

Democrats Call for Prayer as Economy Goes to Hell

Carter Totaled?

JULY 31—For those who thought Jimmy Carter's firing of half his cabinet two weeks ago, touching off a governmental crisis, was a "self-inflicted wound," the conclusion seemed inescapable: "Some sort of mental problem," said Senator Ted Stevens (Rep.-Alaska) on the Senate floor. "We are wondering if he is having some sort of a breakdown" (*New York Times*, 21 July). So it was Rosalynn to the rescue of the president's failing popularity and suspect rationality, giving the press a vigorous defense of her husband's mental health.

Indeed, there was good cause for wondering about Carter's episode of apparent political irrationality beginning with his canceled press conference July 5. Everything he had done made things worse. And the economy was already in deep trouble when he began: mass layoffs sending tens of thousands of auto workers to the unemployment lines; inflation at a 28-year high and going up; the dollar sinking fast in the international money market; the public still fuming over monster gas lines on both coasts and worried about future gas and heating oil shortages. With all this mounting anxiety about the economy and anger over the Big Oil rip-off, instead of downplaying the crisis Carter has cast it in broad historical terms, focusing on his "leadership" and on the "future of the nation" and its "system of free enterprise." Thus, he treated the sharp conjunctural crisis in the economy as a global political issue and test for U.S. capitalism.

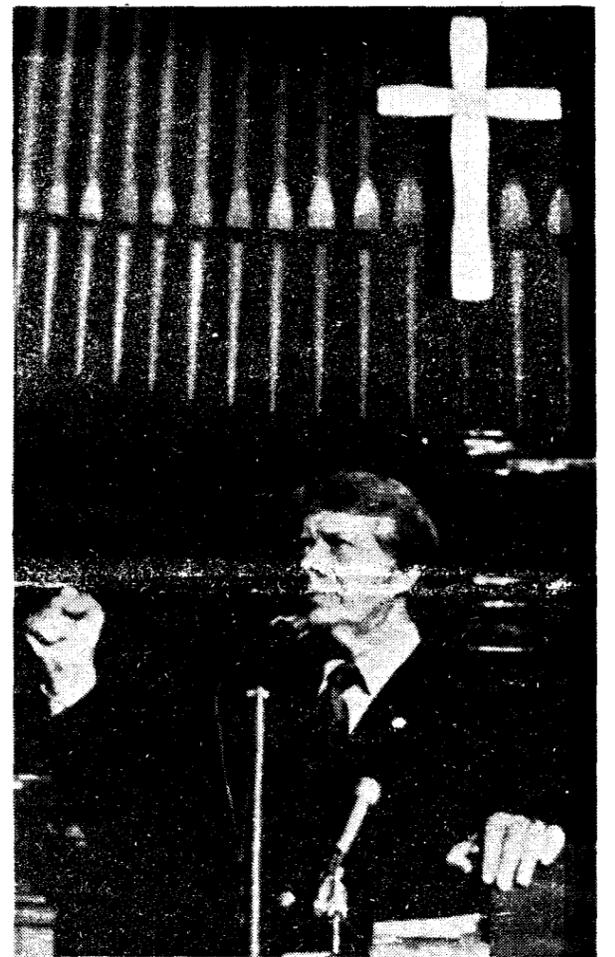
For villains he chose, as expected, OPEC and "Washington." But in his Sunday Night Sermon on July 15, in a move of supreme assurance and stupidity, he blamed the American people. Calling for a renewed faith in god and country, Carter railed against the idolatrous Americans who "worship self-indulgence

and consumption." He demanded austerity and sacrifice because it would help Americans repent for their sins. "Owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning," he preached as the GNP took a big dip and consumer spending ebbed as real income fell. "We have learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose." And he quoted approvingly one of the talking smile buttons who came to visit him in his Camp David Wilderness: "We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying." What desperate arrogance of power he displays in this "let 'em walk, let 'em pray" hucksterism that imitates the political message of Marie Antoinette in the style of Oral Roberts.

Let Carter sell it to the laid-off auto workers at Dodge Main. Let him try to tell them the layoffs are the result of their own "self-indulgence," a matter of loss of faith. Let him tell the American motorist to walk along the highways which cost billions of dollars, that knit together the patchwork demography of an America designed to suit Big Oil, auto industrialists and capitalist politicians. Let him go to the gas lines in his jet plane and helicopter to tell Americans that they are "guzzlers" and that the oil cartel needs government subsidies. Let him tell those who will freeze this winter for lack of fuel or the money to pay for it they should pray for heat.

There is a crisis of confidence in America. But Americans are not bamboozled into believing they have lost confidence in themselves. They have no confidence that Big Oil will do anything but rip them off. They have no confidence that the government can do anything to stop wild inflation or deepening

continued on page 8



Nathons/Gamma-Liaison

Remember the "new Nixon"?

Fraser Fiddles in Contract Talks

UAW Must Stop the Layoffs!

JULY 29—As 1979 contract talks opened between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Big Three auto companies, the first waves of a massive economic downturn crashed over the industry. Triggered by the manipulated gas shortage cooked up by Big Oil with the connivance of Jimmy Carter, auto sales have plummeted, inventories are at record levels and the introduction of 1980 models has been delayed. The mounting unemployment in auto has now become industrywide, as giant General Motors announced this weekend the indefinite layoff of more than 12,000 auto workers in plants stretching from Flint, Michigan to Los Angeles.

The GM workers join another 12,000 Ford workers and almost 20,000 Chrysler workers already out on the streets as a result of plant and shift closings. And the thousands of auto workers who still have jobs justly fear a repeat of the horrors of the 1974-75 depression, as almost everyone from government officials to private economists predicts



Detroit autoworkers, angry over Dodge Main closing, protest at Chrysler headquarters, July 19.

more production cutbacks and unemployment to come. A strategy to fight the mass layoffs has become urgently

necessary for all auto workers who are now under the ax.

Only a few months ago most of these

unemployed auto workers were slaving ten hours a day, six days a week on the assembly line. Even then they were only barely keeping up with a 14 percent rate of inflation, the highest in the U.S. since 1946. For auto workers, such alternating periods of grueling overtime and mass unemployment are nothing new. Yet as UAW members confront the familiar evils of inflation and mounting layoffs in the 1979 contract negotiations, they do so with growing awareness of the need for a new strategy to defend their living standards.

The 1974 depression, in which 300,000 auto workers—almost 40 percent of the workforce—were jobless, made it clear that the industry's Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) program was no answer to mass layoffs. In 1974-75 both the Chrysler and General Motors SUB funds ran dry. Tens of thousands of auto workers subsisted on greatly reduced or no income at all, while many were forced to give up homes and automobiles.

Five years ago, the UAW was successful in persuading many workers that it was Nixon, Ford and the Republican Party that were responsible for the economic crisis. But this year it is Carter and the Democratic Party whose sponsorship of higher prices and ballooning profits for the oil companies

continued on page 2

AUTO WORKERS RALLY IN DETROIT



Stalinists Falsify UAW Demo Daily World Does It Again

At least it proved that the editors of the Communist Party USA's *Daily World* had earned well their diplomas from the Stalinist school of falsification. In Stalin's heyday, *Pravda* would blithely obliterate Trotsky's figure as he stood next to Lenin on a speakers platform. This time it was a wirephoto of a July 19 United Auto Workers (UAW) demonstration in Detroit which prominently showed a Spartacist League banner calling for sit-down strikes to fight mass layoffs. The *New York Times* and *Detroit Free Press* both ran the UPI photo with our banner the following day. And so did the *Daily World*—after pasting a piece of white tape across the picture to obliterate the SL name (see above, right).

The march rallied 400 people outside Chrysler headquarters to protest the planned closing of Dodge Main, the company's largest assembly plant, in nearby Hamtramck. Called by Solidarity House to coincide with the opening of contract talks with the Big Three auto manufacturers, the small turnout and lackluster speeches reflected the UAW bureaucracy's strategy of pleading with the bosses rather than mobilizing the union ranks. Union

signs included the plaintive, "Carter, We'd Like to Hear From You" and a chauvinist demand to "Save American Jobs—No More Deals with Foreign Companies."

The SL banner reading "Save Dodge Main—For Sit-Down Strikes to Stop Mass Layoffs" stood out in bold relief against this background. And not only in the UPI photo. In union meetings, newspaper articles and Detroit-area radio and TV, the Spartacist League and union militants who agree with its class-struggle program have provided the only real answer to the shift layoffs and plant shutdowns now hitting the industry.

From the professional liars of the CPUSA, who habitually tail the UAW tops, we expect no better than the crude scissors and tape job in the 20 July *Daily World*. The only surprising thing is that they printed the picture at all. You know, Gus, you can get into big trouble with Doug Fraser and the boys at Solidarity House by messing around with calls for sit-down strikes. When your game is reformist opportunism, slander is often not enough. Better to leave talk of plant occupations to the "Trotskyites" than to start playing around with fire.

SLer on Detroit TV Like They Did At Flint

The projected closing of Chrysler's Dodge Main plant is a hot issue in Detroit. So at the beginning of the 6 p.m. news on July 26, WGPR-TV (Channel 62) broadcast a round-up of local opinion on the subject. In the course of the interviews, the schemes of assorted labor bureaucrats and "friends of labor" capitalist politicians were exposed as utterly unworkable. The program also graphically demonstrated that there are only two clear answers now being put forward to deal with the mass layoffs in auto—the companies' ruthless pursuit of profits or the class-struggle strategy of the Spartacist League.

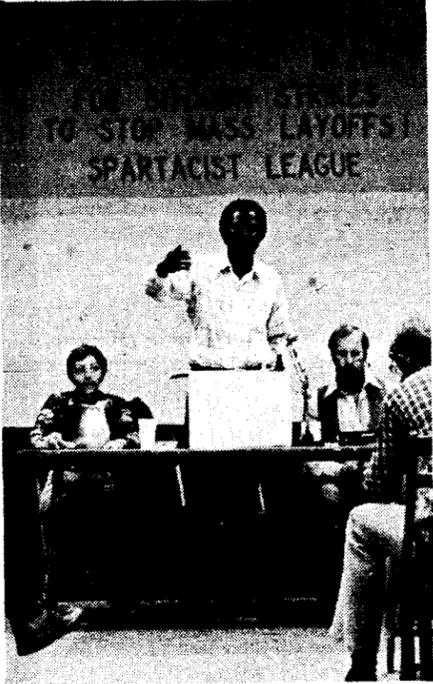
When asked what the state legislature planned to do, Democratic state representative Perry Bullard told the Channel 62 reporter that they had just passed a bill giving "advice" on how to turn the closed plant into a joint employee-community owned project. In the next breath, however, he admitted this would be "difficult" because "the Chrysler Corporation, of course, will probably not allow its continued operation as a worker-ownership type of system."

Next at bat was Hamtramck mayor William Kozerski who said his "alternative plan" was to turn Dodge Main into an "industrial park"! The very next speaker, an industrial planner, explained it would take no less than 25 years to redevelop the land!

That brought up UAW vice president Marc Stepp, head of the union's Chrysler division, who said the union's plan was "to continue to try to persuade the Chrysler Corporation from closing the Hamtramck Assembly Plant"—i.e., keep on begging. At the same time, Stepp was pushing for federal subsidies.

Both plans were deflated moments later when Chrysler spokesman Howard Rydholm replied that even if Uncle Sam coughed up the dough, the company would probably close the plant anyway:

"The purpose of being in business," said Rydholm, "is to run your corporation at a profit. It would not make any sense



SL spokesman Don Alexander.

whatsoever to subsidize a particular plant."

Only one speaker offered Detroit auto workers a concrete proposal to halt the shutdown. Don Alexander, black spokesman for the Spartacist League, presented to Channel 62 viewers the SL's program to stop the layoffs cold:

"What we've advocated from the very beginning is for the UAW to call sit-down strikes to save Dodge Main. In the context of what Hamtramck and Detroit would look like—unrelieved misery for the working masses—that is the only realistic avenue of struggle at this time. That's the way the UAW was built in the first place, back in 1937. This militant trade-union tactic of a sit-down strike enabled the Flint workers to win union recognition. And they didn't get down on their knees to beg GM."

Layoffs...

