Save the Fedayeen!

Iranian Left Under the Gun

No to the Veil!
For Workers Revolution Against Islamic Reaction!

"Death to the communists!" "Death to the enemies of Islam!" These are the ominous battle cries echoing through the streets of Teheran. The clerical reactionaries who now rule Iran are orchestrating a redoubled offensive against the left with a series of massive demonstrations that howl for the blood of those branded "traitors to Islam." Simultaneously the Khomeini regime has granted virtually unrestricted powers to the Muslim paramilitary units taking shape which will spearhead the coming onslaught on the Iranian left and working class.

A major confrontation between the left and Islamic theocracy has been delayed only by the chaotic conditions produced by the rapid and complete disintegration of the shah's imperial state apparatus. The attempt to consolidate Khomeini's rule has also meant the execution of some of the most hated butchers of the shah's SA VAK and army—the one act of this dangerous regime which is worthy of applause. While the imperialists cry bitterly for their good friends who face the firing squads, proletarian revolutionaries are glad to see some of these sadistic torturers go. We know that it is the torture of mullahs and not the torture of leftists and working people that has been made a capital offense. We know well whose hands hold the rifles after the Islamic courts pronounce sentence, but we know too that nearly all of these butchers deserve to die. We would gladly extradite the shah himself to Teheran to face his victims—end the "vacation" of this mass murderer!

The creation of Khomeini's Islamic state requires this deep-going blood purge. For every general who looks at the wall an ex-imperial colonel takes his place. But it has taken time to discipline the irregular Muslim militiamen and salvage the needed military and police cadres from the wreckage of the shah's army and police forces.

It is not simply brutal military suppression which puts the Iranian left in peril but, as in Indonesia in 1965, the possibility of a combined assault by the regular army and a viciously anti-communist Muslim mass movement. Using the spectacular assassinations of government figures by the shadowy, self-proclaimed Islamic populists of the Forghan Fighters group, the Khomeini regime is succeeding in whipping up just such a rabid popular mobilization among its petty-bourgeois followers.

In the wake of savage fighting between pro-government forces and Kurdish and Turkoman rebels the mullahs had singled out the Guevarist Fedayeen guerrillas for suppression because of their military aid to these embattled national minorities. After the arrest of 70 Fedayeen supporters in early April the next blow came when on April 20 a mob of 2,000 militiamen stormed the Fedayeen offices in the southwestern city of Abadan, center of the Iranian oil industry. The Muslim raiders confiscated a supply of arms and ammunition and arrested 41 Fedayeen. Although Fedayeen spokesmen in Teheran attempted to deny that the

Fatima Khalil Tour a Smashing Success

Fatima Khalil has just wound up her successful national speaking tour, sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, on the topic "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction." Drawing on her own experiences coming from a Muslim background, the young Near Eastern communist woman received significant press coverage with her vivid descriptions of the centuries-old oppression of women which the reactionary Khomeini regime seeks to enforce in Iran today. Speaking to over 1,000 people in ten cities coast-to-coast, Khalil argued powerfully on the need to smash the reactionary "Islamic Republic" through socialist revolution.

Khalil's tour stressed the urgent need to draw the lessons of Khomeini's orders to repose the veil, the massacre of Kurds, execution of homosexuals and round-up of Fedayeen militants under the new Islamic Republic. Those so-called "leftists" who uncritically hailed the ayatollahs stand today confused, deeply compromised and utterly bankrupt politically. In her concluding forum in New York City on May 5, Khalil set forth the urgent tasks facing revolutionaries in Iran today:

"The struggle today...is to smash the Islamic government, and to base ourselves on the working class.... For that the task of revolutionaries is to fight to establish a revolutionary party.... The slogan of the workers and farmers government is the main slogan in Iran. It is necessary to break the masses from the ayatollahs, raising demands which will contradict with the mullahs' interests, which will show the masses the road forward. Demands like: expropriating the land, including the mullahs' own land! For a constituent assembly and self-determination! For full democratic rights!"

She also emphasized the need to mount a united-front defense of the left and all those democratic secular forces who are increasingly coming under attack from the mullahs.

Khalil's forums on the West Coast and in New York drew large audiences, as they did earlier in the Midwest: 70 in Los Angeles, 100 at Santa Cruz, 120 at San Francisco State University, 200 at the University of California at Berkeley, and 150 in New York City. While in the Bay Area she also received a continued on page 10
To the editor:

