

## Khomeini's Bloody Terror



Khomeini's Persian army murders Kurdish rebels.

UPI

### Massacre in Kurdistan

SEPTEMBER 11—Over the past month, the attacks mounted by the Khomeini regime on its left-wing opponents and the national minorities in Iran have escalated sharply. Demonstrators are no longer being beaten up only by unofficial civilian thugs of the "Imam's committees," but now face the heavy weapons of the "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" (Pasdars) and the ex-shah's regular armed forces. Following mass demonstrations in Teheran during mid-August protesting the suppression of the liberal daily *Ayandegan*, newspapers and offices of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, the Guevarist Fedayeen and the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) were closed down and sacked.

The biggest mobilization of Khomeini's reactionary repression, however, has been directed against the Kurdish national minority. To crush their struggle for autonomy from the Persian chauvinist regime in Teheran, Khomeini ordered his Pasdars, army troops and air force to launch a full-fledged reign of terror in Iranian Kurdistan. While various pseudo-socialists now seek to explain this butchery with the cynical claim that the ayatollah has carried out a "self-coup" against his own regime, the attacks on the Kurds, Arabs, Turkmenis, women, workers and the left in Khomeini's Iran did not begin yesterday. The mullah-loving left is trying to cover up its own failure to resolutely defend the victims of the "Islamic Revolution" it fervently supported.

Iran is a prison house of oppressed nations, including the Kurdish nation, balkanized between five Near Eastern states in the imperialist dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire at Versailles. Since Iranian Kurds are predominantly Sunni Muslims, they are also subjected to religious victimization in Iran, where 90 percent of the population belongs to the Shi'ite branch of Islam.

#### Khomeini Slaughters Kurds—HKS Denies Right to Independence

The persecution of the Kurds has been even *more* savage under Khomeini's dictatorship of the Shi'ite clergy than under the shah. Thus in only four days of fighting last March in Sanandaj, the provincial capital of Kurdistan, more than 400 Kurds were slaughtered. And during the recent invasion, a spokesman for the Kurdish Democratic Party charged that "the only difference" between Khomeini and the shah "is that during the Pahlavi regime, they did not kill innocent people so ruthlessly."

The present fighting in Kurdistan started in Paveh, a town of 15,000 near the Iraqi border. Annoyed with gangsterism by Khomeini's Islamic guards, the Kurds in Paveh wiped out the Pasdars and laid siege to a police outpost where a deputy prime minister was holding out with 20 soldiers. Outraged that his Shi'ite warriors had been dealt such a humiliating blow by

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### SWP/USec Criminal Tailism: History Takes Its Vengeance

*They bowed to their executioners.*

As Ayatollah Khomeini rose to power in Iran following the overthrow of the bloody shah, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) emblazoned a headline hailing this event across the front page of its newspaper, a headline which will be immortalized in the annals of class treachery: "VICTORY IN IRAN!" (*Militant*, 23 February). *So whose victory now, SWP?*

Every day since the fall of the Peacock Throne events in Iran have confirmed that the spoils of this "victory" are the savage repression of minorities, the execution of strikers, homosexuals, adulterers and others accused of "crimes against god"; the stoning of unveiled women, the suppression of all opposition parties and press. The current slaughter of hundreds of Kurds in northwestern Iran is only the most recent repressive measure of this Shi'ite theocracy in consolidating *its* victory.

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was unique on the left in telling the truth which every day receives confirmation in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic": the mullahs' victory means a regime just as reactionary as the shah's. In contrast, the SWP and its co-thinkers in the Iranian HKS (Socialist Workers Party) disguised and obscured at every stage the reactionary character of Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalist regime. Today the HKS is experiencing

the consequences of the "victory" it cheered only six months ago as it, along with other left and secular groups, has had its offices sacked and closed, its press suppressed, its members beaten, jailed and threatened with execution.

Despite the fact that brutal Islamic repression against the left, women, national minorities and homosexuals began on Day 1 of the mullahs' regime, the egregiously misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), to which both the American SWP and Iranian HKS are "fraternally" affiliated, characterized the ayatollah as "progressive" and "anti-imperialist." Even Khomeini's attack on their HKS comrades brought forth a desultory response. The one thing the SWP did energetically was to exclude Spartacists from defense of the threatened Iranian socialists. Only now that it has finally dawned on these inveterate tailists, blinded by their opportunism, that they may actually have to pay for their treachery has the USec belatedly sprung to life and begun screaming from the pages of their newspapers, "Stop Execution of Socialists in Iran!"

In time-honored reformist fashion they are trying to cover their tracks by playing up the threat hanging over the arrested HKSers. The Stalinists used the same ploy following the 1973 Pinochet coup, trying to focus protests on freeing

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# Reactionary Islamic Revolt in Afghanistan

In a military camp in Pakistan, a young Afghani teacher of the Koran explains to a *New York Times* reporter that he is fighting against the government of Nur Muhammad Taraki because it stands for "the Russian doctrine that they call democracy." The teacher is part of a feudalist revolt currently raging against the Soviet-backed left-nationalist Taraki regime which seized power in Kabul in April of last year. The rebellion is aided by Pakistani dictator Zia, who fancies himself a soldier of Islam and vows to stamp out alcohol, adultery and other examples of "moral corruption." And significantly, many of the rebelling tribesmen are Shi'ite Muslims who look to Iranian ayatollah Khomeini for inspiration—and guns—in their *jihad* against "godless communism."

Virtually the entire left fell to its knees before the demagogic "imam" of Qom, but one only has to observe the civil war next door in Afghanistan for confirmation of the reactionary character of the Islamic fundamentalist revival. Whereas anti-communism usually justifies itself in terms of "freedom" and "human rights," the Afghani insurgents declare they are fighting a holy war to preserve Islamic law, in particular the seclusion/enslavement of women. And the traditional Afghanistan which they vow to preserve is one of the most backward countries on earth: almost totally rural, with an average life-expectancy of 40 years and a 90 percent rate of male illiteracy (98 percent for women). Almost all women, save a tiny Westernized urban middle class, are imprisoned in the head-to-foot *chador* (veil).

When the Taraki government took over, the Western press raised cries of a "Communist coup." This is false even in terms of the common identification of communism with Stalinism. The current rulers came to power through a typical left-wing officers' coup and continue to base themselves mainly on the army. It is even doubtful that the main civilian component of the regime can be characterized as Stalinist: Taraki's Khalq (Masses) faction is reportedly headed by U.S.-trained intellectuals who last summer purged the more hard-line Moscow-loyal Parcham (Banner) faction. The present Kabul government is a bourgeois-nationalist regime comparable to Sukarno's Indonesia or Nasser's Egypt. However, because Afghanistan is far more primitive and a strategically important neighbor of the USSR, the weak nationalist regime is critically dependent on Soviet military/economic aid against the feudalist insurgents.

## Modernizing Nationalists Face Feudal Reaction

While not openly repudiating Islam, the Taraki regime sought to give the country a secular, progressive image. The new Democratic Republic of Afghanistan changed the national flag, removing the green of Islam, and the term "comrade" was widely introduced into the language of officialdom. Nor were the regime's reform efforts limited to these symbolic acts. One of Taraki's more popular measures was to cancel the debt of poor and landless peasants to the powerful moneylenders. In a country where 4 percent of the population owns 40 percent of the land, an agrarian revolution is the key to any radical social transformation. And the govern-

ment did propose a sweeping land reform aimed at giving 240,000 peasant families full ownership rights to land and encouraging them to form cooperatives.

However, landlord economic sabotage and terror combined with the mass reactionary insurgency has made the agrarian reform a dead letter. Some months ago Kabul announced that land

ago" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 June). But making no pretense at standing for the rational principles of a Jefferson or a Thomas Paine, today the U.S. ruling class supports the most barbaric forces of feudal oppression and religious mysticism in the East. Thus, Carter's grey eminence, Zbigniew Brzezinski, denounces Soviet policy in Afghanistan for trying "to impose alien doctrines

Victory for the Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan would be a victory for the landlords over the peasants, for the moneylenders over the poor. It would be a victory for the veil. And while the Taraki regime is a left-bourgeois one, based mainly on a section of the old officer corps, the country's would-be revolutionaries have undoubtedly rallied around it. Therefore, the overthrow of this nationalist regime by Muslim tribesmen would also lead to the physical destruction of the potential cadre of a revolutionary (Trotskyist) vanguard.

Our position of military support to the Taraki regime is *not* derived from the fact that it is closely allied to the Soviet bureaucratically-ruled workers state, while its enemies are backed by the U.S. imperialists. Such alliances are in any case changeable (Egypt). As revolutionary internationalists our position in civil wars is governed by whether or not historically progressive conquests are at issue—whether there is a qualitative difference between the sides from the standpoint of the proletariat—*not* by the Russian Stalinists' often criminal maneuvering among diverse bourgeois-nationalist and even feudalist-reactionary forces. In the Horn of Africa, for example, we defend the national-liberation struggles of the Eritrean and Somali peoples against the Soviet-allied Ethiopian regime of Colonel Mengistu. In Mengistu the Russian (and Cuban) Stalinist rulers are supporting a left-talking Idi Amin, who has committed mass butchery of the country's young leftists as well as of its national and tribal minorities.

In Afghanistan, however, Soviet arms and advisers are defending a regime which is under attack for its limited efforts at democratic reform. But even if the Taraki government succeeds in quelling the present Muslim uprising, it will still not be able to carry out a radical transformation of Afghani society. The tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the Muslim East cannot be accomplished from above, through the army. Under far more favorable conditions than in Afghanistan, the Kemalist effort to transform Turkey into a modern, secular society proved superficial and reversible. Islamic reaction is as potent and pervasive in Turkey today as it was half a century ago.

Destroying the power of the mullahs, the landlords and the usurers of the Muslim East cannot be achieved by modernizing army officers, but only by a class-conscious, revolutionary proletariat. Pulling Afghanistan out of the muck and gore of feudal barbarism will be achieved through proletarian social revolutions in Iran, Pakistan and India linked to proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR. ■



While fake lefts hailed Khomeini as progressive "anti-imperialist," he backed anti-communist, feudalist insurgents in Afghanistan.

distribution had been completed ahead of schedule. In reality, they just stopped the program. But the main fuel for Islamic reaction is not so much Taraki's economic reforms as the limited measures of equality for women. One of the major changes the new regime introduced into Afghani social life was in reducing the traditional bride-price to a nominal sum. It did not eliminate the bride-price entirely since the Koran explicitly states that a woman is the property of her husband.

More significantly, the regime has introduced compulsory education for girls and voluntary literacy programs for adult women, though women students remain segregated from men. Schooling for women, cry the mullahs, is the first step toward a life of shame. It is on this issue above all that the Islamic revolt has mobilized. For example, the London *Financial Times* (22 May) reported that in April troops had to be brought into a small town near the capital when mobs attacked a school for extending its adult literacy program to women.

All in all the bourgeois-democratic measures of the Taraki regime are far less radical than the Kemalist reforms in Turkey in the 1920s-30s, not to mention those of the Great French Revolution. Even an anti-communist American academic admits: "There is little this government is trying to do that wasn't implemented in the West two centuries

on deeply religious and nationally conscious peoples" ([London] *Guardian*, 6 August).