(continued from page 1)

together with wage austerity for workers that confront UAW members. And UAW chief Doug Fraser's continued hobnobbing with Carter is meeting an increasingly hostile response among the rank and file.

Fraser is now talking vaguely about making "job security" an issue when the contract officially expires on September 14. For Fraser, this amounts to little more than modifying his penny-ante scheme of paid "personal holidays," which in practice has functioned as an absence-control program and has not saved the job of a single UAW member. But for auto workers the contract fight must begin now, before hundreds of thousands more have been thrown into the street and the union has frittered away its enormous potential social power. It is crucial that the UAW revive its historic weapon of the sit-down strike. This is the way the union was built in 1937, and it provides the only effective means of combating mass layoffs implemented by the auto bosses today.

At Mahwah, New Jersey where Ford Motor Co. this week announced the closing of its truck division, wiping out almost 1,000 jobs, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 issued a leaflet July 27 pointing out:

"We at Mahwah are now paying for the International's inaction. Had the UAW taken a strong stand when the layoffs broke out in the heart of the auto industry in Detroit, then Ford would think twice today before throwing us out in the street....The sitdown is effective against mass layoffs because it hits the bosses where they live—their private property which they say gives them the 'right' to throw us out of work. The UAW International should be organizing such militant actions in the dozens of plants being hit by mass layoffs and closings, fighting for our jobs and demanding unlimited unemployment benefits for laid-off workers, full recall rights, and government financing of bankrupt SUB funds."

Linking the struggle against layoffs to the contract fight, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus leaflet continued:

"The International union is currently in

negotiations with the auto companies for our next contract, but their failure to take action against layoffs clearly indicates that they are not about to lead a struggle for jobs and wage protection against soaring inflation. And every week of continued inaction in the face of mounting layoffs only weakens the union and strengthens the companies' bargaining position. A well-organized coordinated series of plant seizures would be the best way of laying a basis for an industrywide strike this fall to win a shorter workweek with no cut in pay (30 for 40). A six-hour workshift, three shifts a day, with lowered line speeds, would provide jobs for all instead of overtime for some and unemployment lines for the others."

For a New UAW Leadership

In Detroit, where angry auto workers have demonstrated repeatedly against the closing of Dodge Main, Doug Fraser has recently declared that saving the Hamtramck plant will be a "bargaining issue" in the contract negotiations. But how does Fraser intend to save Dodge Main? His newest scheme is to demand federal subsidies for Chrysler and a seat on the board of directors for the UAW! Chrysler workers should throw up their hands in disgust at handing over their tax money to the

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden
 ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs
 PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager) Noah Wilner
 CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt
 EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamborg

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$3.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 237 **3 August 1979**

More West Bank Outposts

New Zionist Provocation

The true "spirit of Camp David" materialized with a vengeance again this past June on the West Bank as the Zionist state drove Palestinian Arabs from their homes and set up a new "settlement"—that is, a military fortress. Claiming that the freeze on all further Zionist settlement of the West Bank stipulated by the Camp David accords had expired, on June 3 Prime Minister Menachem Begin gave the green light to a blitzkrieg establishment of a settlement site on a hill outside Nablus, the most populous of the West Bank towns. Along with the government land requisition orders and bulldozers came a swarm of shock troops from the clerical-fascistic Gush Emunim ("Faith Block"). In response to the provocation, a general strike was called in Nablus, which was then occupied by the Israeli army.

Seizure of the hill near Nablus for a new settlement, already given its biblical name by the Zionists (Elon Moreh), follows escalated anti-Palestinian terrorism by the Gush Emunim and other paramilitary Zionist sects, including the alleged murder of three Palestinian high school students. In Hebron, south of Jerusalem, Arab families have charged that Israelis broke into their homes, assaulted them, smashed furniture and broke windows. Witnesses reported to the police that some of the attackers had warned the Arabs that they must vacate their homes because "this house is Jewish." Even professional terrorist Begin felt compelled to apologize to the Arabs in Hebron and confess that he had seen a victimized Arab girl on television "with fear in her eyes."

Especially ominous was the clash between Israeli and Syrian jet fighters that occurred over Lebanese territory on June 27. According to reports from Jerusalem, at least five Syrian MIG-21s were downed in two dogfights with Israeli-piloted American F-15s, which are supposed to be used only for "defensive action." Although the Israelis have been carrying out air strikes against Palestinian commando bases and refugee camps in southern Lebanon for years, this marked the first direct clash with Syrian forces since the 1973 war. It was a calculated act of military brinkmanship by the Zionists at a time when domestic instability has forced the Damascus Ba'athist regime into a more defensive posture. In defiance of an almost immediate U.S. protest, personally conveyed by American ambassador Samuel W. Lewis, Begin bragged, "Some people ask us to desist. But we shall continue hitting [at the Palestinians] in any way and in any place we choose until they desist."

Just last month the hypocritical "doves" of Camp David had congratulated themselves as the jubilant population of the tiny Sinai town of El Arish celebrated the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces. Now, however, they are faced with a dramatic escalation of militarist repression and expansion on the crucial West Bank. There was no rejoicing in the Arab town of Nablus when it protested the newest Zionist settlement only four miles away. Nor at Bir Zeit University, closed and evacuated on May 2 by the Israeli state for more than a month. Nor at Hebron, whose Palestinian residents have been victims of a terrorist intimidation campaign.

Begin Plunders While Carter Burns

The embarrassment of the Carter administration over its glaring impotence in the face of continued Zionist

land-grabbing has been acute. Unable to restrain the recalcitrant, hard-line Tel Aviv government, the U.S. has been reduced to empty diplomatic protests against Begin's so-called violation of the "spirit of Camp David." But, if anything, Begin's recent escalation of his program for Israeli "lebensraum" has exposed the Egypt/Israel peace treaty for what it really is—a cover for continued Zionist land-grabbing, repression of the Palestinian masses and military aggression against Arab nationalist rivals.

Begin's reign of terror and expansion is meant to continue under the much ballyhooed Palestinian "autonomy," the issue supposedly resolved by the March peace treaty. To Begin, "autonomy" is simply a cloak for annexation. When he says "autonomy" refers to "people not territory" he is laying the future juridical basis for seizing the West Bank—just the territory of course and the rights of the people who live there. All land in "Judea" and "Samaria" (the biblical names for areas of the West Bank) is to be controlled by Israeli troops and turned over to settlers who will develop still more armed encampments.

Carter well understands Tel Aviv's intent, but does nothing except continue the negotiation hoax. In June, while the Egyptian and Israeli delegations were arguing over the agenda for discussions, Begin announced that any move toward a "Palestinian state" would be crushed militarily:

"'And are we able to do it?' Mr. Begin said. 'Certainly, because in the Camp David agreement we secured the consent of the United States and Egypt to the Israeli defense force remaining in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.'"
—*New York Times*, 7 June

Rifts Among the Zionists

All wings of Zionism are agreed in principle on the absolute right of Israel to colonize the occupied territories. In the United States the liberal Zionist establishment has now backed Carter's efforts to pressure Begin to adopt a less provocative settlement policy. A message to Begin voicing criticism of the new outposts was signed by 59 prominent liberal American Zionists. In Israel, the liberal Peace Now group protested against the new Israeli settlement near Nablus. Their efforts received a nod from the imperialist chief's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, who noted in a recent television interview that he was "very encouraged" by the demonstration of several thousand (*New York Times*, 12 June).

So within the ruling circles in Tel Aviv the establishment of the Elon Moreh settlement has become the focus of the long-simmering controversy over the government's settlement policy. Begin and other hardliners in his cabinet like Minister of Agriculture Ariel Sharon seek to create a double column of Zionist settlements running the length of the West Bank with an infrastructure of army bases to support them. Jerusalem is to be encircled by a belt of heavily populated settlements. It was significant that Sharon was on the scene when the bulldozers rumbled up the hill to clear the ground for Elon Moreh, which he called "an unequivocal expression of the right to Jewish settlement in all parts of the Land of Israel."

Sharon supports Gush Emunim as the shock troops to spearhead such expansion. Competing with Gush Emunim is the rival sect of Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder-leader of the New



Begin's minister of agriculture Ariel Sharon on the scene of Zionist land grab Elon Moreh, June 7.

York-based Jewish Defense League and lecturer on such topics as "The Final Solution—Expulsion of the Arabs from the Land of Israel to Arabia and the West." At the Hebrew University in Jerusalem Kahane's minions physically broke up a meeting at which liberal politician Uri Avneri made some mild criticism of Zionism.

Opposition to the Begin/Sharon settlement policy has also come from the Labor Party and from Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, but they are not opposed to establishing settlements in "Eretz Israel." Weizman, in fact, advocates incorporating "Judea" and "Samaria" into Israel. His objection to the Elon Moreh settlement is that it was established by the Gush Emunim rather than by the army. As for the Labor Party opposition, the settlement policy, in fact, was begun under the Labor government and was then no less vicious and brutal than it is now. Sharon has recently defended the Elon Moreh settlement against his loyal Labor Party "peace" critics by pointing out that the site had been designated for settlement in November 1967 after the war by the Ministerial Security Committee of the Labor government.

The Zionists' "Arab Problem"

Underlying the political sniping between Weizman and Begin/Sharon is a very real—and sharpening—contradiction in the entire settlement policy. If the Zionists are to achieve their dream of annexing the occupied territories, then extensive settlements indeed are necessary and, in the framework of Zionist politics, can be secured only through forcible mass expulsions of the Palestinian Arabs. But Palestinian Arab labor has become increasingly integrated into the Israeli economy. As the Hebrew-speaking working class is increasingly absorbed by the rapidly expanding high technology industries, Arab labor and second-class "Sephardic" (non-northern European) Jews are left to satisfy Israel's unskilled and semi-skilled labor needs. It was not insignificant that a central question in the brouhaha surrounding the return of El Arish and other Arab villages in the Sinai to Egyptian sovereignty was whether those Arabs employed by Israelis would remain part of the Israeli workforce.

The settlement policy thus directly conflicts with the needs of Israeli capital, which seeks to create in the West Bank a home for a vast surplus of unskilled labor composed of Arab and poor Jewish workers. Recurrent economic crises in Israel, where inflation rates approach 90 percent and subsidies

for basic necessities have been eliminated, serve to drive unskilled and marginally employed Jewish labor to the West Bank, where subsidies continue. The Arab populace comprises the surplus labor pool, and Arab workers have virtual "guest worker" status in the Israeli economy. While the Arab surplus labor force is subject to terror-enforced discipline on the West Bank, they are readily available for the cyclical expansions and contractions of the Zionist political economy.

Not Arab Against Jew, But Class Against Class

Today the Zionist rulers are thumbing their noses at their American patrons and forging ahead with their controversial settlement policy despite considerable domestic unrest. Their actions are the result of more than a commitment to clerical Zionist dogma. The Israeli bourgeoisie has its own nationalist interests, increasingly counterposed to U.S. imperialism's desire for regional stability. The events of the last several years have severely damaged the myth of an "Arab Revolution" pitted against Israel, allegedly simply an imperialist tool. In fact, all of the bourgeois nationalist regimes in the area are committed to the oppression of the Palestinian people.

Only the building of Trotskyist parties in the Near East can decisively cut through the intense nationalist hostilities that at present poison the prospects for joint Hebrew/Arab struggle against capitalist oppression. Such parties will wage an unceasing struggle against Zionism, in particular for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the occupied territories, for the "right of return" of all dispossessed Palestinian Arabs and for full democratic rights for all Arabs in Israel. The right to self-determination for both Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking nations can be democratically resolved only through socialist revolution. By expressly demanding the right to self-determination for both nations, they will be able to break the working class and oppressed from their allegiance to counterposed capitalist programs for genocide.

In such struggle lasting bonds will be forged between the working people of Israel and the West Bank. The cadres steeled in this battle against all nationalist prejudice and privilege will form the invincible vanguard that will carry out the socialist revolution and lay the cornerstone for the socialist federation of the Near East. ■

SYL Corners Professor Mandel

BOSTON—It was unflappable Professor Ernest Mandel come to Boston University to lecture on the latest trends in academic Marxology. And there he was up at the blackboard, pontificating on the permutations of the bourgeois state, warning on the dangers of reductionism, criticising Engels for oversimplifying the nature of the state, mentioning only in passing such *passé* themes as workers revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Mandel was not allowed to hide behind his clouds of sociologese for very long. In the course of the discussion periods, spokesmen for the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) repeatedly cornered the professor on key questions of the class struggle ranging from Boston busing to Khomeini's Iran. By the end of the course, Sociology 652 had become a wide-ranging debate between the authentic Marxism of the Spartacist tendency and Mandel's will-o'-the-wisp revisionism which bends with the breeze of petty-bourgeois radical opinion.