Through a dishonest manipulation of quotations, the Militant article amalgamates quotations taken out of context from two separate articles by Lenin. The Militant[1] is a Trotskyist paper for only one. The source cited, "Socialism and Religion," was written in December 1905 and did not mention Father Gapon, the direct references to him come from another article, "Revolutionary Days," written immediately after the "Bloody Sunday" massacre of the march led by Gapon on January 29 of that year. By this editorial sleight-of-hand, the SWP tries to create the false impression that Lenin is speaking of the Russian Orthodox bishops, a sincere clergyman "must stand for the complete separation of church and state," the Church's feudal privileges, outspoken support of the capitalist order, and that we "must not over this butcher's terrorization of the masses and who will know how to translate it into revolutionary action when the time comes." Lenin points out that as long as the tsarist autocracy was intact, clerical reaction could be concealed from the masses. But the 1905 Revolution compelled the tsar's clergy to organize fascistic gangs, the Black Hundreds, and "it became necessary for 'the princes of the Church—the bishops' to organize the reactionary clergy into an independent force." Lenin concludes this article by praising the Social-Democratic deputy Surkov, who: "...representing the workers' party and the working class, was the only person in the Duma to raise the debate to the truly high level of principle, and said without beating about, the bush what the attitude of the proletariat is towards the Church and religion and what should be the attitude of all consistent and vigorous democrats. Religion is the opium of the people. . . . Not a farrthing of the people's money to these murderous enemies of the people, the reactionaries. People's minds—this straightforward, bold and outspoken battle cry of a social democratic deputy, like a challenge to the Black-Hundred Duma, and met with the response of millions of proletarians. who will spread it among the masses and who will know how to translate it into revolutionary action when the time comes."

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Margaret Thatcher: The fourth horse of the apocalypse.

LONDON—The stock exchange index shot up and the Tory gutter press headlines screamed with delight as Margaret Thatcher’s union-bashing Conservative Party won the May 3 British election with an overall majority of 43 seats. Thus Britain now has its most right-wing government since at least the closing days of World War II, a regime which will attempt to revive the sick capitalist economy by unleashing a violent onslaught against the powerful trade-union movement. What Labour tried and ultimately failed to do through deals with the union bureaucrats Thatcher now threatens to do through open confrontation. Following in the footsteps of fascist leaders Ben- danarahe, Indira Gandhi and Golda Meir, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will be the Fourth Horse of the Apocalypse.

Labour managed to hold most of its traditional working-class support in Scotland and the industrial North of England. But it lost thousands of votes throughout the South and Midlands and received its lowest overall percentage total since the 1931 elections defeating Thatcher’s victory was the fruit of five years of Labour betrayal which saw massive government attacks on the job by the trade-unions and British workers combined with open strike-breaking by the police and army. No wonder their voting toil packages seem to get thinner while the coal queues [unemployment lines] get longer. work—was less than enthusiastic about the prospect of another five years of such Labour government.

The government’s failure to stem the mass movement which destroyed Phase Four of Callaghan’s wage control last winter convinced the bourgeoisie that the Tories are the only force available to keep the unions in line for its capitalist paymasters. Thus, after having supported the government for years, business interests rallied solidly behind Thatcher in the months leading up to the elections. The author and political Economi~ noted that Callaghan stood on a fine “platform of middle-ground consensus” while Thatcher has too dangerously radical and confrontationist. Nevertheless it, too, came out for a Conservative vote as the best chance under the circumstances for reviving the sick British economy on the backs of the working class.
NYC's Almost May Day

Note for many years has New York City warehouses of union workers marching in the streets on May Day. But on this May 1, the blocks around City Hall were filled with 4,000 to 5,000 members of District Council 37 (DC 37) of AFSCME government employees and other NYC unions protesting union-busting mayor Ed Koch's intention to shut down half the city's public hospitals. The first union May Day rally in decades was largely ignored by the city's capitalist press—the Times deliberately used it as a backdrop to elicit statements praising "American democracy," from several recently released Soviet dissidents who were coincidentally visiting City Hall. More importantly, the Times included in the midst of a wave of strikes among isolated sections of the NYC labor force (mail drivers, school bus drivers, tugboat workers, building service employees), where a united demonstration of labor's muscle could possibly powerfully aid the strikers, NYC labor leaders simply turned their backs on this tremendous opportunity to link up with AFSCME protest for a fighting May Day to stop Koch's union-busting.

Members of Local 420 of DC 37 poured into the demonstration from hospitals all over the city and were joined by the Union of Professional Service Employees Union and members of other sympathizing unions and community organizations, including the Brooklyn-based Black United Front of Rev. Herbert Daughtrey. The demonstrators chanted "Koch's Kuts Kill!" and "Save Our Hospitals, Save Our Jobs!" At stake for the marchers was not merely jobs but the health of New York City's poor and working people, most of them black and Hispanic. The core of the hospital care is the municipal system threatened by the cutbacks.

As the post-march rally began, DC 37 leader Victor Gotbaum, looking stooped and haggard from years of bossing to the city's bosses, was berated by a podium by angry unionists and black protesters. Loud applause greeted the duennaug political Daughtrey, who urged the audience: "Let's march, let's rally, let's scream, let's vote... for black Democratic politicians. Right in line to pitch for those votes were Brooklyn assemblyman Al Vann and Harlem congressman Charles Rangel who offered his Capitol Hill porkbarreling expertise, promised that, "If the Congress has anything todo with it, that [city hospital] system will not be closed"

With a large banner prominently displayed near the speakers' platform the Spartacist League contingent countered to the labor movement with the slogans "Stop Koch's union-busting policies" and "Vote for Democratic—Dump the Bureaucrats! Build a Workers Party!" SL members and trade-union supporters carried signs reading "For Militant Strikes to Stop the Hospital Closings!" "Victory to the Tugboat, Building and School Bus Strikers!" and "Cops and Prison Guards Out of the Unions!"

