

Despite Khomeini's Death Wish for Iran

No to Carter's War Threats!

It can't go on much longer without a head-on crash between the world's most dangerous imperialist power and the world's most powerful medievalist religious fanatic. Not for much longer can Khomeini threaten to hold trials and execute the hostages at the U.S. embassy in Teheran while he calls forth Islamic wrath against the "American Satan," and taunts Carter for having "no guts." It cannot go on indefinitely, this gathering of U.S. warships and aircraft off the coast of the Arabian peninsula and these storm clouds of war sentiment on the streets of America and Iran.

In the bizarre events of the last month there is a fearful symmetry in the lunatic pronouncements of the 79-year-old nut with state power in Qum who says that all Iranians would welcome martyrdom, and the coldly genocidal calculations of the Dr. Strangeloves in the war/crisis room buried deep below the Pentagon. There is indeed a dreadful correspondence between the Iranians who display themselves in their funeral shrouds

ready to die for the "imam" and the Americans who have made a fashion of "Nuke the Ayatollah" T-shirts.

The U.S. media counts off the days for a frustrated, angry and humiliated population, while a group of congressmen have organized a campaign to "set the date" for military retaliation. ABC-TV runs a near-nightly news special entitled, "America Held Hostage," and *Time* magazine's flag-and-eagle cover demands to know: "Has America Lost Its Clout?"

No, it can't go on much longer. Despite the efforts to "play it cool," Carter's war threats are real, and the consequences terrible—for the masses of Iran and the international proletariat. For the ultimate target in the war room of U.S. imperialism is not Iran but Russia. It is because the shah was part of American imperialism's global anti-Soviet strategy that U.S. embassies have now become the targets of enraged mobs from the halls of Islamabad to the shores of Tripoli. And it is this same anti-Soviet strategy which continues to



Kitty Hawk:

Carter's "other remedy."

condition its every move in this dangerous contest of nerves, diplomacy and perhaps war. Surely the ayatollah is prepared to sacrifice a few million Iranians to the cause of popular mullah

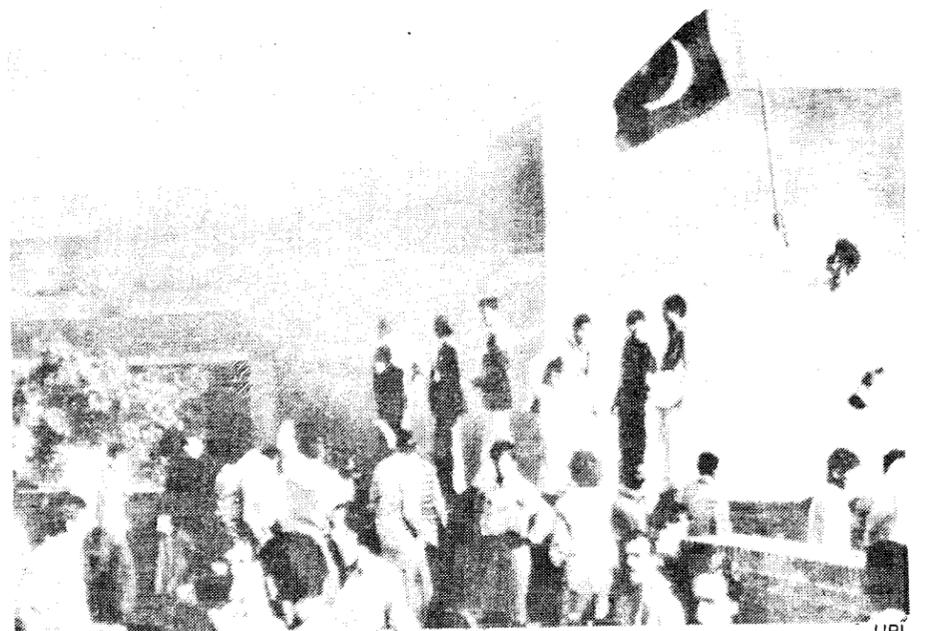
rule. But without giving the slightest amount of political support to the reactionary mullah regime of Iran, in a military conflict between the most
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Embassies Ablaze, Shootout in Mecca's Mosque... What Next?

Behind Mullah Madness

American embassies ablaze from Tripoli to Islamabad, marine guards dead in the fiery ruins, diplomats in Teheran still hostage to huge crowds of fervent Khomeinists, gunbattles in Mecca's Grand Mosque, a tide of Islamic religious frenzy reaching an orgiastic crescendo of bloody self-flagellation—has the Sword of Islam been raised to crush the "infidel" once and for all?

On November 20, 200 to 300 well-armed Bedouin tribesmen led by their 22-year-old Mahdi, or self-proclaimed Messiah, seized Mecca's Grand Mosque, holiest shrine of Islam, during the height of Islamic New Year religious pilgrimages. Though it was the work of a small Islamic sect, Khomeini instantly called on the faithful to rise up and defend Islam against supposed American complicity, letting loose a storm of



Islamic students burn U.S. embassy in Pakistan on November 21.

assaults on American embassies, consulates and businesses throughout the East, in Kuwait, Lebanon, Bangladesh, India, Turkey, Pakistan and Libya.

In Islamabad, capital of Pakistan, 20,000 demonstrators chanting "Down with the Dog Carter" and "Down with Imperialism" stormed and burned the 32-acre American embassy complex. In a country where troops are swift and ruthless in suppressing any opposition to General Zia's military dictatorship, it took them over two hours to reach the smoldering ruins where two marines lay dead. In Libya, where Islamic colonel Qaddafi rules with an iron hand, 2,000 demonstrators hailing Khomeini sacked

the U.S. embassy unhindered, while Qaddafi sent apologies to Washington.

Meanwhile the Shi'ite holy month of Muharram was reaching its climax in the holy day of Ashura when huge processions of flagellants whipping their backs bloody, some even cracking their skulls with scimitars, poured through the streets while women in black chadors wailed and shrieked from rooftops and doorways. Ashura commemorates the martyrdom of Mohammad's grandson Hussein by the Caliphate of Yazid, and it was out of last year's Ashura processions that the mullahs emerged victorious over the
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SWP Bows Ever Lower to Khomeini

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been the "best builder" in the U.S. of Khomeini's reactionary Islamic movement. In the mullahs' moment of triumph over the shah last year, the 23 February *Militant* trumpeted: "Iranian Masses Show the Way." Today, at a time when much of the left has become increasingly queasy about their former enthusiastic support to the Islamic mullah regime, the oh-so-respectable reformists of the SWP are wildly cheering the Khomeinist seizure of the U.S. embassy, proof positive that Khomeini is the "progressive" they always said he was. "Iranian workers in lead of deepening revolution," the *Militant* (30 November) insists, exhorting the American public to "draw inspiration from the heroic example of the Iranian masses...who are now mobilizing by the millions to defend their revolution."

You'd never know from the *Militant* that the Ayatollah Khomeini—whose quotations are carefully selected and sanitized for SWP publication—is using the crisis to divert the Iranian masses' attention from the shattered condition of the Iranian economy and state. Nor would you know that his theocratic regime had been exposed as an enemy of the exploited and oppressed. For its part, the SWP desperately needs to divert attention from the overwhelming evidence of Khomeini's reactionary repression—his firing squads' slaughter of homosexuals and leftists, forcing

women back into veils, strikebreaking and bloody suppression of the Kurds.

The symptoms of a growing and dangerous patriotic war fever in the U.S. are all around us. But if you had to rely on the *Militant*, you'd never know it. The SWP has a problem—the American public has developed a deep hatred for ayatollahs. So these would-be spokesmen for the "vast majority" simply lie. "Protests say: 'No War Against Iran,'" reads the *Militant's* headline, while the article goes on to claim:

"Defying the wishes of the vast majority of the American people, Carter is taking new steps toward war against Iran... The American people are not buying it."

Not buying it? A recent Associated Press/NBC News poll revealed that some 66 percent of Americans would support a military strike against Iran if the hostages were harmed or even put on trial. Most bourgeois commentators have remarked in amazement at Carter's restraint thus far in the face of massive sentiment to "Nuke the Ayatollah."