Students attending the first session of the seminar on July 10 were greeted by an SYL leaflet entitled, "Ernest Mandel: Chameleon," challenging this leader of the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) to justify the call by his American colleagues, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for federal troops to "protect" blacks right here in Boston in 1974. Wasn't the American bourgeois state still the "instrument for the suppression of the working class by the ruling class," as Lenin put it? Aren't the federal troops the same racist imperialist army that butchered Indochinese workers and peasants? "Let's see him try to defend this one in class!" (see *Young Spartacus* No. 74, Summer 1979).

In his introductory lecture on the nature of the state, the erudite professor drew his material from the pretentious banalities of the Stalinist Althusser and the New Left obscurantist Poulantzas. His only mention of the classic Marxist definition of the state, as "in the last analysis consist[ing] of special bodies of armed men," was to remark that there "was a certain oversimplification, certainly, in the famous formula of Engels." His alternative: "We can say that the state encompasses all those functions and apparatuses which make a regular and continuous reproduction of class rule possible." And he offered an elaborate schema of eight elements of the Marxist theory of the state, only one of which (number four) was class theory, and whose culmination was not revolution but "recuperation." In sum, he replaced materialist analysis with the "functionalism" of bourgeois sociology.

The rich historical and analytical writings of Marx, Engels, the early

Plekhanov, Lenin and Trotsky were the fruit of firm revolutionary purpose: combating anarchism, refuting the revisionism of Kautsky, denouncing Stalinist betrayals. In contrast, Mandel's ramblings, replete with the latest Marxoid terminology, are designed to dissolve fundamental questions into a morass of ambiguity in order to hide his constant political zigzags. The French Trotskyist leader Favre-Bleibtreu observed this as far back as 1951, when after commenting on the "cultural level, richness of imagery and style" of Mandel's documents he added: "you lack one quality, the one most necessary to a leader: firmness of your political ideas...."

Federal Troops to Boston?

In the seminars SYL spokesmen nailed the professor over and over on the decisive contemporary issues which are the real test of Marxist program. Kautsky, after all, upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat in the abstract... and sided with the imperialist Allies against the Bolsheviks on the battlefield. So what about the SWP's call for federal troops for Boston? Our comrades led off:

"Your co-thinkers in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party, at the time right here in Boston when there was a racist mobilization against school integration called for federal troops to come to defend blacks against racist terror. This spread illusions in the armed fist of the capitalist state, in the forces representing the racist rule of the capitalist class. What we called for was to mobilize the forces of the proletariat and the oppressed to defend blacks."

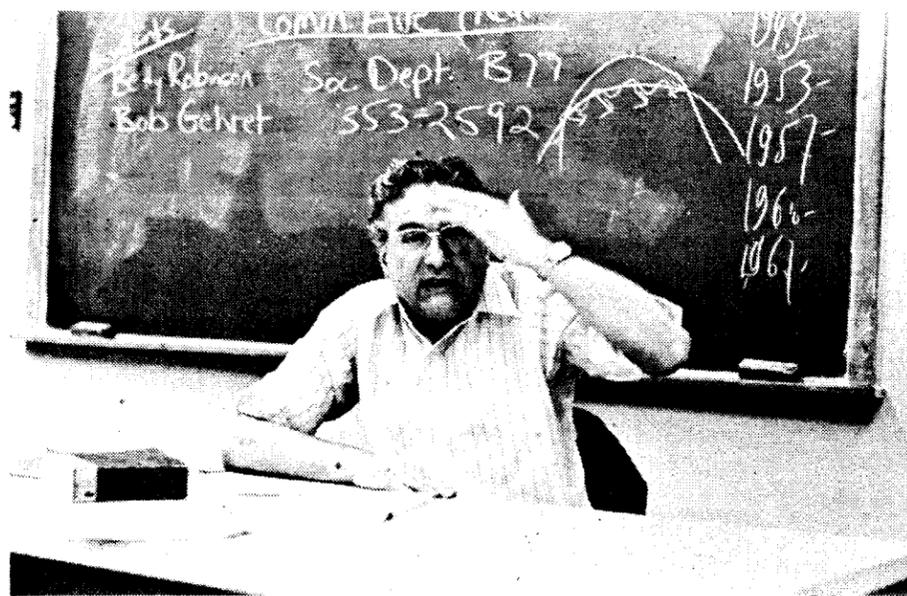
Mandel, in response, tried to duck the SYL challenge by a demagogic attack on people who think all reforms are impossible under capitalism:

"The blacks of the South have conquered tremendous progress in the last 15 years. To deny that is to deny the facts of life. I don't know whether you have been in the South in 1960 or 1955....

"So it would have been wonderful to have a workers militia, but you didn't have it.... I don't see what is wrong in calling in the federal troops."

Later in the discussion a spokesman for the Spartacist League refuted Mandel's slander that the SL holds that reforms are impossible:

"The question here is whether or not revolutionists call on the state to intervene in their own struggles against that state. That was the situation in Boston. I was in the South in the early '60s, and the SWP was pushing the slogan, 'Bring the troops home from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi.' The blacks I was working with knew that calling on the troops of the state to come in and help their struggle was almost laughable.... I'll give you another example. Did you ever hear of the Bolsheviks calling on the tsar's state



WV Photo

Professor Mandel: "So, some of our comrades are in jail—but our organization is legal."

to come in and protect the Jews against pogroms?"

Chile: Break with the Popular Front!

The SYL spokesman also pointed to the Unidad Popular government in Chile, which paved the way for the bloody 1973 Santiago coup, as an example of the tragic results of counseling reliance on the bourgeois state and its "constitutionalist" armed forces:

"I'd like to make a point on Chile. That was a monumental defeat for the working class. Allende preached the peaceful road to socialism—that there could be a peaceful transformation of the bourgeois state. His government is what Trotsky called a popular-front government, a bourgeois coalition government, and it was a real straitjacket for the working class. Allende disarmed the workers; he banned the workers militia, and sovereignty of the military was clearly in the hands of the bourgeois officer corps.

"Yet what did the people you support say about Allende's Unidad Popular? You spread illusions in the popular front, you said it was openly proclaiming its desire to go forward to socialism. What we put forward instead was a strategy of proletarian independence, of opposition to the popular front. The popular front led to Pinochet. The tendency for which you speak advocated this strategy of defeat."

Mandel's answer was to assert that "the bourgeois parties [in the UP] played an extremely insignificant and marginal role":

"What was decisive was that the workers were not armed.... You can discuss with Chilean workers today and you will not find one worker among a hundred thousand who will raise the question of the Radical ministers in the so-called popular-front character of the government. As a matter of fact, the right wing of the government wasn't even the Radical ministers. The right wing of the government was the

Communist Party, as in the Spanish civil war."

With this cavalier put-down, Professor Mandel dismissed everything Trotsky wrote on the popular front, which he called "the main question of proletarian class strategy in this epoch." In Spain, also, the centrists thought the presence of a handful of bourgeois ministers in the government was "inconsequential." Only the Trotskyists warned that the key to victory was breaking the political chains which bound the proletariat to its class enemies in the popular front. Trotsky wrote that in Spain, "The bourgeoisie's place was occupied by its shadow." The left republicans, he noted, represented only themselves:

"Thanks, however, to their allies—the Socialists, Stalinists, and Anarchists—these political phantoms played the decisive role in the revolution. How? Very simply. By incarnating the principles of the 'democratic revolution,' that is, the inviolability of private property."
—L.D. Trotsky, "The Lesson of Spain—The Last Warning" (December 1937)

Aside from Chile, the main theme of the running debate between Ernest Mandel and the Spartacus Youth League was Khomeini's Iran. In an early class, an SYL supporter defied the professor to explain the USec's support to the ayatollah, "who has made no secret of the fact that he wants to go back to seventh century feudal Islamic law where women have to wear the veil, where they shoot homosexuals and national minorities." And a black auto worker SL supporter added: "Why does the USec still support Khomeini after he smashed the workers' strikes and jailed members of the HKS [Iranian USec group]?" To these questions Mandel flippantly replied that the "imam" is "a

Two Faces of the USec on Chile

Intercontinental Press, 21 February 1972

This involves attacking without any ambiguities or concessions the reformist nature of the regime and the forces backing it. Complete independence must be maintained with regard to the popular front coalition. Revolutionists cannot participate in such a coalition even by offering it electoral support. (Revolutionary Marxists can, in certain situations, vote for a labor candidate but not for a candidate of a front that includes petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties.) They must, however, support progressive measures undertaken by the Allende regime and maintain a united front against the attacks of the reactionaries.

The necessary criticism of the contradictions and weaknesses of the MIR must not at all stand in the way of recognizing the important role the MIR is playing as a catalyzer at the moment or of appreciating the program-

as catalyst that they have played or can play in much wider geographic areas. We specifically mean the Chilean revolution, the Palestinian revolution, and the revolution in the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

The Chilean revolution appeared at the vanguard of the Latin American revolution after the defeat of the Bolivian revolution in August 1971. Of course, the Allende regime possesses several features of a Popular Front government, of collaboration with bourgeois parties. But, from the start, it differed from a classical Popular Front regime by the fact that it openly proclaimed its resolve to enter on the road of socialism, and that it openly based itself on the organized workers movement.

That does not mean that the Chilean CP and SP had a more progressive character than their French and Spanish counterparts in 1936, or their French and Italian

SWP International Internal Information Bulletin, October 1973

In December 1971 USec issued statement on Chile calling UP a popular front, opposing any electoral support to it. In October 1973 Mandel's International Majority Tendency political resolution (right) denied Allende coalition was popular front. Ping-pong anyone?

Mandel Unveiled

Revolutionary strategy and program in Iran were the subject of several exchanges between Ernest Mandel and the Spartacus Youth League in the Boston University lecture series last month. In particular, on July 17 our comrades put the professor on the spot for his criminally lightminded apologetics for Khomeini.

SYL: I would like to speak to a comment you made about the role of religious ideology, because I thought you made a correct point—that in the developed capitalist countries, religion represents a pre-bourgeois ideology. That is, it stands in opposition to the gains of the bourgeois revolution. Now you see, in underdeveloped countries where you have a weak bourgeoisie in power, but where you have not had a bourgeois revolution, there do indeed exist feudal remnants. The church does have real political and economic power in Latin America, as does the mosque in countries like Iran.

This refers to what we spoke to at the last class, your position that Khomeini represented some sort of "progressive." That is an exact quote from the *Militant* newspaper [of the American SWP] and was the line of the tendency with which you sympathize: to support Khomeini as some sort of progressive alternative to the shah. But the point was that Khomeini was opposing the shah from the right. He mobilized his petty-bourgeois base, the merchants of the bazaar, using the organizational network of the Islamic clergy. In defense of feudal privileges he opposed the shah's incursions on mosque lands in '63, as well as the shah's granting women the right to vote—which didn't mean a whole lot because it was just a vote for his party.

Now the woman question is very important in eastern revolutions because under Islam women are really treated like property.... The utopian socialist Fourier once pointed out that the degree to which women are liberated is a pretty good index of general social liberation, and I think you have to apply



that when looking at Khomeini's movement. Because somebody that thinks that half the human race should be treated like cattle is not going to liberate anyone.

The Spartacist League says that Khomeini was in no way a progressive alternative to the shah. We said, "Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs, For a workers and peasants government in Iran." But your headline, the headline of the *Militant*, was "Victory in Iran!" What kind of victory is it? Not at all for the working class, for the national minorities, for women and for your own co-thinkers who are right now being jailed by the "Islamic Republic."

Mandel: ... You say that our comrades are in jail. So, some of our comrades are in jail—but our organization is legal. Our paper is legal; it is sold in tens of thousands of copies like all other left-wing papers in Iran. Were they legal under the shah?... Did you have legal

demonstrations of tens of thousands of women in the street under the shah? You have that today. So what you have is a step from a reactionary dictatorship which was bourgeois towards what you could call partial bourgeois democracy. ... We said that it is the beginning of a process of permanent revolution....