Into the conflict jumped New York's mayor Koch, the Greenwich Village Spartacist contingent at NYC May Day rally.

Coast Guard Shafts NY Tug Strike

New York City has been rocked in recent weeks by a tugboatmen's strike pitting unions against the federal government. The Journal of Commerce of 27 April railed that "strikers have approached epidemic proportions" here as striking dairy workers and school bus drivers were joined by building maintenance workers and tugboatmen. While the first three contracts disputes have now been settled, the tugboatmen are still out striking. On April 29 Koch released an order to break the tugboatmen's strike, run the city's tugboatyards by strikebreakers and endorsed the Coast Guard to help.

Meanwhile, as the tugboatmen's strike dragged on, the Coast Guard, of all federal agencies, was called in to back up the mayor. The Coast Guard vessels—escorted by police launches, patrol boats and ships of every size that could be marshalled—were sent to assist in breaking the strike. In a move that shocked the tugboatmen, the Coast Guard sent in a tugboat that had been designated a "rebel boat" by the strikers. The Coast Guard then seized the tugboatmen's tugboat yard near the Battery in New York harbor. Both sides are well aware that this is the backbone of the union by invading New York harbor. Both sides are well aware that this is the backbone of the union by invading New York harbor. Both sides are well aware that this is the backbone of the union by invading New York harbor. Both sides are well aware that this is the backbone of the union by invading New York harbor. Both sides are well aware that this is the backbone of the union by invading New York harbor.

The Coast Guard's intervention came as the tugboatmen were striking for higher wages and better working conditions. The strike was called in response to a series of unfair labor practices charged by the Coast Guard. The Coast Guard refused to negotiate with the tugboatmen and instead called in strikebreakers to take over the tugboatyards. The tugboatmen, however, refused to recognize the Coast Guard as their employer and continued their strike. The Coast Guard's intervention was seen by many as a violation of the rights of the tugboatmen and an attempt to break the strike.

The tugboatmen's strike was a significant event in the labor movement of the time. It was one of the first major strikes in New York City in decades, and it was fought against the federal government. The strike was eventually settled, but it highlighted the ongoing struggle between workers and the federal government for better working conditions and fair treatment.

The tugboatmen's strike also had a significant impact on the labor movement. It was seen as a symbol of the workers' struggle for better working conditions and fair treatment. It was also seen as a sign of the ongoing struggle between workers and the federal government for better working conditions and fair treatment.
No Nuke Flukes Flood Washington

They came from all over the country to take part in the giant anti-nuclear demonstration held in Washington, D.C. on May 6. Tens of thousands streamed into the city by bus and by van and by car tall the while chanting slogans. Bedecked in their bells and their beads and their flowers, they assembled once more beneath the Washington Monument. The official crowd count was 65,000, but most unofficial observers doubled the number; in any case it was the biggest demonstration since the Vietnam War. After the May 7 New York Times described it: “While some of the talk was filled with anger, the appearance of being graduates of an earlier era returning for a 10-year reunion.”

And if it was a “ten-year reunion,” what got together in Washington was the old “Clean for Gene” crowd, mobilizing for liberalism and the “greening” of America. From the numerous American flags along the line of march to the endless demands to “Make Our Country Safe,” the entire affair oozed with patriotism. And while most of the leaders of the movement, including its two most prominent ones, lined up to finish it was a rally for knowing nothing populism within the framework of the Democratic Party. After all, it was a party convention that was being held that week.

The scene was like something out of “The Graduate.” Nearly college-age youth, the tone was predominantly that of a counterculture happening. Thousands of hippies crawled out the woodwork to wave balloons and languish in the tulips in front of the Monument Mall. They brandished skulls, crossbones and other ghoulish paraphernalia on sticks, chanting “Hell No. We Won’t Go!” and “I Want Sixty-Six! We Don’t Want to Radiate.” They dressed up like mushroom clouds and they hung any police or Established condemnation demands depicting two-headed children, one-eyed creatures and the like on traffic lights and trees. In addition to the clowns and shads there were the “Flukes Against Nukes” people who spent the day carting around a 40-foot fish. The Fish, a bald ex-cop, was for the most part amusing and amiable. They gave the appearance of being graduates of an earlier era returning for a 10-year reunion.

But any day carting around a 40-foot fish. The Fish, a bald ex-cop, was for the most part amusing and amiable. They gave the appearance of being graduates of an earlier era returning for a 10-year reunion.