Another *Militant* article (7 December), began under the absurd front-page headline "Carter steps up war threats. Defies growing antiwar sentiment." (Doubtless the run on Iranian flags—which Americans are buying in record numbers for purposes of immolation, is a sign of the "growing" or perhaps "burning" sentiment against war.) The story rushes to defend Idaho Republican congressman George Hansen who the SWP says was the object of

a "frenzied campaign to discredit him" upon his recent return from Teheran, though "Hansen has so far refused to retreat." Hansen, however, is already discredited. A convicted tax evader and on the extreme right wing of Capitol Hill, Hansen has championed causes from the fight vs. abortion to opposing the "giveaway" of the Panama Canal. His last diplomatic mission took him to the bunker of General Somoza where he encouraged the shah of Nicaragua to hang on.

What is the SWP up to with this cloud-cuckoo-land fantasy of mass protests against Carter's war threats? Quite simply, these reformists are seeking a way to make their consistent pro-Khomeini position palatable at a time when the ayatollah's effigy is being burned from coast to coast. And while they may be the most craven, the SWP are by no means the only left apologists for the "imam." At a December 1 New York "anti-shah" [read pro-Khomeini] demo attended by much of the left, a Spartacist leafletting team was excluded for being "anti-Khomeini."

Sometimes it's hard to be a reformist. Having decided to stand by their man, Khomeini, the SWP has got to convince at least its own membership that it's doing the right (i.e., the *popular*) thing. In order to pull off this impossible feat of simultaneously tailing mass sentiment in Teheran and the U.S., the SWP is cynically using the Vietnam antiwar movement as a model, when it relied on

liberal pacifism and bourgeois defeatism to get the masses into the streets. "Why die for the shah?" the SWP asks, but what it really means is "Why die for anything?"

It may come as a shock to the SWP, but the American population is not inherently pacifist. Carter's imperialist war drive against Iran must be fought hard, and genuine socialists know how to do it. Big Oil's ripoffs, the torture-chic shah, Rockefeller's and Kissinger's sinister plots, the "nest of spies" in the U.S. embassy—the American working class can be mobilized against these imperialist machinations, but not in solidarity with the ayatollahs and their program for "liberation": no whiskey, no rock and roll, and no unveiled women.

The way to win the American proletariat to the fight against imperialism is not the SWP's way, the way of cringing pacifism in America, nothing but a cover for political support to the religious fanatic of Qum. We are absolutely opposed to any American imperialist military adventures in Iran. We raised the demand "Down with the shah!" along with Iranian militants, when the SWP was saying this was an "ultra-left" call. But we tell the truth: the working class must organize itself independently of the shahs, the ayatollahs and the imperialists in the battle for world socialist revolution, the only way to win human dignity and freedom for the world's oppressed masses. ■

Carter's War Threats...

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powerful imperialist country on earth and backward, semi-colonial Iran, socialists stand even with crazy mullahs against U.S. imperialism. Hands off Iran!

Target Moscow

Iran is not some Latin American "banana republic," where Washington can "send in the marines" without risk of world war. It is a strategically important country on the southern border of the Soviet Union. U.S. imperialism's policy toward Iran since World War II has been motivated by capitalism/imperialism's implacable hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state. For instance, it was to prevent the rise of

another Iraqi-style Soviet-linked left nationalist regime that the CIA engineered the restoration of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi back in 1953, and through him assured a loyal bulwark against the USSR for more than 20 years.

Having created the monster, the U.S. is now stuck with him. Mexico, which briefly sheltered him, refuses to take back the Yankees' deposed king of kings. Of all the countries on earth, only Anwar Sadat's Egypt seems to want the shah.

Carter's response to the seizure of the American embassy has been characterized as one of great restraint. (Not so that of his mother. The irrepressible "Miz Lillian" has publicly suggested that someone offer \$1 million to assassinate Khomeini.) But Carter's carefully calculated "moderation" masks a seething fury fired by humiliation and impotence. In point of fact, Carter is every bit as capable of ruthlessly sacrificing thousands of lives over this incident as is the madman Khomeini, especially if he thinks it will get him another term in the White House. Carter's "moderation" is motivated *not* so much by concern for the hostages as by anti-Soviet strategic calculations. The fact is that the U.S. desperately wants an anti-Soviet Iran.

Thus, the latest *Business Week* (10 December) urges Carter not to heed the cries for Iranian blood and to do nothing to weaken the Iranian state, lest the Kremlin step into the power vacuum:

"It would be catastrophic—not only for Iran but also for long-term U.S. interests... Any U.S. action to splinter what is left of the Iranian state could cause its disintegration. And it is unlikely that anyone could pick up the pieces—except the Russians who live next door...."

An attack on Iran would surely provoke a violent wave of anti-American nationalism, not only in Iran, but throughout the Near East, which could sweep away Washington's few



"We are ready to be martyred": Khomeini is ready to put all Iran in burial shrouds.

unstable friends in the region like Egypt's Sadat and the Saudi monarchy.

U.S. imperialism has anti-Russian designs even for a shah-less Iran. In this regard it is significant that, although Washington and Teheran are practically in a state of war, 270 Iranians continue to receive training as pilots in the U.S. Air Force and Navy. Although congressional pressure forced Defense Secretary Harold Brown to suspend their flight training last week, these Iranian military cadres remain under the aegis of the Pentagon.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union has remained aloof (although formally speaking out for the release of the hostages) to watch the U.S. agonize over its difficulties in Iran. Recently the Soviet ambassador to Canada, Aleksandr N. Yakolev, noted that Khomeini was not the first fanatic to seize hostages this year. Jimmy Carter beat him to it when he kidnapped a planeload of Aeroflot passengers last August in an attempt to force Bolshoi ballerina Lyudmila Vlasova to defect. "We understand the American feeling very

well," Yakolev said in a masterful understatement. "Recently, the Americans captured our plane at Kennedy Airport with 60 innocent people, children" (*New York Times*, 3 December).

Lonely at the Top

Carter, for now, can seemingly do nothing but grit his oversized teeth and strike the pose of a cool-headed crisis manager. Itchy trigger fingers in the Pentagon are being restrained not only by the considerations of anti-Soviet strategy, but also by the inability of the U.S. to control its Japanese and German imperialist allies, for whom one barrel of Khomeini's crude is worth more than an embassyful of CIA spies and Foreign Service desk jockeys. The U.S. has had no luck even in getting its allies to take economic or even tough diplomatic measures against Khomeini. The other imperialist powers have refused to withdraw their embassy staffs from Teheran and certainly have no interest in jeopardizing their Iranian and Near Eastern holdings by joining a

WORKERS VANGUARD

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CP Steward Fired at British Leyland

All Out!

LONDON, December 3—Britain was on the edge of a major industrial showdown late last month when the chronically failing nationalised car manufacturer British Leyland (BL) sacked Derek Robinson, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) official and long-time Communist Party member. Robinson is the convener of the giant BL Longbridge factory outside Birmingham and, as head of the Leyland Combine Committee, the leader of over 800 Leyland shop stewards. The sacking of Robinson, the most prominent trade unionist in the British motor industry, was an open, outrageous provocation against the entire working class. On both sides of the class line the country girded for the most important confrontation under Margaret Thatcher's Tory government. Indeed, it was potentially the most important class battle since the miners took on Edward Heath in the winter of 1973-74.

Within hours of Robinson's dismissal on November 19, Longbridge was shut down tight by mass pickets. The strike spread rapidly through the industrial Midlands area and by the next day over 25,000 BL workers had downed tools, shutting down production at four other BL factories. By Thursday, November 22, half of BL's 90,000 car workers had been idled. The Combine Committee issued a call for a "day of action" and mass trade-union protest rally in Birmingham the following Monday. Robinson himself raised threats of a general strike call, to which the tabloid dailies responded with headlines ranting against "Red Robbo." In general Robinson's sacking has been greeted with a chorus of red-baiting by the bourgeois press. And while BL chairman Sir Michael Edwardes warned, "It's me or Robinson," the entire BL management threatened to resign if Robinson were reinstated.

Robinson's sacking came only two weeks after BL chairman Edwardes had extorted a seven-to-one "yes" vote from the demoralised BL workforce in a postal ballot for his scheme to "save" BL through savage redundancies and plant closures. It was a warning, if any were needed, that within the framework of decrepit British capitalism, "saving" BL means breaking the back of even a semblance of militant unionism in the industry. Moreover, the dismissal was explicitly justified by BL management as an attempt to suppress any efforts to

British CP trade-union leader Derek Robinson. His sacking was an act of class war.



defend jobs and working conditions against Edwardes' job-slashing, union-busting juggernaut. Robinson was sacked for co-authoring a pamphlet opposing the Edwardes plan.