The majority of the people who are in jail today are torturers of the SAVAK, not left-wing militants. Only a small number of left-wing militants are in jail....

SYL: In the first place, Iran is an Islamic bourgeois republic, it is not feudalism. But it is not a bourgeois democracy either—it is a theocracy. Trotskyists stand by the gains of the bourgeois revolution, one of those being the separation of church and state. So we are not against Khomeini because of his religion, but because of what he stands for—he wants to institute an Islamic state in Iran.

The Spartacist League has also always opposed the shah. We are glad to see the SAVAK butchers go. It is too bad that the guns of reaction are those that are shooting them, but we shed no tears at all for those butchers. We contrast this with the Socialist Workers Party, which expressed sympathy for Ayatollah Motahari, who at the time he was murdered was involved in the repression of the national minorities in Iran. And also the United Secretariat as late as January 1978 was still saying that the slogan, "Down with the shah," was an ultraleft demand. So much for opposition to the shah.

Mandel: Ultraleft?

SYL: In the *Militant*, January 1978. There is also an interview with "Iranian Trotskyists" where you had this. So basically we don't succumb to this lesser evilism.

So right now there are fewer leftists locked up than under the rule of the SAVAK and the shah. But then again Khomeini has not yet fully consolidated his regime. The repression has just started. He has had trouble consolidating it. The women's marches—women were not just allowed to march in the streets; they were stoned. They had to be protected by the Fedayeen, who were armed. And also they've had trouble fighting the national minorities, who've been resisting Persian chauvinism.

We don't support Khomeini, and what we argued in our press to do, what we would have done if we had a section in Iran, would be to mobilize the working class, particularly the oil workers, who are secularized and were participating in strikes. What we would not have done would be to participate in marches that are led by the clerics with demands such as "Death to the Communists," "Death or the veil" or "Allah akbar" (god is great). Instead we're on the side of the working class, of the minorities and of the women in Iran.

Mandel: That will be the last question on Iran.... I will again reply in a demagogic way....

Which he did. ■

typical bourgeois revolutionist... which also means bourgeois counterrevolutionist, of course."

But of course. So when Khomeini is popular, Mandel & Co. are all for him. And when he starts to put women in veils, workers in jails—as the Spartacist tendency warned from the beginning he would—then Mandel tells the masses that Khomeini is perhaps just a little counterrevolutionary as well. Iranian workers would get better leadership simply by standing on a street corner in Teheran and seeing who beats them over the head! With treacherously misleading analogies, the SWP yesterday compared Khomeini to Kerensky; today Mandel compares him to Danton. Obviously it is too much to expect these pseudo-Trotskyists to tell the difference between a mullah and a Menshevik! With a bold stroke of the pen, Mandel wipes out the bourgeois revolution, sending anyone who follows him into the embrace of Islamic clerical reaction.

But even now the "Marxist" Mandel bows to Khomeini, telling the students in his seminar: "If Salvador Allende would have only shown one fifth of his [Khomeini's] audacity against the bourgeois army in Chile, you would have had a socialist revolution in Chile, not a bourgeois revolution. Of course, this was impossible." What about a genuine Leninist party, Professor Mandel, one which knew how to fight against popular frontism, how to mobilize the working class independently around its own historic interests, instead of placing confidence in the "anti-imperialist"

clericalists? If you had that, then there could be socialist revolution.

Mandel Nailed

The political confrontation reached its highpoint at a speech by Professor Mandel July 25 on "The Present State of the Class Struggle in Europe." When a Spartacist spokesman linked the USec's capitulation to popular frontism in Chile with its support to populist officers in Portugal, Mandel accused the SL of falsifying his position, angrily thundering: "And we didn't even deny it [Allende's UP] was a popular front, we said it was *unimportant!*" (Which is worse, we wonder?) But here the nimble professor tripped himself up, for the USec did indeed deny that the Unidad Popular was a popular front—after previously asserting that it was (see illustration). Immediately following the Pinochet coup, Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) wrote that "from the start, it [the UP] differed from a classical Popular Front regime by the fact that it openly proclaimed its resolve to enter on the road to socialism...." Mandel also attempted to deny that Trotsky repeatedly insisted that the popular front was the key question at each stage of the Spanish Civil War.

A second SL speaker responded to this obfuscation:

"First, you deny that you support class collaboration in Chile and Europe. A few historical questions, then. Did your organization or did it not give electoral support to Allende's UP? Did your organization in Portugal in the fall of

1975 sign a common pact supporting confidence in the MFA government? Did your organization in France give electoral support to the Union of the Left and attack the Communist Party from the right for disrupting the unity? "But I want to talk about an even more egregious example of class collaboration, a quite recent one, and that is Iran. Your organization gave support to the Islamic opposition to the shah led by Khomeini. It was described as 'progressive.' You described him as 'bourgeois democratic' and an 'anti-imperialist.' We said that Khomeini's forces were as reactionary as the shah. We said, 'Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs!' That was our slogan. We said that when the mullahs came to power they would persecute the left. Now they have arrested your own comrades, and you have refused a united-front defense. I can't think of a more suicidal form of class collaboration. You're cutting your own throats!"

As usual, Mandel tried to dismiss the question as "Stalinist slander and sectarian stupidity," but in response there took place a rapid-fire interchange which sharply revealed the classic anti-Marxist revisionism to which the USec's opportunism has led him:

Mandel: "If you do not understand that a revolution has occurred..."

SL: "You supported the mullahs!"

Mandel: "We did not support the mullahs—we supported the revolution.... If you do not know how to support the revolution in spite of who leads it, you have not understood the ABCs of Marxism."

SL: "Khomeini's better than the shah? Is that what you're saying?"

Mandel: "No, it's not a question..."

SL: "Then why did you support him against the shah?"

Mandel: "It is not Khomeini you

support. You support one million people in the streets who are led by Khomeini. And when Khomeini leads these million people, you are not going to shout to these million people 'Kerensky equals the shah, Kerensky equals Kornilov.'"

SL: "You shouted Allah akbar!"

Mandel: "No we did not shout, that is again Stalinist slander...."

SL: "You say it doesn't matter what is the leadership or the program. As long as there are masses in the street, you tail them."

Then, attempting to justify the USec/SWP support to the "Islamic revolution," Mandel waxed eloquent on the "democracy" of the Khomeini regime:

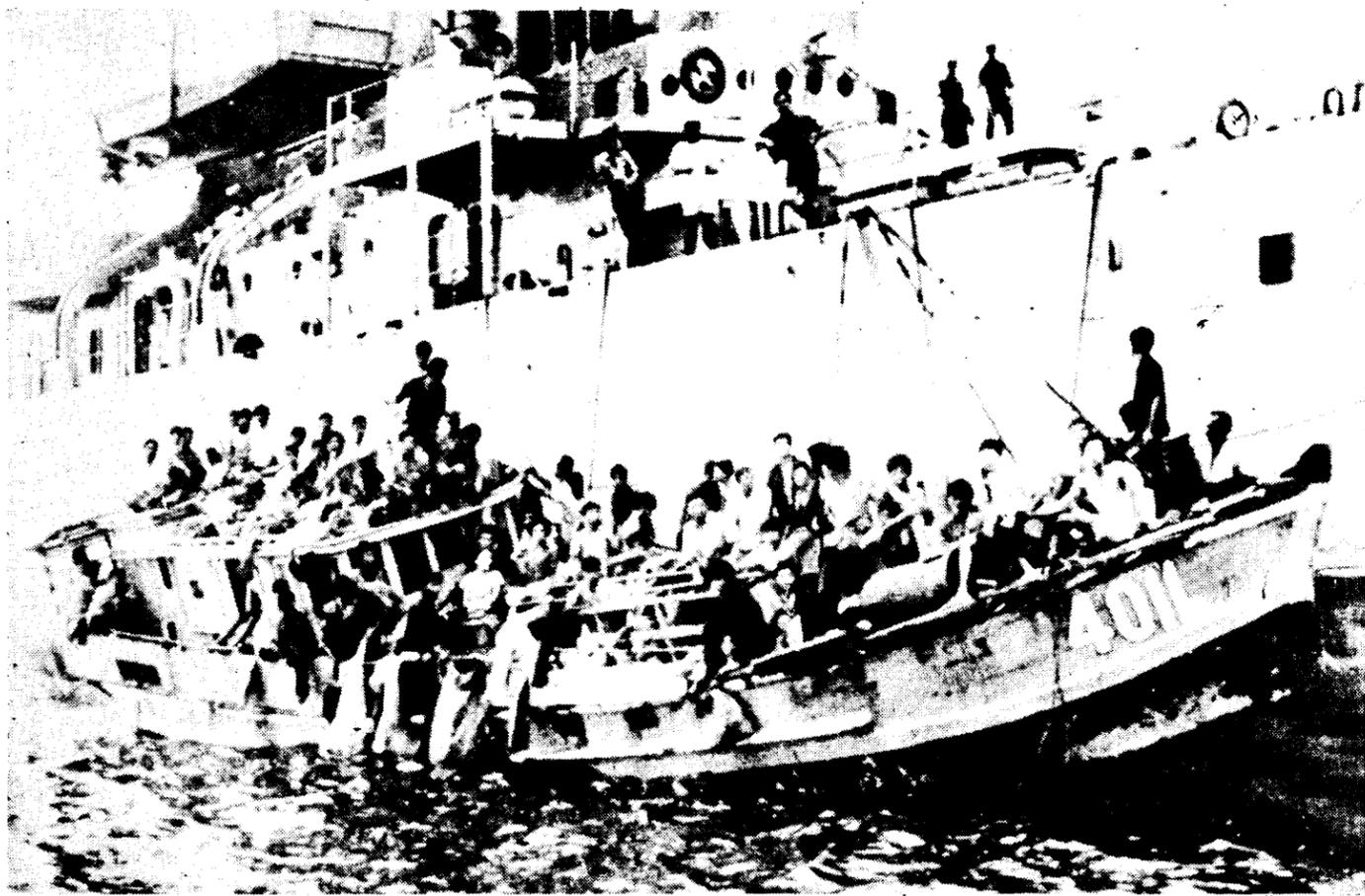
Mandel: "Under the shah's regime you had thousands and thousands of political prisoners. Today you have perhaps 50 or 100 left-wing prisoners, less than under Kerensky and less than under Negrin or Caballero in Spain [during the Civil War]. The only people filling the jails today are the former torturers. And you're going to tell me that..."

SL: "So why are you having a defense campaign?"

Mandel: "Our own comrades were also in prison under Kerensky, dear comrade. But for that reason Kerensky was not equal to the tsar or Kornilov...."

SL: "Kerensky was not a feudal reactionary."

The movement is all, the goal nothing—we've heard it before. This is Bernstein talking through the mouth of Ernest Mandel. And in the service of his opportunism—apologizing for Khomeini because millions hail him in the streets of Teheran—the ayatollah of the United Secretariat leads his own comrades to the executioner's sword. ■



IMPERIALIST HYPOCRISY AND THE BOAT PEOPLE

ADAPTED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN
JULY 1979

By the tens of thousands, "boat people" are leaving Vietnam. Some make it to the United States, Australia or various West European countries, but most end up in disease-ridden refugee camps in the impoverished capitalist states of Southeast Asia or Hong Kong. And as the wretched departees continue to pile up, vicious squabbling has broken out among the various chancelleries as to who should take them in (a dispute which was only papered over at last week's UN Geneva conference on Indochinese refugees). Meanwhile, the imperialist press and governments are trying their best to milk the affair for an anti-Communist propaganda bonanza.

The plight of the boat people—many drowned at sea as their overloaded dinghies and trawlers capsize—is certainly horrible. But the crescendo of anti-Vietnamese vituperation unleashed by the United States and the reactionary ASEAN "front line" states (Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Philippines) is the most revolting hypocrisy. The Western media shriek indignation against the "new Hitlers" of Vietnam, its "insane, genocidal" policies, etc., while Southeast Asian governments threaten to push the refugees back out to sea. Malaysia even threatens to shoot the boat people on sight, claiming the influx is a fiendish plot by Hanoi to subvert their regime with yet more Chinese.

