there are a lot of people here who would like this to be a Marxist state." He is unquestionably speaking the truth.

Workers to Power! For a Trotskyist Party!

The masses of Nicaragua cannot and do not want to live in the old way. But to produce a socialist revolution, the radicalized masses must be politically led and organized by a revolutionary vanguard party, centrally based on the proletariat, and with an international perspective. In the absence of such a Leninist (Trotskyist) party, Nicaragua can at best result only in another Cuba, in a *deformed* social revolution in which the working class is saddled with a narrowly nationalist, parasitic and oppressive bureaucracy. "Socialism in one banana republic" can only be an obstacle to the development of socialist revolution in Latin America.

But the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) sees no need for a Leninist vanguard—because its entire perspective is to pressure the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas into making Nicaragua "another Cuba." The USec's 20 June declaration, "Solidarity with the Struggle of the Nicaraguan People" (*Intercontinental Press*, 9 July), never mentions the need for a revolutionary proletarian party. Instead, these revisionists declare the Sandinista National Liberation Front to be the "vanguard... of the people of Nicaragua." But the dominant *tercerista* faction has a purely bourgeois-democratic program, while the other two factions uphold the standard Stalinist "two-stage" revolution. Now in power, the Sandinistas have not only stated their intention to administer a capitalist Nicaragua, but have taken steps in that direction.

The immediate task facing a revolutionary party in Nicaragua is to oppose the efforts of the Sandinista/bourgeois junta to restore a capitalist state. The Sandinista leaders have already displayed the bonapartist desire to secure a monopoly of military power. One of the first acts of the revolutionary junta was to order all civilians to turn in the guns many acquired when the Guardsmen abandoned their weapons *en masse*. Given the revolutionary chaos, it is doubtful that this order has yet been carried out. An urgent demand a revolutionary party in Nicaragua must raise is that the toiling masses keep their arms, and that workers militias be established independently of the Sandinista/bourgeois regime.

A revolutionary party would agitate for *popular tribunals* to try the National Guard criminals hiding in the churches and Red Cross camps. It would demand a radical egalitarian *agrarian revolution*, the expropriation of industry and commerce and the reconstruction of the economy on a socialist basis. Expropriation must not be limited only to Somoza's property. Above all, Trotskyists must agitate for a government excluding the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie and based on the democratic organs of the working class and its peasant allies. Such a revolutionary struggle obviously cannot be confined to Nicaragua alone, but must strive for a Socialist United States of Latin America. ■

Fall of Saigon revisited—Somoza mercenaries flee wrath of their victims in hijacked Red Cross plane.



a new Nicaragua—that is something very distinct."

—UPI dispatch, 27 July

The Future of the Nicaraguan Revolution

A decisive section of the Sandinista cadre along with their present bourgeois allies may reconstitute a bourgeois state under the sway of Yankee imperialism. But that is not the only possibility. An upsurge of militant social struggle from below (e.g., peasant land seizures, popular vengeance against Somoza's Guardsmen), especially if it provokes a hostile reaction from the U.S., can pressure a section of the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinistas to the left, leading to bureaucratically-deformed social revolution. Alternatively such an upsurge, particularly in the absence of conscious revolutionary leadership, could well result in a bloody counterrevolution by the local bourgeoisie in alliance with the U.S. imperialists.

There is another road, along which lies the real hope for the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution: the emergence of the working class as an independent, conscious contestant for power. The creation of independent organs of workers power (e.g., workers militias, factory committees, soviets) would reciprocally lay the basis for the rapid development of a revolutionary proletarian (Leninist) party. The development of proletarian revolutionary forces would threaten the petty-bourgeois bonapartist appetites of *all wings of the Sandinista leadership*; a section of this petty-bourgeois movement would likely go over to the workers and its vanguard, while other elements would retreat into the camp of bourgeois reaction.

The present "unity" of the anti-Somoza revolution will be shattered, one way or another, by class conflict. The overthrow of Somoza in itself poses the radical redistribution of capitalist property in Nicaragua. This bloodsucking billionaire owned more than 30 percent of all the arable land in the country, along with a gigantic cattle herd. He had the controlling share of the national airline, owned the country's biggest shipping company, its biggest meatpacking operation, some construction companies, and lots more—all now

egalitarian agrarian revolution. The bourgeois politicians in Managua will try to transfer Somoza's former wealth to their own pockets and those of their friends. The Sandinista minister of agrarian reform, Jaime Wheelock, proposes to turn most of the Somoza lands into cooperative farms, a proposal which must displease his bourgeois fellow ministers, who have a land hunger of their own. Furthermore, bourgeois landowners must fear that takeovers may well extend beyond "Tacho's" holdings to their own. It is possible that, as in Cuba in 1959, the scope and nature of agrarian reform may cause the first big blow-up between bourgeois ministers like Alfonso Robelo (Nicaragua's cottonseed oil king) and petty-bourgeois radicals like Wheelock.