Declaring that the dangers of nuclear power were larger than “any political party can handle,” Marjorie Stamberg, former Spartacist Party candidate for the House of Representatives, called on the demonstration to cut back on nuclear power and to support the anti-Vietnam War movement. At the May 5 NYC anti-nuke teach-in sponsored by the Village Voice, the young pothead Ralph Nader said “Carter has lost his honesty,” while a message from Teddy Kennedy was read to the crowd. And while Carter told a crowd that he had finally discovered what it meant to be opposed as a movie actress. But if the politics of the radical anti-Vietnam War activists were deformed by their pacifist illusions, by their tailing after the Democratic Party doves, etc., at least they wanted the U.S. to get out of Vietnam. Conservatives could march in the streets with them. In contrast, the program of the no-nuke crusade is downright perverted, conservative to the core and ultimately calling for a return to pre-industrial society.

Moreover, it is an exercise of imperialist hypocrisy for these representatives of comfortable, white middle-class America to compare their situation to the Vietnamese. It’s like Jane Fonda’s film Coming Home, in which the Vietnamese War was seen as harmful because it screwed up and maimed “our boys.” What about the more than one million Vietnamese who died on the battlefields, in napalm graves, from vitamin deficiencies due to living in a landscape made barren by napalm crops poisoned by defoliants? It is a sign of the times that in post-Watergate America and with “Vietnam rights” imperialist moral rearmament campaigns people can seriously claim that Harrington was “right.”

Spartacist League Statement

The May 6 demonstration was covered live coast-to-coast on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) television. As part of its coverage, PBS carried an excerpt from a statement on nuclear power by SL spokesman Marjorie Stamberg, former Spartacist Party candidate for State Assembly in New York. The full text of Stamberg’s statement, as taped for broadcast, is reprinted below:

‘Nukes’ have no power. Do you oppose or favor nuclear power?

Stamberg: The anti-nuclear protesters have had to pull the plug on atomic power. We think that nuclear power is unsafe. Anybody knows that nuclear power is unsafe except types like the naneder-thals at the National Review. But any type of energy production under the capitalist system is going to be unsafe. For instance, does anybody think it’s safe to go to work in a coal mine? Every time you turn on your light switch you’re going to give some miner black lung disease.

The point about this is that we refuse to take responsibility for the way the capitalists allocate their energy resources. Because we know that whatever system they’re going to go for, whether it’s oil, whether it’s coal, whether it’s nuclear, they’re going to find a way to get a lot of people hurt and a way to get a lot of people dead. And that’s because they’re concerned with finding ways to minimize accidents, with finding ways to...continued on page 10.
Khalil Tour Success...

(continued from page 1)

full-page feature in the May San Francisco Chronicle.

The most vehement reaction to comrade Khalil’s tour came from Iranian Khomenei supporters in the U.S., who have been driven into a frenzy by her exposure of the reactionary nature of mullah rule. Despite the attempts of Muslim fanatics to disrupt the tour (including cowardly anonymous telephone death threats in Los Angeles), Khalil’s forums were all successfully carried through. This was due in large part to the brothers and sisters from over 25 different trade unions who turned out across the country to defend workers democracy.

At her presentation at San Francisco State University on May 2, some 50 Khomenei supporters—deterred from open attack by the presence of burly trade unionists—scurried out of the forum quietly, only to return near the end of the discussion period with a university dean and several plainclothes cops, slanderingiously charging that the union defense guards had firearms.

Their courage bolstered by the cops’ presence, several of the Khomeneis then spoke, merely reiterating the state claim that the Koran doesn’t discriminate against women. When the meeting adjourned the defense guards interposed themselves between Khalil and the shouting Islamic fanatics, while other guards ejected a particularly obnoxious and hysterical Iranian reactionary. In a graphic example of their “Islamic democracy,” the Khomenei disciples then bolted, literally dragging out with them several of their adherents who wanted to stay and continue discussions with the SL One of these unlucky Iranians, his eyes filled with tears as he was hauled away, exclaimed, “It’s true! There is no democracy in Iran today!”

Comrade Khalil’s forums exposed the reactionary political implications of religion, a rather unfamiliar theme for American leftists, who are more accusomed to seeing racism and nationalism as the predominant reactionary ideologies. At the forum in Santa Cruz, California, a Spartacist spokesman underlined this key Marxist distinction: “This comrade is from the Muslim East and her speaking tour is a direct attack on the Catholics, Protestants and Jews all hate Muslims and are therefore anxious to score on the Muslims. Catholics, Protestants and Jews, in their religious aspects, have a lot on their plate. Do not throw stones at the Muslim religion because it is Muslim, but because all religions necessarily have each administratively deeply reactionary sides. And you have to know only a little of the history of South Asia to throw in the Hindus and the Buddhists too—Islam is not unique in its denigration of women. The difference between the role of religion in Khomeini’s Iran and its reactionary ideological function in the advanced capitalist societies of the West is the bourgeois revolution which established secularized states. In Khomeini’s Iran, the anti-woman precepts of the Koran automatically acquire the force of laws.

In New York City Khalil was invited to give a brief presentation at a talk by American feminist Kate Millett, who recently had a first-hand taste of Khomeini’s reaction when she was expelled from Iran after participating in the mass demonstration protesting the veil on International Women’s Day.