In the U.S., it became a hot topic after

folksinger Joan Baez and several former "peace movement" doves published giant ads assailing the "torture-genocide" Vietnamese government. As assorted "progressives" (among them Jane Fonda) denounced Baez as a CIA tool, Madame Chiang Kai-shek joined the fray with an appeal extolling the glories of Kuomintang-ruled Taiwan. And President Carter decided to cash in on the controversy with a well-publicized midnight jaunt out onto the White House lawn to meet with pro-"boat people" demonstrators.

Carter's "human rights" mouthpieces have no shame. Thus U.S. secretary of

state Cyrus Vance had the gall to proclaim that, "We have called upon Vietnam, publicly and privately, to change the conditions and policies which are forcing hundreds of thousands to flee, and tens of thousands to die" (*New York Times*, 3 July). These "conditions" just happen to include the heritage of devastation of the decades-long imperialist war against Vietnam and subsequent U.S. economic boycott—not to mention the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, undertaken with U.S. complicity.

As for the recently concluded United Nations two-day conference on South-

east Asian refugees, it turned out to be an anti-climactic affair. Instead of the grandiose propaganda coup against Vietnam which Washington had desired, the meeting concluded with UN secretary-general Waldheim's announcement that Hanoi would do its best to stem "illegal departures" from the country. While the ASEAN states were delighted, "free world" publicists used to the "let my people go"/"captive nations" rhetoric employed against the USSR and East Europe were naturally put out.

Henry Kamm commented in the *New York Times* (22 July) that the U.S. is all too uncomfortably aware of "the dilemma that lies in protesting against expulsions without also appearing to urge a police state to make sure that none of its citizens escape to freedom." The truth is that none of Washington's client states in the region wants anything to do with the boat people, and couldn't care less if they all drowned. All they want to do is turn a profit on these politically sensitive refugees by using them to bargain with the U.S. for more aid, both military and "economic."

In response to this international campaign, the Vietnamese bureaucracy, backed by Moscow, claims that it is only trying to expedite the departure of those who wish to leave and denounces the hypocrisy of the imperialist mass murderers who showed so little concern for "human rights" during their long colonial war in Indochina. Hanoi further charges that, "It is United States imperialism and the Peking authorities that have triggered the outflow of hundreds of thousands, and they must be held fully accountable for their heartless acts" (*New York Times*, 8 July).

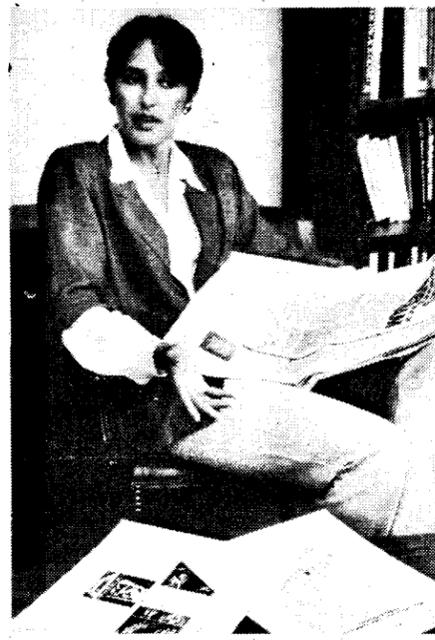
Who Are the Boat People?

When North Vietnamese and NLF forces took Saigon and smashed capitalist class rule in South Vietnam in April 1975, the professional torturers working for the Pentagon, the ruthless war profiteers, the drug traffickers and remnants of the indigenous capitalist police force and army made a furious scramble to get out of the country. Their suitcases packed with everything from gold bars to heroin, the human refuse of the corrupt Thieu dictatorship frantically piled onto the ships, planes and helicopters of their U.S. imperialist overlords to the safety of the West.

Today the situation has changed somewhat. No doubt among those heading out of the country now there are many particularly odious types who amassed fortunes through wholesale corruption and servicing of American imperialism's personnel during the Vietnam war. But the chief criminals, the Nguyen Cao Kys, Thieus and the



Pereira/Newsweek



Streshinsky/People

Carter promises "action" on boat people (left). Peacenik Joan Baez (center) joins imperialists' anti-Soviet crusade alleging Vietnamese atrocities, while Kuomintang reactionaries chime in (right).

Carter...

(continued from page 1)

recession. And most of all they have no confidence in Jimmy Carter.

Thus, the explanation for Carter's theatrics (aside from psychological ones) is that he hopes to run for re-election against the most unpopular politician in America—Jimmy Carter. But in politicizing the economy he has made it a political issue and personalized it in his presidency. In a desperate attempt to get "born again" to office in 1980, Carter risks a "revival" not of a religious sort, but a revival of *political opposition* to the present economic hardship. Instead of stability at the top he projected an image of a government in crisis, and the dollar plunged to a new low on the international money market. Instead of providing the capitalists with an administration that could lash out against the American working people with the strength and flexibility of whipcord, Carter served up Georgia peanut brittle.

The Worst and the Dullest

It is the brittleness and isolation of the Carter government—as well as his fond desire to run against his own record in office for two-and-a-half years—that resulted in the demand for the resignations of all the senior officers and the purge of half the cabinet in 24 hours. To paraphrase Russell Baker, it left the administration with a bunch of Georgians and a pollster. Some capitalist politicians who sympathized with the ousted cabinet members called it "a victory for mediocrity" while a Texas Democrat exclaimed, "Good grief! They're cutting down the biggest trees and keeping the monkeys" (*New York Times*, 22 July). But in fact there was no difference between the political flora and fauna of the ins and outs.

The one obvious fact in the firings is that loyalty and not policy or competence was the question. There is no substantial change of political tendency in any of the personnel shifts. Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) secretary Joseph Califano is out because he is too much the Washington "insider" and too closely identified with the Kennedys. Even he who had never crossed the president on any issue that mattered was considered too "independent minded" for the president's "team." His replacement at HEW is Patricia Harris, formerly of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), whose main qualification besides being a token black and woman is her unabashed advertisement of herself as Jimmy Carter's yes-person.

James Schlesinger was dumped as energy "czar" because he is an electoral liability in a country furious over the government's blatant service of the interests of the oil barons. His replacement by Charles Duncan, however, indicates no difference in energy policy. Attorney General Griffin Bell wanted to quit and has been replaced by his second in command. Much has been made of the firing of Treasury secretary Michael Blumenthal. It may be Carter's plan to attempt to show the American people that he will try "new doctors" for the sick economy, but the prescription is rather more of the same even within the capitalist framework of economic "medicine."

Bringing in G. William Miller from the Federal Reserve Board to replace Blumenthal and Paul Volcker, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, to replace Miller indicates, if anything, a more conservative approach to the economic problem. Despite talk of billions, even trillions of dollars for a government energy program, this administration is hardly "going Keynesian." Both Miller and Volcker are known as "tight money" types favoring a restrictive monetary policy. And the basic lending rate has just gone up another notch to 11.75 percent. Thus

Carter has made it clear to the business and finance world that he intends to continue the path of preferring bankruptcies and recession to inflation. But the fact is that no matter what monetary policy U.S. capitalism adopts it will get both.

The real impetus for the Blumenthal firing may well have been another instance of "disloyalty," in this case a failure to protect Bert Lance from "nosy" questions about his finances. The Georgia clan never forgave Blumenthal, and it is they who now control things in the White House: Carter, Kirbo, Moore, Jordan, Powell and Rafshoon (who is now working full-time, heading up Carter's re-election campaign). Not since Richard Nixon put H.R. Haldeman and a string of second-rate PR men and account executives in charge of the government has a more in-grown and dim-witted crew occupied the White House. But like Nixon, Carter has no one else he can truly trust.

The capo of the Georgia "mafia" now in command is 34-year-old Hamilton Jordan, who demands his name be pronounced "Jerdin," and whom until last week Speaker of the House "Tip" O'Neill insisted upon calling "Hannibal Jerkin." This newly designated chief of staff is the same "Jerkin" about whom the White House felt obliged to release a 33-page document denying he spit Amaretto and cream down the blouse of a woman in a bar. Such antics are little appreciated among the born-again pure, but he is "loyal."

To demonstrate what the new "leadership" is all about, Jordan's first official act was to hand out stacks of the notorious "report cards" to senior officials for evaluating their top staff officers. A document which tells more about the testers than it can ever reveal about the tested, the report is really a test for possible dissent. Such questions are asked as, "To what extent is this person focused on accomplishing the (a) administration's goals, (b) personal goals?" It was an invitation to a full-scale purge, and when Transportation secretary Brock Adams (disliked by Jordan in any case) refused to discard his closest aides, he followed the rest out the door. The word in Washington was "nobody wants to work for Jordan."

Not Carter, Not Kennedy! Build a Workers Party!

For all Carter's talk about "listening to America," the recent purge of "disloyal" elements is a further demonstration of the isolated character of this regime. Behind the obvious brittleness is Carter's grand confidence game. But this con-game cannot have players who may turn out to be nay-sayers, whistleblowers and general skeptics. It is the business of faith healing to have a lot of shills. And when the crippled are told to "arise for god," when the hallelujahs are sounded, they better get up and walk.

It is against this background of fear of criticism that Carter's Secret Service agents came onto the floor of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention in Detroit July 16 and criminally seized militant union official Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the convention. She was going to say to her brothers and sisters that this man should not be allowed to use the CWA convention as a platform for his strikebreaking policies. For her

intention to make this simple statement of working-class sense and solidarity, she received brutal treatment from Carter's goons. Trampling over the rights of the union and its elected delegates, the Carter "team" cleared the way for its boss to try to act like a "friend of labor." They were not going to stand for a voice raised in principled working-class opposition.

But the unfortunate fact is that Carter's government crisis is not prompted by proletarian class opposition. As in Nixon's Watergate crisis, the bourgeoisie is again cursed with a weak and isolated government but blessed with a wretched class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy. The labor fakers understand their job is to prevent a governmental crisis from becoming a full-scale social and political crisis. As with Watergate they are prepared again to help the bourgeois parties ride out their present troubles without significant loss of support. In this regard their main task is to keep working-class discontent within the bounds of the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats. Fed up with Carter? Well then, they ask increasingly disaffected ranks, how about Kennedy?

The labor tops, with the exception of former UAW head and present U.S. ambassador to China Leonard Woodcock and Glen Watts of the CWA, have been less than enthusiastic about Carter, who has consistently gone out of his way to insult labor. The overwhelming choice of the labor bureaucrats in 1976 was Cold Warrior Hubert Humphrey. Now they would certainly prefer Kennedy or Mondale. But Kennedy is no less anti-labor than Carter. He would merely be more effective, more professional, in leading his party in an assault on the workers, blacks and poor. Although Kennedy likes to pose as a 1970s-style "New Deal" progressive, with big-spending government programs, he, too, is for austerity.

Kennedy's "energy program," for example, is in fact to do nothing. It consists of a certain amount of anti-Big Oil talk, exhortations for more conservation, home insulation, etc. and continuing the present price controls on "old" crude oil and gasoline. But since Kennedy, of course, refuses to touch the oil companies' wells, tankers, refineries and gas stations, price controls simply cause Exxon, Texaco & Co., etc. to hoard crude oil and gasoline and divert it to foreign markets. If Carter proposes to increase energy sources by raising their prices (crude oil decontrol, synthetic fuel), Kennedy stands for continuing the situation which created this maddening summer gas shortage.

But if Carter's personalizing the present energy/economic crisis has made it easy for Kennedy to offer himself as an alternative, politicizing the economy may have rather more dramatic effects. The economic crisis may produce sharp class explosions in the near future. Carter's talk of how the energy crisis will test the system and the "national purpose" may help to give the possible future economic battles a more political dimension. Workers will want to know what political programs the government has to meet the crisis. They will make demands that the capitalist government can only answer with false promises, neglect and repression. Both parties of capital will stand for continued sacrifice of the working class.

Class-struggle militants within the trade-union movement will find heightened interest among the masses of workers for their calls for labor to break from the parties of big business and to oust the labor traitors from power in their unions. The fight for a workers party to demand the expropriation of Big Oil as part of a program to institute a workers government is the only answer that makes sense as workers are being thrown out on the streets by the thousands in the midst of the worst inflation since 1946. In the hands of a powerful and resolute labor movement, even sectors of the middle class could be attracted by this program. For unlike Jimmy Carter & Co., a workers government could deliver the gas.