While the Sandinista/bourgeois junta in Managua preaches the virtues of reformed capitalism, the picture in the country's second city, León, is rather different. This city fell to the Sandinista forces in June, and the more leftist "Prolonged People's War" faction predominates. In what the Spanish magazine *Cambio 16* terms "el León comunista," food and other supplies are freely distributed through block committees, money has been taken out of circulation, commercial transactions are forbidden and labor is commandeered.

Given the near-total economic devastation caused by the civil war, rationing and other forms of "military communism" are not necessarily attacks on the capitalist system. But many of the Sandinista militants, workers and poor look upon "el León comunista" not as a post-war emergency measure, but as a

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Khomeini's Iran...

(continued from page 3)

against Khomeini and all the mullahs, landlords and capitalists.

But it is just now that the HKS shamefully buries this demand, capitulating to Khomeini under the slogans of the traditional feudal leaders of the oppressed nationalities! The HKS boasts of its supposedly consistent defense of national rights. Two years ago the Sattar League (the SWP-loyal component of the merger which formed the HKS early this year) explained that "The unconditional support of the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities—including their right to national independence—is the proletariat's duty" (SWP *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, July 1977; emphasis added). What has become of such declarations of duty now, when it is Khomeini's guns which pose the issue? Where are they to be found?

Instead, while Khomeini threatens "separatists" with brutal reprisal, the HKS complains only that "separatism" is simply a "charge made to justify oppression of Arabs." So then presumably the HKS accepts the premise that suppression of a genuine separatist movement would be justified. The left-Stalinist Fedayeen, who echo Khomeini despite their support to "autonomy" for the nationalities, call "separatism" an imperialist plot against the "Iranian Revolution"—differing from the HKS only in being more explicit.

Lenin excoriated those who hypocritically covered for national oppression by attempting to limit national rights to cultural and linguistic demands. He insisted that the right to self-determination could have no meaning other than the right to political independence, to secede and form a separate state. The SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (11 June) uncritically quotes a so-called "representative of the Arab people" who defines self-determination vaguely as "having power in the region." Despite polemics against the Stalinists for advocating "autonomy" which leaves all power in the hands of the central government, the SWP/HKS shares the same framework—only hiding behind the claim that it is merely supporting what the "national movement" wants.

Thus a May 18 article in the HKS's *Kargar* uncritically supports a series of demands raised by the "Arab people," including various cultural and linguistic rights—but also the appointment of Arab ministers and army officers, plus "the incorporation of all the foregoing measures into the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran." In reality the HKS is tailing not the "Arab people,"

but the Arab mullahs who claim to speak on their behalf. Despite the Persian state's hardline stance, these clerics (like the Kurdish mullahs and feudal lords) accept Khomeini's rule and only wish to make a deal with him for a



Mingham/Gamma-Liaison

"Liberal" Ayatollah Shariatmadari.

few more government posts. Their demand for "autonomy" is a concession to Khomeini—which the HKS gladly picks up and takes further still, demanding the creation of *Arab Imam's Committees!*

The "Revolutionary Dynamic" of Capitulating to Khomeini

The "Imam's Committees," the komitahs, have been described by the SWP/HKS as close to proto-soviets. Ritual praise is offered for their supposed revolutionary role in the struggle against the shah and for their plebian base. In fact, the July 30 *Intercontinental Press* wrote: "Many of the Imam's Committees, which Khomeini tried to make into a means for holding the workers back, were forced by the direct pressure they were under to carry out the workers' demands."

This portrait of a "revolutionary dynamic" operating through the komitahs is false from beginning to end. The mullahs sit on them by appointment and not election, with all decision-making power in their hands. Women are barred from participation. Instead of vehicles for proletarian mass mobilization, the komitahs are the clergy's instruments for organizing its petty-bourgeois constituency *against the workers movement*, and represent a potential threat to the proletariat far greater than that of a brittle, despised military dictatorship. There continue to be dozens of examples of the komitahs' attacks on workers

strikes and demonstrations, brutalizing of leftists, assaults on women's protests and organizing of pogroms against the Kurds, Arabs and Turkomans. Some of these reactionary attacks have been recounted even by the SWP press.

