For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction!

No to the Veil!

"We will fight the veil," chanted thousands of women as they marched for hours in a driving snowstorm in Tehran on March 9. They took part in International Women’s Day meetings at Tehran University and from government offices where hundreds were turned away from their jobs because they wore Western-style clothes. They were joined by women and men until tens of thousands of demonstrators—denouncing the years of smoking cigarettes—shouted words never before heard in the streets of Iran: “Down with Khomeini!” And for the first time since the reactionary mullahs swept into power, a mass demonstration was answered with bullets. As the Islamic marshals opened fire to disperse the demonstration, women hit the ground and took cover behind parked cars and buildings. The first open battle between Khomeini and opponents of Islamic fundamentalism had been launched and, not surprisingly, it was over women’s rights.

The rude awakening has begun. And we welcome its first stirrings, the first open crack in the fatal illusions in a “democratic Islam.” To the women who chanted, “In the dawn of freedom, there is an absence of freedom,” we say: You have not yet seen the dawn. But it is a source of hope that some Iranians have begun to perceive the nightmare which the veils and the chadors are already making a reality for the masses. Sections of the population most immediately hit by Khomeini’s Islamic reaction—like the “West- ernized” women—are shocked, confused, angry.

With terrible and perhaps tragic irony, many of the women who today gathered in protest at the office of Prime Minister Bazargan chanting, "Bazargan, do not forget we do not want the chador," had yesterday donned the veil claiming it was a “symbol of resistance” to the shah. In that costume, they helped bring the state in line with the Koran, token liberalizing under the shah was act of 1975 revoked. Thus the women in government offices where they were turned away from their jobs because they wore the veil are clearly not the mullahs. Khomeini’s “Islamic Revolution” necessarily makes women one of its special targets. Even the miserable token liberalizing under the shah was more than three fundamentalists could stand. They have always been determined to make the veil—and the subjugation and seclusion of women for which it stands—the law of the land. The consolidation of their rule depends on it.

Hail the Protests for Women’s Rights!

The first of the women’s protests began in response to Khomeini’s pronouncement: “Sin may not be committed in Islamic ministries.” The “sin” was the refusal to wear the stifling head-to-foot chador without which they are “naked”; “Women should not be naked at work in these ministries . . . they must be clothed according to religious standards,” said the ayatollah (New York Times, 9 March). True to his promises to bring the state in line with the Koran, Khomeini had the Family Protection Act of 1975 revoked. Thus the women in the streets are protesting the reinstatement of the old Muslim laws which allow polygamy and by which women are deprived of the right of divorce while a man can get a divorce simply by filing for one with any notary public. Coercion has been abolished while the aged reactionary sages that Iran’s colleges have become “centers of prostitution.” Abortion has been banned. At least 300 women are threatened with expulsion from Iran for the “crime” of marriage to non-Muslims. And public floggings for adultery have begun.

Immediately threatened by the Islamic reactionaries, the women’s rights protests have kept up on a daily basis since March 8, growing in militancy and numbering in the thousands. Significantly, the demonstrators have been joined by Fedayeen guerrillas.

On March 9 the protest marchers were stoned by Muslim zealots and knives were not for intimidation only; three women were shot and others knifed and beaten. On March 12 the demonstrations took place under the protection of Fedayeen guerrillas, who ringed the protesters, machine guns in hand. UPI estimated that 20,000 women jammed Freedom Square, defended by Fedayeen from the continuing knife and stone attacks of Khomeini supporters. The minister of propaganda—hated for his puritanical censorship of TV and the Iranian news blackout of present events—was stopped and had his car turned over.

But despite the increasing militancy of the demonstrators and their courage — Continued on page 8

Newport News: Organize the South!

Fight the Racist Weber Court Suit

Idi Amin’s State of Blood
BosSES’ CDHATS SHIIPYARD STIKE

NEWPORT NEWS: Key Battle to Organize the South

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia—Four thousand striking shipyard workers and their supporters rallied here March 2 in defense of the six-week-old strike at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company. On Friday a crowd of 3,000 met at the nearby Hampton Coliseum to hear solidarity greetings from a host of labor leaders, while 1,000 more marched on the picket lines outside the massive shipyard. Unionists from as far away as Texas and Maine, including 200 steelworkers who made a 19-hour bus ride from Chicago, came to help bolster the strikers on the front lines of what is being heralded as the battle to win labor’s “gateway to the South.”

It was the second major show of support in a week for embattled Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), on strike for recognition and a union contract. On February 24 the Newport News Central Labor Council sponsored a march of 3,000, equally divided between striking shipyard workers and unionists from 20 different locals throughout Virginia. Stretching down 15 city blocks in front of the plant, weary workers and supporters buttoned demanding “Stop Union Busting in the South.”

But union busting is just what the giant Tenneco conglomerate, which owns the shipyard, is up to, and on March 1, more than 100 union members were clocked in short at the job. Steelworker officials interrupted the rally in Hampton Coliseum to announce that a U.S. Appeals Court had just thrown out the certification the union had won in an election a year ago. The court directed the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to hold further hearings on the company’s charges of vote fraud during the election.

This decision was just what Tenneco was hoping for, giving it the prospect of months and months of additional litigation and court appeals. Tenneco is also seizing on the court ruling to whip up a new back-to-work movement, claiming that under existing labor law it is now free to fire the “uncertified” strikers and hire outside scab replacements.

The court’s decision underscores once more that this crucial strike will be won or lost on the picket lines. Tenneco knows full well that—like the notorious J.P. Stevens textile giant, which has stalled bargaining with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for 15 years through endless court wrangles—it can tie the union up in court almost indefinitely while it tries to break the back of the strike through scabbing and protected by riot-equipped state and local police.

Yet the leadership of the USWA continues to undermine the strike by insisting picking to obey Virginia’s “right to scably” law. Union spokesmen claim that only 25 to 30 percent of the “right to work” workers are responding to work, while the company says over 50 percent are on the job. Whatever the exact figure, it is clear that there is a good deal of scabbing going on at Newport News. And that number seems destined to increase unless there is a decision to shut the shipyard down tight. Local 8888 officials told the News that many workers, barely surviving on the union’s pitiful $30 to $40 a week strike benefits, were holding out pending the court’s decision, which they had been encouraged to believe would be favorable to them.