The conservative London *Economist* (24 November) explained why Edwardes took the risk of sacking "the most powerful man among the 90,000 workers":

"BL management is determined to clobber the unofficial shop steward's organisation while the tide is running its way and while the company's future is still in the balance."

In this crucial class battle, all the ingredients but a militant leadership ready to carry the struggle forward were there: an unprecedented and provocative victimisation; the prospect of sackings hanging over the heads of upwards of 40,000 BL car workers; mass unofficial walkouts throughout the Midlands motor industry; outstanding wage claims and threatened strikes from other industrial sectors including the militant and strategically placed miners. What was urgently needed was an immediate shutdown of every BL factory throughout the country, combined with immediate preparations to *deepen and extend* the strike as necessary throughout the motor industry and the rest of the trade-union movement. For mass labour actions up to and including a general strike to bring down the Tory government and actually place the working class in power!

Certainly there was a will to struggle. One of the 6,000 workers who turned

out for the spirited November 26 Birmingham march heatedly denounced the scabs who went to work at Longbridge that day, "crawling in like rats through the hole in the fence." Workers from the Rovers factory at Solihull demanded the union take disciplinary action against the scabs who had kept the factory going through the "day of action." Demonstrators marching through Birmingham militantly chanted, "Edwardes Out—Robinson In!" There were march contingents from Ford and Rolls Royce, as well as seamen, metal workers, chemical workers and others.

The Birmingham "day of action" set back the rising line of struggle against Robinson's victimisation. The union bureaucrats could have mobilised for the action by shutting down every shop in the Birmingham area through roving picket squads and extending the strike nationwide. That would have brought out hundreds of thousands of workers and provided a staging area from which to deepen and extend the strike.

Instead, the bureaucrats did everything possible to defuse the workers' militancy. The very day after the sacking, top AUEW officials voted to reject an all-out strike in favour of "whatever support was possible." And Robinson's fellow CPer, Rovers convener Joe Harris, saw to it that the only resolution brought before a mass meeting of Rover workers was a call to ...take the rest of that day off! Finally,

only two days after the march, stabbed in the back by their own leaders, the workforce returned to the plants. There could be no more striking evidence of the need for a revolutionary leadership of the labour movement to replace these labour fakery on the proletariat's road to the revolutionary expropriation of the capitalist class!

The result of all the bureaucratic foot-dragging and back-stabbing could be a major defeat for the British labour movement. Derek Robinson may become the victim of the same kind of sellout policies he has advocated for years. (But from the standpoint of the British ruling class, Robinson made one sellout too few.) It is the reformist policies of the Stalinists and social democrats which have paved the way to the disastrous situation confronting Leyland workers and all British workers today, policies allowing the Tories to implement and step up their vicious attacks on the working class and the oppressed.

But Derek Robinson wasn't sacked for scab-herding on the unofficial toolmakers' strikes of 1977 and 1979 or for playing a key role in pushing through every rotten agreement that car workers have been stuck with in recent years—all of which he did. No, this sacking was a blatant attack on the union. And despite the betrayals of the AUEW bureaucrats, it still can and must be reversed! Stop the sellout! For an immediate, all-out strike! ■

U.S.-sponsored boycott of Iran. The West German government, for example, hit the roof when Morgan Guaranty Trust took legal steps to guarantee repayment of its Iranian loans by seizing the 25 percent Iranian share of Krupp steel. U.S. attempts to use the U.N. Security Council to pressure Khomeini have been frustrated by the same inter-imperialist rivalries. Spokesmen for every country from Panama to China have certainly been willing to denounce the seizure of the hostages—they all have a stake in the sanctity of diplomatic immunity—but the "outrage of the international community" remains purely verbal.

In the "good old days" when the U.S., as undisputed top-dog imperialist superpower, could tell subservient Bonn ex-Nazis and Tokyo politicians where to get off, a little strong-arm diplomacy might quickly have solved a Khomeini

crisis. But in the post-Vietnam, post-dollar devaluation world, the U.S. cannot simply run roughshod over its imperialist rivals. Japan relies on Iran for 20 percent of its oil and West Germany is similarly dependent on the Teheran oil dealers. Schmidt and Ohira have consequently let it be known that a U.S. attack on the Iranian oil fields or the oil port of Kharg Island would be considered a most unfriendly act toward them.

For the U.S. Iran is chiefly valuable as a bastion against the USSR, but for the European and Japanese capitalists it is little more than one big gas pump. CIA operative Kermit Roosevelt noted this potential conflict of interests in 1953 when he was busy plotting the coup that put Pahlavi back on the Peacock Throne: "Naturally, the British have been primarily concerned with their oil problem, while our concern has been

principally the Soviet threat to Iranian sovereignty" (*Counter coup*, [1979]). Twenty-six years ago this was a Cold War truism. Today, it ties Washington's hands and makes the stakes involved in any war moves toward Iran even higher.

Chauvinist Backlash and Gunboat Diplomacy

Carter has done very little thus far. To the chauvinist mobs which had been chanting "De-por-tation!" he has thrown some Iranian students. This action sets a dangerous precedent for the deportation of any and all foreign political dissidents as well as undocumented immigrant workers. The labor movement, left and all those who defend democratic rights must strongly oppose the deportation of Iranian students.

But the demonstrators now chanting in front of Iranian consulates and

students harassing Iranians on campus are not just right-wing activists, Birchers or members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The anti-Iranian chauvinist reaction cuts across the usual social/political divisions. These protesters are not motivated by any great love for the shah. Most Americans don't care if the shah is sent back to Iran or to hell. Certainly the bloody, torturing butcher should be sent anyplace he will get his just deserts.

Nor can the chauvinist backlash be explained simply by the fact of violence against fellow Americans in Iran. Even when they were killing "our boys," popular hostility toward the North Vietnamese was not what it now is toward the Iranians. Millions of Americans came to recognize that the Vietnamese were fighting a just war against Johnson/Nixon's government.

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For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash the KKK!

Greensboro—We Will Not Forget!

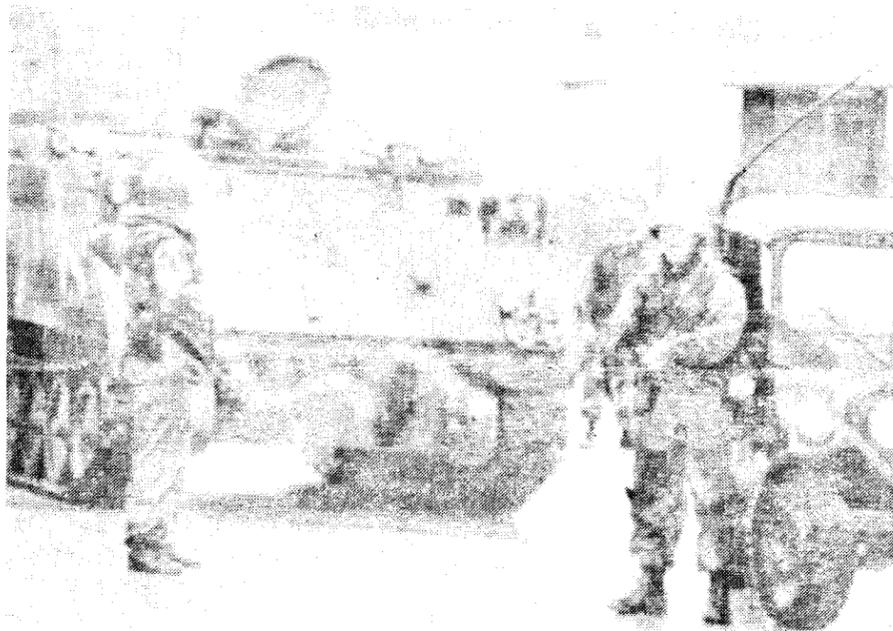
For the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, the Greensboro massacre—a two minute fusillade which left five anti-fascist demonstrators dead—was more than a multiple execution in a black housing project. The daylight murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP, formerly Workers Viewpoint Organization) was a bold declaration written in blood that American fascism can provide the thugs for the bourgeoisie's deadliest assaults against blacks, militant workers and leftists. While cross-burnings and fascist marches are cropping up from Vine-land, New Jersey to Northern California, the Anti-Defamation League reports national Klan membership up to an estimated 10,000 with a three-fold growth in sympathizers put at 100,000 (*New York Times*, 11 November).