To explain the komitah's reactionary assaults, the SWP/HKS came up with the theory that only ex-SAVAK agents, who had infiltrated the komitahs, were responsible. At the time of the arrest of many HKS members, they carefully distinguished between the "Islamic fighters" and the ex-Savakis in the komitahs. This is a convenient scapegoat for the SWP because for a year now it has denied that Khomeini aimed at crushing the left. They lionized Khomeini as a "consistent fighter" against the shah—suppressing the fact that he is also a "consistent fighter" against women, national minorities, the left and the labor movement.

Yes, there are Savakis in the komitahs—they are there because the mullahs want them there. When Khomeini took power, we warned that the mullahs would need elements of the old regime:

"Iran's mullahs need the iron fist of a military trained and equipped by imperialism to enforce 'justice' according to the Koran. The police stations burned down during the street fighting will be rebuilt. The shah's gendarmerie (which has now sworn allegiance to Khomeini) will reoccupy them and a regenerated and renamed SAVAK will again be unleashed against those dubbed 'traitors' by the new regime."

—Mullahs Win,
Workers Vanguard No. 225,
16 February

HKS Militants in Peril!—Free Them!

Fifteen militants of the HKS, arrested in May and early June, are in the most extreme danger. Five of them have been removed to cells in Karoun prison that were used as torture chambers by the shah's sadistic secret police. When their comrades protested this by staging a sit-in in the prison yard, the guards brutally beat them, severely injuring one.

The SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (30 July) describes a vicious assault on an HKS member by Muslim thugs:

"In Isfahan, an important industrial center in southeast Iran, a brutal attack on a Trotskyist who was selling the Socialist Workers Party paper *Kargar* occurred in mid-July....

"The HKS member was grabbed by a group of men and taken away in a car. He was systematically beaten with chains and burned with lighted cigarettes. Then the car was driven over his fingers.

"Some of the kidnappers were recognized as members of the local Imam's Committee. But the methods used against this Trotskyist were those of SAVAK."

The SWP now expressed shock and surprise that the mullahs are using the SAVAK's methods of repression, including the use of *the very same torture cells!* But it comes as no surprise to revolutionary Marxists, who warned of the clerical reactionaries' ferocious anti-communism from the beginning.

According to *Intercontinental Press*, "In recent weeks, the government has revealed its increasing political embarrassment over the case of the imprisoned Trotskyists by offering to release them if they recanted their political views." Actually, it is the SWP which is embarrassed by the growing evidence of anti-communist repression—which they themselves are forced to report, even while grovelling before the mullahs' "revolution."

The government is making its "offer" from a position of strength, not weakness. It is the left which has been on the defensive. On June 25 four more members of the Fedayeen were arrested in Teheran. Mohammed Reza Sadati, a member of the Muslim-populist Mojahdeen guerrillas, has been arrested and threatened with torture, charged with spying for the Soviet Union. On July 3 a demonstration in his behalf was attacked by Khomeini's thugs. Three days

later a pro-Fedayeen meeting at Tabriz University was broken up and the campus occupied by militia.

The SWP minimizes the plight of its imprisoned comrades because it is sacrificing them to the disastrous political strategy of tailing the mullahs. It has limited its defense work to telegrams protesting its loyalty to the "Iranian Revolution," and has sabotaged the HKS defense, dismantling its picket lines and forcibly excluding members of the international Spartacist tendency, rather than let our perspective of a militant united front defense be heard!

With the lives of the imprisoned leftists hanging in the balance, united front protests to free the victims of Khomeini's white terror are more urgent than ever. If they do not occur, it will truly be a tragedy—and a crime.

Free the HKS and the Fedayeen! For a United-Front Defense Against Islamic Reaction! For Workers Revolution to Overthrow Khomeini! ■

Macho Man/ Gay Power...

(continued from page 5)

therapy session—it's a combat party based on *program* which demands real sacrifices from its cadres. Not surprisingly, a layer of the burnt-out RSL membership prefers me-decade consciousness-raising (one writer urges the organization to take up the struggle for non-smokers' rights) to "Bolshevik hardness" which Faber has made synonymous with male-chauvinist abuse.