In another ominous sign, USWA president Lloyd McBride has begun to appear in the battle. On page 11

ILWU Warehouse Militants Fight Contract Settlement

OAKLAND, March 10—At the just-concluded 34th Annual Constitutional Convention of the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU), the union’s officers made it clear that they are already on their knees as the local’s June 1 master contract expiration date approaches. Terrified of waging a strike against Jimmy Carter’s 7 percent wage guidelines, and intimidated by the recent crushing defeat of a four-month Teamster grocery workers strike in the Bay Area, the ILWU bureaucrats pushed through a bargaining program calculated to signal surrender in advance to the waterfront house bosses. “We hope to avoid a strike” was the leadership’s theme.

Having recently signed a series of roughly 7 percent package in warehouse houses whose contracts have already expired, Local 6 president Keith Eickman argued that asking for more would cause many warehouse houses to non-union states and this by unskilled workers in the local. ILWU bureaucrats negotiated a three-year wage package of 75 cents, 65 cents and 55 cents, etc., with the Teamsters and CIO’s guidelines and heavily opposed even such minimal demands from the delegates as more vacation time, extended funeral leave, Eickman’s and CIO’s leave and extended funeral leave. Eickman’s and CIO’s leave were granted.

Delegates to the July 26-30, 1979, Bay Area, the Militant Caucus has its influence on the older Local 6, members of the Militant Caucus, recognizing that the only consistent opposition to the sell on the ILWU tops, Woolston and Mandel argued that a hard-fought strike will be necessary in 1979 to beat back the mounting anti-union offensive. Such a strike can be won, they said, by mobilizing the full strength of the union together with the Teamsters (who represent a majority of Northern California warehousemen and warehousemen jointly with the ILWU) to stop scabbing and police attacks.

Demoralized by a leadership that clearly does not want to fight, mindful of the recent Teamster defeat and remembering the mauling the local took three years ago, most delegates were not yet ready to back such a struggle. Though they slapped down several leadership proposals, including one that would have sharply limited the policy-setting power of the convention, another that would accept the power to force overtime on lower seniority workers, the delegates adopted most of the bureaucratics’ bargaining points. But with two-and-a-half months to go until the contract is up and the peace-setting Teamsters Master Freight Agreement still to be negotiated, this conservative mood could radically change.

The bureaucracy’s hold on the disgruntled Local 6 membership is fragile and they know it. This year’s convention was notably lacking in long harangues and physical threats against Militant Caucus spokesmen who have marred previous ones. The officers have been rebuffed repeatedly in recent months by an increasingly disaffected membership, particularly in the East Bay where the Militant Caucus has its strongest support, and they are treading more cautiously as a result.

Just last December, angry ILWU members forced the local’s officials to back down from an attempt to purge Mandel from the GEB through a trumped-up recount of the election results. The, at the February 15 East Bay membership meeting, the ranks

WORKERS VANGUARD

Militant Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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WORKERS VANGUARD
Winning Byrne: "Daley's daughter"

"Independent" Byrne owes her victory most to the whites who voted for mostly black wards. These voters, and the thousands of whites who voted for Byrne were fed up particularly with the mayor's arteriosclerotic reaction to the mountains of snow dumped on Chicago since January. They gave an old crook $90,000 to come up with a snow removal plan which was not even to be completed until February. He went on TV to claim arrogantly that everything was under control as the snow piled up to the knees and then to waist level. Streets were not plowed, buses ran only occasionally, and half the badly designed motors on the "E" line were destroyed by ice and salt.

Then the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) decided to "solve" its equipment shortage by "altering" service. What this meant was cutting service to Chicago's blacks. They ran the "E" line from downtown loop to the white middle class areas at the end of the line, skipping all the stops for blacks in between! Those were the wards where black workers depended exclusively upon the CTA to get to the Loop. For the average worker expected to reach a job and get home, day after day, life became a relentless frozen hell.

Reformists Shovel for the Demo

Now black "progressives" like Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH are calling Byrne's victory a "message to City Hall." But Byrne isn't accepting "messages." She has promised Chicago blacks and working people nothing but more of the same government in the style of Richard Daley. It was under Daley that Chicago became America's most segregated city, and the present system of racist political patronage came of age. It was under Daley that cops were given shoot-to-kill orders, while she joins the chorus chanting that "altering" service. What this meant was cutting service to Chicago's blacks. They ran the "E" line from downtown loop to the white middle class areas at the end of the line, skipping all the stops for blacks in between! Those were the wards where black workers depended exclusively upon the CTA to get to the Loop. For the average worker expected to reach a job and get home, day after day, life became a relentless frozen hell.

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The explosive events in Iran—the fall of the shah, the mass demonstrations in the streets, Khomeini's triumphal return and his efforts to consolidate an "Islamic Republic"—have dominated not only the headlines in recent months, but also the political life of the American left. Thus, as tens of thousands of Irani­can women marched through the streets of Tehran, demanding the return of the mullah's orders to don the veil, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL) were locking horns over the question: Is the Islamic Repub­lic a victory for the working masses? The two sharply counterposed lines were crystallized in the respective SWP and SL headlines which appeared in the weeks following the fall of the shah's handpicked prime minister, Bakhtiari. Thus the 23 February Militant proclaimed, "Victory in Iran," with a subtitle, "Iranian Masses Show the Way for Workers Around the World." In contrast, In Detroit the Spartacist League was excluded from a March 4 Socialist Workers Party forum on Iran as the cheerleaders for Khomeini sought to seal off their ranks from exposure to authentic Trotskyism. All the while, the SWP warned, "Socialist Workers Party…" Mullah Lovers Exclude Communists

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"Affirmative Action" No Answer for Black Workers

Fight the Racist Weber Court Suit!

Last December the Supreme Court agreed to review a racially explosive case in 1973 involving nine basic steel companies, the Steelworkers of America (USWA). Brian Weber, a white lab analyst at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana plant, claimed he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" as a result of a 1974 company-union "affirmative action" agreement. Weber's suit has been upheld by two lower federal courts. The Supreme Court's willingness to review the case marks a watershed with affirmative action.

Weber contends that his rights under the 1964 Civil Rights Act were violated because two white skilled-trade workers were given hiring priority over him. Weber's lawyers make the ludicrous pronouncement: "Blacks have no rights to meaningful apprenticeships," but the Federal district and circuit court upheld Weber on the incredible ground that no prior discrimination had been shown to have existed at the plant; therefore, there was no basis for such an "affirmative action remedy." Less than 2 percent of Kaiser's skilled-trades department is black in a town that is almost half black, yet the courts say Weber has no claim.