And this is no mere statement of philosophic differences. Washington is actively backing the feudalist insurgency in Afghanistan with and through that country's fanatically Islamic neighboring states. Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran and General Zia's Pakistan. So while the opportunist left was hailing Khomeini as a great "anti-imperialist," he was linking arms with the CIA in seeking to overthrow the pro-Soviet, left-nationalist regime in Afghanistan.

U.S. imperialism is really scraping the bottom of the barrel for defenders of "Western democracy" against "godless Communism": Khomeini, Zia, and even the Afghani feudalists who make a habit of attacking hapless Europeans under the impression they are all Russians.

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## Sitdowns Against Mass Layoffs

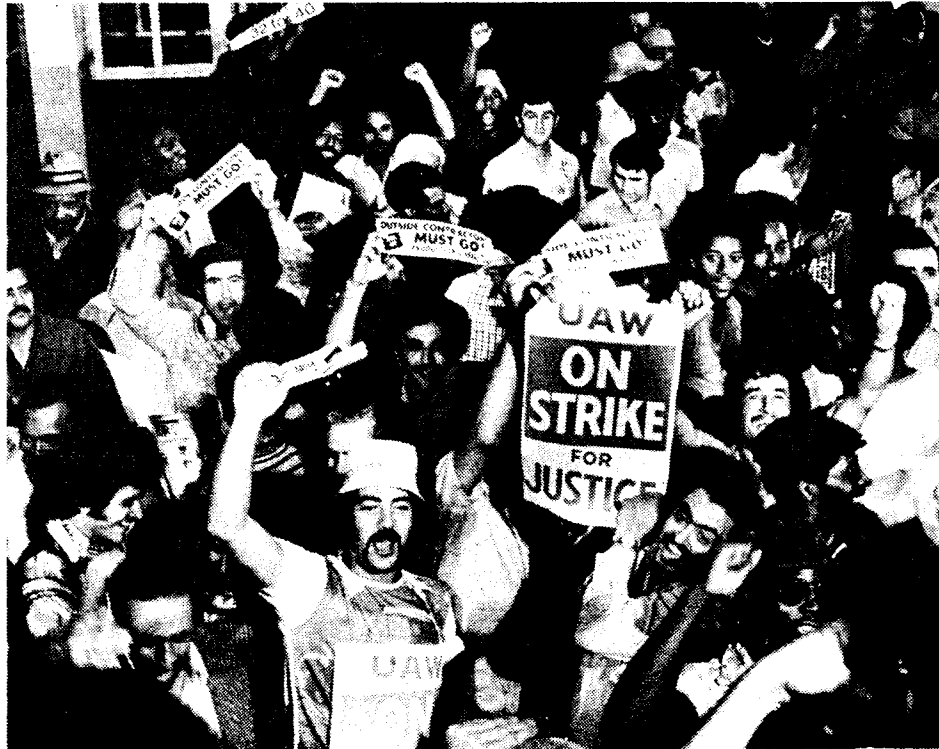
# For an Industrywide Strike to Shut Down Auto!

SEPTEMBER 11—The automobile industry is in deep crisis. The generalized U.S. recession is now centered on this key industry where more than 60,000 workers have been laid off indefinitely during recent months and stocks of unsold cars are at the highest level in years. Annual factory changeovers have been lengthened—in itself a disguised form of layoff—and introduction of the 1980 models has been postponed. The Chrysler Corporation, begging for a government handout, could go under altogether. With inflation raging at the highest rate since World War II, economists are nervously recalling 1974 when the bottom fell out in Detroit and 300,000 auto workers lost their jobs.

On September 14, in the midst of this grim scenario, the United Auto Workers' (UAW) nationwide contract with the Big 3 auto manufacturers expires. In a year which has seen the entire U.S. working class pounded month after month by inflation, tormented by gasoline shortages and blamed for it all by a sanctimonious president, auto workers are particularly under the gun. It is urgent that the UAW now take a stand—or pay for it in the months ahead with massive cuts in living standards and hundreds of thousands of layoffs.

### For an Industrywide Strike Coupled with Sit-ins

At the moment when 750,000 auto workers are undergoing a major attack by the bosses, union president Doug Fraser is waving the white flag. Never before has the UAW bureaucracy so belittled the need for a strike as it is doing now. The head of the union's General Motors (GM) division, Irving Bluestone, asserts, "I really have a con-



Militant UAW ranks during 1976 strike at Ford's giant Rouge plant. WV Photo

entire shifts, departments and even whole plants. Fraser and the rest of the UAW tops now moan that a real strike would play into the hands of the companies by allowing them to work off inventories without the burden of paying supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB). "Striking during a recession is suicidal. There's nothing we can do," the UAW hacks lament.

This is a lie. Although the bureaucracy has undermined the UAW's bargaining position by its criminal inaction, auto workers do not have to accept a chicken-feed settlement

strategy must be junked in favor of a militant, industrywide strike throughout the U.S. and Canada.

Such an industrywide strike must be coupled with a rolling wave of sit-ins in plants decimated by mass layoffs—not just in decrepit facilities but in new factories as well, where putting the latest multi-million dollar manufacturing technology in the hands of the workers can provide powerful leverage against management. Even in an economic downturn a complete work stoppage which permits no production, no changeover and no shipments would have a profound and immediate impact on the arrogant auto barons. As the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Ford Mahwah, N.J.) wrote in a leaflet this July, when the plant's truck department was closed down:

"The sitdown is effective against mass layoffs because it hits the bosses where they live—their private property which they say gives them the 'right' to throw us out of work. The UAW International should be organizing such militant actions in the dozens of plants being hit by mass layoffs and closings, fighting for our jobs and demanding unlimited unemployment benefits for laid-off workers, full recall rights, and government financing of bankrupt SUB funds."

For the Chrysler workers who fear that *all* of their jobs may be lost in the chaos of capitalist competition, the sit-down strike is a crucial weapon. Doug Fraser has endorsed a reactionary government bailout scheme that provides subsidies to the bosses while accepting plant closings and a *substandard* contract for Chrysler workers. Chrysler workers must occupy decimated plants—those slated for shutdown or hit by mass layoffs—and demand instead: No handouts to the bosses and stockholders! No sweetheart deals—A single contract for all auto workers! If Chrysler goes bankrupt, then workers occupying the plants should seize the company's assets. Such a militant struggle, linked to the industrywide fight for jobs not only would strike a blow at the bosses' sacred property rights but would fire the imagination and attract active support of other sec-

tions of labor and the unemployed, especially the oppressed black masses in industrial hellholes like Detroit. It is also the effective answer to threats of lockouts, which GM could well resort to in the face of the UAW leaders' quaking fear of a full-scale strike.

The crisis in auto has focused attention on the Dodge Main plant near Detroit which Chrysler has slated for the scrap heap. The Spartacist League program to fight layoffs and plant closings by occupying the factory has attracted considerable attention at demonstrations, forums, on radio, TV and in the newspapers because no one else raises this obvious demand. It is left to the Trotskyists and their supporters in the trade unions to defend the auto workers' own traditions from 1937 when militant sit-down strikes in Flint, Michigan won the first contract from General Motors.

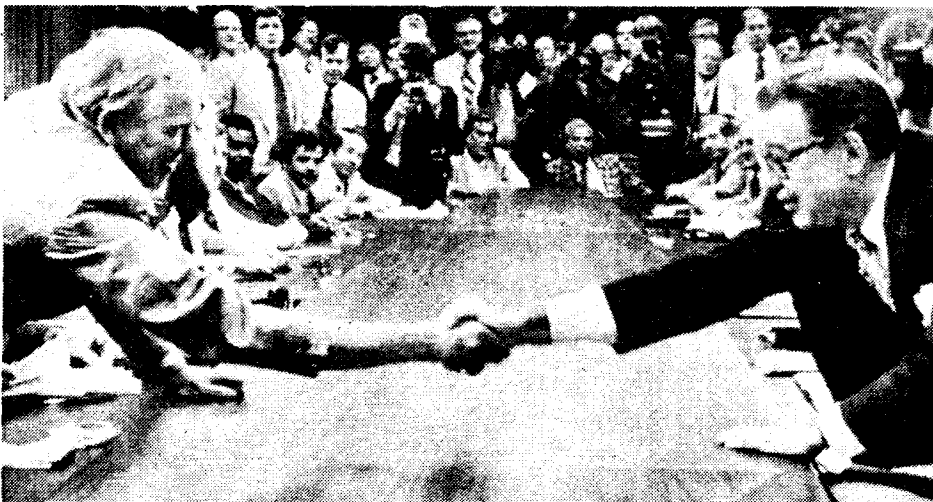
### Business as Usual and Business Is Bad

The UAW bureaucracy's refusal to challenge the anarchic capitalist system of production inevitably leads it to demand that workers tighten their belts in periods of economic depression. Thus Fraser has backed off from the tough-sounding rhetoric of a few months ago, scaled down the union's already minimal demands and urged the membership to look to Washington instead of mobilizing to fight for their jobs.

Solidarity House canceled its plan to stage a series of "mini-strikes" prior to September 14 at seven critical GM plants. Ostensibly over local production standards, the walkouts were intended to win preferential hiring for union members in newly opened factories. But even this plan was shelved as a result of "satisfactory discussion." As a result, overtime continues to be scheduled at these plants as layoffs mount in the factories which produce the full-size "gas guzzlers."

In fact Fraser's most "militant" action so far was the pathetic *six-minute* national "strike" during which UAW members "put down their tools and pick[ed] up their pens" (advertisement,

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Tony Spina/Detroit Free Press

UAW head Fraser (left): always ready for a deal with the auto bosses.

viction that we can settle without the necessity of a strike this year" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 August). Retreating even from its meek policy of striking one company at a time, Solidarity House has announced that *if* there is a strike, it will affect only 47 of GM's 162 U.S. installations, many of them parts warehouses with relatively few employees. The pathetic "selective strike" strategy would involve just over 20 percent of the No. 1 auto maker's 460,000 unionized workers and will allow Ford, Chrysler and Canadian GM to continue production without interruption.

After sitting on their hands for months while the auto bosses shut down

only to be handed their pink slips after the contract is ratified. Instead of accepting the "right" of the companies to lay off, auto workers need a fighting program that addresses the central issue of unemployment. The UAW must demand jobs for all auto workers, by dividing the available work through a shorter workweek at full pay and full COLA. But winning such a demand requires mobilizing the entire strength of the union. The bureaucracy's policy of striking only one of the Big 3 at a time (and this year one-third-at-a-time would be more accurate) undermines union solidarity by putting the burden of taking on the companies onto a minority of the workforce. This bankrupt

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Carter Hijacks Soviet Airliner

On August 24 a packed jetliner at New York's Kennedy airport, already cleared for takeoff, was suddenly surrounded by armed men as cars raced onto the runway to block its wheels. United Nations and American officials soon swarmed over the airport terminal, a hot line to Washington was set up, while for 72 hellish hours passengers sat sweating in the cramped, stuffy cabin. Another terrorist hijacking by fanatical neo-Nazi Croatian nationalists? No, it was U.S. commander-in-chief Jimmy Carter, who from his secluded hideout at Camp David was masterminding the seizure of a Soviet Aeroflot jet. The world looked on in stunned amazement, asking what lay behind this bizarre and outrageous incident.