Although shaken by her experience, as a feminist Millett’s limp conclusion was that only women can liberate themselves. In contrast, Khalil insisted that “the fight is not man against woman, and the question is not to fail some other Muslims or bourgeois nationalists. What is needed is a revolutionary party which can change the social order.” Following a lengthy debate between some of the more vehemently anti-communist feminists in the audience and Spartacist League supporters, Khalil succinctly summed up the nature of the petty-bourgeois audience’s attitude: “What I see here tonight is guiltism—We should let those women decide what they have to do! But the point is how these women will be liberated...the question is to smash the Islamic Republic, to fight for a workers government which will bring democracy and liberate the women.”

Comrade Khalil’s intensive (and exhausting) three-week tour has been an important part of the international Spartacist tendency’s campaign to bring home the lessons of the bloody Iranian events to the left, to the campuses and to the working class, as we struggle to crystallize a revolutionary cadre which can lead the Iranian masses to victory through socialist revolution. It was particularly gratifying that a number of the trade unionists who had come initially simply to defend her right to speak found themselves drawn closer politically to the Spartacist League through her forums and the experience of defending her.

Thanks to Our Trade Union Brothers and Sisters

The Spartacist league thanks all those who volunteered their time to defend Fatima Khalil’s speaking tour and to uphold the principle of workers democracy, including particularly the more than 100 trade union brothers and sisters from the following 25 unions across the country (partial listing):

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks
Canadian International Association of Firefighters
Chicago Transit Union
Communication Workers of America
Graphic Arts International Union
Hotel and Restaurant Employers and Bartenders International Union
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union
International Typographical Union
Letter Carriers Union of Canada
Local 333, United Marine Division—ILA (currently on strike in New York)
National Association of Letter Carriers
National Maritime Union
Retail Clerks International Association
Service Employees International Union
Sheet Metal Workers International Association
Stationary Engineers
United Auto Workers
United Steelworkers of America
United Transportation Union

WORKERS VANGUARD
Who's Behind WL Provocations Against Spartacist?

"Q: What Do Idi Amin, Billy Carter and Gerry Healy Have in Common?"
"A: The Qaddafi Connection!"

On May 6 trade unionists and supporters of the Spartacist League demonstrated outside the W.L.'s May 6 meetings (called ostensibly in celebration of May Day) were replying to a pathological smear article in the W.L.'s yellow-journalism Bulletin (1 May) entitled "The Spartacist League: Provocateurs Against Trotskyism and the Iranian Revolution." This 12-column tirade was the Healyites' frenzied reaction to the SL's exposure of the W.L.'s press agency on behalf of its oil-rich Libyan patron.

Last issue, W.F. had excoriated Healy/Banda for their efforts to justify the bloody suppression of the Iraqi Communist Party at the hands of the Qaddafi-allied bourgeois-nationalist Ba'ath regime (see "Healyites: Kill a Comrade for Qaddafi," W.F. No. 230, 27 April). Also goading the Healyites to new paroxysms of slander was the SL's political offensive against Qaddafi's pal Ayatollah Khomenei of Iran, highlighted by the widely publicized tour by Qaddafi, megalomaniacal strongman of Libya, utilizing on behalf of its its oil-rich Libyan patron.

At the May 6 SL picket of the Workers League (WL) slanders in Oakland, two Healyites goons roamed about heckling confrontations. One of these thugs was a man already known to us, one "Tim Nichols." Who is "Tim Nichols"? He says he dropped out from Princeton, one of the great universities for dumb bourgeois children, and that his father is a CIA intelligence officer. "Tim Nichols" claims the political history of a drifter; after allegedly participating in acts in defense of the Panthers in the 1970 New Left milieu, and in various SWP front groups. In 1971, he is known to have joined the Healyite organization in 1972.

He was the WL's Oakland organizer in 1974, and a member of the WL during the Wohlforth purge. But the WL's San Jose organizer claims that "Nichols" was asked to resign in 1975 because he had committed racially provocative acts in the black community. In 1977 "Tim Nichols" came around the Spartacist League intent on joining. But the SL did not take the bait. An SL member who was "Nichols" roommate during the time they were both in the WL, raised questions about him: "Nichols" had come straight from an SWP feminist front to join the anti-women's liberation WL; he was full of questions about international travel; he got a job in the carpenters union by threatening to scab if he was refused.

"Nichols" subsequent conduct as a self-professed SL supporter certainly justified the suspicions about him—that he was irrational, possibly a cop, perhaps a WL penetration agent or maybe all three at once.

We drove "Tim Nichols" away from the SL after a reprehensible incident of crossing the class line, smacking of provocation. The facts are these. During the 1977 Handymam warehouse strike in Northern California, a picker was brutally killed. The ILWU in response organized a boycott of Handyman. This boycott was in effect when, in August of 1977, in flagrant disregard of elementary labor solidarity, "Tim Nichols" patroized a Handyman establishment. Since "Nichols" was accompanying a member of the SL on a sale of our press at this time this atrocity took place, the question was strongly posed that "Nichols"—in addition to exposing his own "socialist" pretensions—might be attempting to associate our party with his scabbing.