In all this new "warm supportive" atmosphere, nobody should think the RSL leadership is going to give up any *real* power. An official Political Committee statement ("Sexism in the League," *Pre-Convention Report No. 8*, 14 November 1978) makes this perfectly clear:

"...some cdes. have argued that the League has no right to make any decision regarding women having babies.... This is a mistaken view in our opinion. ...the League does have the right to make decisions regarding comrades having babies, given the fact that this is not a purely personal question. This is because the rights of an individual in the League are subordinate to the rights of the League as a whole."

Here's a brave new world indeed! This monstrous and criminal arrogance is truly frightening—what is the penalty if a comrade should get pregnant, we wonder? And these little dictators think the Bolsheviks were arrogant!

The culmination of hundreds of pages of documents is Faber's confession: "Finally, we accept that RT tried to impose his values too much on the organization. This has greatly contributed to the rotten atmosphere." (We bet!) "A great part of the problems in the organization are the direct effects of RT's personality.... He will try hard to change, but this will take time" ("Statement on Sexism and Bureaucratism," by the Political Committee *Pre-Convention Report No. 9*, 16 November 1978).

The American working class hasn't had such good news since Progressive Labor's Jared Israel promised to start doing his own dishes. ■

NOTICE
The next issue of
Workers Vanguard will be
dated **September 14**.



Iranian oil workers celebrated when mullahs won. Now they face wrath of Khomeini.



Der Spiegel

ZAPU chief Joshua Nkomo (left) hobnobbing with imperialist flunkey Andrew Young.

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 4)

elections an "insult" to the terrorized black masses who voted for him at gunpoint this April. Ian Smith rejected most of the package. The "militant" ZANU announced that it hoped "the British government will remain faithful to the spirit of the declaration" (*Washington Post*, 8 August), but wanted the imperialists to guarantee the dismantling of the white army (!) so that the Patriotic Front could take its place.

The British plan, however, is based on a division of labor: Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique will drag the guerrillas to the bargaining table while the British, backed by U.S. imperialism, force some "concessions" from Rhodesia. Thatcher explained, "If Julius Nyerere can deal with his problem, I hope you will accept that I can handle mine" (*New York Times*, 8 August).

What all the wrangling boils down to is that the imperialists think that, whatever its ultimate fate, the Salisbury regime need not be dumped as immediately unviable. But the "internal settlement's" pretenses at democracy are so shoddy that there must be some further

tinkering with white supremacist rule, so that Salisbury can have more time.

Any objection from the guerrillas is designed to wangle a better deal from the imperialists and does not spring from any principled opposition to intervention by Washington and London. The ex-preacher Nkomo is notorious for ties to Rhodesian big business and his willingness to make a deal. The "Marxist" Catholic Mugabe is no left alternative however. He calls on British imperialism "to exercise her responsibilities" and convene "another conference like Geneva in 1976" (*Zimbabwe: The Final Advance*, 1978).

"One senior Churchman who knows him well recalls Mr. Mugabe's description of Zimbabwe as he would envisage it: 'There would be more Europeans than ever before because we need their expertise. There would be plenty of outside capital coming in. And there would be a guaranteed supply of plentiful, cheap labour.'"

—*Irish Times*, 7 February

This is the stark reality of imperialist exploitation behind the lofty rhetoric of "African socialism."

The destruction of the racist Smith regime at the hands of ZANU and ZAPU would be a gain for the international working class. Solidarity with the

is a waste of time and money. They are rethinking the ideas which we have been putting forward for the last eight years, which include the necessity of mobilizing the union membership for a real fight against the company, through independent action, through breaking with the Democrats and forming a workers political party.

WV: What are the future plans of MAC in light of the contract expiration next year?

JANE: We want to continue to make connections with local officers and local members around the country. We see the necessity for a national strike in 1980. We are going to continue to fight for the local right to strike. We see that this contract year is crucial in that the company is trying to automate our jobs out of existence. We demand job security through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. We want to stop the increasing number of firings. It is very clear that the company is trying now in every way to break the back of the union—fire outspoken militants and promote potential scabs—before we go into a possible national strike in 1980.

WV: There have been a number of opposition groups that have come and gone over the years in the CWA. What's been the difference between them and MAC?

Margolis...

(continued from page 7)

daily grinding attacks by the phone company. And they want a union that can fight the company. But they don't know how to get it.

WV: So even among a layer of local officials, there's a sense of futility with Watts' strategy?