Two days earlier the flamboyant Bolshoi Ballet star Alexander Godunov had defected to the United States and dropped from sight. His wife, Lyudmila Vlasov, a ballerina with the Bolshoi, was on the plane headed for Moscow along with more than 100 other passengers. U.S. immigration men, on orders direct from Carter, insisted they only wanted to determine that Vlasov was leaving of her own free will. They boarded the plane that very night, seized her passport and reportedly offered her an American one, but were rebuffed. She told them: "I love my husband. But he made his decision to stay here and I have made mine to leave." This was unsatisfactory to Carter's commandos, who held the plane and its increasingly miserable passengers for another three full days while they leisurely stretched out pointless "negotiations."

The kidnapping of Aeroflot Flight 316 was a calculated provocation by an increasingly weird U.S. president. Clearly Jimmy Carter is a desperate

man. With this adventure in diplomatic brinkmanship he evidently figured that the Godunov defection could be parlayed into a cause célèbre to rally public opinion behind his belligerently anti-Soviet "human rights" posturing. Watching his poll ratings drop almost daily, Carter apparently thought he could recoup the way Gerald Ford did with the Mayaguez affair after the fall of Saigon, by engineering an Entebbe-style hijacking of a Soviet plane!

This is the act of a man who has taken leave of his senses, flailing out for any issue to save his foundering administration. The Kremlin can't forget that Carter has his finger on the nuclear trigger. If Brezhnev ever pulled such a crazy stunt, the U.S. would instantly have begun ferrying attack bombers to West German air bases! As it was, the Soviets decided to let Jimmy play out his fantasy until it collapsed of its own accord. For authentic communists it was an outrage that instantly provoked the demand: Free the Aeroflot 112!

Carter's hijacking backfired badly because the beautiful ballerina refused to leave the plane. This was something he hadn't counted on: that any Russian performer might turn down the opportunity for fame and fortune in the West. Lyudmila told Soviet reporters she was afraid the U.S. would kidnap her. Fantastic? Not at all when the plane was surrounded by rings of heavily armed men fully prepared to storm aboard, risking the lives of the passengers with their "rescue" tactics. Chief U.S. negotiator Donald McHenry, asked if the U.S. had the right to forcibly carry her off, replied coolly: "Yes, but that would just be asking for trouble."

The American government preferred "diplomacy," he noted—consisting of



**Bolshoi ballerina Ludmilla Vlasova.**

killing time in the lobby discussing "mushroom picking" among other arcane subjects, while the terrorist tactics of hijacking, threats and intimidation were enforced outside. McHenry, who will replace his fired boss Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the UN, forbade American reporters to interview the ballerina, even though the Soviets offered it. After stretching out the insult as long as possible, a final conference was held at which Vlasov once again insisted she was leaving for Moscow and didn't want to see her husband. After all the fulsome concern for her marriage, U.S. negotiators didn't even bother to give her a handwritten letter from Godunov.

So the "Aeroflot 112" are now free, and both sides claim a propaganda

victory. Jimmy Carter was able to shake his imperialist fist in the face of the Kremlin with impunity. Of course, he can't know if Brezhnev or his successor might not reply in kind at another time. For the Stalinist bureaucrats who run the Soviet Union, the "victory" was an uneasy one. Certainly their coolness stood out against Carter's frenzy. They also were able to obscure the fact that yet another major ballet star had defected to the West. But in the face of this incredible provocation, hijacking and toying with their citizens for days, the Soviet leaders made only the mildest protest—for fear of endangering Congressional approval of the phony Salt II treaty on which they have pinned their hopes of accommodation with the imperialists.

The response of Moscow's American flunkies was ludicrous: the CPUSA initially put the story on the *Daily World's* "family page," along with spaghetti recipes and home safety tips. The *Guardian* chose to see the hijacking as a result of U.S. "sexism": a brief article in its "Women in Struggle" column indignantly castigated Carter for failing to see that a woman might actually choose country over husband. This all kind of misses the point, namely that in his vicious attacks on the Soviet Union the insecure Carter is capable of truly dangerous actions. Today JFK airport, tomorrow the Near East or Europe. Such arrogant antics are an expression of the deadly hostility of imperialism to the USSR. And when the U.S. president waves his big stick it is time to reaffirm that unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically deformed workers states is a duty of the entire world proletariat. ■

## Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Sept. 14-Oct. 19

With this issue of *Workers Vanguard* we launch our annual subscription drive, to be held September 14-October 19. Quotas totalling 2,800 points are projected on the basis of last year's highly successful drive. In addition to selling WV subs, the drive will aim at expanding the subscription

bases of *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution* and at expanding bookstore placements. This year's sub drive will also be an important part of the recruitment campaign discussed in *Young Spartacus* No. 73 (May) and will coincide with a heavy schedule of public forums and regional tours.



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# Mountbatten of Burma Blown Away

The long military career of Earl Mountbatten of Burma—a man who had a hand in virtually every major British imperialist crime from World War II onward—ended dramatically and with a certain appropriateness on August 27. Mountbatten was killed at the age of 79 when a Provisional IRA bomb blew his expensive pleasure craft out of the water off the coast of County Sligo in the Republic of Ireland. Two of his relatives and a young boatman also died in the blast. It was the most spectacular assassination of a prominent ruling-class figure at least since Franco's handpicked successor, Spanish premier Carrero Blanco, was sent five stories into the air by a Basque ETA bomb in Madrid in 1973.

Six hours later the IRA struck again killing 18 soldiers from the British army's Second Parachute Regiment in a double ambush at Warrenpoint in Northern Ireland. This is the same army regiment which murdered 13 unarmed Irish Catholic civilians in the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry. The land-mine attack whose victims included the Commanding Officer of the Queen's Own Highlanders was the biggest single military coup for the IRA since 1920 when they got 18 of the infamous hoodlum British "auxiliaries," the Black and Tans.

Bourgeois press hysteria focused on the death of Mountbatten—for this man was one of their own. "Murdering Bastards!" screeched anti-IRA headlines in the popular gutter press. More sophisticated bourgeois journals served up purple-prose pacans to the life and works of this "noble with a common touch." "The light that was so brutally snuffed out by the work of squalid trolls [...] was one of a radiance beyond their ken," read a typical eulogy in the *Fory Spectator*. "There can never be another, for the world into which fate poured the rare metal, of which Mountbatten was



"Uncle Dickie," left, with chinless wonder Prince Charles.

Mike Lloyd

made, is broken now."

Page after page of such obnoxious drivel accompanied reports of Margaret Thatcher's symbolic flying visit to the IRA "capital" of Crossmaglen in Northern Ireland and emergency consultations on cross-border security with Irish prime minister Jack Lynch. On September 5 Mountbatten was given a ceremonial funeral procession through the streets of London which was matched in pomp and grandeur only by the funerals

of Winston Churchill and past British monarchs.

Louis Mountbatten was the last Viceroy and first Governor-General of India; a member of the House of Lords, that offensive holdover from feudalism; former Admiral of the Fleet, First Sea Lord and Chairman of the United Kingdom Defence Staff as the press ceaselessly noted. He was also a great grandson of Queen Victoria and beloved of the present queen herself

("Uncle Dickie" she called him). Indeed, due to the inbreeding of the crowned heads of Europe, Mountbatten—whose family line went back to Charlemagne—was also related to Tsar Nicolas II, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Alfonso XIII of Spain, Ferdinand of Romania and the monarchs of Sweden, Greece, Norway and Yugoslavia. As a child he was particularly close to the children of the last Tsar of all the Russias.

But Mountbatten was no aristocratic clown or chinless wonder. He was an effective and charismatic commander for counterrevolutionary British imperialism. He made his mark both as a military man and especially as an administrator for the declining British Empire who was shrewd enough to angle for neo-colonial solutions after World War II. During the Second World War Mountbatten sometimes displayed more ruling-class arrogance than military talent. (He reportedly told Churchill in 1943, "I suffer from the congenital weakness of believing I can do anything.") As Chief of Combined Operations he engineered the disastrous allied imperialist adventure at Dieppe. On the other hand, he boasted that his finest wartime act had been to talk Roosevelt into postponing the opening of the second front in Europe. This paid off handsomely for American imperialism, as Russia bore the brunt of the German attack and the U.S. Army came only at the end to pick up the pieces.

In the final years of the war Mountbatten was Supreme Commander for Southeast Asia. Under his command allied forces butchered 100,000 Japanese soldiers in Burma alone. The old soldier continued his war against Japan to the end of his days, leaving explicit instructions that the Japanese government was *not* to be invited to send representatives to his funeral. But by far the most gruesome

*continued on page 11*

## Spartacus Youth League Forums

**Dump the "Republicrats"  
—Build a Workers Party!**

**Hate Carter,  
Hate Capitalism!**

**New York City**  
Columbia University/Barnard College  
Saturday, September 15  
Lehman Auditorium, Altschul Hall  
7:30 PM  
For information: (212) 925-5665

**Bloomington**  
University of Indiana  
Thursday, September 20  
Room 300-B Indiana Memorial Union  
Building  
7:30 PM  
For information: (312) 427-0003

**Boston**  
Harvard University  
Wednesday, September 26  
Sever Hall, Room 6  
For information: (617) 492-3928

**Irvine**  
University of California at Irvine  
Wednesday, October 3  
Room 203 (above bookstore)  
7:30 PM  
For information: (213) 662-1564

**Detroit**  
Wayne State University  
Wednesday, October 10  
For information: (313) 868-9095

**Santa Barbara**  
University of California at Santa Barbara  
Wednesday, October 10  
2271 U. Cen  
7:30 PM  
For information: (213) 662-1564

**Chicago**  
University of Chicago  
Thursday, October 18  
For information: (312) 427-0003

**The Mullahs' Left-Wing Apostles Paved the Way  
for Khomeini's Islamic Reaction**

**For Workers Revolution  
in Iran!**

**Boston**  
University of Massachusetts/Amherst  
Wednesday, September 19  
Room 168-170 Campus Center  
7:30 PM  
For information: (617) 492-3928

**Oberlin**  
Oberlin University  
Thursday, September 20  
For information: (216) 621-5138

**Ann Arbor**  
University of Michigan  
Monday, September 24  
For information: (313) 868-9095

**East Lansing**  
Michigan State University  
Tuesday, September 25  
For information: (313) 868-9095

**Madison**  
University of Wisconsin  
Thursday, September 27  
Memorial Union  
7:30 PM  
For information: (312) 427-0003

**Cuba, Nicaragua—What  
Strategy for Revolution in  
Latin America?**

**Davis**  
University of California at Davis  
Tuesday, October 2  
For information: (415) 835-1535

**Los Angeles**  
California State/Los Angeles  
Wednesday, October 10  
Library Basement 554  
12 Noon  
For information: (213) 662-1564

**Santa Cruz**  
University of California at Santa Cruz  
Wednesday, October 3  
For information: (408) 426-3769

**San Francisco**  
San Francisco State University  
Thursday, October 4  
Room B112-113 Student Union  
12 Noon  
For information: (415) 835-1535

# Kurds...

(continued from page 1)

courageous and able Kurdish partisans Khomeini went on the warpath, declaring himself commander-in-chief of the armed forces. For the first time the Iranian air force was used against the Kurdish population. U.S. Phantom jets, purchased by the shah, combined with helicopter gunships and heavy artillery turned Paveh into rubble and sent its population fleeing into the mountains and over the border.