Weber's suit has been upheld by two lower federal courts. The Supreme Court's willingness to review the case marks a watershed with affirmative action. For a decade, the principle of government intervention in the labor movement ostensibly to provide more and better jobs for blacks and women has been accepted not only by the liberal section of the bourgeoisie, but by most conservatives as well. Weber represents the first serious challenge to this policy.

For years the Spartacist League has denounced such government affirmative action programs as tokenistic frauds, bourgeois "divide and rule" schemes and a betrayal of the principle of trade-union independence from the capitalist state. However, the Weber case is part of the same racist backlash. The lesson here is not that government affirmative action is "progressive," but quite the reverse.

The reactionary mobilization of the courts and bourgeois politicians behind Weber underlines the shift to the right in the capitalist state, however much it may delude some people (including many who masquerade as socialists), is the enemies of blacks and working people.

Down with the Racist Weber Court Suit!

In 1974 Kaiser signed an agreement with the USWA whereby openings for the skilled-trades jobs would be filled alternately from two separate seniority lists, one for whites and one for minorities. Although the government was not formally a party to this deal, the Kaiser pact was signed generally following that of the steel industry. In the consent decree of April 1974 involving nine basic steel companies, the Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the Kaiser Steel Corporation agreed to "affirmative action" programs. This agreement was designed by the company and the union to take the basic racism out of the plant and give the appearance of a tokenistic effort to reverse the trend. The Kaiser plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, which has a substantial number of black skilled workers, was involved. Kaiser, which manufactured and marketed the first major "affirmative action" program, is a classic case of the bourgeoisie carrying half a load.

Today, above and beyond the specifics of the Kaiser-USWA agreement, the Weber case has become a rallying point for racist reaction. A victory for Weber would encourage the heels of blacks, would encourage racist mobilizations against non-

Brian Weber

Moreover, Weber's commitment to plantwide seniority is a sham. He worked in Kaiser for five years before the 1974 agreement and did nothing to protect the "prior experience" requirement which vested the seniority rights of all production workers, including whites. And he was genuinely concerned with plantwide seniority, he would do something about the vicious departmental seniority system in steel, under which blacks have been historically concentrated in the dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs.

No. Weber's sudden interest in strict plantwide seniority is simply a cover for his desire to eliminate blacks from the skilled trades. Weber's appeals have always been pitched in racist terms. Thus his lawyers make the ludicrous claim that under the thoroughly tokenistic "affirmative action" programs "a substantial number of white workers today are suffering employment discrimination," and that the Weber case is "important to the employment hopes of millions of nonminority workers" (Los Angeles Times, 2 December 1978). In fact, contrary to the absurd claims of massive "reverse discrimination," the affirmative action programs have had a virtually negligible impact on discriminations thus far. But bound to the agreement the proportion of blacks in crafts rose from 1.8 to 4.4 percent, from five workers to a grand total of 13 of 300.

And Weber has made clear his own racist attitude by publicly expressing that "they [the government] started telling grocery stores and restaurants—you people have to serve everybody. I never did agree with that. If it's your private place, it's your business who you serve and don't serve" (Washington Post, 12 January).

Unlike many other "affirmative action" programs, the 1974 Kaiser Steelworkers agreement did not involve direct government intervention in the union, nor did it overturn a fundamental union policy aggressive to minority hiring. While we do not advocate dual or preferential seniority systems, the contractual provisions Weber is suing against are certain to clarify the situation that "prior experience" system which effectively excluded blacks. Thus class-struggle militants could have given critical support to this plan against defenders of the racist status quo, while pointing out that this "affirmative action" in general, the Kaiser plan is tokenistic.

Today, above and beyond the specifics of the Kaiser-USWA agreement, the Weber case has become a rallying point for racist reaction. A victory for Weber would encourage the heels of blacks, would encourage racist mobilizations against non-

discriminatory hiring, open housing school integration and all-sided attacks on the rights and interests of black people. The movement must take a hard stand against the racist backlash spearheaded by Weber. Smash Weber!—For full equality in hiring and advancement!

No to Union-Busting Affirmative Action

Although the bourgeois press generally treats the Bakke and Weber cases as having the same basic content, because both involve racial quotas, there is in fact a substantial difference. It is one thing when the government mandates admissions quotas for bourgeois educational institutions, as occurred with Bakke. Socialists, of course, would fight for an open admissions policy to the universities for all students, with no tuition and state stipends for living expenses. But in the absence of this, quota policies that break down racial and class barriers to higher education can be given critical support. Government-imposed affirmative action for employment is quite another matter. Most of the affirmative action plans involve a class confrontation between the bourgeois state and the organized labor movement of the trade unions.

The 1960's was a decade of seething discontent and rebellion in the ghettos, at least partially reflected in the trade unions by the wildcat strikes led by black workers organized in such groups as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. For the bourgeoisie, affirmative action was designed to channel militant black struggle from the streets and the factories back into the courtroom. Its basic program, stripped to essentials, was to pit blacks against the unions. Thus under the 1965 Title VII Amendment to the Civil Rights Act, for the first time employees and unions were made equally liable for job-related discrimination.

It is important to note that affirmative action was not merely embraced by a small section of liberals but, to the contrary, it has been supported by the ruling class as a whole for the entire past decade. In fact, the first real implementation of affirmative action was Nixon's 1969 Philadelphia Plan for the construction trade. Nixon, of course, was hardly noted for his defense of the rights of blacks.

With the decline of the ghetto upheavals and black national movement, liberal groups like the NAACP once again came to the fore in the white movement. Affirmative action, in fact, was simply NAACPism continued on page 10
MARCH 12—Idi Amin Dada may soon be swallowing at the end of his rope. The most notorious tycoon of black Africa, personally responsible for murdering literally hundreds of thousands of his countrymen, is being pushed by the wall by a Tanzanian invasion force accompanied by Ugandan exiles and mutins in his own army. Already an elite Suicide Regiment has rebelled while another unit reportedly refused to fight as the Tanzanian column closed in on Uganda's largest city, Kampala. The end seems near for this bloodthirsty "Big Daddy" whose eight-year reign of terror consisted of throwing the bodies of thousands of suspected dissidents among the country's elite to Nile River crocodiles while bludgeoning the masses with a fearsome arsenal. Amin may have been more prophetic than he intended in naming himself President Nyerere.