In the face of this growing threat, the fascist killings of the five Southern left and labor militants were a challenge demanding the most immediate and powerful response. Instead—there was silence in the main, with the exception of the CWP itself, the Spartacist League and a number of union militants fighting for a labor-centered response. As a 19 November *Village Voice* article, "Silent as the Graves," put it:

"Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice, if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit.... Action against native fascism is left in the hands

of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it."

On November 11, the CWP buried its dead after a two-and-a-half mile funeral procession in Greensboro. Several hundred mourners escorted the coffins



Militant Armor, helicopters and 1000 cops and troops harassed mourners at the November 11 burial procession in Greensboro.

to a local cemetery, despite the city administration's initial ban on parades or marches of any sort. Although finally permitting a burial procession, the bourgeois state put on a massive show of force for the occasion, assigning some 500 national guardsmen, 250 state

troopers and 175 local cops to the area. A pair of national guard helicopters hovered overhead, while 150 riot-clad police lined both sides of the street.

The funeral march once again exposed the role of the cops. On the day of the Klan attack, November 3, police re-

funeral for carrying guns, 26 of whom were CWP comrades, according to the group's newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*.

As Marxists, we stand for the right of armed self-defense. But the CWP seems more interested in making a phony show of arms. According to an 11 November UPI account, the CWP made a deal with the cops to have the funeral "honor guard" carry unloaded weapons. Making no mention of this agreement, the 19 November *Workers Viewpoint* cynically boasts that "the march was armed to the teeth." Even more dangerous is the CWP's continuing delusion that a small number of leftists can take on the fascists and even back down the bourgeois state. Thus, they describe the funeral march, which was held literally under the guns of 1,000 capitalist troops, as "a great political victory."

The Greensboro massacre and the response to it posed in the sharpest form the counterposed strategies in the fight against fascism: either the impotent strategy which attempts to substitute small-group action or the mobilization of the working class. For their part, the liberals, the "responsible" black leaders and the trade-union bureaucracy reacted with the same treacherous "even hand" of the bourgeois press—condemning alike the KKK killers and their victims as "violent" and "extremists." And the black preachers were, grotesquely, most disturbed that the Greensboro murders raised the spectre of communist gains in the South!

An unusually political 18 November *New York Times* article, "Rights Leaders Troubled by Prospect of Leftist Gains Among Blacks," writes:

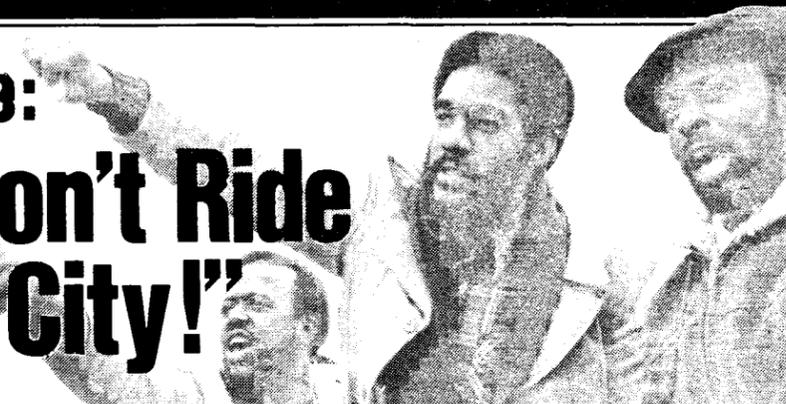
"They are fearful that the killings might provide Communist groups with a foothold among poor, Southern blacks whom they have not been successful in recruiting over the years."

The article goes on to quote a Raleigh, North Carolina, NAACP official who said he was "frightened, because they [the CWP] obviously can no longer be written off as 'outside,' 'white-led radicals'—their blood has been spilled in this state and in a black neighborhood by white racists." Moreover, at the first meeting of the Black Pastors Conference in Detroit, a delegation of Greensboro ministers organized a committee to "find ways of responding to Communist organizing efforts," it was reported.

In Greensboro, several black ministers got cold feet and pulled out of a planned November 18 anti-Klan demonstration called by civil rights, black student and socialist groups. Did the preachers fear another KKK assault? Hardly. City Hall put on the pressure and the FBI was ready with "proof" that some of the organizers were leftists. A Greensboro NAACP spokesman, Dr. George Simkins, told *WV*, "They got a lot of these communist groups coming in here and we can't be involved with this, with the communists." The clergymen caved in and the left groups came tumbling after—the rally has not occurred.

The Uncle Tom establishment is right to be concerned that the rise of Klan terror will make the reds look better to blacks. Blacks don't buy the ruling-class line on Greensboro, that it was a feud between two equally bad "extremist" groups. They know that the "extremists" of the Klan have a final solution for them. While the preachers and NAACP do nothing as the Klan grows and grows bolder, blacks want to fight and they will fight along with the reds. On November 10 in downtown Detroit,

Videotape Available: "The Klan Won't Ride In the Motor City!"



"Kick them out and leave them out.... Just let them know that we are not going to tolerate this kind of stuff here in Detroit."



"The KKK killed my uncle. Right there in Atlanta, Georgia. Sixteen years ago. They drew and quartered him before they killed him. Now do you think I care something about the goddamned Klan."



"Kicking them out wasn't enough because they're out at Wixom now. We've got to get them the hell out of Ford's completely."

On Saturday, 10 November 500 trade unionists, militant youth and socialists rallied in Detroit's Kennedy Square to protest Ku Klux Klan terror. They came in response to the massacre in Greensboro, North Carolina, where on November 3 Klan and Nazi gunmen shot to death five anti-fascist demonstrators. The Detroit rally was the first massive integrated, labor-centered protest against fascist terror in the U.S. in decades. Participants came from Ford's gigantic River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Dodge Truck, Mack Avenue Stamping, Lynch Road Assembly, Cadillac and other Detroit-area factories.

A group of militant auto workers from UAW Local 600 at River Rouge—where a walkout and petition campaign had recently driven two KKK-hooded foremen from the plant—

went to their union demanding a massive labor protest against the Klan. Despite the union bureaucrats' refusal to take action and liberal black mayor Coleman Young's initial ban on the protest, the rally was successfully built.

A videotape of the Rally to Fight Klan Terror is now available for interested groups and individuals. The 30-minute film contains interviews with Detroit black workers, an account of the struggle to drive the KKK-hooded foremen from River Rouge, and speeches from some trade unionists and spokesmen for the Spartacist League which built heavily for the rally. The documentary shows the Marxist approach of mobilizing labor, black and white, to fight fascist terror.

Copies available from the Spartacist League, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10001.

They Lied About the Massacre

Below is reprinted the speech given by Workers Vanguard reporter Mark Laughton at the November 10 Labor/Black Rally to Smash Klan Terror in Detroit.

Brothers and sisters, I'm a correspondent for *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League. I've covered a lot of stories, a lot of strikes, but I never covered anything like the massacre in Greensboro. I went there a few hours after the shooting, and I want to tell you what happened. I spoke with two widows who just the day before had their husbands die in their arms, covered with blood. I spoke with Nelson Johnson, one of the organizers of the rally. After he was stabbed and attacked by the Ku Klux Klan, then the police showed up and they arrested *him*. I spoke with eyewitnesses, people who saw the attack, and they told me a story that was a lot different from what you read in the newspapers.

They told me the anti-Klan ralliers were assembling near a black housing project hall an hour or so before the starting time. Suddenly a caravan of Klansmen pulled up. Doors flew open and Klansmen poured out, screaming and cursing racial insults in the black people's own neighborhood. They went to the trunks of their cars and they methodically got out lead pipes, shot-guns, pistols, semi-automatic rifles and god knows what else. And then they opened fire. One woman was clubbed and *then* they shot her. A witness told me he saw a Klansman with a pistol in each hand, firing from both guns at his victim as he lay at his feet. *Four* died on Saturday, and another one died a couple of days later. Nine others were wounded.

The press the next day in North



Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro, November 3: the media blamed the victims.

Carolina and across the country said that the demonstrators provoked the killers. The dead, they implied, got what they deserved. No Klansman was shot, but more than a dozen anti-Klan demonstrators were hit. The press, however, described it with words like "shootout," "a shooting spree," "a feud between violent extremists." Well, there's a word for what happened all right. It was cold-blooded murder.