This scenario was repeated in Sanandaj even though the governor-general of Kurdistan, Mohammad Rashid, protested: "There is no unrest here. Both the town and the barracks are peaceful and the local commander has not asked for reinforcements." According to the *New York Times* of 26 August: "Many Iranian observers argued that the entire episode was orchestrated by the Ayatollah and his supporters as a pretext for what amounts to an internal coup." When the invading Persian army reached Mahabad, the largest city in Kurdistan and capital of the short-lived 1946 Kurdish Democratic Republic, nearly 100,000 were forced to flee. Before the recent carnage in Kurdistan was over, at least 600 Kurds were massacred. Further, Ayatollah Khalkhali, popularly known as "Judge Blood," was sent to Kurdistan to act as "roving judge." To date he has sent more than 100 Kurds before the firing squad on charges of insurrection.

Now that Iran's Kurdish and Arab minorities are under the gun of Islamic reaction the ostensibly Trotskyist HKS has dropped the demand for their right to self-determination. Instead the May 18 issue of *Kargar* states:

"The call to 'fight separatism'—used in the time of the former shah to shout down the appeals for justice of the oppressed peoples of Iran is being used once again to justify denying the just national and human rights of the Arab people.... The same pretext was used in staging the massacres of Kurds in Sanandaj and Turkmenis in Gonbad-e Kavus.

"None of the demands raised so far by the Arab people have proposed separating 'one centimeter of the land of Iran'."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 11 June

But the key national right of the Khuzistan Arabs, the Kurds and Turkmenis is precisely the *right to separate*. For the HKS, eager not to offend the Shi'ite/Persian chauvinist leaders of the "Islamic Revolution," separation is not a legitimate right. Instead, like the shah and Khomeini, the HKS agrees that separatism is a demand which can be justly drowned in blood.

## Khomeini's "One Party of God"

On the eve of his bloodletting in Kurdistan, Khomeini gave an Islamic "fire and brimstone" speech before a rally of the faithful at his religious headquarters in Qom. He was particularly precise by what he meant by an "Islamic Revolution":

"Had we acted in a revolutionary manner, had we broken all the pens, had we shut down all those corrupt parties, had we set the scaffolds in the main square of each city, we would not have so much trouble today."

Of course, new authoritarian state structures are not created overnight, even by "imams." However, only the worst political scoundrels will pass off a period of consolidating right-wing terror as "democracy." This is precisely what the SWP and its co-thinkers did.

Khomeini did not waste much time between the pronouncement and the act. On the following day he called for the banning of political parties except for the one party "of god." This alleged intransigent fighter against the Pahlavi dynasty claimed he wanted to turn Iran into a one-party state "We want to make it like the Rastakhiz (Resurrection Party)," he said, referring to the party set up by the shah! Three days later 22 publications were banned including the HKS's *Kargar*, the Maoist *Toufan*, the

Tudeh's *Mardom* and the press of the National Democratic Front.

Not only did Khomeini wish to "resurrect" the shah's party, but many of the shah's generals were simultaneously being reincorporated into the officer staff. The shah's old friend Major General Ezzatullah Nourai was appointed deputy defense minister. Much hoopla was made over Khomeini's cancelling military contracts with the U.S. in February as proof of his "anti-imperialist credentials." But Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" was always reserved for such symbols of exploitation and Western decadence as alcohol, movies, music and mixed bathing. Under the "Islamic Republic" Iranian transport planes have been regularly flying into Kennedy airport in New York to pick up military hardware purchased by the shah before he was deposed.

However, these supplies have been rapidly depleted by Khomeini's sanguinary campaigns against national minorities, striking workers and the left. So while Phantom jets were strafing Kurdish villages the ayatollah of Qom sent his deputy prime minister Ibrahim Yazdi to Washington to reopen some of the \$5 billion in cancelled military contracts with U.S. merchants of death previously negotiated under the shah. And the U.S. is only too willing to rearm the "Iranian Revolution." According to the 25 August *New York Times*, U.S. State Department spokesman Tom Reston, "said the Administration desired stability in Iran and wanted to see the authority and effectiveness of the government strengthened."

Already, 100 officers of the "Islamic Revolution" are attending U.S. military academies. The labor movement must block any renewal of arms shipments to Iran. Perhaps the ultimate in both irony and endorsement of the "anti-imperialist" ayatollahs by the Carter administration is the agreement, made against much Congressional grumbling based on Carter's own energy crisis-mongering, to sell Iran \$45 million worth of heating oil. This would cover a shortage caused by oil workers' strikes combined with the mess the mullahs have made out of the petroleum industry.

So much for the "anti-imperialism" of the Khomeini regime. Today its true face is revealed as it relies increasingly on the shah's army and the Pasdars, fascist fist of Shi'ite clerical reaction. It was these same forces that were mobilized with CIA money in 1953 by Ayatollah Kashnak to take to the streets to bring down the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq. On that occasion the mullahs sided with imperialism to reinstate Shah Reza Pahlavi. This time around Khomeini, not content with the spiritual authority of an "imam," has himself become a "new shah"—with the complicity of the fake-lefts who cheered him on. Only the international Spartacist

tendency steadfastly refused to bow to the popular ayatollah and defended the right to self-determination of Iran's national minorities. Down with the mullahs—workers to power! ■

# Criminal Tailism...

(continued from page 1)

imprisoned Communist leader Corvalán. The iSt, which defended Corvalán, also pointed out that the Chilean CP's call for confidence in the "constitutional" officer corps paved the way for bloody counterrevolution. Again today we point the finger of guilt. The HKS' present plight was prepared by their own criminal policy. *The real story is: their comrades are not just martyrs—they are sacrificial victims of the USec's support for Khomeini.*

But these gentlemen socialists don't like to talk about responsibility for crimes. Speaking recently in the United States, USec leader Ernest Mandel reacted angrily to Spartacist accusations that he and his organization had betrayed the working class with its support to popular frontism in Chile, Portugal and elsewhere:

"I don't see any workers struggles betrayed by the organization I stand for.... The word 'betrayals' is completely out of order.... You can say it was a wrong policy, or a political mistake. But to speak about betrayals—you can't put in the same category people who are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers."

For seminar socialists like Mandel, words do not have consequences. If the USec called for Latin American youth to go into the hills to follow Guevara's bankrupt guerrilla strategy, if the SWP supported the counterrevolutionary mobilization spearheaded by the CIA-bankrolled Portuguese socialists—no matter, it's just a "political mistake."

No, it is a *betrayal*—of the proletariat, of Marxism, of anyone who follows your advice. And that is what has taken place in Iran. True, the USec is not influential enough to lead "hundreds of thousands and millions of workers to their deaths"—but at least 14 of its own supporters in the Iranian HKS are now facing life imprisonment or sitting on death row, jailed by the regime whose victory was greeted by these pseudo-Trotskyist tailists.

USec, SWP, HKS—Ernest Mandel, Jack Barnes and the rest: you have committed a crime, for which you will be held responsible before the court of history. You must live with it because your own comrades may die for it.

## Cover-Up

After working for months to disguise the reactionary character of Khomeini's

Islamic regime, the USec is now desperately trying to shift its line without anybody noticing. Today *Socialist Challenge* (30 August), newspaper of the British International Marxist Group (IMG), proclaims in bold letters across its back page, "White Terror in Iran," and announces "Khomeini has become the Shah of Iran." The IMG neglects to inform us how this reactionary regime came to replace Khomeini's "progressive" rule which it applauded only yesterday. Similarly, *Rouge* (24-30 August), newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, goes so far as to speak of Khomeini's "coup de force." Against himself?

For its part, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party is also moving (albeit more slowly) to dissociate itself from the bloody ayatollah. Today they write:

"Khomeini's moves against the Iranian working people—aimed to protect the ill-gotten gains of the landlords and capitalists—lead him toward subordination to U.S. imperialism, in spite of the anti-imperialist posture he has tried to adopt up to now."

—*Militant*, 7 September 1979

But it was the SWP which was the foremost con man on the American left for "Khomeini's anti-imperialist posture." Less than one year ago the SWP hailed Khomeini in the *Militant* (17 November 1978) as "progressive":

"Although Khomeini subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary, he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the Shah and the Shah's 'modernization' is progressive."

The SWP is so ensconced in its cocoon of bourgeois-democratic illusions that it does not recognize the burning importance of the separation of church and state for backward countries. Khomeini's religious ideology is his political program: i.e., an Islamic fundamentalist theocracy based on Great Persian chauvinism and the moral codes of desert bedouins.

When the iSt told the truth about what the victory of Islamic reaction would mean and raised the slogan: "Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!" the SWP claimed we were "blinded by sectarianism" and "chauvinist." But the real chauvinists were those who refused to do their internationalist duty and warn the Iranian toiling masses that Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" would prove no more progressive than the shah's "White Revolution." For many sections of the oppressed (e.g., religious minorities and women), it has already proven more repressive. This is even acknowledged in the SWP's own publications.

A recent issue of *Intercontinental Press* (10 September 1979) contains a translation from a report made by a prominent Algerian lawyer who visited prisoners held in Karoun Prison located in Khuzistan which contains Iran's Arab

Leftists defend themselves from rock-throwing Islamic thugs in Iran last month.



Reza/Sipa-Black Star





Khomeini slaughters Kurds. HKS denies their right to independence.

AP

minority. Arab prisoners are reported as explaining:

"...that the Iranian revolution meant no change as far as they were concerned. For them the exactions of the old regime, based on the local feudal rulers continue, oppressing them both economically and socially. The same feudal rulers today are allied with the officials of the new regime, creating a continuity of repression."

Where is the "victory" for the Arab minority of Khuzistan, criminal opportunists of the SWP?

### Theocratic Parliamentary Cretinism

The HKS tried to present its credentials as a loyal social-democratic opposition to the dictatorship of the mullahs by running in the August elections for the so-called Assembly of Experts. But in a theocracy, social democracy doesn't pay, even for short-sighted, narrow-minded opportunists. According to the election statement in the last issue of the HKS paper *Kargar (Worker)* printed before its suppression and dated 8 August:

"Three days from now, elections will be held for the Assembly of Experts. This body is to ratify a new constitution for Iran... This constitution must defend the gains of the revolution and extend them... The new constitution must pave the way for the establishment of such a government of the oppressed majority."

In fact, the Assembly of Experts was bound by Khomeini's phony referendum for an Islamic Republic, which explicitly ruled out a constituent assembly. The Assembly of Experts could only amend Khomeini's draft constitution consistent with institutionalizing the Islamic Republic and the political and social hegemony of the mullahs. The Assembly of Experts was no more a constituent assembly than is the college of cardinals. Nor was it any more democratically "elected" than that appendage of the papacy.