For a Workers Future

The crisis of Carter's government is not simply personal, nor just hysterical ambition cast in revivalist style. Jimmy Carter has given official voice to a profound bourgeois pessimism. In his Sunday Night Sermon, Carter said: "It is clear that the true problems of our nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages. Deeper, even than inflation or recession." In this he is correct. But what the pulpit president defines as the "deep down, true problem" is a crisis of confidence and a failure of the American people to believe in the future.

It is of course true that many Americans have "lost confidence in the future" as Carter and his trendy sociologist advisers solemnly point out. And no wonder when the decay of capitalist society is promulgated as the end of history. Why should anyone believe in the future progress of dying capitalism? "Make it last," "use less," "sacrifice" have become the watchwords of a bourgeois class which has lost confidence in itself, confidence in its ability to expand production on any basis. Jimmy Carter to U.S.: "Every gallon of oil each one of us saves is a new form of production that gives us more freedom, more confidence, that much more control over our own lives."

The bourgeois pessimists have good cause for gloom. They have seen more certain signs of U.S. capitalism's morbidity than the irrationality of gas lines, inflation and recession. U.S. imperialism has slid from global top dog to one of a number of dangerously competing imperialist forces. And they got beat in Vietnam.

The bourgeois crisis of confidence is not the *cause* of the irrationalities of the capitalist system and its hardships—it is the *result*. This simple materialist truth shatters all the religious hokum of Carter and his sophisticated ideologists. The crisis of leadership in the bourgeoisie is a general epochal feature of a degenerate social order. The bizarre examples of Jimmy Carter and Richard Nixon seem more accidental and conjunctural. However, the crisis of humanity is not defined by bourgeois leadership, but rather by the crisis of proletarian revolutionary leadership.

It is the crisis of leadership of the proletariat, for decades betrayed by the Stalinists and Social Democrats, which has forestalled the workers revolution. That is why today the bourgeoisie desperately holds onto state power in a prolonged historic death agony of capitalism even as it groans about the future. This crisis will be resolved by the leadership of Trotskyist parties around the world, armed not only with a vision of the socialist future—and a qualitatively higher level of material and cultural life—but with a program for the seizure of state power through workers revolution.

Jimmy Carter and all the other bourgeois pessimists will be surprised to discover the working class and its allies not only "believing" in the possibility of future progress, but also willing to fight for that future until they win. ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court
3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York

Monday through Friday:
6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone: (212) 925-5665

Union Supports Anwar Defense

CHICAGO—An important struggle to defend the very foundation of trade unionism, the strike picket line, is picking up steam here as the Keith Anwar Defense Committee organizes union support for a steel worker militant fired last May 18. Anwar, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1010 was fired from his job at Inland Steel Company in East Chicago, Indiana because he refused to cross the picket lines of striking USWA Local 8180, a small local employed inside the Inland facility by Apex Steel and Supply Company. Thus far Inland has arrogantly refused to reconsider his firing, but the union has stated that it will now take his case to arbitration.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee is organized around two demands, passed as part of a resolution at the USWA District 31 Conference on June 30: "that Inland Steel immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay," and "defend all union members victimized by honoring picket lines." The committee has distributed leaflets regarding the case at mills in the area, obtained the endorsements of a number of union officials and generated publicity in the Chicago-northern Indiana press. To date the committee has collected \$850 to cover Anwar's legal

expenses. These funds were collected primarily at the plant gates, but they also include a \$100 donation from Bricklayers Local 6, whose picket lines Anwar respected in June, 1978. As explained in a July 16 leaflet, the committee feels that Anwar is "fighting an attack on the union's strongest weapon—the strike and for the right of the trade union movement to protect its strikes—to have picket lines no one crosses."

Anwar told *WV* that the committee has recently been holding organizing meetings in the vicinity of Inland and the U.S. Steel Southworks plant in south Chicago. "We thought these meetings were promising," he said. "They were attended by workers from Inland, Southworks and U.S. Steel Gary Works, including present and former union officials. Some of the workers from Gary who came down to the meeting near Inland had heard about my case because they are involved in the defense of a Gary worker who was recently fired for refusing forced overtime. A former Local 1010 official with over 20 years at Inland made the point that almost 450 workers were fired last year at Inland and that hundreds are fired every year without cause. Anger over such firings is one reason my case is

a big topic of conversation in the plant."

Initially reluctant to defend Anwar, already known as a militant for his refusal to cross picket lines of striking Bricklayers at Inland last summer, the USWA Local 1010 leadership did a turnaround and is now officially backing his case. Even bureaucrats who haven't struck in 20 years can see that a victory for the company here could open the door to wholesale attacks on the union. So over the past two weeks, the Keith Anwar Defense Committee has won endorsement of the District 31 defense resolution by Local 1010 (Anwar's local), and passage of a similar motion at Southworks Local 65 on June 27. In another important victory, the union has agreed to take his case to arbitration. Anwar also told *WV* that he was awarded unemployment benefits last month, a ruling which, he said, "strengthens my case against Inland by proving that I was not fired for dereliction of work duties."

Committee members told *WV* that they are also supporting striking members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 142 who operated the food trucks from which workers purchase lunch from inside the Inland complex. These workers, who set up pickets outside the plant beginning July 19, make less than seven dollars an hour

and have been offered a laughable 54-cent raise for the first year. "It's important for all steel workers to honor these lines," Anwar said. "The company involved, ARA, has brought in scabs to sell food from the trucks, so Local 1010 is planning a boycott of the trucks. Naturally, any conscious trade unionist would gag at the thought of buying this scab food. But the way to really defeat this scabbing and get our Teamster brothers back in the plant with a good contract is for steel workers to honor the picket lines and not go in at all."

Victory for Anwar would be a crucial step forward in reforging labor militancy in the USWA. Inland and the steel companies want to get Anwar and his fellow militants precisely because they understand that once workers in basic steel respect picket lines, they will see the need to *set up their own picket lines* to redress the wholesale firings and other victimizations inflicted on them by the bosses. Victory for Anwar will be a major step forward for steel worker militants dedicated to the struggle to forge a class-struggle union, one that will throw off the shackles of the no-strike clause and the Experimental Negotiating Agreement imposed by the companies and the USWA bureaucracy. ■

Layoffs...

(continued from page 2)

same Chrysler bosses who have mercilessly exploited them and then thrown them on the scrapheap.

And they have not forgotten how the city of Detroit "saved" the Jefferson Assembly plant four years ago, by exempting the company from paying millions in taxes. Jefferson was reopened—with a greatly reduced workforce—and the Chrysler bosses shut down Dodge Main instead! No, instead of meekly petitioning Mr. Austerity, Jimmy Carter, for handouts for Chrysler, auto workers must demand that the company open its financial records to committees of elected union members. If it cannot afford to operate its plants, Chrysler should be nationalized without compensation. As for a seat on the board of directors, this fraudulent scheme copied from European social democrats is simply a ploy to divert auto workers from militant struggle by deluding them into believing that the company will then become more responsive to their needs.

Fraser further announced that in light of Chrysler's financial condition, it would not be a strike target in 1979, adding ominously that he would listen seriously if Chrysler requested special treatment in this summer's negotiations. In short, the UAW president has opened the door to accepting a substandard contract for Chrysler workers similar to those already in existence for American Motor Company employees. Nor has this been lost on corporate negotiators for GM and Ford. Sensing the union's weak-kneed stance, they have hardened their own bargaining positions, claiming that they too cannot "afford" to meet the UAW's demands. Auto workers instead must throw out Fraser's one-at-a-time strike strategy and demand an *industrywide strike of the entire Big Three*. No contract extensions, and no substandard settlements!

Doug Fraser and the UAW International have laid bare their contract "strategy": let the companies lay off thousands of auto workers, then use this as an excuse to sell out the wages and living standards of the membership. UAW militants must counter this by leading a fight for coordinated, effective plant occupations to smash the layoffs.

From that struggle they could assemble a core of effective fighters to become the leadership of a militant strike that will bury Carter's wage guidelines for good and defend the jobs of auto workers through winning a shorter workweek at no cut in pay.

Such a leadership would repudiate Carter and his strikebreaking, pro-big business Democratic Party and build a workers party based on the unions, dedicated to fighting for a workers government, to expropriate major industry and plan production for use. Only in this way can we do away with the anarchic production of capitalism, with its continual depressions, inflation and hardships for working people and the poor. ■

Unholy...

(continued from page 7)

in Europe" because no one would admit them. Begun's own memory seems rather short, for he "forgot" to mention that the Zionists themselves opposed admission of Jewish refugees to the U.S., in order to force them to go to Palestine!

Even more revolting was the spectacle of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association spewing out anti-Communist "Vietnamese fascism" rhetoric in a leaflet distributed at the rally. While the Vietnamese Stalinists are certainly oppressing the ethnic Chinese, it is a reactionary lie to equate this kind of bureaucratic national-chauvinism (of which Mao and his heirs are no less guilty) with the Nazi genocide against the Jews. The imperialists' image of genocide is aimed at covering up the real holocaust—Washington's decades-long war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Thus the Maoists join the U.S.' Big Lie campaign, retroactively whitewashing the napalm, fragmentation bombs and herbicides which rained death on the Indochinese cities and countryside.

If this weren't bad enough, the scene was even more nauseating in Chicago, July 22, where some 300 protesters showed up outside a speech given by the Vietnamese ambassador to the United Nations. On the left, facing the main body of the demonstration, were 50-75 pro-Peking Maoists from the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), Revolutionary Workers Headquarters

BART Workers Sit In

SAN FRANCISCO, July 31—Early yesterday morning about 50 Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) maintenance workers, led by United Public Employees Local 390 leader Paul Varacalli, occupied a BART maintenance yard in Concord in response to management efforts to import supervisors to do union work: BART spokesman Mike Healy complained that "They physically removed two foremen, poured epoxy in the locks and chained it shut." In the afternoon, management announced through a bullhorn that all workers inside the occupied building were indefinitely suspended and ordered them out, but the workers rightly refused to budge. BART cut off all electricity and air conditioning, leaving the workers to swelter in 106 degree heat.

BART cops, who are organized in another local of the striking United Public Employees Union, have massed in a command post in an adjoining section of the Concord yard. At management's direction, they will be hurled against the sit-in. The strikers must have no illusions that these cops are their allies—the cops should be immediately expelled from the union.

BART workers, organized in two unions representing maintenance and

Confederation of Iranian Students. To their right were large groups of Cambodian, Laotian, Chinese and Vietnamese refugees, the latter carrying dozens of small red-yellow flags of the defunct Saigon regime.

Bringing up the right flank were the anti-Deng Maoists of the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO), who chanted "Scab Traitors to Chairman Mao, Revolution Goes On Anyhow." A WVO loudspeaker compared Hanoi victimization of ethnic Chinese to Hitler's persecution of the Jews, an analogy which rang false as right next to the Maoist contingent marched a dozen Nazi thugs dressed up in stormtrooper regalia. While the Nazis' signs were anti-boat people ("Jobs for Vets not Viets," "Boat 'Em All Back"), they were able to peacefully coexist with the rest of the reactionary demonstration on the basis of common hostility to Vietnam in the service of U.S. imperialism. ■

clerical workers, and train operators and station agents, have been without a contract since June 30. Management is demanding that the unions surrender their cost-of-living formula, one of few such plans in existence that actually provides full protection against inflation. BART's attempt to scab the Concord yard is only the latest of its provocations. It has already threatened to *cut workers' wages* in retaliation for alleged low productivity and has suspended the grievance procedure.

The militant sit-in strikes a powerful blow at management's vicious attacks on BART workers. Unfortunately, union leaders view this action as a *substitute* for an effective strike. "Actually, this was the only alternative to a strike. If this hadn't occurred, we would have had a systemwide strike," said Varacalli (*Oakland Tribune*, 31 July). The union tops have all along been asking for binding arbitration instead of a strike—and the train operators have yet to take a strike vote. The unions must immediately follow up their powerful sit-in with a systemwide strike of BART and prepare as well to mobilize other Bay Area transit workers in their defense!

Shut down BART now! No reprisals to strikers! Victory to the BART workers! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

24 issues—\$3
Introductory offer (6 issues) \$1
International rates: 24 issues—\$12 airmail/
\$3 seamail
6 introductory issues—\$3 airmail

—includes *Spartacist*

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____ 237

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001

Boat People...