The Spartacist League and *Workers Vanguard* have important criticisms of the tactics that were employed by the demonstrators that day. A small group tried to take on the Klan by itself, and that doesn't work. But, by god, we know

the difference between the people that shoot and the people that get shot! And we'd all better know this—that those people who organized that demonstration, sure, they were crazy and they were acting hysterically, but that's not the reason they were gunned down. The reason they were shot is because they said they were communists and labor organizers. All of us better know that every Jew, every black, every Arab and everyone that's out here has those same guns trained at them right now unless we put a stop to the Klan. And we demand that the charges against those people who were arrested, the demonstrators, be dropped at once.

Spartacist spokesmen and class-struggle trade unionists led hundreds of black auto workers in chanting "Smash the Klan!" This chant reaches into the heart of *millions* of black working people.

Trade-Union Bureaucracy: "Better Dead Than Red"

For most of the labor bureaucrats, the Greensboro murders were an issue to avoid. Yet there were a number of unions where militants locked horns with the bureaucrats in a fight to mobilize the power of labor to smash the Klan. The most vivid example was in Detroit, where auto workers from UAW Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge initiated the November 10 labor-based anti-Klan rally after their local executive board had meekly counterposed impotent protest telegrams to Jimmy Carter. Also in auto, at Ford's Mahwah, New Jersey plant, members of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 proposed at a December 1 union meeting a state-wide anti-Klan rally. It passed unanimously—the savvy bureaucrats knowing better than to oppose any motion expressing the workers' deep hatred of any variety of fascism.

In Locals 6 and 10 of the ILWU, some 400 unionists signed a Militant Caucus-initiated petition demanding a Bay Area-wide anti-KKK rally and passed a motion to this effect at both local meetings. The petition also demanded, "Jail the Killer Klansmen! Drop the charges against the Greensboro anti-Klan protesters! For union-organized labor/black/Latino defense guards to smash Klan/Nazi violence! Uphold the right to armed self-defense! No to gun

control!" Only after unionists had leafleted for several weeks and won broad support among the ILWU members for the demonstration did the bureaucracy feel compelled to respond. Local 6 president Keith Eickman reportedly came into the November 28 GEB meeting with a belated statement from the International condemning the Klan and declaring the local's support for the rally proposal. The present task must be to *take this proposal off paper and put it into action!*

Militant Southern California phone workers put out a leaflet in their union protesting the brutal Klan killings. When the unionists in Los Angeles CWA Local 11502 handed out Militant Action Caucus leaflets condemning the Greensboro murders, Ma Bell—which is notorious for its racist practices—went so far as to discipline several people for handing out leaflets. Unfortunately, the local union officials played into the hands of the company when at the November union meeting, they pushed through an even-handed motion condemning the CWP victims as well as the Klan killers and "any other totalitarian group that advocates violence."

Twin Faces of Reformism

Dangerously, even after Greensboro the CWPs, the YAWFs, the PLs and RCPs continue to believe that small groups of militants can physically defeat the Klan and Nazi vermin. But nobody can accuse the SWP of adventurism toward the Klan. Instead, they have made themselves the "best builders" of the fascists' so-called "rights" of free speech. As we have continually pointed

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PRESS CLIPS

By Alexander Cockburn

Silent as the Graves

The murder of five communist demonstrators by Klan and Nazi gangsters has been greeted circumspectly by what passes for the American left. Though the spectacle of fascism running wild ought to evoke unhappy memories among liberals, most remain unseen and unheard. They are content to let consensus reign, in this case the notion (suggested by Anthony Lewis in a disgraceful column) that the Communist Workers Party brought the hail of bullets down upon itself by its "provocative" behaviour. This leads to a gruesome state of affairs: the *Times* mildly chastises the Greensboro police for lack of vigilance, while those same cops whisper that the commies really fired the first shot. Eventual acquittal of the guilty men seems likely, which will naturally encourage other white supremacist murderers, cross-burners and their kind.

Four of those killed were union activists. Three had organized workers in the Cone textile mills to fight for better conditions with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and another, Cesar Cauce, was trying to organize Duke Medical Center workers into the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees at the time of his murder. Their political views were antagonistic to those of the unions' leaders—who incidentally call themselves socialists—which may be why the labor statesmen haven't bothered to excoriate the killers or those who let the slaughter be done.

Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit. But our liberals are too busy with Teddy, and labor is getting ready to elevate Lane Kirkland as Meany's successor. Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it. For liberals, it's much more stimulating to dump on the Iranians. ■

the village
VOICE

—19 November 1979

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ROTTEN BLOCS SHATTER UNITED SECRETARIAT

For the past decade and a half the main drawing card of the "United Secretariat" (USec) has been its pretensions to be the Fourth International. Even while its warring factions were publicly hurling epithets at each other from opposite sides of the barricades over Portugal in 1975, the USec could still attract subjectively revolutionary militants with its claim to be the organizational embodiment of the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. And woe to any USec dissidents who challenged this myth—over the years left oppositions have been summarily chucked out for such sacrilege.

Now in the last two months the USec has been torn apart over Nicaragua, with two blocs (each a marriage of convenience, in true USec tradition) taking shape to claim the title. For Ernest Mandel the split exploded his reveries of presenting a "united" USec as an international clearing-house for the "broad far left." The expellees and their new-found allies are now as aggressive as the USec in presuming to speak for "the world movement." Yet the counterposed blocs are deeply unstable, both consisting of centrist-talking adventurers (Mandel and Moreno) combined with hard social-democratic reformist national machines (the American SWP and the French OCI respectively).

On the USec side, its just concluded "Eleventh World Congress" saw three main tendencies most clearly expressed in their competing motions on the nature of the present Sandinista/bourgeois government in Nicaragua. The right wing around Jack Barnes' SWP praised the present ruling junta in Managua as a workers and peasants government; to cozy up to the FSLN (explicitly endorsed as a "revolutionary leadership") the SWP acts as a fingerman and political adviser to the Sandinista secret police against supposed "ultra-lefts" (including its erstwhile Morenoite "comrades").

In the middle there was the grouping around Mandel, saying in typical centrist fashion that the nature of the Nicaraguan regime was undetermined. And there was Mandel's left cover, the hodgepodge centered on the British IMG, sections of the Swedish KAF and the Matti tendency in the French LCR. These "loyal oppositionists" labeled the Sandinista junta a bourgeois class-collaborationist regime, but instead of calling for a Trotskyist party to organize independent proletarian opposition in Nicaragua, they accepted the USec's liquidationist policy of entry into the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN.

On the other side, the new lash-up between the French OCI of Pierre Lambert and Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction (BF) is one of the more unnatural alliances in history. When Vishinsky ranted at the Moscow Trials against a "bloc of rights and Trotskyites" it was a Stalinist slander, but the OCI and Moreno have actually created something worse; Trotsky and Bukharin had more in common than this pair! Lambert's organization is a known quantity among ostensible Trotskyists in Europe: its social-democratic Stalinophobic politics meant eagerly supporting the candidate of the popular front, Socialist leader Mitterrand, in the 1973 French presidential election. By 1975 the OCI's slide into reformism was sealed by its support to the "democratic" CIA-funded Portuguese Socialists as the latter spearheaded a

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MORENO'S LEFT FACE

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MORENO TRUTH KIT

Elsewhere in this bulletin we reprint numerous excerpts from materials documenting Nahuel Moreno's decades-long cover for Peronism in his native Argentina; his opportunist support to populist generals from Peru's Velasco to Panama's Torrijos; his chameleon-like shifts of political coloration, from gung-ho guerrillaist to snivelling social democrat; and his scandalous financial dealings. But that does not account for the apparent leftism of the documents of his Bolshevik Faction and its predecessor, the Bolshevik Tendency (BF/BT). For in the case of Moreno the contrast between theory and practice is so dramatic that he has developed a "method" capable of justifying almost any betrayal.

For almost a decade, from 1968 through 1977, the United Secretariat was rent by acute factional struggle between a centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) led by Ernest Mandel and the reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) led by the American SWP of Joe Hansen/Jack Barnes and (initially) Moreno's Argentine PST. While the Mandelites chased after a Maoist/Guevarist "new mass vanguard" in Europe and Latin America, the LTF used pseudo-orthodox arguments to attack guerrillaism from the right (not unlike

the pro-Moscow CPs). After Barnes and Mandel dissolved the factions in 1977, underlying differences remained but a temporary unity was obtained at the USec helm.