Given the predetermined outcome of a Shi'ite clerical dictatorship, many political parties of secular groups and minorities boycotted the elections, including all the Arab parties. Even the main liberal bourgeois party, the National Democratic Front (NDF), refused to participate as "a protest in principle against the revolutionary regime's lack of attention to basic human rights." In Iranian Kurdistan less than ten percent of the eligible voters cast ballots. Thus, the HKS presented the ludicrous spectacle of self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" running for a seat in the Assembly of Experts next to mullahs who were arguing over whether this or that clause was consistent with the Koran.

The 10 September issue of *Intercontinental Press* quotes long passages from the last issue of *Kargar* enthusing over

the HKS participation in the elections of Islamic "experts." But the SWP suppresses the existence of an article in the same issue of *Kargar* entitled, "Last Minute Before Publication," which states that: "There is a very important discussion in the party whether to boycott or participate in the elections of the Assembly of Experts." Apparently, participating in the elections for the rubber-stamp "assembly" of the Islamic Republic was so unsavory that even a significant section of the mullah-tailist HKS balked. The *Kargar* article reports: "As is well known, three of our 18 candidates boycotted the elections."

### Fruits of Betrayal

In covering up for Khomeini's reactionary regime and their own record on Khomeini, it is the SWP that has been forced to resort to deliberate lying. A typical piece of slanderous rubbish about that "irrelevant sect," the Spartacist League, that has come to fill so many pages of the *Militant* lately is a piece in the 6 July issue entitled "Spartacists Foiled in Attempt to Sabotage Defense." According to the article, the SL was excluded from a picket to protest the jailing of the HKS because it brought "provocative signs." Through partial quotation the SWP distorts the slogans on the signs: "Overthrow Islamic Reaction" and "Down with Khomeini," instead of "For Workers Revolution to Overthrow Islamic Reaction" and "Down with Khomeini, For Workers Revolution."

According to the SWP, these slogans "were a clear echo of imperialist propaganda against the Iranian workers and peasants"—from which one can only deduce that the SWP believes that the Carter administration is calling for workers revolution in Iran. The article states that the SL was "told by picket organizers that the protest was not open to opponents of the Iranian revolution"—i.e., Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution." Appropriately enough, according to SWP methodology, in order to "defend" the jailed HKS militants one must simultaneously defend their torturers, jailers and potential executioners—or at least not attack them openly!

The SWP's international bloc partners in the so-called United Secretariat do not have a better record. In a heated exchange with supporters of the SL and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League, at Boston University on July 17, Mandel defended the SWP's "Victory in Iran" headline by stating:

"So some of our comrades are in jail—but our organization is legal. Our paper is legal; it is sold in tens of thousands of copies like all other leftwing papers in Iran. Were they legal under the Shah? ... So what you have is a step from a reactionary dictatorship, which was bourgeois, towards what you could call

partial bourgeois democracy.... We said that it is the beginning of the process of permanent revolution...."  
—*WV* No. 237, 3 August

One month later the HKS, along with all other left and secular organizations, was illegal, its press banned, its leaders in jail. Is that what you call the next stage in the "process of permanent revolution," Professor Mandel?

The national secretary of the pro-Mandel IMG in England, Brian Grogan, was so swept up in the "process of permanent revolution" when he was in Teheran that he joined the *chador*-covered women and the men carrying icons of Khomeini and chanted "allah akbar" ("god is great"). At a recent demonstration against Khomeini's terror in front of the Iranian embassy in London, called by a Kurdish student association and endorsed by the IMG, Grogan's disgusting action was not forgotten. As the IMG supporters present—a small fraction of their local membership, in the midst of the USec's supposed "emergency campaign"—stood by, the 50-strong contingent of the

Spartacist League/Britain chanted: "2, 4, 6, 8—Does Grogan still think god is great?" Another SL chant was: "Last Autumn You Said Khomeini's Fine, It's Kind of Late to Change Your Line."

The central slogan carried on the SL/B placards was: "USec/IMG Line Kills Arabs, Kurds, Leftists." Other Spartacist signs included: "You Cheered for Khomeini, But You're Not Cheering Now," "Free the HKS and Fedayeen Supporters" and "Khomeini's Revolution Means Massacre of Kurds." On several occasions, when SLers and the Kurdish students jointly chanted "Down with the new shah" and "Down with Khomeini, For workers revolution," the IMG tried to drown this out with slogans which did not attack the ayatollah. Not only do these fake-Trotskyists refuse to directly denounce the mullahs' rule, but they have sabotaged the defense of their own imprisoned comrades in Iran. The IMG waited a month to call its first defense demonstration (on July 7), and then sent only a handful of supporters to the protest.

On the face of it, the USec "defense" of their comrades would seem sectarian and defeatist—if one supposes that their concern was to defend imprisoned leftists. But then the USec at most gave lip service to defense of the Fedayeen, a far larger irritant to the Khomeini regime, when they came under attack. The HKS also abandoned the demand for the Kurdish right of self-determination when things got hot. No, their central aim is to defend Khomeini. And the ultimate price of their betrayal has not been paid by them—as of yet—but by the oppressed masses of Iran. But now they appeal for support.

Last fall as the mullah-led opposition gained force, the iSt warned that the Islamic clerics were as reactionary as the butcher shah. But when we said "Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs!" the USec/SWP replied that this is imperialist propaganda, that we were apologists for the shah. In February, when we said "Mullahs Win" the SWP proclaimed "Victory in Iran" and denounced the iSt position as "counter-revolutionary." We said "Your comrades may die, But you support Kho-

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## "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.

Women and Revolution #19 50c  
Mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10001



# Victory to the BART Workers!

SAN FRANCISCO—In a provocative move aimed at breaking the militancy of Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) workers, management locked 1,650 train operators, mechanics, station attendants and clerks out of their jobs August 31. The BART bosses are intent on forcing Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555 and United Public Employees (UPE) Local 390 to give up their full cost-of-living allowance (COLA) clauses which both unions have had through the last two contracts. The lockout comes on the heels of two months during which BART workers have worked under expired contracts gutted of their full COLA formula. Now management is threatening to run the system with supervisors.

The Bay Area labor movement must stop this union-busting attack cold in its tracks. Mass picket lines reinforced by other area unions should be thrown up to prevent management scabs from trying to run the trains. All Bay Area transit workers should go out in solidarity with the BART workers and shut down all Bay Area mass transit. At issue is the question of who pays for the ravages of inflation, those responsible in the first place—the capitalists—or the workers. A successful defense of the BART workers' escalator clause—one of few such union plans that actually provides full protection against inflation—would inspire other unions to fight for full COLA. A defeat would give the bosses a green light to try to gut union contracts of already inadequate COLA clauses in a period of double-digit inflation. This cannot be permitted.

Only a few weeks ago 50 BART workers at the Concord maintenance yards staged a sit-in to protest the company's attempt to replace union mechanics with management engineers. Perhaps fearing another such takeover, the BART Board of Directors moved to shut the whole system down. BART management is claiming the safety of passengers is what compelled them to discontinue train service. Indeed, safety is an issue and has been ever since service commenced and the automatic train doors opened up unexpectedly at 80 miles per hour. But BART's "con-

Oakland's Bay Bridge. BART system commuters forced onto the highways by management lockout.



UPI

cern" for safety doesn't extend to the train operators who've been suspended for refusing to operate unsafe trains.

The company's response to increasing breakdowns and accidents has been to speed up repairs, forcing mechanics to work overtime and allowing unsafe trains to operate. According to Local 1555 president Jim Danzy, "the straw that broke the camel's back" was a small fire which started in the brakes of a Daly City-bound train the day before the lockout. When news of the fire got around, 45 train operators—apparently all stricken with the flu—abandoned their trains one by one as they reached Concord yard.

Both UPE Local 390 president Paul Varacalli and Danzy have done their

utmost to avoid a strike and have yet to set up any picket lines. From the beginning they have been demanding binding arbitration in order to keep the trains rolling without "disruption" until a "fair" solution can be arrived at. Danzy went so far as to propose that train operators work without pay for a five-day period in the event of a strike, providing management did the same, and permit passengers to ride for free while bargaining continued. Management rejected the idea outright.

With management out to get the BART workers' cost-of-living clause, the best in the country, the union tops' latest proposal is a shamefaced deal to take a zero pay hike—including COLA increases—in the first year of a two-year

contract in return for the company assuming the portion of pension contributions (7 percent of gross pay) that is now paid by the employees. The company, unwilling to pay even Jimmy Carter's insulting 7 percent, flatly refused. In this time of spiraling inflation anything less than a full COLA amounts to a pay cut! BART workers must not allow the bureaucrats to tamper with their cost-of-living allowance! For a full COLA in the next contract!

Although the Bay Area is known for a generally high level of labor solidarity, the BART unions have not gained much sympathy among other unionized workers. The lack of popular support to the BART workers stems in good part from the exclusive nature of this particular transit system. BART is a posh, ultra-modern system mainly designed to commute businessmen from San Francisco's financial district to their homes in suburbia. Working people in the cities usually have to take a bus to get to a BART station, which only adds to the time and expense of transportation. To add injury to insult, one-half percent of all sales taxes in the counties covered by BART are earmarked to finance this bankers' commuter special.

But rather than close the system down for good and chalk it up as a giant boondoggle, as some people have been demanding, the BART unions should demand the system be expanded quantitatively and qualitatively to provide real urban mass transit with stations every few blocks built on a whole series of arteries interconnecting and criss-crossing each other, operating round-the-clock seven days a week. Such a system should be free to all.

BART management is standing tough. Having rescinded COLA payments and refusing to reverse the almost 200 suspensions it has meted out over the past months, it is in no hurry to resume train service. The union tops, on the other hand, who have been unabashedly servile in their willingness to sell out the membership, are unable to come up with a winning strategy. Only a powerful Bay Area-wide transit strike led by a militant leadership can beat back BART's union-busting attacks. Victory to the BART workers! ■



Spartacist Britain

"2-4-6-8, Does Grogan Still Think God is Great?"

## Criminal Tailism...

(continued from page 7)

meini," and the fake-Trotskyists physically expelled us from "private" picket lines defending the HKS, refusing to march with anyone who doesn't swear fealty to the "imam." You bowed to Khomeini and while you were kneeling the executioner comes along and is about to cut off your heads. So now you want sympathy for your plight.

All those concerned for democratic rights must demand freedom for imprisoned Kurdish partisans, Arab oil workers, HKS members and other leftists, and all victims of Khomeini's reactionary terror. But the working class must never forget those fake-lefts who claimed Khomeini as a "progressive" alternative to the shah, who hoped to ride to popularity or power on the coattails of Islamic reaction. They are covered with blood.

Even Stalin criticized Chiang Kai-shek after the Shanghai massacre. The

## Reformists Who Can't Spell

"With aid the chances will be enhanced it will move in the direction of a democratic regime... [I]f we walk away we will almost assure what we don't want, a Communist or Cuban regime." So argued U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher before a Congressional committee in pushing for \$8 million in aid to the Sandinista/bourgeois regime in Nicaragua (*New York Times*, 12 September). Having learned the lesson of Cuba, U.S. aid is now used as a weapon against social revolution in Nicaragua.