The SL reacted swiftly. On 21 August 1977 the Berkeley/Oakland SL passed the following motion: "Whereas Tim N. acted with gross and cynical irresponsibility while on a sale in violating an organized boycott, thereby endangering the political reputation of the organization and its trade-union friends, and furthermore that he appears to be erratic and unstable as evidenced by several recent incidents of cop-baiting slander: [The Iranian revolution] has earned the hatred of the CIA, the U.S. corporations, the military and the entire Carter administration. Nowhere is this hatred expressed more viciously however than in the pages of the revisionist press. The W.L. is a press agency on behalf of its oil-rich Libyan patron.

Moral, it may be said without exaggeration that these groups represent not so much a political tendency within the workers movement, as an out-and-out provocation against the entire working class.

"Upon reading the articles on the Iranian Revolution in both of our newspapers, one cannot help but wonder aloud, 'Is what police academe-- continued on page 11

Portrait of a Healyite as a Scab/Spy

Fatima Khalil, the Near Eastern communist who spoke in eight cities on "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution Against Islamic Reaction!"

Hoping to egg on the Muslim fundamentalists who have mounted physical assaults on Spartacist forums several times over the past few months, the Bulletin takes the SL's Trotskyist line on Iran as the excuse for a new orgy of provocation.

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We Will Not Forget This Betrayal!

Miller Buries Stearns Strike

The heroic miners of Stearns, Kentucky, on strike for nearly three years against the notorious Blue Diamond Coal Company, have fallen victim to one of the most despicable betrayals in years from their own union leaders. With the explicit approval of United Mine Workers (UMWA) president Arnold Miller, the most powerful trade union in the world, a thoroughly rigged "election" supervised by the notorious National Labor Relations Board was held behind the picket lines on company property. To no one's surprise, the Blue Diamond scabs unanimously selected in the company "union," the Justus Employees Association (JEA), as their bargaining agent.

The strikers stood steadfast to the very end. They boycotted the sham vote in protest, and when the UMWA strike committee finally declared eligible, although 122 of the 151 miners who voted to strike in July 1977 remained vocal opponents, the scab union was unopposed. Some 28 guards carrying shotguns and sidecars, the same gun thugs who have been herding the scabs, hovered over the polling area inside the Justus mine compound. Rather than take any part in the farce, the miners of Stearns took the initiative to form the Miller bureaucracy "the best we can"—the strikers courageously maintained their picket lines in defiance of the repressive measures of the new union.

The Stearns coal miners responded to the announcement of the sellout by shutting down all the mines in Kentucky and Tennessee on April 23 by sending squads of picketers. But with strike benefits cut off and, without any semblance of support from the Interna
tional, there is little hope that the struggle can continue effectively. One miner, whom we interviewed last week, said that "We can't get a Mine Workers attorney or anything down here to talk to us." The Stearns strike had become a symbol of the miners' resistance to the hired gun thugs, bloody cop attacks and kangaroo courts that rule in the coal fields. Class-conscious workers will not forget the vile treachery of the UMWA leadership which from the beginning refused to mobilize the union behind these militants.

Over the course of the bitter Stearns strike, the entire reformist left hailed the struggle without offering a strategy for victory. The fake socialists, who virtually without exception supported Miller in the 1972 UMWA elections, had no stomach to criticize the International's treachery in Stearns. Likewise they kept their mouths shut as Miller & Co. repeatedly sabotaged the 110-day national coal strike of 1977-1978.

Workers Vanguard was the first socialist newspaper to give national publicity to the heroic fight of the Stearns miners. In repeated articles we called for a break with Miller's defeatist policies and demand militant union support like the five-day shutdown of all UMWA-organized coal mines which finally won the 13-month strike at nearby Brookside (Harlan County). Only by waging a determined struggle to replace the treacherous UMWA bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership will miners be able to reverse defeatism. As Miller puts it, "The non-union coalfields in the South and throughout the country are back there waiting for us."

Moscow Stalinists Cheer Khomeini's Witchhunt

As Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini moves to crush all opposition to his repressive clerical dictatorship, one organization in Iran has distinguished itself as the most obsequious left-wing servant of the regime. Virtually the entire Iranian left has given some degree of support to the mullahs in power. The Moscow Stalinist Tudeh party has spared no effort to prove that. "The Party's disgusting CIA espionage and Stalinist ruffianism" in his native country. "Refugee" Khomeini is a tool of the CIA. The victor in Iran's "revolutions" is the Trotsky termed Stalin, gravediggers of revolutions. In this case, however, by betraying the workers and peasants of Iran the Tudeh Stalinists may be digging their own graves as well.
The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which the Militant describes as the "bourgeois democracy's "maximum program" in class battles from Portugal to Peru, is waging a struggle to defend elementary democratic rights when these conflict with its opportunist politics and a culture of "righteous" feminism.

The SWP’s Militant has hailed the triumph of Khomeni as a "victory in Iran," a campaign to reinstate the veil, the symbol of woman as chattel. On a smaller scale, the SWP’s undercover campaign for a crusade for "age-of-consent" laws aimed at youth and homosexuals.