So simply by standing still while the ex-IMT galloped to the right, Moreno suddenly appears as a "left" critic of the "reunified" rotten bloc:

"Before, it [the IMT] had bent to the ultraleftism of a predominantly student radicalized vanguard. Now, it is bending to the pressures of Eurocommunism and a trade-union and middle class vanguard, which are transmission belts for liberal ideology and the public opinion of the imperialist countries...."

"This capitulation is what has made the convergence between the ex-IMT and the leaders of the SWP, i.e., the ex-LTF, possible."

—"Declaration and Platform of the Bolshevik Faction," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, July 1979

An uninitiated reader might well confuse such passages with Trotskyist critiques of the revisionist USec by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). Of course, the iSt and its precursors have been denouncing the United Secretariat as a rotten bloc since its inception in 1963, while Moreno seems

to have discovered this fact only in the last two years (after being part of every USec betrayal and unprincipled maneuver for the previous decade and a half). And there is the telltale fact that Moreno's BF/BT consistently described the Mandelite majority as "ultraleft" while we label the IMT *centrist*. But the most striking difference is that the Morenoite attack on the USec leadership consists solely of organizational atrocity stories plus evidence of revisionism at the most general theoretical level. Concrete political *betrayals*, where their line means defeat for the working class, are almost never mentioned.

The Bolshevik Faction has some pretty harsh words to say against the USec's 1977 resolution on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In a document endorsed by the BF, Moreno says it "completely revised the revolutionary Marxist position on the dictatorship of the proletariat." Mandel, he says, is "filling the Marxist conception of workers revolution and proletarian dictatorship with a Eurocommunist content and program..." (*The Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat* [1979]). Fine, but where do the Morenoites denounce the USec for capitulating to the Eurocommunists in the class struggle? What about the electoral support to popular fronts given by both the SWP and ex-IMT, who call for votes to the reformist workers parties involved in such class-collaborationist coalitions? The BF doesn't breathe a word of criticism, for its own electoral policies are just as (or even more) tailist.

Perhaps the best example of how Morenoite "orthodoxy" in the abstract is translated into opportunism in the concrete is the case of Portugal 1975. During the spring and summer the situation was polarizing rapidly: the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and its Stalinist allies escalated their leftist rhetoric, in part to co-opt embryonic factory committees and collective farms which were beginning to sprout up. On the other side, the Socialist Party of Mário Soares sided with more conservative officers and civilian reactionaries in mounting an anti-Communist mass mobilization. The SWP, in response, wholeheartedly took up the cause of the CIA-financed Portuguese SP. Not wanting to be tied to this right-wing unholy alliance, Moreno began making trouble in the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction and finally split over the SWP document, "Key Issues in the Portuguese Revolution" (October 1975). This was the origin of the Bolshevik Tendency.

The future BTers were hard on the SWP, accusing it of thinking "the possibility exists that the SP could break with the bourgeoisie and take power in Portugal today," and that the SP is "no longer counterrevolutionary" ("Letter from Former LTF Members to

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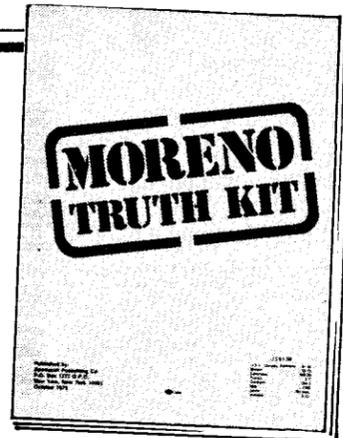
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the International Executive Committee." [SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, March 1977). The "Declaration of the Bolshevik Tendency" took the LTF to task because it "did not indicate a single task or slogan in relation to the 'workers commissions,'" and condemned Hansen's "categorical refusal to raise the policy and slogan for centralizing these committees." The SWP, concluded the BT, had "an essentially bourgeois-democratic program" for Portugal ([SWP] *IIDB*, January 1977). These same points were made repeatedly—and much more sharply—in *Workers Vanguard* (e.g., "SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal," *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975).

But *WV* emphasized above all the need to fight "class collaboration—tying the workers to the bourgeois officer corps." On the issue of soviets, we said that for an authentic Trotskyist party the key issue was "calling for independence of the workers commissions and popular assemblies from the MFA..." ("Soviets and the Struggle for Workers Power in Portugal," *WV* No. 82, 24 October 1975). The program of Moreno & Co. was exactly the opposite. Having decided to abandon the social-democratic camp (in the early summer he was for participating in the SP's anti-Communist demonstrations), Moreno simply switched horses and plunked his money down for the MFA. Thus in a long polemic against SWPer Gus Horowitz he argued that this faction of the officer corps of the capitalist army was not classically bonapartist and was "Kerenskyist" and petty-bourgeois (N. Moreno, "Revolución y contrarrevolución en Portugal," *Revista de América*, July-August 1975).

Moreno's supporters of the Portuguese PRT went even further and in an article entitled "A Necessary Rectification: The MFA and the Revolution in Portugal" (*Combate Socialista*, 10 July 1975) discovered a "semi-soviet sector" of the bourgeois officer caste. But they did not come up with this dangerous revision of Marxism by themselves. In an April 1975 report to the PRT national committee Moreno referred to the MFA as "the superstructural expression of the beginning of the formation of soviets in the army" and said that it may be "a petty-bourgeois movement that reflects the revolutionary process"—in which case, "We have to struggle within this process, and understand that there are differentiations inside the Armed Forces Movement itself" (PRT *Internal Discussion Bulletin* No. 2). So while correctly attacking the SWP for chasing after Soares and raising a purely bourgeois-democratic program for Portugal, Moreno talks about soviets... and runs after the populist MFA with its demagogic talk of "people's power."

Moreno has developed this Janus-faced policy into a veritable science. Thus on the second issue over which he broke from the SWP—Angola—he takes his former mentors severely to task for failing to call for military victory to the MPLA in the crucial months after November 1975, when it was facing a combined attack by South Africa and the CIA-aided FNL/UNITA coalition. Moreno drew a close parallel between Angola and Vietnam (falsely, for in the case of Angola it was simply an imperialist invasion, whereas in Vietnam this was overlaid on a civil war which saw two opposing class

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Perspectiva Mundial

Sandinistas in power. SWP defends new government's repression of "ultra-left" critics.

INTERVIEW WITH NICARAGUAN LEFTIST— JAILED BY FSLN JUNTA

In early October Nicaragua's Sandinista (FSLN)/bourgeois government launched a full-scale roundup of leftists critical of the new regime's pro-capitalist policies. Scores of members of the Movimiento de Acción Popular, the MAP's trade-union organization Frente Obrero, the self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR) and other groups and individuals were picked up and jailed throughout the country. The imprisoned left-wing militants were charged with bank robbery, attacks on FSLN soldiers and "illegal" possession of the arms with which they had fought against the Somoza dictatorship. Many were arrested with no formal charges at all. FSLN leaders vowed to "smash" the "ultra-lefts," whom they termed "the same thing as the counter-revolutionaries."

The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has filled its newspaper, *The Militant*, with glowing tributes to the FSLN and extensive coverage of every proclamation of the new regime, remained silent on the FSLN's repression for more than a month. Finally, the Sandinista sycophants ventured to write an article entitled, "FSLN Discusses Workers Democracy," posing the question, "How to answer ultra-left sectarians." The answer, it turns out, is "Lock 'em up!" Nowhere in the 16 November *Militant* article are the arrests explicitly denounced. Instead, the SWP gently chides the FSLN leaders with the observation that the Sandinistas' "fundamentally correct political arguments" against their critics "were weakened and obscured by charges that these groups were 'neo-Somozaists'..." The FSLN, we are told, should "politically" defeat Trotskyists and other sectarians. "Repression," it seems, "cuts across this political clarification and makes it more difficult to win these cadres to a genuinely revolutionary course." Perhaps the SWP should help the FSLN leaders avoid the unpleasantness of jailing leftists by recommending, as they may well have done in the case of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, that the troublemakers merely be deported (see "Did Peter Camejo Turn Them In?" *WV* No.

242, 26 October).

We print below excerpts from an interview with Carlos Petroni, a leading member of the LMR, now in exile following his arrest by the FSLN. It is unfortunate that such militants as Petroni and others who are subjectively looking for the road to revolution have been pulled into the political orbit of the notorious impresario from Argentina, Nahuel Moreno.