U.Sec's sudden discovery that Khomeini is not so progressive after all outdoes Stalin himself in hypocrisy. Chiang Kai-shek claimed to be a revolutionary nationalist and friend of the Russian Revolution when he was courting Stalin's support. But Khomeini stated from the very beginning that he was a reactionary Islamic fundamentalist and Great Persian chauvinist who sought to crush the "satanic communists." The



Once more the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) shows its true colors as "State Department socialists," as left lawyers for the liberal wing of American imperialism. In Iran the SWP portrayed the Islamic reactionary Khomeini as a "progressive anti-imperialist." But facing a popular revolution in Nicaragua these reformists back the liberal imperialist effort to buy off the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas. ■

criminal opportunism of the U.Sec over Iran cannot be buried beneath its present (still half-hearted) criticisms and cries for international solidarity for its own supporters in Iran who are as much victims of its own wretched line as they are of capitalist terror. The rebirth of the Fourth International depends upon burning this betrayal and its consequences into the collective memory of the Marxist movement. ■



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cident has demonstrated just how little clout the black constituency has within the framework of U.S. bourgeois politics.

So the Israelis shot down Andrew Young in one of the straightforward "cloak and dagger" operations they do as a matter of routine. Young had a hush-hush visit with the PLO observer to the UN at the apartment of the Kuwaiti ambassador on a procedural matter: trying to get postponement of a motion on Palestinian rights coming up in the Security Council. When the story first leaked out, Young explained to the State Department that he had run into the PLO's Terzi quite by chance and simply carried out "the social amenities." Like any experienced "statesman," he delivered the material from which "plausible denials" are tailored. But the Mossad (Israeli intelligence) either had a plant or a bug in the apartment, or both, and Begin threatened to hang Carter with it. For a president who already has every other kind of gap imaginable, to add an LBJ-style classic "credibility" gap could be political death. Carter's best option was to make Young take the rap.

Both in form and content everything Andrew Young did was utterly consistent with U.S. policy. Begin claimed Young's visit violated an agreement signed by Henry Kissinger in 1975 that says the U.S. will not "recognize or negotiate" with the PLO as long as that organization does not recognize Israel's right to exist and accept UN Security Council Resolution 242. But everybody has already been "secretly" meeting off and on with the PLO for years. There are at least three times on record that the U.S. ambassador to Austria has done so. And to take the cake, Israeli foreign minister Moshe Dayan admits to meeting repeatedly with West Bank PLO "sympathizers"! The State Department said Young "acted on his own." But as PLO representative Terzi commented:

"Nobody believed for a minute that Young was acting on his own. Ambassadors don't do impulse buying and the United Nations is not a boutique."

—Washington Post, 22 August

Israel was worried that American policy toward the PLO was shifting in the maneuvering over the UN resolution. Certainly it is true that at the beginning of the Carter administration there was talk about the U.S. moving away from Israel. Carter went so far as to make his bleeper about a Palestinian "homeland" which drove Jerusalem and the U.S. Zionist lobby into a frenzy. But this was soon dropped in the aftermath of the Sadat-Begin talks and Brzezinski made his famous "bye-bye PLO" comment. While Carter tried to take credit for "moves toward peace" in the Near East with the Camp David talks, there is no disguising the fact that the separate peace with Egypt was entirely on Israel's terms.

But as the Israeli-Egyptian talks bogged down over the key question of finding some phraseology about "autonomy" which would mask the continuation of Israeli rule on the West Bank, Carter's election strategists were worried that by next year the Camp David accords would look like garbage. The new gambit was the UN resolution which they dangled in front of the PLO in order to get it to vote to recognize "Israel's right to exist." In fact, the proposed resolution not only does not mention the Palestinian right to self-determination, which is directly counterposed to the existence of the Zionist Israeli state, nor even a "homeland" (whatever that means), but talks only vaguely of the Palestinians' "legitimate rights."

While Carter was trying to maneuver for personal advantage, the Israelis had a trump card—the objective reality of the

Near East conflict. So long as the Palestine-Israel question is played out on the terrain of capitalism it's one nationalism against the other, and victory goes to the stronger. Carter is not ready to jettison Israel as the U.S.' main ally in the Near East in order to embrace the rag-tag PLO and the unstable sheiks and colonels who control the region's vital oil resources. So Begin put Carter up against the wall and squelched the empty "Palestinian rights" maneuver.

## Blacks and Jews in the U.S.

If the Israeli government rejoiced at Young's firing, U.S. blacks were incensed. Unlike his successor at the UN, Donald McHenry, Andrew Young is not seen as an Uncle Tom, but as a movement black. And his constant "mouthing off" reinforced the picture of an "unbowed and unbought" black man



Ebony Magazine

## Civil Rights halo didn't protect Young from jingoist reaction.

who, despite his high governmental post, supposedly refused to sell out to The Man. Far from being an embarrassment to Carter, Young's maverick image was a tremendous plus with blacks and left-liberals. It also helped create the impression that the Carter administration was a friend of the black masses of Africa. So when Young got the ax, black voters interpreted it as out-and-out racism on the part of a Georgia "cracker."

For the black establishment, it was a body blow to their supposed influence in Washington. Not that Andy Young ever did anything for blacks, or anybody else except himself. Under Carter, black people never even got empty promises. The so-called black leaders issued polite protests when the last remnants of the poverty programs ran out, when federal aid to the cities was scuttled and when U.S. support to school busing was sacrificed on the altar of ethnic purity. But when their pipeline to Carter was cut, they hit the roof. And figuring they'd been done in by the Zionist lobby, they struck back by lashing out at the Jews.

"The Klan didn't move on Andy," insinuated PUSH leader Jesse Jackson, adding: "This is the most tense moment in black and Jewish relations in my memory." The nearly moribund SCLC woke up and marched its leader, Rev. Joseph E. Lowery, off to the UN to meet with the PLO's Terzi while its own UN observer, Rev. Wyatt Walker, re-

marked: "The perception on the street is that the Jews did this to Andy Young." And while the press was hand-wringing about the implications of a new outburst of black anti-Semitism, the NAACP convened a conference along with other "moderate" black organizations to denounce Jewish "insensitivity," condemn Israel's economic ties to South Africa and endorse Lowery's meeting with the PLO.

In fact the Zionist lobby did play a major role in fixing Andy Young's wagon, although it has been publicly conciliatory. Soon after the story first surfaced, some nine U.S. Jewish organizations demanded a meeting with Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss who, besides being Carter's special envoy to the Near East, is the party's number one fundraiser. The Zionist leaders insist that most of them did not demand Young's dismissal. As

only marks the formal switch of the most conservative of the black groups. The nationalists endorsed the Palestinians already in the mid-1960s and even many Democratic Party "black elected officials" had taken up an anti-Israel position by the time of the 1972 Black Political Convention in Gary, which exploded over this issue.

As for the old black/Jewish/liberal/labor coalition, it has been dead for years. Since the 1930s this coalition was the key to Democratic electoral predominance, held together with the glue of social reforms: unionization and the WPA in FDR's "New Deal," a civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform under Truman's "Fair Deal"; JFK's "New Frontier" spawned the poverty program, while even LBJ's "Great Society" managed to pass the watered-down Civil Rights Act of 1964.

But the manifest inability of the civil



Henry Siegmán, director of the American Jewish Congress, said:

"Because he was Andy Young, because he was black and we realized the significance of that, was the reason we didn't call for his resignation."

—New York Times, 19 August

But while they did not want to be saddled with the direct responsibility for sacking Young and fanning the flames of black-Jewish tension, his firing was a victory—probably a pyrrhic one—for the Zionists.

## Not a New Liberal Coalition, But a Workers Party

The bourgeois press has interpreted the Young affair as a watershed, if not the final demise, in the traditional liberal black/Jewish alliance. The black leaders are seen as charting an "independent" foreign policy course in defiance of their historic bloc with the Jewish liberals, whose substantial political and financial support to the civil rights movement was compensated with the black organizations' support to Israel. In the first instance the break is symbolic—the question of Israel was never important to the black groups, which in any case have always been powerless on foreign policy. Secondly, for at least a decade these organizations have neither represented a sizable voting bloc nor been able to mobilize masses of black protesters in the streets. Furthermore, the shift in position by the SCLC, NAACP, Urban League and so forth,

rights movement to provide any real social gains—jobs, housing, education, political power—meant that it could not touch the basic causes of black oppression. This gave rise to black nationalist sentiment whose early political expression pushed beyond the bounds of the old Democratic Party constituency coalition. Meanwhile, as the civil rights movement moved north, its immediate targets were often Jewish shopkeepers, who (isolated from the mainstream of American capitalism and restricted to the ghettos) were more visible exploiters of the black population than the giant corporations with their Park Avenue offices. Thus the rise of black ghetto militancy was associated with the appearance of widespread black anti-Semitism. And in response, developing black radicalism was a key factor in the growing Jewish conservatism, marked by a large Jewish component to the white flight to the suburbs. This was combined with increased pressures, after the Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973, making support to Israel the central and almost exclusive political question for American Jews.

By the late 1960s the ghetto uprisings and Vietnam War had shattered the old black/Jewish/labor coalition. Jewish voters were moving toward the right wing of the Democratic Party and in 1972 many favored Nixon over McGovern. The dominant Meanyite section of the union bureaucracy, addicted to Cold

continued on page 11

# Cleveland Phone Workers Beat Bell

CLEVELAND—Phone company workers here recently showed how to take on Ma Bell and win. Disgusted by years of bureaucratic foot-dragging, instead of meekly accepting a rotten pro-company ruling by a so-called impartial arbitrator, they decided to shove it down Ma Bell's throat through strike action.

Ever since 1975 Ohio Bell has demanded that commercial department workers (service representatives) take morning breaks only ten minutes after the start of their shift on peak business days. On August 13 when the latest arbitrator's decision upheld Ohio Bell's arbitrary policy, over 350 angry commercial department workers in Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 4309 walked off the job at four locations. Ten days later Ohio Bell surrendered. The lesson for all phone workers is clear: Ma Bell can be defeated by militant, class-struggle tactics.

Local 4309 won despite efforts by its weak-kneed bureaucrats to sabotage the action. Local president Lily Holt refused to support the strike, demanding that the outraged and determined workers return to work, and blocked all efforts to establish picket lines. Only after a split among local shop stewards

were "informational" pickets finally set up—three days after the strike began and far from the struck facilities! Throughout the strike, Holt and her cohorts fought to keep the balance of the 2,000-strong Local 4309 members at work, urging members to cross their own picket lines.

When this didn't work, Holt pushed for accepting a company-proposed 60-day "cooling off" period during which the break policy would be suspended. But angry strikers at the August 20 local meeting rejected this sabotage, overwhelmingly demanding a local-wide strike vote. Rather than face a possible Cleveland-wide phone strike, the next day Ohio Bell threw in the towel and gave up the demand.

The victory by Cleveland phone workers underlines the central importance of the strike weapon. The reactionary CWA International, which advocates instead such pro-company policies as arbitration, has persistently opposed granting CWA locals the right to strike. Phone workers must demand that the union repudiate the International's veto power over the exercise of the strike weapon.

Over the past several years telephone workers have repeatedly demonstrated

their readiness to fight the company—the Ohio statewide strike of 1976, wildcats in Michigan and Iowa over the rotten 1977 contract, and most recently the nationwide walkout of over 10,000 AT&T Long Lines workers last year in support of nine workers in Nashville suspended for refusing to cross a picket line. But the CWA tops led by Glen Watts have consistently sabotaged these efforts, groveling before the management of Bell Tel, which runs the phone monopoly like a feudal barony.