While a lightly armed group of the "Save Uganda Movement" briefly held a few villages in April, the Tanzanian army that represents the real threat to Amin. This is President Nyerere's answer to the Ugandan dictator's invasion of northwestern Tanzania last autumn. A 250-pound former heavyweight boxing champion of Uganda, Amin mocked the slight Nyerere by challenging him to settle the affair in a London duel. Amin may have been more prophetic than he intended in naming himself President Nyerere.

That adventure was an attempt by Amin to divert some of the top Ugandan army officers from plotting against him by tying them down in a phony war. It is reported that in late October the combined western and southern commands drew up a 12-point petition demanding an end to the "Nubian superiority complex" within the army; a check on the most vicious of the three secret police agencies, the State Research Bureau; and reinstatement of three top officers, including Vice President Mustafa Adirsi (New York Times, 10 November). Behind this lies a rift among the Muslim ("Nubian") officers who have provided the backbone for Amin's army. Headed by Adirsi, native Ugandans, who fear the days of the desolate falls, are pitted against those recruited from related tribes in the southeast and Muslim "non-Nubians" who heighten it back to their homelands when things get too hot.

Until recently this gang was united by complicity in mass murder and in the parceling out of luxury goods seized from local businessmen or flown in from London on Amin's ugandy: 'nightly wines'

But with the fall in the price of coffee, the country's only export, and

revolution—confronting the savage oppression of their "own" oppressors. Idi Amin cannot be written off as a madman, clown or "savage"—he is a grotesque product of imperialism. If his maddest things are more thorough in their exterminating, his rule does not differ qualitatively from that of a dozen other neocolonial dictators on the continent (e.g., Zaire). The gunpoint looting by Amin's killers is merely done in a more efficient manner in the few African states mimicking the forms of bourgeois democracy—such as those next door in Kenya where the Kenyatta clan has monopolized both legal trade and contraband. Even the various "African" versions of the phony "Marxist-Leninist" regimes have been unable to overcome the bloody tribalism and desperate tribulationism which are the end result of decades of Europe's "civilizing mission.

For the peasant masses and the nascent working class of sub-Saharan Africa, formal political independence means little like Idi Amin, pseudo-democratic patriarchs like Jomo Kenyatta of "socialist" demagogues a la Idi Amin do not offer liberation from the ravages of colonialism or the racist rule of white settler regimes. Only revolutionary projects, strategically based on the 5-million-strong black working class of South Africa, can break the chains of imperialism, sweep away its loathsome sacrats and open the road to genuine economic and social freedom for the oppressed masses.

Imperialism's "Bad Boy"

The Ugandan dictator is a favorite villain of the racist media. He is always "good copy" for any white statement and blistering threats. He can set up a "state of war" by "collecting food from impoverished" gandists to offer to his former colonial masters. He will admit he himself to Elizabeth to "pull her socks up" and other himself as king of the Scots. (One of his favorite armies under British command is the tattarian knights.) At a meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) he arrived in a sedan chair, accompanied by local British businessmen as a symbol of the "new white man's burden." To the U.S. he sent a message wishing him a rapid recovery from Watergate, and when Jimmy Carter criticized "human rights," violations in Uganda. Amin accused the American president not to be used as "exhaustive pipes of the Zionist lobbies." A 1974 documentary on "The Ugandan Crisis," Amin Dada, was billed as "a comic masterpiece." Despite graphic accounts of a "humanitarian" tragedy, it is presented as a figure "whose monstrousity is inseparable from a degree of charm, of pathos, and of authenticity." (New York Times, 5 September 1976). Amin's Uganda seems nothing but hollowness and parody of British imperialism. To be sure, occasionally he "goes too far," like a "servant who doesn't know his place." The British bourgeoisie was genuinely shocked when then Foreign Minister Callaghan had to go to Uganda to beg for the life of a half-people author, Denis Hills, who had written of Amin's atrocities. But even when he is seen as a "bad boy," this is his bad paternalistically as "proof" that African blacks are not fit to rule.

In his wild rage Amin has managed to step on quite a few imperialist toes, particularly resulting from his alliance with the Arab state and the Jewish-Muslim dictator Qaddafi. Shortly after coming to power, a Ugandan street tool man wrote to U.S. secretary-general Waldheim praising Hitler for murdering six million Jews. The letter was published in the New York Times, 5 September 1976). Amin's Uganda seems nothing but hollowness and parody of British imperialism. To be sure, occasionally he "goes too far," like a "servant who doesn't know his place." The British bourgeoisie was genuinely shocked when then Foreign Minister Callaghan had to go to Uganda to beg for the life of a half-people author, Denis Hills, who had written of Amin's atrocities. But even when he is seen as a "bad boy," this is his bad paternalistically as "proof" that African blacks are not fit to rule.

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Russian- and Cuban-aided MPLA! More recently Uganda has been training a private army for Rhodesian Bishop Muzorewa, who is acting as a black front man for Ian Smith's racist minority-government.

Not the aid limited to occasional gestures by the unpredictable Amin. There is, of course, the fact that the U.S. and Britain has over half of Uganda's coffee exports ($350 million in the first nine months of 1977). What is not so well known as Amin's "Israel connec-
tion," which in spite of Entebbe, in spite of his often violent anti-Semitic out-
burts, even in spite of his ties to Qudsia, remains intact. There are by now several reports from reliable sources attesting to the fact that the vital "whiskey run" of Uganda Airlines, Amin's lifeline to obtain supplies for his army and goody, to keep his mercenary-
ners satisfied, is a cover operation run by Middle East, the beachhead espionage agency. In addition, there have been repeated questions raised about his British Jewish right-hand man, "Mr. Bob" Astles.

"Big Daddy's" Reign of Terror

One of the earliest exponents of heinous massacres in Uganda was an article, "Inside Amin's Prison" (London Observ
er, August 28, 1976) by David Martin, who quoted a former minister of education. He described one of the favorite methods of killing "disloyal" (i.e., anyone who had fallen out of favor with the dictator or happened to run after his secret police):

"These involved making prisoners line up and ordering the first to smash the second man in the head with a hammer. This process was repeated down the line until the last man was shot. Another method was to cut off the fist from a victim and force it to cut it until he died."

Evidence before the United Nations regarding conditions at Naggara Prison consisted of the following description:

"The most revolting form of torture described by the man, and deny, and escr
er of Naggara detainees, occurred after the man had been shot at once. One or two prisoners would be called from their cell after the shooting and would be ordered to beat the dead person's head into an unrecognizable pulp with a car axle. Then the prisoner would be ordered to lie down in the blood and gore of the dead person."