WV: We had heard of your arrest and that of other "far left" militants in Nicaragua during October. Could you tell us more about the details and reasons for your jailing, about the government's attitude and how this action was fought?

Petroni: My jailing, like that of many other comrades who belong to the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR) and the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front) in Nicaragua, was basically the outcome of the policies of the present pro-bourgeois government of the Junta of National Reconstruction and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). That is, to take a hard line against the revolutionary left and a soft line on the national bourgeoisie, and even a soft line toward some sectors of Yankee imperialism. My arrest, like that of many other comrades, is due to that policy, i.e., the FSLN's need to maintain its deals with the bourgeoisie, which was beginning to totter due to the mass mobilization taking place in Nicaragua. That was the basic reason. I wasn't arrested on any specific charge—just for being a Trotskyist. And the comrades of the Frente Obrero were arrested for being members of FO.

WV: When did these arrests take place?

Petroni: The mass arrests occurred in early October. I should point out that revolutionary leftist militants have been arrested ever since the victory of the anti-Somoza rebellion. At the point when I was picked up already more than 60 members of FO and roughly a half dozen militants of the LMR had passed through the Sandinista jails. But the mass arrests came after the Sandinista

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MEXICAN USEC FACTION GOES OVER TO CP

Forty members of the Mexican Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), which claims to uphold the resigned this past August to join the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), the party of Leon Trotsky's assassins. The defectors were led by one Ricardo Hernández, PRT Political Bureau member and a former member of the International Executive Committee of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USEC). On leaving the PRT, Hernández renounced Leninism and Trotskyism as "religious concepts" (*Bandera Socialista*, 13 August 1979) and the same day signed up as a paid party functionary in the PCM.

Like the "Eurocommunists," in whom USEC professor Ernest Mandel sees revolutionary potential, the Mexican CP is trying to clean up its image, seeking to prove it can serve its "own" bourgeoisie exclusively as loyally as it served the Kremlin. Notorious for organizing an attempt on Trotsky's life in 1940 shortly before he was finally struck down by a GPU agent, the PCM now finds its complicity in the assassination to be a political liability. PCM leader Valentín Campa in his recently published memoirs tries to dissociate the party from Trotsky's murder, blaming it on "the interference of foreign comrades." No doubt this defection from an ostensibly Trotskyist group will be used to aid the despicable whitewash attempt.

Ricardo Hernández was no isolated militant, demoralized and looking for an easy exit from revolutionary politics; rather, this was a significant desertion by long-time USEC cadre, carrying the Pabloists' liquidationist methodology

to its logical conclusion. Nor were Hernández' pro-Stalinist sentiments a secret. During the elections of 1976, Hernández' Tendencia Militante (TM), which had just taken over the Liga Socialista, joined a popular-frontist bloc to campaign for the PCM presidential candidate Campa. The TM signed a common electoral platform which in time-honored Stalinist tradition called for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and invited bourgeois forces into the coalition. Hernández answered criticisms raised by his factional rivals in the USEC by yelling at a campaign meeting for Campa, "the Communist Party is more revolutionary than you are!" He added that the masses "don't give a flying shit" about programmatic differences between Trotskyists and Stalinists.

Ricardo Hernández' blatant departures from what could barely be termed pseudo-Trotskyism were a bit much, even for those long accustomed to conciliating reformists. Some apparently orthodox objections by the reformist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were simply expressions of pique at being spurned by Hernández. Formerly a copartner in the SWP-led minority Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF), he had fallen under the sway of Nahuel Moreno's roving band of political bandoleros and under their tutelage had purged Mexican supporters of the SWP from the Liga Socialista. The Mandelite USEC majority, not missing a chance to score against their factional rivals, leapt to Hernández' defense and endorsed the electoral bloc. A July 1976 letter to Hernández from a USEC majority leader was quite straightforward: "We believe therefore that the

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Moreno's Left Face...

(continued from page 7)

camps). But for Moreno this parallel presented certain problems, for in Vietnam the SWP also did not call for military victory to the NLF. Instead its line was bourgeois pacifism, appealing to the defeatist wing of the Democratic Party. And the PST vociferously defended the SWP's antiwar policies when they were bloc partners in the LTF. (Moreno also fulminated against the "ultraleft sectarians" of the Spartacist League who said the SWP's coalitions were mini-popular fronts, and who uniquely demanded "All Indochina Must Go Communist!")

What to do? For an old hand like Moreno the trick was simple: to call for an NLF victory was a "world strategy" while "Bring the Boys Home" was its "tactical adaptation" to the backward consciousness of the American masses. Thus, "Some comrades of the IMT severely criticized the SWP for not raising in the U.S. the demand 'Victory to the NLF.' They were wrong in identifying the international policy with national tactics and demands" (N. Moreno, *Angola: La revolución negra en marcha* [1977]). So as long as you vote for a USec resolution, which is buried in the documents section of *Intercontinental Press* (and which no one can pin on you anyway, since both the SWP and PST are only "fraternally related" to the USec), it is all right to fail to call for the defeat of one's "own" imperialism. Glory, hallelujah, the bloc with Democratic Senator Vance Hartke is principled, and there is no need to get beaten up by pro-war workers while distributing defeatist propaganda in front of the factories (as happened to the Bolsheviks in World War I). How convenient. Why didn't Jack Barnes think of that?

Moreno dreamed up a similar subterfuge a few years earlier when the LTF got into a shouting match with the IMT over who supported popular frontism: the LTF said Mandel and his friends did, by supporting the French Union of the Left; the IMT said Hansen/Moreno did, because their Uruguayan supporters called for a vote to the Frente Amplio (Broad Front). (Answer: both support popular frontism.) Moreno argued that the Uruguayans had made an "error, not a betrayal." Furthermore, "it was a good move to enter the Frente

Left Criticism of SWP

—from "Letter from Former LTF Members to the International Executive Committee," SWP Internal Information Bulletin, March 1977

One theoretical consequence of this conception of bourgeois democracy and its relationship to imperialism is directly revisionist: the reformist parties are no longer counterrevolutionary since no one can conceive of these parties without bourgeois democracy. We are not saying they now think these parties have become revolutionary but that, given this conception, they have ceased being counterrevolutionary. If we go very carefully through the two versions of "Key Issues of the Portuguese Revolution" as well as the other writings of the SWP compañeros we shall see that, by omission, there is a clear tendency toward making this theoretical assertion in regard to the Portuguese SP.

The Crisis in the LTF
As the Portuguese revolution was developing, the SWP was changing its initial, correct position. That position was to develop the embryos of dual power in order to transform them into soviets, in combination with democratic slogans such as "Constituent Assembly," "freedom of press," "Against the MFA government," "CP-SP united front and government." The IMT refused to raise these last slogans.
The change in the SWP's policy was codified in a document entitled "Key Issues of the Portuguese Revolution," which it submitted for a vote in the ITF. This document dropped the demands for the development and organs of dual power—the land and factory occupations, the workers and soldiers committees, etc.—and all the transitional and revolutionary slogans in favor of an exclusively democratic program.
The theoretical basis for this reformist policy and program was expressed in Com. le Novack's

—from "Declaration and Platform of the Bolshevik Faction," SWP Internal Discussion Bulletin, July 1979

Support to the MFA

—from Nahuel Moreno, "Revolución y contrarrevolución en Portugal," *Revista de America*, July-August 1975, translated in SWP Internal Information Bulletin, March 1977

... officers toward normal strict military discipline, indispensable to the maintenance of the government they had brought into being. But the MFA—and we should bear this very much in mind—was not the same as the higher ranks of officers. And it resisted submitting to the discipline of the top officials. It thus reflected within the army the modern middle class, whose expectations were not identical to those of Spínola and the Portuguese oligarchy.
The participation of the Communist party in the government was...

Amplio because it helped our work in the mass movement." You see, "It would indeed be a betrayal to electorally support a popular front or a bourgeois nationalist movement without denouncing it as a betrayer of the workers' movement. That is: voting in itself is for us a tactical and not a principled question" (N. Moreno, "A Scandalous Document—A Reply to Germain," [SWP] *IIDB*, January 1974).

Moreno didn't invent that one, however. The author is Andrés Nin. Even after the Spanish POUM participated in the Popular Front coalition during the February 1936 elections, Nin, its most left-wing leader, continued to denounce the Popular Front in the abstract. For example:

"Hence the policy of the Popular Front, by presenting the problem as a struggle between bourgeois democracy and fascism, sows fatal illusions among the working masses and detours them from accomplishing their historic mission,

preparing, by this very act, the victory of fascism."