Sweatshop conditions of forced overtime, absence control and no paid sick leave are rigidly enforced throughout the Bell System. Also on August 13, over 15,000 craft workers, members of the Communications Workers of Canada (CWC), struck against forced overtime and the company's job-cutting offensive. As we go to press, top bureaucrats of the CWC and the company union CETA are preparing to enforce a sellout contract while organizing massive scabherding.

The CWA bureaucrats' loyalty to the strikebreaking capitalist state knows no bounds. President Glen Watts was so eager to ensure a friendly captive audience for the discredited Jimmy Carter that he allowed the Secret

Service to drag an elected union delegate off the CWA convention floor in July! Jane Margolis of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) was handcuffed and held in a back room to prevent her from raising the MAC's class-struggle program and opposition to giving a union platform to anti-labor Carter. But the union ranks have rallied behind Margolis against this despicable and unprecedented assault—over 600 members have protested to the White House, as have official local statements from Los Angeles and the Bay Area. In addition the Portland, Oregon convention delegation fired off an official protest to Watts.

Cleveland Local 4309 proved again that Ma Bell can be defeated. The CWA membership must look to the Militant Action Caucus' class-struggle program for a strategy to win against the powerful phone company—for a militant, nationwide contract strike in 1980 to end speedup and absence control; for a big pay hike; for smashing Ma Bell's job-cutting offensive through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay; for the unlimited local right to strike. As MAC spokesman Margolis said at the CWA Convention, "It's time to get this union off its knees!" ■

## Strike Auto...

(continued from page 3)

New York Times, 22 August) to urge Congress and the White House to adopt an "equitable" energy plan. The impact of this "strike" on Big 3 output and profits was considerably less than that caused by the typical absenteeism resulting from a mildly interesting football game on national TV. In many of the plants the bosses simply docked the workers a tenth of an hour's pay.

General Motors, the industry leader which the UAW has targeted only twice since 1945, is pressing the bargaining advantage provided by the current slump in sales with complete confidence that Fraser & Co. have no taste for a fight. On August 28 GM and Ford offered almost identical proposals which included a 3 percent wage increase, no change in the COLA for active workers, no COLA at all for retirees and a freeze on medical benefit levels. In addition the industry demanded a widened differential between new-hires' pay and regular base wage rates, with lengthened seniority requirements to qualify for full benefits. Although Fraser rejected the offers he noted that they were "a basis, a foundation upon which we can build a settlement."

What an outrage! Inflation is rising at 13 percent annually. By the bureaucracy's own calculation (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 August) the existing COLA formula lets auto workers' income lag 20 percent behind inflation. This is the "basis" for a sellout!

Coupled with Fraser's determination to prevent any militant action against the Big 3, UAW negotiators have cut back their "demands" at the GM bargaining table. Fraser used to say that Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines had "self-destructed" and warned the government to "stay the hell away" from the auto talks. Last summer he went so far as to denounce big business "one-sided class war" against labor. But now a 3 percent wage proposal is one he can work with! The government will be or too happy to stay out of such amicable negotiations.

### For a Militant Leadership in the UAW

From Walter Reuther's post-war

scheme to convert aircraft plants into factories producing prefabricated housing, to ballyhooing phony "full employment" bills, to Fraser's endorsement of the Chrysler bailout, the UAW tops have continually pushed empty social-democratic gimmicks as a substitute for class-struggle policies. Arguing that it is necessary to elect liberal capitalist politicians to carry out such "enlightened" schemes, Reuther and his successors Leonard Woodcock and now

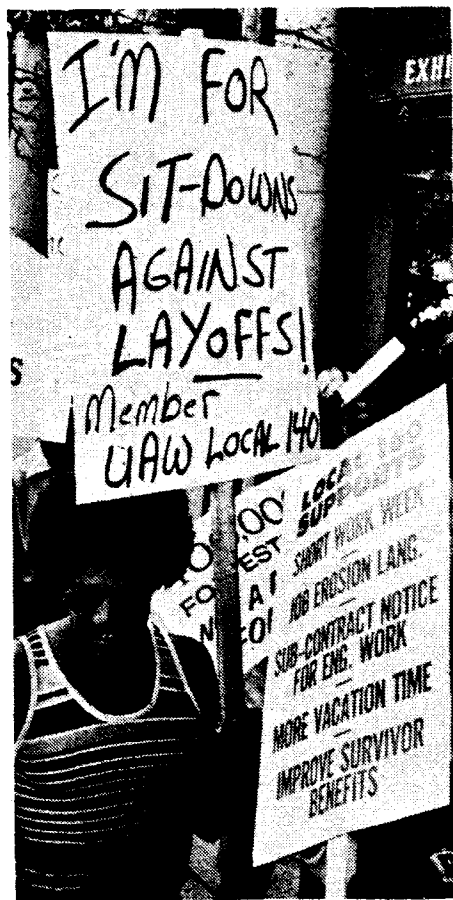
ther against layoffs nor mounting inflation.

A determined struggle today against the auto companies would inevitably shatter the UAW's cozy relations with Democratic Party politicians, and it is this above all that Fraser fears. His present anti-strike campaign stems in part from a desire to act as kingmaker in the Democratic Party. Solidarity House is edging away from the hapless and despised Carter to Ted Kennedy and

program. Armed with such a program and leadership, the UAW can successfully defend itself against the massive attacks on its jobs and living standards.

As the UAW Militant Caucus at Fremont GM stated in a leaflet distributed September 10:

"The UAW is a powerful union in a key industry! We don't have to take this treatment! We have the capacity to shut down all vehicle production in North America to win our demands. The full power of this union has never yet been



WV Photo



Yates/Business Week

### Class-struggle militants call for sit-down strikes. 435,000 unsold Chrysler autos: the anarchy of capitalism.

Fraser, have chained the powerful auto workers' union to the dominant party of this country's imperialist ruling class, the Democrats.

In 1976 Woodcock opposed a militant strike in the interests of allying the union with Carter's election campaign. Woodcock was crucial in mobilizing support for the strikebreaking, pro-Big Oil, peanut millionaire and was rewarded with an ambassadorship to China. Auto workers got a two-bit contract that provided protection nei-

wants very much to preserve its respectability in bourgeois political circles.

In the most immediate way the bureaucracy's commitment to liberal capitalist politics means surrender to the Big 3. Yet despite the UAW tops' boundless capacity for class treason, the rank and file remain a volcano of discontent. Thousands of auto workers genuinely want to fight. What is necessary is to cohere an authoritative, militant leadership which fights to break with the bosses' parties and build a workers party based on a class-struggle

mobilized in an industrywide strike. Our strength is untested in an all-out fight with the companies for jobs.... "The International openly upholds the 'right' of the companies to lay us off, and the role of the local bureaucrats along with their fake-radical toadies is to provide a militant-sounding cover for the International. They all act more or less directly to subordinate the union's interests to an alliance with the bosses' politicians. The Reutherite-Fraser bureaucracy is bankrupt. This contract struggle affords an opportunity to weaken its hold on the union and advance the building of a new class-struggle leadership in the UAW." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD



# Young...

(continued from page 9)

War anti-communism, had become virulently anti-black militant and anti-liberal. In 1972 Meany and his friends gave backhanded support to Nixon, regarding the woolly liberal from South Dakota as some kind of commie-symp. Blacks, on the other hand, instinctively recognized that the imperialist slaughter of the rebellious Vietnamese masses was not their war. Muhammad Ali caught the mood when he remarked, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger."

Recently the old Democratic Party alliance appeared to resurrect itself: black, Jewish and labor organizations were instrumental in pulling out badly needed voters enabling Jimmy Carter to squeak past Ford. But while Carter tried to give a populist flavor to his campaign, projecting the image of an integrated "New South" that absorbed "mainstream" civil rights leaders into the club, in fact he was not playing constituency politics. J.C. never promised nobody nothing. As we wrote in our article,

"Andy Young: Black Front Man for U.S. Imperialism," *WV* No. 160, 3 June 1977:

"Carter certainly owes a considerable campaign debt to the man who opened doors for him to black community leaders across the country. But the 'moral' president has made it clear that neither blacks nor labor will receive even the smallest concession in return for their votes...."

Carter is not worried about the black vote because he thinks that blacks have nowhere else to go but the Democratic Party. That still leaves Teddy Kennedy. And no doubt part of Young's calculations are that it can't hurt to jump off the sinking Carter ship at this point. Certainly the SCLC/NAACP/Urban League leaders will be increasingly seen with the Massachusetts senator in the coming months. The black politicians feel that the old constituency politics never resolidified under Carter but can be patched back together with Kennedy. But you can't go home again. It was the demonstrated impotence of the liberal civil rights movement to provide any significant social gains for blacks which brought it to a dead end. Key to that failure was the reliance on

the federal government, the Democrats, the liberals and Kennedy in particular.

Andrew Young, Martin Luther King's former aide, entered the Carter administration as a figure from a long-dead political movement, a mass movement which dissipated, through violent outbursts followed by apathy, as its leaders sold out. In firing his front-line black spokesman, the white Georgia pol was just spitting on the grave of the civil rights movement. The official black leaders cried "Outrage!" But these are leaders without followers. Young's sacking spurred not a single significant protest demonstration, not to speak of more militant actions.

In the last analysis, Carter chose to make Young his fall guy because the liberal-led black movement has no real social power. And the root of this

powerlessness is the *political* separation of the black masses—whether actively mobilized as in the early 1960s civil rights movement or atomized and passive like now—from the working class as a whole, the *only* force which can revolutionize American society.

Tapping the revolutionary potential of the American working class means first and foremost a fight to oust the job-trusting labor bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership committed to fighting for full social equality. No section of American society has a greater interest in a socialist revolution than the black workers and poor. For the black masses can only break the chains of their oppression when their struggle is bound up with a working class led by a revolutionary communist, Trotskyist party. ■

# Soviet Troops...

(continued from page 12)

"Nope, Jerry, and I bet you never did either. Must be those mushy-headed Democrats who let them slip in." Meanwhile, no one is able to make much of a case because of the lack of hard evidence (the presence of a soccer field—the Cubans prefer baseball, right?—on the base in question is one of the key "proofs").

It is well known to *all* participants in this charade that the Soviet Union has had a military presence in Cuba for years. *New York Times* "elder statesman" James Reston pointed out that the hoary "Russian devil" line is a commonplace of American elections (remember the non-existent 1960 "missile gap"), and recalled that the Kennedy administration assumed after the 1962 missile crisis that the Russians had some 20,000 troops on the island. The MIG-23 jets discovered last year are still in Cuba, and the CIA admits that the Russian troops have been there for at least a decade. "Senior intelligence officials," stung by charges of incompetence, are leaking selected evidence far and wide

that they knew about it all along.

Besides, who do they think they're kidding? Who is it that has a genuine foreign military base on Cuban soil? The Americans, of course, at Guantánamo Bay. How would the Pentagon like having Russian warships anchored at Norfolk, Virginia, just a stone's throw from Washington? Blustering about "Russian aggression" coming from the people who launched the Bay of Pigs invasion and spun endless bizarre plots to assassinate Castro is the height of imperialist arrogance. Irritated by the presence of the Cuban deformed workers state, the sabre-rattling senators want to turn the Caribbean back into an "American lake."