Prisoners are kept in forest concentration camps without food and expect-
ed to carry the flesh of other prisoners. A young Ugandan school-
teacher told of being held in such a place, where he was forced to kill badly mutilated prisoners while:

...the soldiers joked, abused us and locked us up with the corpses.

"We were hungry, angry and ashamed," the man said in his statement, "but because of the guns we had to do it. One soldier climbed the food was ready and we ate shamefully, those who vomited were kicked and beaten with rifle butts. The remains of the corpses were thrown into a trench. On the following day eight more prisoners were selected, beheaded, butchered, and eaten."

There is no doubt that Amin himself has inspired much of the forced cannibalism and other grotesque aspects of this horrendous orgy of killing. After being逐ded of crimes in 1977 his foreign

private secretary Henry Kyemba wrote:

"I am ashamed to admit that on several occasions when I was Minister of Health I told him, quite proudly, that he had eaten either the organs or the flesh of his human victims... (London Sunday Times, 12 June 1977). Amin is also widely believed to engage in blood rituals and sorcery. According to several reports, claims to commune with the spirits of his victims. Martin relates the case of Brigitte Biarikaw, a nurse in Nalumata Husein, the army chief of staff who attempted to prevent Amin's 1971 coup d'etat: after being badly mutilated his "severed head was brought to Amin, who put it on the table and spoke to it, then kept it in his refrigerator overnight." Amin's victims are not random. His first target was tribal rivals in the

military. Historically the British recruit-
ed the soldiers of the King's African Rifles from the Nilotic tribes of north-
thern Uganda fronting with Amin's Idi Amin's politicians who played a leading role in the independence movement were also northerners; and after taking power they promoted tribal associates from among the non-
coms to be the officer corps of the Ugandan army. Former prime minister Obote was a Langi with links to the Acholi, so when Amin took over he proceeded to massacre soldiers from these two tribes. In one instance, 32 Langi and Acholi officers were barded in a room and blown up with explosives. Kyemba estimates that of some 800 officers arrested as suspected Obote supporters at the time of the coup, some 250-300 were slaughtered in December 1971 at Mukutuka Prison. Subsequently Amin's terror shifted to high officials of his own government, anyone who could pose a danger to him. Of those then buried alive. There was unmistakable evidence of Amin's guilt, but instead of court-martialing him the colonial authorities did nothing because there was no case was too politically sensitive (independence was approaching and he was one of only two black officers in the army). He was described his job of meeting with the British, repressive and it was little slow, and was only semi-literate (he cannot write).

Amin's rise to the position of army commander was the result of tribal political clashes under the government of Milton Obote. Obote was a liberal and over half of Uganda's population was tribal or anti-Semites, in exchange for tribe among nomadic Turkana of northern Uganda. In this exploit the Amin received complaints from his of the Baboons, who dominated southern Uganda) over a question of territories. In May 1956 Obote abolished the Buganda state administration and attacked the kabaka's palace. "King Freddy" fled to London, and the end of the military operation, Idi Amin, became head of the armed forces.

Two other operations marked Amin's ascendency in this period, again in close cooperation with Obote. One was the covert support by Uganda to pro-

Lumumba rebels in the ex-Belgian Congo (now Zaire), headed by Gbembe. Cut off to the west by the CIA-backed government and General Mobutu's troops, Gbembe's only source of arms and ammunition was to buy from Obote in exchange for truckloads of ivory and gold. Amin was the go-between, and conducted the deals with recorded his house in the West Nile border region.

The second instance was Israel's use of Uganda as a staging point to aid the southern Sudanese (Anyanya) rebels continued on page 8

Amin and Moshe Dayan toast Uganda-Israeli friendship in Tel Aviv, 1971.
Idi Amin... (continued from page 3)

Fighting against the Arab government in Khartoum. Again, Amin was the conduit. So what had he earlier been a flunky for the British. Idi Amin began as a creature of Obote. But soon events enabled him to grow. Increasingly under pressure from the imperialists abroad and from the economic interests at home, Obote in 1969 Obote initiated the policy demagogically known as the “Move to the Left.” In foreign policy, so that Amin would not be served by his war. "We want peace and soap." The imperialist press naturally made hay out of the chaos, accusing Amin of treason. They did not mention the stringent racial restrictions on U.S. immigration laws or the fact that Asian passports in Uganda could not enter Britain without special legislation!

Idi Amin and Neo-Colonialism

Idi Amin is a horrendous scoundrel on the people of Uganda. But when Jimmy Carter threatened to bring in the American Seventh Fleet to topple Amin and install "democracy" in Uganda. The general pointed out that already wrecked death and destruction on a vast scale which blood-crazed Idi Amin cannot even begin to emulate, barbarism asphyxiated. Obote was no more than one million Indochnese during the Vietnam War. AWF No. 147, 4 March 1977.

Sadly, Idi Amin is no freak phenomenon. Many bourgeois politicians smarter from Obote’s increasingly heavy-handed rule flocked to the bandwagon. And politicians like Langi and Acholi began almost immediately, they were largely limited to the army and hidden from public view. But Amin went even farther in seeking to build public support by fostering a populist policy which had been increasingly attractive to the black petty bourgeois: expulsion and seizing the Japanese and Indian population. Amin solidified his regime by attacking these “brown Jews of Dar.”

The Asians of Uganda had already been a target of pogromists in 1948 and 1949. The 1968 and 1969 poorest of those in Kenya who lived in the slums were given 100 lashes with a leather whip. In a central Iranian city a man convicted of murder had been sentenced to amputation of his right hand. "Revolutionary" courts have been established in Iran, and those who anticipate a reformist bourgeoisie, backbone of "classless" movements, are to be stoned to death. In 1977 the mujahed of all of Khomeini’s "revolutionary committees," has made the Islamic Republic become a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic brigands. The Islamic Republic becomes a reality. More and more Iranians are looking to the Islamic Republic as a false sign of economic “development,” its slums will be all we could expect from the "democratic" Kenya or Tanzania. The Islamic Republic has a protective family of tribal allies in the army and aristocratic br...
Like Teamster Chief Fitzsimmons: TDU Refuses to Call for Strike

On April 1 Jimmy Carter may find himself face to face with the biggest test of his leadership. For a group of nonunion truck drivers and warehouse workers TDU is planning a nationwide strike—part of a path of a Teamster (IBT) victory, and an attack on a thoroughly corrupt union bureaucracy headed by Frank Fitzsimmons. Amid rumors of Team­ster doubts over wage and fringe benefits increases totaling 38 percent there are ominous warnings that the IBT tops will sit out the strike. One newspaper team member has already accepted a position at the possibility of a contract extension and chief of staff mister Roy Williams didn't even bother to talk tough. "I don't think there will be a work stoppage," he said.