Department heads by Davis and Philadelphia gay liberationists, Militant reporters Rich Finkel and Matilde Zamora, describe laws as "historic acquisitions of the working class" which should be enforced.

The Militant chooses the 13 as old enough to consent to sex with anyone, and those under 13 as able to consent to sex with partners no more than four years older than they are.

The liberalized New Jersey law will protect the "all right" coalition of "concerned parents," right-wing religious bigots and Phyllis Schlafly-style Victorian moralizers who label people "reactionaries" in the pages of the New York Post, 30 April 1978. The measure defined all persons under 13 as old enough to consent to sex with anyone, and those under 13 as able to consent to sex with partners no more than four years older than they are.

From Anita Bryant to California’s Briggs, the puritanical crusade against gay rights has been labeled a "reactionary" in the pages of the New York Post, 30 April 1978. Anita Bryant’s anti-homosexual crusade, the Militant reported, was intended, according to NOW’s Nancy Stultz, "to extend maximum protection to children who might be involved in consensual sex with adults no more than four years older than they are.

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Do you think that the political issue of nuclear power will become a greater and greater public issue in the next elections?  

Staunberg: Well, I think it's already of central concern, and we should look at the speakers at the demonstration, and from the people who built the demonstration, and the growing participation of capitalist politicians in it. There's anreason for this, because demonstrations have called for an end to the commercial nuclear plants. They have not said a word about the government's role, but they have said a word about the question of nuclear weapons in the hands of the military. So people are worried about accidents. We have one thing to say and that's that Iran has the money to do it. We think that nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialists and directed against the workers is the greatest danger facing humanity today. That is the question. And by the way, we are not talking of nuclear war through delente, and will not be through any type of disarmament schemes. We will not be talking of nuclear war through delente, and will not be through any type of disarmament schemes. We will be talking about a secular society and a rational society in which the question will not be resolved, that question. As Marxists, we believe that a rational society is a society in which the question will not be resolved, that question. As Marxists, we believe that a rational society is a society in which the question of nuclear power will become a greater and greater public issue in the next elections.

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WL Pimps... (continued from page 7)

Of course, cop-baiting is nothing new for the fascists. In another era the fascists were the street-corner heckle-hounds of the White Supremacist Front, and the SL was the "fingertip for the western capital-ist class" as early as 1966. But the Bulletin article represents the full flowering of Healyite paranoia to an extent reminiscent of ex-"leftist" cultist Lynne Marcus: "The SL is a small sect that was set up by the late Joseph Hansen, the proven FBI agent who for many years ran the Socialist Workers Party, for the specific purpose of organizing provocations against the International Committee of the Fourth International and, in the United States, against the Workers League. The activities of Spartacists are inevitably bound up with the massive infiltration of the SWP by FBI agents. For many years, Hansen and other FBI agents within the top leadership of the SWP and Spartacists to carry out those paranoid political operations with which they have been charged to keep the public from seeing the truth."

It must also be said that, if the Spartacists did not exist, the Stalinists of the Communist Party would have had to invent them. Indeed, because of the history of the infiltration of the International Committee of the Fourth International and the massive secret police as well as the FBI, it is unlikely that the Stalinists had been annulling their hand in the birth of this diseased organization.

The present splendors thus carry forward the scurrilous campaign to smear Hansen as "an accomplice of the Stalinist secret police in the 1946 assassination of Leon Trotsky. This slander campaign, ludicrously dubbed "Security and the Fourth International," has constituted the SWP's main activity for four years. The SL replied to these provocations with demonstrations demanding "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" To support this grotesque paranoid scheme, the Bulletin must now create the SWP's Iran line out of whole cloth. As everyone knows, the SWP has enthused over Khomeini's reactionary clericalist regime in Iran with only the most perfunctory finger-wagging when the Iranians sought to reimpose the veil and suppress the national minorities. Only the WL/IC can justly claim to be more vulgarly nationalist, more slavishly pro-Khomeini, more programmatically reactionary than the reformist SWP.

And no wonder. The SWP's pro-business, capitalistic nationalism is opportunism; that of the WL/IC is politically, they sold their soul to the bourgeois "Arab Revolution" so as to defend workers democracy for all shrinking fast, is doomed. Even apart from South Africa, despite its bombastic offer to establish a white-rule defense perimeter on Rhodesia's northern border, is reluctant to risk its far more stable regime to try to save Smith's untenable position.

Moreover, Carter knows, even if some Tories do not, that both Mugabe and Nkomo are willing to horse-trade in return for a Washington-brokered deal that would install them in power. Tough talk is cheap, a hallmark of every petty-bourgeois African nationalist aspiring to state power. Both Mugabe, a practicing Roman Catholic, and Nkomo, backed by Rhodesian millionnaire "Tiny" Rowland, are of this ilk and have clearly indicated their willingness to deal with U.S. imperialism. The problem that worries Carter is that if the U.S. sanctions and ZAPU into a military alliance with Cuban troops and the decisive Soviet workers state.