JANE: Yes. I've talked to several local officers who have been very active in fighting for a bill in Congress which would limit forced overtime. And some have said that they are now beginning to believe that the only way we're going to fight forced overtime, to stop the company from charging for directory assistance, to win "manhole safety" and safe working conditions generally is by hitting the bricks, by using our power to shut down communications and go out on strike. I've heard CWA lobbyists complain that they are getting no hearing from Congress, from so-called friends of labor. Almost all of the legislation that the CWA has been fighting for has gone down the tubes. And some of these people are beginning to think that the legislative approach pushed by the International leadership

Smash the KKK!

AUGUST 12—The KKK have put on their hoods and are nightriding again under legal cover of recent Supreme Court decisions. Small Klan rallies in New Jersey, California and North Carolina on Saturday sought to organize and recruit to their campaigns for racist terror. In a particularly obscene provocation, on August 9 fifty of the hooded thugs began a "white power" march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, consciously retracing the steps of the bloody Selma to Montgomery voter rights marches of 1965.

Martin Luther King termed Selma "the turning point," a victory for his movement. It was there at the

Edmund Pettus Bridge on March 7, 1965—"Bloody Sunday"—that 600 black freedom marchers were brutally assaulted by Alabama state troopers and the KKK. But the murderous Klan also celebrates "Bloody Sunday," for it was the black man's blood which was spilled.

Today, as the Klan paraded in an armed column, the Selma black community was again led in prayer, told to appeal to god and the capitalist state for protection. It will not be prayer but must be the black and workers movement—labor-black defense squads—which turn back these hooded cowards once and for all. ■



UPI

Ku Klux Klan thugs stage provocative march at site of racist 1965 assault on civil rights demonstrators in Selma Alabama.

guerrillas' military struggle against white supremacy, however, does not mean political support to the bourgeois nationalism of Nkomo or Mugabe, who want to establish a black capitalist regime dependent upon imperialism. The exploitation of the black workers and peasants will not end until the

establishment of a Zimbabwean workers and peasants government, within a socialist federation of southern Africa. This requires a Trotskyist vanguard party based on the Rhodesian proletariat and linked to the massive and combative proletariat of neighboring South Africa. ■

JANE: Well, one of the key differences can be demonstrated by the United Action Caucus in New York. They had a very bad political track record. They supported Ed Dempsey who is president of the New York local, as the more "progressive" alternative. As a matter of fact Ed Dempsey was no alternative at all. Since he's been in office he's reduced the number of local meetings to twice a year; he has attempted to decertify stewards who have political disagreements with him. And he is working hand in glove with the International. The point is, he never had any program which stood against the policies of the International; and the United Action Caucus told the membership to support him, that he would make a difference. This is very common with the other groups that have been around the union. And as the members have learned for themselves, these "progressive" bureaucrats are no different than the guys they replace.

WV: It seems that not only MAC's fighting reputation, but its program as a whole is getting a broader hearing and winning new adherents.

JANE: That's true. We have received correspondence and communications from delegates around the country who are very interested in our ideas for the

trade-union movement and who want to keep in contact.

We are the only opposition fighting for a class-struggle CWA. We've been around for eight years. The company has tried to get rid of us. I was fired in 1975 but the union was successful in getting my job back after 16 months. And over the years I've been twice elected as delegate to the convention. After speaking last year against an automatic dues increase (I said that we wanted millions for militancy but not one more cent for kneeling to the phone company), this year I voted against the dues increase again. After fighting for the local right to strike and explaining why we must not go along with Jimmy Carter's program of blaming the workers for inflation and the recession we're entering into, people are beginning to see that we're for a strong union, that we're union builders.

We want to get this union off its knees. We see that this means new leadership, a leadership that is not in the hip pocket of the company and the bosses' politicians. CWA members can see that we're serious about staying around and not being run out by the company, by the Secret Service or by an International which surrenders without a fight. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

No Government Handout for Bosses!

Whatever Chrysler's Worth— Give It to the Workers!

Auto workers at Dodge Main didn't have to read it in the papers to know that Chrysler—America's tenth largest industrial corporation—was in trouble. Nor did they have to peruse statistics showing Chrysler's whopping \$207 million loss in the second quarter of 1979. Over 25,000 Chrysler workers have already become the victims of the profit system, joining tens of thousands of other auto workers in unemployment lines—pink slips, whole shifts down, plants like Dodge Main scheduled to close. Driving up the Chrysler Freeway to Hamtramck auto workers have visible proof of Chrysler's failure and the sharp downturn in the U.S. economy: all over the city storage lots are packed bumper to bumper with unsold Volares and Aspens.