Some 40 Ohio Teamsters heard the same anemic message last Sunday as TDU national staff member Mel Packer addressed a meeting of democrats by no means guarantees the success of the revolutionary Islamic leader. Khomeini has not yet been able to consolidate the power necessary to nomih of the Muslim fanatics. The Fedayeen's protection of the women's protests in Tehran is an ominous indication that the basu­ned front-defense of the left, proletarian­ and secular democratic forces exists.

Revolutionaries in Iran would agitate for the formation of workers militias based on facto­ries and trade unions, and defend the example such a united front against the mullah's regime.

Illusions in the democratic character of Iran's recent elections are being displaced by political facts. "It is not true that the Iranian government extend even to the leftist Fedayeen guerrillas. While the Fedayeen are an important part of the people's voice in the councils of the Islamic revolution, they are also looking into the progressive anti-imperialist forces led by Bazargan to play their assigned role in the Fedayeen's Stalinist scheme of revolutionary goals. Bazargan and his followers have warned Khomeini that an "unwanted civil war" might result if Bazargan's authority is not strength­ened. But there will be no bourgeois­democratic stage of the Iranian revolution.

Khomeini threatened the powerless liberals with the message that "Those who believe in this bourgeois­democratic democracy are just stupid people who do not understand what they say or think." The National Front politicians no doubt got the message. Bazargan, Karim Sanjabi & Co. now hold under the machine guns of the Muslim militia will register nearly unanimous "approval" of the mullahs' regime.

Why Didn't They Tell You So?

It is a special kind of hell for revolutionaries to be condemned—even for the historical instant—to witness great events without being able to influence them. Some of our opponents on the left want there to be no choice allowed for the historical instant—to witness the event until they can back down. "We want the revolution to be led by the Islamic government that has replaced the Shah..." they're going to want something back."

That "something" is a license to crush liberties.

TDU's program consists of a list of minimal reforms representing in several cases merely the established norm in existing codes, usually a regulation, with one year's S.U.B. benefits after layoffs. Their call for a "fair grievance procedure" for the "wrongly accused worker" is "proven guilty." TDU's overall package simply seeks to make the political structure of the new Islamic society a fait accompli—such a position they share with both Fitzsimmons and the carriers—and will hold the employers' hands in the struggle. Any program raise the demand for a 30-hour workweek, coupled to a substantial reduction in wages and full cost-saving protection.

Above all, class-conscious Teamsters must demand absolute independence from the bourgeois state. The upcoming contract showdown pits the Teamsters not only against the carriers but Carter and his wage guidelines. Following the model of the carriers, the Teamsters must continue with the referendum policy: no concessions, not even indirect concessions through strike action! A resounding Teamster victory can ob­lige Pat Manion to say, "No more for a real labor offensive in 1979!"

China...

(continued from page 12)

...at the Fourth International," to which the SWP is "fraternally" related, campaigners in the U.S. for the Soviet and Chinese republics, for which the Kremlin bears the historical responsibility. The main framework for the clashes between the Chinese and Vietnamese, and Khomeini revolutionary nationalism, is the looming imperialist threat and puts the Chinese on the defensive against any suggestion that the imperialist threat and puts the Chinese on the defensive.

This begins to look curiously like an alibi for Peking, cooked up in the grand style of Lexio Maistan, who in earlier years wrote USec statements praising the Red Guards and siding with Peking in the Sino-Vietnamese war. We have a few pages and we read an even clearer presentation of the "majority" line: a translation of a 23 February editorial from Rouge, newspaper of the French LCR, ends with the call: "Just as we have freed the Chinese workers from Vietnam. Now they have come straight from the mouth of Andrew Young, Jimmy Carter's front man at the UN! Curiously, a lead article in the same issue by LCR's Lucien Paviere, Pierre Roueux says not one word of criticism of Hanoi's invasion of Cambodia. As Trotskyists we are convinced that escalation is a worse crime than peace, and that peace is preferable to a Chinese attack on Vietnam."
at the heart of black economic oppression is the question of jobs. In the late 1960's, when affirmative action was first implemented, the American bourgeoisie was beset by black ghetto conditions, and this new context of relatively expansionary economy (the Vietnam War period). With that context, offering quotas for blacks and women was rather cheap. But a decade later the situation is starkly simple: the government or the capitalist state control over organized labor.

The issue posed to the workers movement by affirmative action was starkly simple: the government or the union for the government programs and court rulings that were affecting the working class. Thus while correctly denouncing the government-husting affirmative action, the SWP supports all sorts of programs in the context of a mass-front mobilization that mobilizes the U.S. labor Department. The SWP supports all sorts of affirmative action plans, from the steel decree on down, which rip up labor and economic rights of good social democrats believe the bourgeois state can be pressured into serving the interests of capitalism. The white supremacist, the racist, who openly sides with racists. This is one of the black community to rely on the good graces of the capitalist government—which means that what happens to black youth is the black thug thugs threatening black schoolchildren in Boston, or to "protect" black workers in the steel industry. It was surprising that a considerable amount of moral blackmail was sent into the affirmative action case originated with the NAACP.

"Affirmative action" is based on the view that government programs are among the privileged sections of American society and must make sacrifices to end racism and ... friction, and those who have been "empowerable" gears. Few ... in order to pay for the government programs and court rulings that were affecting the working class. Thus while predictably denouncing the government-husting affirmative action, the SWP supports all sorts of programs in the context of a mass-front mobilization that mobilizes the U.S. labor Department. The SWP supports all sorts of affirmative action plans, from the steel decree on down, which rip up labor and economic rights of good social democrats believe the bourgeois state can be pressured into serving the interests of capitalism. The white supremacist, the racist, who openly sides with racists. This is one of the black community to rely on the good graces of the capitalist government—which means that what happens to black youth is the black thug thugs threatening black schoolchildren in Boston, or to "protect" black workers in the steel industry. It was surprising that a considerable amount of moral blackmail was sent into the affirmative action case originated with the NAACP.