The "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" of Smith and hispaid preacher Muzorewa remains a remnant of British colonialism, an anachronism in the face of the brutally oppressed black masses of southern Africa. Blood-stained white minority rule, in all its forms, must be defeated. Military victory to ZANU and ZAPU!

But Trotskyists also forewarn that the Nkomos and Mugabes will, in the morrow of their victory, prove as inimical class enemies of Rhodesian and anti-racists as their predecessors to white masters and black puppets in power. Only a Zimbabwe workers and peasants government, a socialist federation of southern Africa, will bring an end to the misery of class exploitation.

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11 MAY 1979
The "New" Rhodesia: White Supremacy in Blackface

In a desperate last effort to save his bloodsoaked white-supremacist regime, Rhodesia's Ian Smith lied to his black puppets on April 16 and pulled the strings, staging an electoral farce for the benefit of British and U.S. imperialism. When the curtain fell on April 21, Bishop Abel J. Muzorewa and his United African National Council (UANC) received two thirds of the vote total. Muzorewa thus became prime minister-designate of "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia," but the impoverished and brutalized Rhodesian blacks who voted for him did so with a battery of guns pointed at their heads. Revolutionaries denounce this fraudulent "election"—which is nothing but an attempt to mask white settler rule with black faces.

Smith left nothing to chance. Since brutal terror had not cracked widespread support for the black guerrillas of Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), Smith contrived his "free" elections under martial law. One hundred thousand troops were mobilized to herd voters to the polls at gunpoint. Significantly, many of these were armed "auxiliaries," hired gunmen of Muzorewa, tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. Campaigning by the rival flagbearers was thus reduced to mutual thug assaults and endless rounds of intimidation. White employers threatened to fire their black workers who refused to vote.

When all else failed the Rhodesian police and army took charge. In the쇠 30 April, some 300 of Muzorewa's supporters were arrested for attempting to organize an election boycott. Five hundred black students at the University of Rhodesia were tossed in jail after starting a protest march against the fraud. And in the bush, police and army took charge. In the "chicken run," has now been renamed "the owl run," for obvious reasons.

Fraud and Terror

Desperate for any measure that will forestall his inevitable demise, Smith determined to proceed with elections in the hope that a carefully staged show of support for his hand-picked black flagbearers would mobilize the right-wing imperialist bourgeoisie in his support. From the start of the five-day polling period, Smith and Muzorewa jointly embarked on a propaganda campaign to sell their "hand-picked" black leaders as the road to peace. Living up to his well-earned reputation for moulding idiocies, Muzorewa bubbled, "What I saw today was that people seemed intoxicated with joy, that after 88 years the family of people in Rhodesia have ended their family quarrel." (New York Times, 17 April.)

Election propaganda from all the permitted black "parties" stressed that voting itself would end the war; that the installation of Muzorewa, Sithole or Chirau would mean the end of raids by marauding Rhodesian troops who kill, by conservative estimates, over 10,000 blacks each year. A bevy of hand-picked "international observers" were brought in to sell the results. Consisting largely of Americans from the CIA-connected "Freedom House" (led by George Meany's social-democratic black mouthpiece Bayard Rustin) and British members of the House of Lords, the observers had a pleasant time sipping drinks in posh Salisbury cocktail lounges and pronouncing democratic blessings on the election. The Earl of Onslow cheerily noted, "There are more ears in Rhodesia right now than were present at the coronation of William the Conqueror." (NewswEEK, 30 April.)

The results were just what Smith ordered: 63.9 percent of the eligible voters had been marched to the polls, and Muzorewa's UANC received 51 of the 72 parliament seats reserved for "Africans." The remaining 28 seats were reserved for white voters who unani mously returned Smith's Rhodesian Front to power. Since any legislation that would threaten Rhodesia's white-owned economy or attempt to change the make-up of the constitutionally stipulated majority white officer corps, judiciary and state bureaucracy requires a three-fourths majority, Smith retains a virtual veto power to guarantee continued white rule. But the election had ended, he renounced his promise to retire from politics and nominated himself for minister of defense or of the interior.

But Smith's carefully orchestrated effort ran into some problems. For one thing, Sithole, incensed at having to play second fiddle to Muzorewa, decided to blow the whistle, suddenly discovering "gross irregularities" in the election after unofficial totals showed Muzorewa strongly sweeping the vote. While Smith tried to ride out the ensuing furor by yelling "sweet grapes," Sithole pointed to results from two Mashonaland provinces, representing the great majority of black voters, which showed returns of 108.1 and 108.8 percent of those eligible to vote!

A second problem arose when one of the "observers" for his black British Lord Chitnis, having observed only a troop-corrected turnout, stated simply, "I have seen a factor that should not be taken into account is that this was a fair and free election. It wasn't. It was a fraud." (NewswEEK, 7 May.)

Tories and Right-Wing Senators to the Rescue?

But conservative politicians in the U.S. and Britain have not forgotten their scripts, demanding after the "election" farce that "democratic" Rhodesia be accepted as a full member of the Western club. When the British Labour government fell, Smith quickly advanced the date of the Rhodesian elections so as to present the anticipated Tory government with an accomplished...