Ultimately, reconquest of all the degenerated/deformed workers states, most crucially the USSR, is the goal of *all* sections of the American bourgeoisie. In the face of the renewed Cold War bombast coming out of Washington, we insist that Cuba has the right and duty to take all necessary measures—including Soviet troops, planes, missiles and anything else it can get its hands on—to defend itself against bloodthirsty U.S. imperialism. U.S. out of Guantánamo! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism! Down with SALT! ■



UPI

As pro-Young gesture SCLC head Joseph Lowry, center, meets PLO's U.N. representative Terzi, left.

# Mountbatten...

(continued from page 5)

consequence of his Asian Command—something which goes virtually unmentioned in imperialist histories of the war—was the death by starvation of literally hundreds of thousands of Bengalis as a direct outcome of British military policy.

Mountbatten was often considered a liberal by the British establishment because of his role as an architect of neo-colonialism in India. Yet throughout his career in the service of the dying Empire he was simply smarter than most, no less ruthless or dedicated. More than any of his contemporaries he upheld the model of lofty arrogance aspired to by ambitious members of the English aristocracy. This ruthless architect of mass murder almost never dirtied his *own* hands with the blood of his victims.

Thus, he returned Vietnam to the French for further suppression following World War II. As Viceroy of India he oversaw the independence of the country and the creation of Pakistan through partition in the late 1940s. Decades of imperialist "divide-and-rule" terror laid the basis for the massive communal bloodletting and population transfers which accompanied the partition of India. But the ever-suave Mountbatten could claim that this was none of *his* doing. (Indeed, the first post-independence Indian government chose him as Governor-General and its present-day successor declared an official week of mourning for his death.) In 1956 it was put about that he only "reluctantly" supplied British ships for the disastrous attack on Suez to oppose

Nasser's nationalization of the canal.

Members of the post-war Labour cabinet are said to have had high hopes of recouping Mountbatten on his return from India—something which speaks volumes for the obscene genuflections of British social democracy before royalty. Current Labour leader James Callaghan naturally joined the chorus of condemnation of the assassination.

Revolutionaries, however, have not the slightest regret over the violent death of this ardent defender of imperialism's bloody rule. The crimes which Mountbatten committed for his class will only be avenged by proletarian revolution—and his assassination by the IRA does nothing to bring nearer that day. Nor does it in any way aid the working people of Northern Ireland, victimized by imperialist repression and sectarian-

communal terror. Nevertheless, it is simple justice that this butcher did not die peacefully of old age in his bed.

Following the killing, the Provisional IRA stated that "Mountbatten's execution was a discriminate act in that it was against a leading figure" (*Irish Times*, 1 September). This is true—and while criticizing such individual terrorism as a misguided, ineffective act of despair, we defend against state repression those who were responsible for the death of the Earl. Likewise with those who ambushed the paratroopers at Warrenpoint. Yet these actions stand in sharp contrast to the criminal *indiscriminate* terror which the IRA has also willingly engaged in over the past decade, including attacks on innocent Irish Protestant workers and British civilians.

Even when the IRA confines its

military targets to prominent symbols and representatives of imperialism like Mountbatten and the British army, revolutionaries still forthrightly oppose the strategy of individual terror which both leaves the working masses standing aside as passive spectators and provides the bourgeois state with excuses to shore up its repressive arsenal. Already in the days since August 27 Northern Ireland security forces and the Irish Garda (police) have rounded up hundreds of suspected IRA sympathizers in a repressive dragnet. Margaret Thatcher has announced that the sectarian thugs of the Royal Ulster Constabulary are to be reinforced by 1,000 new recruits. Meanwhile, fanatic Protestant paramilitary groups like the "Ulster Freedom Fighters" have launched a new round of communal terror, viciously murdering three innocent Catholic civilians and promising more such atrocities.

The foundation of the Provos' false strategy and tactics is their petty-bourgeois nationalist program: for a united capitalist Ireland, i.e., the incorporation of the North into the southern Catholic republic, forcibly against the will of the Protestant majority if necessary. In contrast to this recipe for communal-sectarian war Trotskyists fight for a program of anti-imperialist proletarian revolution.

Get the British troops and torturers out of Northern Ireland now! Not Orange against Green, but Class against Class! For an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles! The sun has already set on the decaying Empire Lord Louis Mountbatten stood for. But it will take the dawn of a new proletarian order to bring about the final reckoning with the parasitic class he so haughtily represented. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Imperialist Hullabaloo Over Soviet Troops in Cuba

The Senate blow-up over Washington's "discovery" of a 2,000/3,000-strong Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba is the biggest outburst of manufactured imperialist hysteria since Lyndon Johnson's Gulf of Tonkin red herring greased the skids for full-scale U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Yahoo senators introduce resolutions about enforcing the Monroe Doctrine with a big stick. Others call for a return to the days when Kennedy "stood eyeball to eyeball" with the Russkies in the Cuban missile crisis, "and they blinked first." Do something about those Russian troops "or else," the State Department blustered (not very convincingly) to Havana.

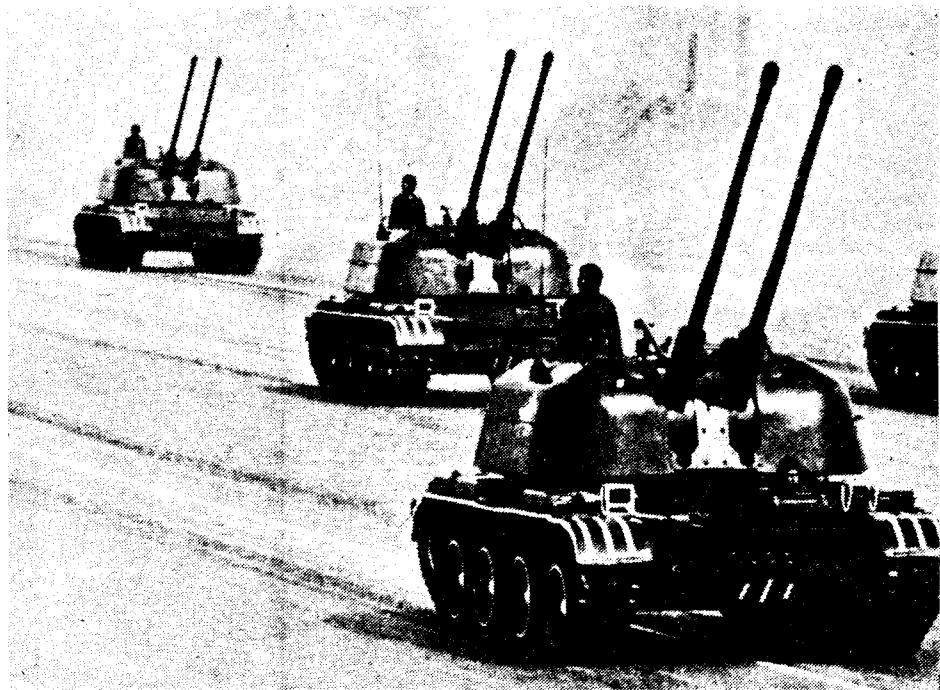
The sudden storm of protest is in large part a smokescreen for opposition to the SALT II "arms control" treaty—not by hawkish Republicans, who have already disavowed it, but by Democrats who see this issue as a way to back off from supporting the increasingly unpopular pact. Democrats Richard Stone of Florida (with a large *gusano* constituency) and liberal Frank Church of Idaho,

both in tough re-election contests with conservative opponents, dropped the "bombshell." They also put Carter on notice that they have no intention of going down with his rapidly sinking ship unless he "gets tough" with the Russians real quick.

Worried about his own right flank, Carter after a brief hesitation decided to jump on the bandwagon. The "revelation" was obviously timed to embarrass the Castro regime just as it was hosting a conference of "non-aligned nations," as the Soviet and Cuban press quickly pointed out. And since Carter's hijacking/kidnapping of an Aeroflot jet at JFK airport in New York had flopped, maybe the hard-pressed administration could use this incident to shore up its sagging ratings for "decisive leadership."

The Republicans were naturally chortling over the Democrats' dilemma, while Ford and Kissinger washed their hands of it all: "You ever hear of Russian troops in Cuba, Henry?"

*continued on page 11*



Prensa Latina

Russian-made tanks defend Cuba.

## U.S. Imperialism's Black Front-Man

# Andrew Young: Expendable

In the midsummer doldrums, when Washington usually grinds to a halt and the politicians head toward the golf courses, the forced resignation of the American ambassador to the United Nations August 15 instantly awakened the languid U.S. capital. Carter had dumped Andy Young, the No. 1 black spokesman in his administration? The political implications were potentially enormous. The media immediately began asking if this spelled the demise of the traditional liberal black/Jewish coalition. More importantly, the sacking of Young was taken as a slap in the face by the mass of the black population which was buzzing with indignation over Carter's arrogance.

The whole thing started as a minor affair—Young had allegedly been caught out fibbing to the State Department about the circumstances of his meeting with Zehdi Labib Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) observer to the UN. That this should be the cause of his dismissal is patently absurd: if diplomats told the "whole truth"—to each other, to their own governments, to anybody—the United Nations would probably fall into the East River from disuse. But Israel, through its own sources, had gotten the goods on Young's meeting with the PLO and threatened to blow the incident sky-high. So it was bye-bye Andy Young.

However, the black establishment was not about to take it lying down.



Gotfryd/Newsweek

Carter's dumping of Andrew Young, over meeting with a PLO representative, caused big blow-up between black and Jewish leaders.

Following the logic of constituency politics, the lifeblood of the Democratic Party, they retaliated by... coming out for Palestinian self-determination. As for Jimmy Carter, continuing his unbroken string of disastrous policy decisions—from telling Americans to walk during the gas crisis to demonstrat-

ing the administration's stability by firing almost the entire cabinet—he figured he would ride out the Andrew Young crisis by drifting down the Mississippi in a paddle boat.

When Harry Truman's fortunes were down, he used to hop on the back of a train and whistle-stop through Pennsyl-

vania burghs and Midwest farm country. Richard Nixon successfully pitched to the sunbelt—the Arizona retirement communities and Texas space-industry boomtowns. But riverboat junkets past the seedy, decaying Mississippi River towns and the bible-and-bourbon belt just don't make it as a strategy for reelection. What the axing of Young does demonstrate is that Carter is running hard to his right. With his ratings at an all-time low—according to a recent *Time* magazine poll only 12 percent of the people had confidence in Carter's leadership ability—the embattled president figures Jewish voters might switch over to the Republican side of the ballot, but blacks have nowhere else to go. Carter very much wants the votes of "middle America" conservatives, who regard the flashy UN ambassador as an "uppity" black "soft" on the enemies of America. So with the Israelis and American Jewish leaders also screaming for his head, Carter decided (perhaps unwisely) that Young had become on balance a political liability.

So Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia, will run as a white man's candidate in '80. In firing Young he has broken with the image of the Democratic Party as the party of blacks. This is the real message of the Andy Young affair. From black front man for U.S. imperialism to Carter's fall guy, the in-

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