While the labor bureaucracy has simply hung onto the job-trusting habits of the past generation, if possible, or simply turned a deaf ear to the flight of ghettoized minorities, most black militants have supported the government's anti-affirmative action schemes. Thus while predictably denouncing the government's "triumph of the good faith efforts" (as in the Weber case), the SWP boycotts this divisive, anti-union ideologue, Herbert Hill. A class-struggle response to the mass-demand situation and the white capitalist camp the NAACP's labor director, later this ratio has not changed. Meanwhile, the absolute level of black unemployment has risen to 13.2 percent—the largest number of blacks without jobs in the nation's cities except for the segregated out of the black community to rely on the good graces of the capitalist government—which means that what happens to black youth is the black thug thugs threatening black schoolchildren in Boston, or to "protect" black workers in the steel industry. It was surprising that a considerable amount of moral blackmail was sent into the affirmative action case originated with the NAACP.

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the government over the unions, we call for trade-union independence from the state. Thus, our starting point must be a struggle within the unions against the policies of the trade-union leadership for a political reform that addresses the specific questions of black oppression while strengthening the existing class frontier as a whole. Instead of the cry for government-run affirmative action programs, we call for a democratic control of hiring and upgrading. Union hiring halls should be established to insure that hiring be based on a nonpartisan, first-come, first-serve basis. Where hiring halls do exist and operate on a virtually segregated basis, as in the building trades, class-struggle militants would demand an aggressive union program to recruit and organize minority workers.

As opposed to the reformists' willingness to trade off seniority for a token number of jobs, militants defend seniority as a basic principle of trade unionism. Blacks in particular would be victimized by the erosion of the seniority system, as managers and foremen in this country are overwhelmingly white, with a good percentage of right-wingers and racists. Moreover, in large parts of heavy industry, where blacks have been concentrated for a very long time as a result of low seniority, but rather because of the fact that the working-class tradition and the principle of seniority against this state that the courts and the capitalist politicians are openly rallying to Weber demonstrates the same fundamental point. Key to unlocking the great power of the American working class must be the juggling of illusions in the government. On such a basis can the struggle be organized against the interests of all workers—black and white, men and women—and lead the struggle to liquidate the reactionary capitalist system.

ILWU... (continued from page 2)

overwhelmingly voted down a so-called "unity" resolution aimed at ganging up on the Militant Caucus. Previously passed by the GEB, the convention refused to accept the resolution in its entirety—...once a consensus of almost all delegates was reached at the Convention and the Membership meetings, then the members of the union are obligated to support the program and each faction or group with their own program does not have the moral right to go off and do everything to strive or hinder the program. The point is to assert the unity of all the workers. The officers are preparing to ram a strike contract down our throats. Attempting to pave the way for actions to silence dissent as the contract period approaches, the company's attorneys and officers were prepared when the membership threw their gag motion back at them. The same meeting also stuck the leadership on its quashing of a wildcat to defend union jurisdiction at the Owens-Illinois plant. The members voted that the union would not tolerate the loss of a single job. The demonstrated ability of the Militant Caucus to mobilize the membership around specific issues had an impact not only on the mainline bureaucrats but also on supporters of the Communist Party (CP). With years of experience in the methods of close collaboration, the Stalinists have long known that at the right time and at the right tops, often overly influential political power in the union hierarchy. But the growing awareness of real change based on the Militant Caucus threatens the Stalinists, exposing them time and again as "left" and "agents for betrayal of the membership.

Well-known supporters of the People's World, such as its West Coast newspaper, have been taking some lumps for their toadyism to the bureaucrats. Mandel from the GEB and were defeated. They backed the gag motion in an effort to defuse dissent and inflation, that set the stage for racist backlash. Every upsurge in class activity—the coal, postal and rail strikes—demonstrates the anti-labor, strike-breaking character of the bourgeois state. That the courts and the capitalist politicians are openly rallying to Weber demonstrates the same fundamental point. Key to unlocking the great power of the American working class must be the juggling of illusions in the government. On such a basis can the struggle be organized against the interests of all workers—black and white, men and women—and lead the struggle to liquidate the reactionary capitalist system.

Mandell gave a long speech, but in the following decade many of the CP's advocates, de factisegregated in the dirtiest and worst neighborhoods. While the labor bureaucrats' cheap statements to the system of transliterating Chinese names officially introduced by the Peking government on January 1, 1949, has subsequently adopted by most Western newspapers. Until the new (Pinyin) usage becomes established, all references to people shall print the old style (Wade-Giles) version after the first mention of a name: e.g., Deng Wei (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). With certain well-known place names and historical personalities (such as Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai) we shall continue to use, the previous spelling.

Newport News... (continued from page 2)

A downplay the significance of the strike. Although almost all observers throughout the country see the strike at Newport News as a potential break through the "open shop" South, the organizers have the potential power to break through this barrier in the South. I don't look on this as a crusade against the South, he said. Instead they are in a position to demand much more out of the system.

Mandell's position is that the strike is a possible break-through in the South. But in the following decade many of the CP's advocates, de facto segregated in the dirtiest and worst neighborhoods. While the labor bureaucrats' cheap statements to the system of transliterating Chinese names officially introduced by the Peking government on January 1, 1949, has subsequently adopted by most Western newspapers. Until the new (Pinyin) usage becomes established, all references to people shall print the old style (Wade-Giles) version after the first mention of a name: e.g., Deng Wei (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). With certain well-known place names and historical personalities (such as Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai) we shall continue to use, the previous spelling.
For Political Revolution in Moscow, Peking, Hanoi! China's "Bloody Lesson" Falls

China's invasion of Vietnam on 17 February marked the first military result of its developing counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union and its allies. This shift in the big power lineup was first signaled in 1972 with the Nixon-Shanghai Communique. Currently this alliance is being formalized as the joint Soviet-American report that the U.S.-China normalization of relations statement both include the same key euphemistic anti-Soviet "hegemonism" clause.

So from Washington to Moscow, when China marched into Vietnam on 17 February, it's collision with the U.S. was immediately evident as a perceptive journalist wrote: "The Chinese army was punished for having routed American imperialism from Indochina in 1975. In the face of this reactionary aggression against the Vietnamese people, it was the urgent task of working-class militancy throughout the world to demand: "China Get Out of Vietnam Now!" The international Spartacist tendency,habitually dull in its achievements, achieved a degree of recognition in the bourgeois media with our banner, "China's War Against U.S. Imperialism! USSR: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!"

On 17 February, Beijing was fogged down in a narrow band just over the border for 17 days. Peking declared "an important victory" and announced it was pulling out of Vietnam. In its withdrawal, the Chinese media systematically shelled villages, burning houses, destroying bridges and railroads, leading to Hanoi's charges that the invaders were still "nibbling and plundering" many areas in Vietnam. And at press time Chinese officials in Bangkok were reportedly announcing Peking's aims to retain some bases in the south near Vietnam's border (New York Times, 13 March).