(continued from page 7)

following him night and day and then reported him. He had to borrow... about \$2,500, to buy himself passage on a refugee freighter. He couldn't afford to pay for his wife and nine children; he hopes they'll be able to follow later."

It is the torturer, not the victim seeking justice, with which this imperialist "human rights" campaign solidarizes.

In 1975, the Spartacist tendency demanded "No Asylum for Indochinese War Criminals" and called for the return of these vicious killers to Vietnam. We said that they should be brought to justice before the napalm victims and starving peasants they exploited and sought to butcher. We also warned that these thugs could become a stridently rightist organizing center for attempts to restore capitalist rule in Indochina, as well as for attacks on the working class of their new country of residence.

This has already begun to happen. Former professional hit-men of the Thieu regime who made it to Australia have been banding together in organizations like the Greater Overseas Alliance for the National Restoration of Vietnam and the Vietnamese Association of Australia and have begun systematic harassment of the workers movement there. On April 20, some 200 of these goons staged a vicious attack on a trade union-organized concert in Sydney to aid Vietnam, injuring several workers (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 63, May 1979). Less visible but equally reactionary is the U.S.-based "Black April" group which has terrorized Vietnamese living in the United States whom it considers too liberal or sympathetic to the new regime.

Like the *gusanos* who fled to Miami from Cuba following the revolution against Batista and who have similarly steeped themselves in the dirtiest, bloodiest, anti-Communist skulduggery, counterrevolutionary scum such as "Black April" or the Vietnamese Association of Australia are a threat to the workers movement in whatever country they come to rest. Already they have been employed by the now-toppled Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua (with no more success than Thieu's ARVN had in Vietnam). The U.S. has already taken in some 200,000 Vietnamese refugees and promises to receive another 14,000 a month. There should be no doubt that from among them numerous mercenaries will be recruited for new Bay of Pigs invasions and Watergate "dirty tricks."

We certainly do not welcome the arrival of well-heeled anti-Communists whose specialty is trade in prostitutes, opium or other goods. Identified war criminals among the current wave of fugitives should be sent back immediately to Indochina to stand trial—as should the butcher Thieu, who today lives comfortably in a London suburb, or mass murderer Lon Nol, now relaxing in a Hawaii mansion. It could

only be chauvinist, however, to campaign against admission of the mass of the boat people. For example, in England a racist clamor is being raised by the fascist National Front and other right-wingers, who have decided to play up the "yellow peril" theme rather than anti-Communism.

Counterrevolutionary Crusade

While making no concessions to anti-Asian chauvinism directed against the boat people, revolutionaries must intransigently combat the anti-Communist furor which the bourgeoisie has whipped up over their plight. The current frenzy comes in the context of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, which is also aimed at close allies of the USSR, like Vietnam. Thus the fact that 48,000 illegal emigrants from China entered Hong Kong in May alone has been studiously downplayed by the world press. Meanwhile, when State Department officials asked Peking to take in some of the Hoa refugees from Vietnam, the response was reportedly "cool" (*New York Times*, 17 June).

The capitalists' protestations of humanitarian concern are staggering in their hypocrisy. For 30 years, first the French, then the Americans butchered Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese alike in their attempts to crush all opposition to imperialist rule in Indochina. The B-52 bombing raids, the napalm and tiger cages left a million workers and peasants dead. Agricultural land and forests throughout the country are now unusable, thanks to the U.S. government's sophisticated chemical defoliants, while the crucial irrigation system is likewise in ruins. Nationally, staple food rations in Vietnam were deficient by 30 percent overall last year.

Moreover, when it came to refugees from the undisputed terror of a right-wing capitalist dictatorship—Pinocchet's Chile—the U.S. imperialists and Chinese Stalinists simply didn't want to hear about it. While Peking's embassy closed its doors to leftists seeking to flee the murderous Santiago junta, the U.S. for several years refused to accept any refugees from Chile. The Southeast Asian reactionaries of ASEAN have followed the lead of their imperialist patrons. For example, Malaysia (whose Muslim rulers fear a powerful Chinese minority) recently unhesitatingly accepted 70,000 Muslim refugees from the Philippines, while threatening to shoot any boat people approaching its shores. And Indonesia has been guilty of massive attacks on its own ethnic Chinese minority: thousands of the half million slaughtered in the anti-Communist coup of 1965 were Chinese, and there were new pogroms in 1967-68 and 1974.

But it is more than hypocrisy. The imperialists are itching to take punitive action against Vietnam. They can hardly take any more non-military measures since economic and political sanctions are already in full force. And

the crushing U.S. defeat in Indochina four years ago makes direct military intervention in the near future unlikely. However, there remains a danger that the imperialists will egg China into trying to teach Vietnam another "bloody lesson." Additionally, skirmishes with Vietnamese vessels and an extension of military/financial backing for Thai-based anti-Communist guerrillas cannot be ruled out. Whatever such measures the imperialists take, Trotskyists will rally to the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states in the region against counter-revolution.

Peaceniks Join Reactionary Bandwagon

In the midst of the bourgeois outcry, a number of liberal/pacifist luminaries from the antiwar movement have launched a scandalous smear attack on Vietnam. An "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" appeared in the 30 May *New York Times*, alleging that "the cruelty, violence and oppression practiced by foreign powers in your country for more than a century continue today under the present regime"; that "thousands of innocent Vietnamese, many whose only 'crimes' are those of conscience, are being arrested, detained and tortured in prisons and re-education camps"; and that prisoners were being starved, suffocated and used as "human mine detectors."

The letter was the brainchild of Joan Baez, who correctly noted that she was "never left." In a despicable display of redbaiting, she claimed, "I was used" by leftists in the antiwar movement (*New York Times*, 1 June). Right-wingers gleefully claimed, "I told you so," while some signers (like Daniel Berrigan) soon withdrew their signatures. Critics of the Baez "Open Letter" have pointed out that its accusations of torture are completely unsubstantiated—even the State Department has not made this charge. But this fails to get at the root of the reactionary smear campaign. What is happening is that the liberal intellectuals from the McCarthy/McGovern "peace" movement are demonstrating their fundamental loyalty to imperialist "democracy."

Lacking a Marxist understanding of Stalinism and revolution, the petty-bourgeois "progressives" oscillate between uncritical applause for the bureaucratically deformed workers states (attorney William Kunstler refused to sign the open letter on the grounds that he was opposed to public criticism of "socialist countries"), and Cold War-style attacks on "Communist totalitarianism." Unlike Joan Baez and her "sadder-but-wiser" friends, Trotskyists know that many of those in prison today in Vietnam are vicious enemies of the working people, active counterrevolutionary opponents of proletarian rule in Indochina. But unlike most of her critics, we also point out that the Stalinist bureaucracy has politically expropriated the working class at the same time that it overthrew capitalist rule. The murderers of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945 no doubt have left-wing critics of their regime in jail as well. We defend Vietnam from imperialist attack because its expropriation of the bourgeoisie represents a historic social gain; we call for political revolution to oust the Hanoi misrulers because the Stalinist caste represents a roadblock in the path to socialism.

Immigration/Emigration and the Deformed Workers States

Ironically, the imperialists are now raising a storm over the fact that people are being allowed to emigrate from one of the deformed workers states and are doing so in large numbers. More often their refrain is that the USSR and its allies forcibly prevent citizens from emigrating. The imperialist furor over the Berlin Wall and the Zionist-inspired

campaign to "Free Soviet Jewry" are cases in point.

As Leninists we uphold individual democratic rights, including the right of individuals to immigrate/emigrate, for citizens of the degenerated/deformed workers states, except where exercise of such rights would represent a direct danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Circumstances like acute economic difficulties or military mobilization, for example, could warrant a total or partial ban on emigration. We also uphold the right of the workers states to prevent the frittering away through emigration of valuable resources expended on the education and training of skilled professionals—although we would demand that emigration restrictions in such cases not be subject to bureaucratic favoritism or national/ethnic discrimination.

In the case of Vietnam today, the Hanoi bureaucracy has apparently not attempted to stop the skilled and educated among the boat people from leaving the country, but is actually expediting their departure. Many of those leaving are taking with them stocks of gold which they have been hoarding, or have already salted away wealth in neighboring countries. So Vietnamese government officials have allegedly been levying an "expatriate departure tax" on each boatload of refugees. The imperialist media howl that Hanoi is raking in vast profits by means of this tax, and no doubt there are many instances of bureaucratic abuse. But the government's policy is apparently motivated primarily by a desire to get a cut of the funds which wealthy refugees are trying to remove from the country—i.e., it is a measure of economic defense, however bureaucratically implemented.

Indochina today is still poor, war-torn and wracked by ethnic hatreds, its central vital rural regions devastated by imperialism's decades-long war against Vietnam. The bleeding away of thousands of the most talented and skilled layers of Indochinese society, the ethnic Chinese, necessarily damages the economic foundations of the deformed workers states. In part, the exodus is due to the powerful disintegrating pressure of the world capitalist market on this economically relatively backward region. As Castro once pointed out when baited on the number of Cubans heading for Miami, if given the chance, what poverty-stricken Brazilian peasant wouldn't want to emigrate to the U.S.?

But the Stalinist bureaucracies are unable to counteract imperialist pressure by extending the revolution, and with their narrow nationalistic policies they help create the conditions for such a mass outflow. While Trotskyist revolutionaries defend the deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution, we point out that only victorious socialist revolution throughout the capitalist world—and political revolution to oust the bureaucracies, from Peking to Moscow and Hanoi—can open the road for a genuine socialist federation of Indochina. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001
(212) 925-2426

Ann Arbor

c/o SYL, Room 4102
Michigan Union
University of Mich.
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
(313) 663-9012

Berkeley/Oakland

Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623
(415) 835-1535

Boston

Box 188
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland

Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

P.O. Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 868-9095

Houston

Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles

Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026
(213) 662-1564

New York

Box 444, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 925-5665

San Diego

P.O. Box 142
Chula Vista, CA 92010

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Santa Cruz

c/o SYL
Box 2842
Santa Cruz, CA 95063

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ont.
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver

Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.
(604) 733-8848

Winnipeg

Box 3952, Station B
Winnipeg, Man.
(204) 589-7214



Price: \$5.00

Make checks payable/mail to:

Spartacist Pub. Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001

CWA...

(continued from page 12)

could produce such frenzy from the White House is graphic testimony to the Carter government's lack of credibility with the American working people. While Margolis' working-class opposition to the Democrats represented a small minority, there was widespread sentiment in the hall for Teddy Kennedy. As one convention observer described the scene: "Jane Margolis walked in between the Kennedy and Carter armies and set off a few mines."

This was dramatically shown by an incident on the last day of the convention, in which Michigan Democratic Senator Robert Riegle delivered a blistering attack on the Carter administration. In an effective speech Riegle drew one rousing ovation after another from the delegates by asking, why does Carter call on the workers to sacrifice when the oil companies make millions; why is J. P. Stevens allowed to deduct from its taxes legal expenses for fighting union organizing; why is there no national health care system? He ended up: "I have watched Ted Kennedy for two-and-one-half years in the Senate.... I think if he were president, by the way, he would have assembled talent from across the country...." Riegle made a fool of Watts, who was left stammering: "We are confused now. We were on a high this week... and now we have to rethink it."



Jane Margolis speaks to television newsmen in Detroit.

WV Photo

The Secret Service continued to harass Margolis throughout the convention proceedings, going so far as to follow her to the bathroom. Watts, in turn, told delegates to "ignore the disruption at the back of the hall" as Carter's agents were dragging Margolis off, and the next day denied her the right to speak on a point of personal privilege. A MAC leaflet, "Whose Union: Carter's or the Members?" distributed during the convention, declared:

"Carter is not the Ayatollah and his Secret Service is not the law in a union convention. The democratic rights of an elected delegate were flagrantly violated.... We cannot permit strikebreakers to silence criticism in our convention."

Finally on the third day of the convention Margolis was able to get the floor in order to denounce Carter's attempts to make the workers pay for the economic crisis (see back page box).