So when Chrysler, on July 31, desperately called on the government for a billion dollar bailout from the edge of bankruptcy, workers were not surprised. It seemed the next logical step in an economy going to hell. The mass layoffs had already signaled the beginning of the downturn. The U.S. is experiencing the highest inflation rate since 1946, and Big Oil's great gas ripoff had motorists sweating on endless lines, finally exploding the old promise that at least there'd always be enough gas to get around. And now Chrysler, with \$16 billion in annual sales and 250,000 employees worldwide, is going broke.

No Handouts For Bosses

From gas lines to plant closures, the irrationalities of the capitalist system are clear and ever-present. In this summer of increasing economic hardship and anger, Jimmy Carter tells Americans: It's all your fault, pray for your gas-guzzling sins, and "keep the faith" in capitalist America. As a result Carter is not only as unpopular as Nixon at his Watergate level, but is becoming increasingly hated.



WV Photo

Answer Layoffs With Sitdowns!

But the Chrysler collapse won't do much to "keep the faith" in decaying capitalism. Americans know this is no Lockheed bailout (already a "subsidiary" of the Defense Department) or financial therapy for the crippled Penn Central. This is the auto industry that's in trouble, the heart of U.S. competitive capitalism; this is Henry Ford and the assembly line, the "better mousetrap," the proud boast of American productive superiority through privately owned industry.

Suddenly every major bourgeois newspaper in the country is filled with editorials and plans on how to "Save

Chrysler." After warning of the "dangers" of government "involvement" with private industry, the capitalists have the gall to support the Chrysler bailout in the name of the workers' jobs. What arrogant hypocrisy. Those who yesterday talked glibly about the beneficial effects of a "mild recession" on the investment market, today have discovered a social conscience. The pundits of capitalism at the *Wall Street Journal* (3 August) were characteristic. After denouncing nationalization "games," and saying in "a healthy economy" government must simply "let companies adapt to their changing fortunes," they

inject "a note of sympathy for Chrysler." After all, "when the jobs of 250,000 Chrysler workers are threatened and pension funds and other savings invested...are jeopardized then the game becomes less funny," they write. Even Treasury Secretary G. William Miller tried to play the part of friend of the working man, decrying the potential loss of jobs at Chrysler.

Who do they think they're kidding? Certainly not the UAW workers. When it's time for mass layoffs, then it's the bosses' right to dump as many workers as necessary. It's just part of the system:

continued on page 2

Defend Keith Anwar!

CHICAGO—"Picket lines mean don't cross" is the message being taken to the steel mills south of Chicago as the campaign to defend Keith Anwar continues to win significant support. Anwar, until May 18 an apprentice millwright at Inland Steel's 24-inch bar mill in East Chicago, Indiana, was fired for honoring the picket line of striking United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8180.

On August 8, Anwar received an important solidarity statement from Ed Sadlowski, the well-known "dissident" who unsuccessfully challenged Lloyd McBride in 1977 for the USWA interna-

tional presidency. Sadlowski (who carried the union's basic steel division in that election) offered the committee a letter which stated "I hail Mr. Anwar's actions and think they were in the best traditions of trade union solidarity."

The defense committee's demands "that Inland Steel immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay" and "defend all union members victimized for honoring picket lines" were endorsed by the unanimous vote of the USWA District 31 (Chicago area) Conference as well as Anwar's own Local 1010. The June 27 meeting of Local 65 at U.S. Steel's Southworks

plant likewise pledged to defend militants victimized for respecting picket lines. Individual endorsements have been received from close to 30 USWA officials including the presidents of three locals. Bricklayers Local 6, whose picket line Anwar refused to cross in June 1978, made a sizable donation to help pay for legal expenses.

USWA officials are certainly aware of the growing interest in this important struggle. Rank-and-file union members have contributed the lion's share of the more than \$900 donated to the Anwar defense fund. The case has also generat-

continued on page 6

August 8, 1979

To Whom It May Concern:

I, Ed Sadlowski, strongly stand behind Keith Anwar in his struggle for immediate reinstatement with full vesting of seniority and back pay at the Inland Steel Company.

Brother Anwar was discharged by Inland Steel for honoring picket lines set up by trade unionists in defense of their democratic rights. I hail Mr. Anwar's actions and think they were in the best traditions of trade union solidarity.

Very truly yours,
Ed Sadlowski