This scorched-earth withdrawal was yet further evidence that the threat by Chinese deputy prime minister Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson" had clearly failed, resulting only in an abortive bloody advance. Another invasion in the near future cannot be ruled out, which would quickly pose a Sino-Soviet war and could well draw in the U.S. on the side of the militarily far weaker Peking. Thus the nascent U.S./China/Japan axis remains a dagger pointed at the heart of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the principal target of imperialism's effort to overcome the conquests of the anticapitalist revolutions.

Military Fool, Diplomatic Stand-Off

In sharp contrast to China's last military action against capitalist India in 1962, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was halted by the Vietnamese, who inflicted heavy casualties on the invading force. This effective resistance to the Chinese is even more striking in that it occurred while its full forces were still in battle. For the first week the PLA was held off solely by Vietnamese border guards and local militia. And even later Vietnam held in reserve much of its regular army to defend Hanoi and Haiphong. Many commentators also wondered why the Vietnamese did not use their far superior air force. While they reportedly withdrew several main force units from Cambodia in order to bring them north, the Vietnamese avoid being drawn into a Chinese trap and thus frustrated Deng's efforts to administer a stinging military defeat.

Although China was militarily blocked, the invasion was not a total failure for Peking in the political/diplomatic sense. The New York Times man in Singapore wrote on March 11 that right-wing Southeast Asian politicians "could find reason for satisfaction in China's punitive action." More significantly, Peking pulled the northern polar bear's tail without getting snipped by its powerful paw. In the first days of the fighting there was widespread speculation and fear that the Russians would retaliate in support of their Vietnamese ally. But the Kremlin's commitment to detente with the U.S. proved far stronger than its "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" with Vietnam. The Russian Stalinist bureaucracy, deeply nationalist and conservative, reacted in the same way to the Chinese invasion as it did to U.S. imperialism's massive bombing of Vietnam a decade and a half ago. Namely, it did as little as possible.

Even the American bourgeois press was surprised at how conciliatory to the U.S. was Brezhnev's speech of March 2. An official statement of the central committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party distributed March 4 denounced the Peking rulers for having "shamefully collided with the imperialists and today's most reactionary forces" in their invasion of Vietnam. But although a February 27 Pravda editorial charged that the U.S. had "contributed to Peking's openly taking the warpath," in a major speech three days later Brezhnev had nothing but good to say about relations with Washington. The highlight of his speech was a celebration over an imminent SALT II disarma­ment agreement! Agreement against the Kremlin's cynical clasp about "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, the interna­tional Spartacist tendency called for "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!" To the Soviet workers and peasants we proclaimed that not detente but only revolutionary internationalism could secure for them a socialist future.

Collusion with U.S. Imperialism

Peking's unsuccessful attempt to militarily humiliate Vietnam was de­signed both to assert itself as the dominant power in the region and to strike a blow at the Russians. Referring to Vietnam as the "Cuba of Asia," Deng unleashed a diatribe of vituperation that could have put Lyndon Johnson, Dean Rusk and Henry Kissinger to shame: "We cannot tolerate the Cubans to go and smash bucking in Africa, the Middle East and other areas...nor can we tolerate the Cubans of the Orient to go smash bucking in Laos, Cambodia or even China's border areas." (New York Times, 28 February)

This common purpose was seen not only in rhetoric. On March 4 the New York Times reported that the Carter administration finally admitted it had advance knowledge of the Chinese invasion: "In a speech to the State Department this week, Mr. Kissinger said last week that the United States learned from Mr. Teng during his visit of China's plans to attack Vietnam. Revolutionary opposition Peking's regional big power ambitions, which have as their aim the subordination of Vietnam and the rest of Indochina and which date back to the very beginnings of the Chinese Stalinist regime. But what poses the possibility of global military conflict and brings into force the Leninist-Trotskyst movement's principled position of unconditional defense of the degenerated workers states against imperialist attack is China's collusion with the West. Despite all its diplomatic overtures, the Carter administration made little attempt to disguise its support to China. At the height of the fighting Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal went to Peking to officially open the American embassy and also to grant China most-favor-nation status--a distinction (which the USSR does not enjoy).

U.S. imperialism is deeply involved in China's anti-Soviet policies, including its Vietnam adventure. Had the Soviets retaliated, this would have taken the war out of the regional framework and into the global sphere. The United States learned from Mr. Teng during his visit of China's plans to attack Vietnam. The danger is not a Chinese invasion of the U.S. through the intermediary of the Vietnamese people. It is the U.S. through the intermediary of the Chinese, through China's punitve attacks on the Russian degenerated workers state against the Western imperialists, principally the U.S. through the intermediary of the China-Vietnam war. The Kremlin must sound the alarm, however, and not go for the October Revolution. In this conflict the Trotskyists know why they stand: to shock, to shake, to whip workers against the counterrevolutionary attack.

Fake Trotskyists Duck Defense of USSR

In contrast, various pseudo-Trotskyist opportunists tripped all over themselves on the China-Vietnam war, with positions ranging from see-no-evi­l, hear-no-evil denial of reality to a line closely paralleling the U.S. State De­partment and Deng Xiaoping. The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) took the know-nothing, with the new editor of Intercosmopolitan Press, Mary-Alice Waters, claiming in her maiden (19 February) editorial that "The danger is not a Chinese invasion of Vietnam. But the imperialists maneuvers that Peking is helping to cover up" (her emphasis). She repeats the point several times and ends, "Our spotlight must be on the Thai­land-Kampuchea border, not the Vietnam-China border." Oh, dear. Where is Joseph Hansen now that they need him?

"To the SWP's "analysis" of the China-Vietnam war is its denial that the Soviet Union is in any way threat­ened. In a major line editorial, "Before the Lies on Invasion of Vietnam" (Militant, 16 March), Gus Horowitz denies that any U.S. involvement is "a reflection of the Sino-Soviet or Sino-Vietnam disputes." Leaving aside the idiot "logic" demon­strating that since the source and war drive is imperialism (right), therefore one cannot lay blame at the foot of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy (wrong), we detect his real aim: to denounce the invasion as a machinery war to avoid any suggestion of being on the same side as the USSR. Of course, back at Intercosmopolitan Press (12 March) we read a statement by the "majority" of the "United Secretaries" continued on page 9...