"We Will Not Be Silenced"

The July 31 Militant Action Caucus leaflet summed up the impact of the Secret Service attack and the electrifying response of the membership:

"At the meeting a switchman from Pine Street asked what Jimmy Carter was doing at our union convention in the first place. This is precisely the point that Margolis wanted to make at the convention and why the Secret Service grabbed her. Ethnic purity Carter is an

enemy of labor and the oppressed. He is trying to make working people pay for inflation with a 7 percent wage freeze while inflation runs almost 14 percent. He blames us for gas guzzling while the oil companies are lining their pockets from skyrocketing gas prices. He is a strikebreaker who used the Taft-Hartley injunction against the coal miners last year and threatened to use it against us in 1977. Margolis wanted to protest the CWA being used as a platform for Carter's anti-labor policies....

"Margolis and the Militant Action Caucus are building a national opposition caucus in this union. We will continue to take the fight for a militant CWA to our national conventions. We will not abandon the work we have undertaken with unionists from around the country for the local right to strike, or for the necessary solid national strike in 1980. We will continue to work for the day when the guests of honor at our conventions are not strikebreakers like Jimmy Carter, but leaders of victorious workers struggles, and candidates of a political party of our own—a workers party."

We salute the determination of the members of Local 9410 and union militants throughout the CWA to guard the independence of their union from the meddling of the Carter government. If MAC can build on this support and extend it nationwide, the outrage over the vicious attack by Jimmy Carter's thugs can be directed toward the crucial struggle to build a leadership that can take the union out of the hip pocket of Ma Bell and the capitalist politicians—Carter and Kennedy alike—who do the bidding of the bosses. ■



—30 July 1979

Reprinted by permission of The Village Voice. Copyright © News Group Publications, Inc., 1979.

Secret Service Gags Carter Critic

By Joe Conason

Everyone laughs these days at Jimmy Carter's promises of open government, but last week his Secret Service did something that wasn't so funny. Just before Carter arrived in Detroit to address the annual convention of the Communication Workers of America on July 16, two Secret Service agents dragged a dissident union delegate out of Cobo Hall, handcuffed and detained her for 30 minutes.

The union delegate, a Pacific Telephone employee and CWA shop steward named Jane Margolis, had tried to put a motion on the convention floor that morning against allowing the president to use the gathering as "a platform for the antilabor strike-breaking policies of Jimmy Carter." Though Margolis is a legally elected member of the executive board of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco and an official delegate to the convention, she was not recognized by the chair and never got her motion before the other delegates.

At about three that afternoon, an hour before Carter was scheduled to appear, Margolis was approached on the convention floor by a man who showed her a Secret Service badge. He asked her to come with him to answer "some questions" in a back room.

Margolis refused, saying she would speak to no one without a lawyer present. More Secret Service men soon appeared and, according to Margolis, began to follow her around the floor. A couple approached her again, insisting that she follow them out for a talk. When she refused, they grabbed her arms and dragged her from the hall.

As they pulled her out, Margolis says, union president Glenn Watts told the other delegates to ignore the commotion at the back of the hall. Outside, Margolis was surrounded by more agents and Detroit police officers, who put her in handcuffs and took her to a room in the back of the auditorium. In this room Margolis, who had not gone silently, refused to answer any of the questions put to her by the cops. Instead, she demanded to know why she was being held.

The Secret Service agents told

Margolis she had to answer their questions, and that they were within their rights to detain her for 72 hours—"while the president is in the vicinity." Why? she asked. Because, said the agents, a source had told them that Margolis threatened the president's life.

"I said, what is your source?" recalls Margolis. "They said they did not know the source, but they have from a source that I was threatening the life of the president. I said in no way was I threatening the life of the president. What I was was an elected delegate on my convention floor and I was going to practice my democratic right of speaking on the convention floor."

Half an hour later, without searching Margolis's person or handbag for weapons but after examining her notepad, the Secret Service allowed her to return to the convention floor. Apparently, as she found out later, Jim Imerzel, the president of her local, had intervened to have her released. The day before the incident, the Secret Service had contacted Imerzel and asked if the militant Margolis could somehow be kept from the convention floor while Carter was present. Imerzel had refused to help, but he didn't bother to tell Margolis what had happened. Despite his political differences with Margolis, who is a supporter of the Trotskyist Spartacist League, Imerzel was furious at seeing her dragged from the convention floor.

Meanwhile, her detention in the back room was accidentally discovered by Tom Green, a TV reporter for the Detroit CBS affiliate, WJVK. Over the next few days the story of Margolis's police-state treatment received coverage on TV and radio, in the Detroit papers, the San Francisco papers, *The New York Times*, and, briefly, over UPI and AP.

When Margolis got back to the convention floor, Carter was preparing to take some questions from the delegates. The first 20 people in line at the floor microphones would be allowed to speak to the president. Margolis got in line, number 16, and suddenly realized that she was still being watched by Secret Service agents.

When Carter reached delegate number 12, he decided that, after 55 minutes at the Communication Workers convention, it was time for him to go.

The White House press office referred my questions about the Margolis incident to the Secret Service press office, which didn't have any comment. I spoke to a woman agent named Anderson, who gave either of two curt replies to each question: "As long as this is an active investigation there is nothing we're going to say about it," and "Whenever there is a threat to the security of an individual we are protecting, we will take whatever action is necessary to reduce that threat or remove it." After listening to Agent Anderson repeat these answers a few times, I said, "You don't have much to say, do you?" She said, "Nope."

A few hours later, a friendlier agent named Ken Lynch called *The Voice*, saying he had been asked to do so by the White House. He explained that the White House "doesn't comment on security matters." In a nice piece of irony, he said he couldn't tell me anything about the Margolis incident because "the Privacy Act forbids us from giving the names or other information about any individual unless they are actually arrested." I asked how Jane Margolis—who says the Detroit police told her she was under arrest—could have been handcuffed and detained without being under arrest. Lynch laughed and said again, "She wasn't arrested."

Maybe she wasn't arrested, but something happened to Jane Margolis that isn't supposed to happen in this country. Warrantless assaults on trade union leaders, in the name of national security, are only supposed to happen in Chile, Iran, and the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Communication Workers—which supported Carter early in 1976 and still does—is unprepared to do anything to stop such encroachments on its members' rights. The CWA has a tarnished record on issues of internal democracy, as shop steward Dave Newman of Local 1101 found out when he criticized a contract



CWA shop steward Jane Margolis: detained, handcuffed, but not arrested

and lost his position as a result. (Newman was later reinstated by the courts.) A union which fails to recognize members' right to speak internally is unlikely to resist much when the secret police sweep onto the convention floor.

Margolis says she suffered harassment by Secret Service agents right up until the convention ended. At one point, she was even followed to a restroom by four agents. As in most cases of illegitimate police action, one's best protection is support from others. Tired of seeing her hounded by the feds, Margolis's fellow unionists formed a 20-man defense squad to escort her out of the convention hall. About 150 members of her local in San Francisco have signed a telegram to Jimmy Carter demanding an apology.

Margolis, who worked in a GI coffeehouse during the antiwar movement, doesn't have very much faith in the legal system. But she says she's going to sue the Secret Service anyway for violating her civil rights, and that she finds what happened to her "scary." Maybe she's thinking about the initials of the Secret Service. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

CWA Ranks Back Jane Margolis

The fallout continues from the dramatic incident in Detroit where elected union delegate Jane Margolis was dragged bodily off the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention floor, handcuffed and detained by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service July 16. Last week the *Village Voice* published an extensive article detailing both the unprecedented violation of union rights and a continuing White House stonewall (see p. 11). And while the CWA bureaucracy went on the warpath to suppress any anti-Carter dissent in the union, their witchhunting campaign was brought up short by an outpouring of support for Margolis. In petitions, telegrams and heated local meetings, union members vociferously opposed any victimization of their elected representative who had faced down Carter's goons.

L.A. CWA Defends Margolis

As we go to press, we have learned that Los Angeles CWA Local 11501 has passed overwhelmingly the following resolution: "CWA Local 11501 protests the violation of the democratic rights of Jane Margolis, Executive Board member, steward, and an elected delegate of CWA's 41st Annual Convention. The Secret Service physically removed delegate Margolis from our convention floor and denied her the right of an attorney simply for her political views. We demand from the White House a formal apology in writing to the Communications Workers of America and to delegate Margolis."

At the convention itself, some 70 delegates signed a petition "demand[ing] from the White House a formal apology in writing to the Communications Workers of America and to delegate Margolis." And back in San Francisco, where Margolis is an executive board member of CWA Local 9410, within 24 hours of the incident more than 140 of her fellow workers had signed a protest telegram which they sent to the White House. Another telegram was fired off to her local delegation at the convention demanding an apology from Jimmy Carter and that Jane Margolis be given her rights to speak on the convention floor. According to a July 31 leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), of which Margolis is a spokesman, almost 600 members of the local have now signed petitions and protests over the outrageous Secret Service action.

Elements of the CWA bureaucracy at first tried to launch a vicious slander campaign against Margolis. In S.F., even before delegates had returned from Detroit, the union tape announced a meeting to hear how she had caused an incident which brought "discredit" to her local (a clear threat of reprisals). In both Los Angeles and the Bay Area, an anonymous mudslinging leaflet ranted, "The Militant Action Caucus—are they company tools? Are they union-busting fools?" But the smear campaign backfired, and on July 24 more than 150 members piled into the Local 9410 meeting, one of the largest in years, to back Jane. A straw vote overwhelmingly demanded that the Local send an official telegram demanding a White House apology and that the union hold

When the Secret Service reached out and mugged Jané Margolis on July 16, they mugged the union too.



a demonstration outside the S.F. Federal Building protesting the Secret Service action. The members also had harsh words for Local president Jim Imerzel, who told the *Detroit News* that Margolis was "disruptive" and defended the actions of the Secret Service. Imerzel also admitted that he had been approached by them before the incident to enlist his support in silencing her.

Carter-Kennedy Clash at CWA Convention

From the standpoint of CWA International president Glenn Watts, the main business of the Detroit convention—besides pushing through a dues increase—was to line up the union behind Jimmy Carter's re-election campaign. Watts is one of the few labor leaders who continues to back the widely unpopular Carter to the hilt. Even after such mainstream union

bureaucrats as George Meany and Doug Fraser have come out against the administration's anti-labor wage "guidelines," the CWA continues to support them. (The 31 July *New York Times* reports that Watts is one of the leaders of a newly formed union Carter-for-President Committee.) The president's address to the convention was to be one of his first stage-managed "forums with the American people," following close on the heels of his televised energy speech the night before.

But Jane Margolis planned to appeal to her union brothers and sisters not to let their convention be used as a platform for the strikebreaking policies of Jimmy Carter. This threatened to upset Watts' appellation and publicly embarrass him in front of the president. That is why the CWA tops are so upset today. Yet the fact that a single delegate

continued on page 11

Jane Margolis Speaks at CWA Convention

Big Business is to Blame, Not the Workers

We reprint below the remarks of Jane Margolis, spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus and delegate from San Francisco Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America, on an amendment calling for opposition to President Carter's seven percent wage "guidelines." The text is taken from the July 18 Daily Proceedings of the 41st Annual Convention of the CWA.

DELEGATE JANE MARGOLIS (Local 9410): President Watts and delegates to this Convention: I rise in support of the amendment. We are being told, we the workers, that we must pay for the inflation and recession in the country. Workers are being told that they must live with the seven percent wage increases while

prices and inflation are up to fourteen percent. We are being told that gas will not be available for heating our homes. Old pensioners are dying because they cannot pay their bills. We are being told that retirees, for instance, in the UAW right now, are negotiating for a hundred percent COLA. We are being told by President Carter and the administration that we are greedy and that we are self-indulgent.

We are trying to fight for a decent standard of living. It is not the workers, it is big business and the oil companies that were not mentioned once in President Carter's address on Sunday night on TV.

In 1980, if we are to go out on a national strike to fight job pressures to maintain a decent standard of living so we can feed our families, pay

our rents, send our children to school, maintain our education, we are going to have to fight for that—we are going to have to take it from the telephone company whose profits are soaring daily; from the oil companies whose profits are soaring daily and there will probably be injunctions and Taft-Hartleys imposed on us by the Carter administration.

It is not us who is to blame for the inflation and the recession. We are the victims of big business that are trying to increase their profits and the workers have always had to fight for what is justly theirs.

I propose that we support the amendment and fight so that the workers in this union and in other unions can maintain a decent standard of living. (Applause)



WV Photo