—"La acción directa del proletariado y la revolución española," July 1936, in A. Nin, *Los problemas de la revolución española* (1931-1937)

Not bad, on paper. But the POUM helped put the Popular Front in power, thereafter acting as its left tail while mouthing abstract slogans about "socialism or fascism." And when the showdown came in the Barcelona May Days of 1937, Nin refused to mobilize the workers to overthrow the fragile Popular Front, thereby "preparing the victory of fascism." Presumably Nin, too, thought "voting is a tactical question."

Not so the international Spartacist tendency, for whom opposition to class collaboration is a matter of principle. This is what distinguishes us not only from the misnamed "Bolshevik Faction" but the entire United Secretariat

swamp. Although as a cynical con man Nahuel Moreno resorts to the eclectic "method" of centrism—what Trotsky called "crystallized confusion"—his appetites and real program are those of a hardened reformist. In either case, as the example of Nin shows, the end result is the same, and it is the working class that pays the price. ■

Mexico

(continued from page 7)

accusation directed against you that you have created a 'basis for a Popular Front' or 'declared the Stalinists to be revolutionists,' are not confirmed..." (SWP *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, April 1977).

Three years ago, we anticipated present developments in *Workers Vanguard* No. 131, (29 October 1976) in "Mexican Standoff in the Usec":

"The Mexican situation shows in microcosm the bitter triangular polemic now wracking the USec. The fact that the pro-PST Militant Tendency could go from L-TF pseudo-orthodoxy on the popular front into a class-collaborationist alliance in a matter of a few weeks tells a great deal about the reformist character of the L-TF. And the fact that the most right-wing grouping (both in Mexico and internationally) can effortlessly shift from the international minority to accommodation with the majority speaks volumes about the unprincipled nature of all the factions.

"Now a new PRT has been born, at a fusion conference in the 'Miguel Enriquez Auditorium' at the National University of Mexico. The 1,000 people present at the meeting reportedly named Mario Roberto Santucho, the murdered leader of the Argentine PRT/ERP, honorary president of the congress. Given the ex-Militant Tendency's unabashed rejection of Trotskyist opposition to popular fronts and the TM's naked Stalinist methods, it is entirely appropriate that the unification should take place under the symbolic auspices of Enriquez and Santucho, two leaders of centrist groups set up by the USec who became renegades. As Santucho was taking the PRT out of the USec, he blasted 'the Fourth International' composed of 'counterrevolutionary adventurers' and based on a 'scarcely redeemable tradition.' No doubt in short order we will be hearing similar words from some of the more intrepid renegades from Trotskyism in the Mexican PRT."

Well, it appears Ricardo Hernández has spoken. ■

Ate hoje sempre caracterizamos o MFA como um movimento burguês, defensor, na ausência de qualquer partido estruturado da classe dominante ou sequer de um aparelho de Estado sólido, dos interesses fundamentais do Capital, se bem que também muitas vezes obrigado, pela posição de árbitro «supra-partidário» em que se encontra colocado, a castigar os sectores tradicionalmente mais privilegiados da burguesia, por forma a defender os interesses globais dessa mesma classe.

uma rectificação necessária

o MFA e a Revolução em Portugal

A Necessary Rectification

The MFA and the Revolution in Portugal

"Up to now we always characterized the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] as a bourgeois movement, a defender, in the absence of any structured party of the ruling class or even a solid state apparatus, of the fundamental interests of capital..."

"The product of these traits [of the Portuguese revolutionary process] was, in a way, the MFA. We can understand it as a new phenomenon, that is, a momentary result of a very particular reality, the reality of the Portuguese Revolution. It was initially a movement, a petty-bourgeois reaction of a sector of the officials of an army pounded by war and massacred by the military defeat in Africa.

"In the same way as the working-class parties of the coalition, the MFA participates in and commits itself to the policy of the bourgeois government. But this does not mean identifying the government and the armed forces, nor identifying the MFA with the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, the facts are demonstrating that... the worsening of the crisis deepens the cleavages within the MFA and the semi-soviet tendency implied by one of its poles..."

— from *Combate Socialista* (newspaper of the Morenoite Portuguese PRT), 10 July 1975

fundamentais do processo português. O produto destes traços é, de certa forma, o MFA. Podemos compreendê-lo como um fenómeno novo, quer dizer, um resultado momentâneo de uma realidade muito particular, da realidade da Revolução portuguesa. É inicialmente um movimento, uma acção pequeno-burguesa de um sector dos oficiais de um exercito martelado pela guerra e massacrado pela derrota.

Da mesma maneira que os partidos operários da coligação, o MFA participa e compromete-se com a política do Governo burguês. Mas isto não significa identificar o Governo e as Forças Armadas, nem identificar o MFA com a burguesia. Pelo contrario, os factos vêm demonstrando que para além da tolerância de figuras que são uma garantia para o capitalismo nacional e internacional, o agravamento da crise aprofunda as clivagens no MFA e a tendência semi-sovietica que um dos seus polos implica, dao ao MFA uma instabilidade que este transmite ao Governo no seu conjunto, o que leva o bonapartismo no momento actual a...

Usec...

(continued from page 6)

counterrevolutionary anti-Communist mass mobilization.

The Morenoite current is far more contradictory. Moreno himself was a reformist in Argentina, but one who lost his reformist base, the direct tie to his "own" bourgeoisie. Forcibly separated from the national terrain of Argentine reformism, with nothing to sell out and no Perón to sell it to, Moreno—now based on the Colombian PST—chose to embark on a leftist adventure in Nicaragua. Now seeking to consolidate the benefits of his refurbished militant reputation, Moreno has gone out on a centrist swing. His Bolshevik Faction has been built on a left critique of the Mandelites' response to "Eurocommunism" and of the SWP over Portugal and Angola. On these positions the BF sounds uncannily close to the positions of the international Spartacist tendency—but it is a fraud: Moreno is a consummate charlatan. We can prove it, and we have, in the *Moreno Truth Kit* (see excerpts published in this issue).

For some time now this Argentine political *bandolero* had been sneaking up on Mandel, scurrying through the bushes and then hiding under the skirts of a larger group, only to break from it on a "left" basis when an appropriate opportunity presents itself. First with the SWP (1969-75) in the reformist, pseudo-orthodox "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (which was at bottom a reformist opposition to Mandel's vicarious guerrillism), then in a more informal way in bloc with Mandel. Each time he has extended his influence: first to the rest of Latin America, then establishing a beachhead on the southern flank of Europe. Meanwhile his policies at home remained ultra-reformist (written declarations of support to the Peronist regime, equating left-wing guerrillas with fascist death squads, etc.).

Now Moreno is at it again, this time with the OCI, and the current bloc is even less stable than his previous operations. Its components can't even agree on whether they are for the "reconstruction," "reorganization" or "reunification" of the Fourth International and Moreno has admitted that his "Parity Committee" with the OCI is nothing but a defensive "united front"—but one which supposedly will proceed to build "Trotskyist parties" despite its disagreements over fundamental political issues. The "Parity Committee" is merely a cynical attempt to trump the Mandelites by playing the "unity" card, and not surprisingly the Usec is invited to join up.

The uproar over Nicaragua has sent left-wing elements in the Usec into turmoil. Many are being sucked into the Moreno/OCI bloc, which on this issue stands to the left of the Usec's bottom-



Jean Guyaux

Portugal 1975: With CP offices in flames, OCI and SWP backed social democrats' CIA-engineered offensive.

less liquidation. Particularly in France a number of leftists have joined the new Ligue Communiste Internationaliste (LCI) despite its cynical OCI-loyalist leadership. Elsewhere such elements are still being held in tow by the Usec (England, Sweden). Both in Spain and Italy there are relatively large Morenoite breakaway organizations, but ones whose political practice has been exposed as clearly rightist.

But both the Usec and Moreno/OCI blocs are showing a suddenly increased vulnerability to the Spartacist tendency. The response has been a wave of scummy cop-baiting and thug violence in the worst Stalinist tradition. Both the LCR and OCI recently used goon squads to attempt to silence the Ligue Trotskyiste de France. But already this policy is beginning to backfire. Only four days after the Usec's GIM local in Köln, West Germany, expelled our comrades of the Trozktistische Liga Deutschlands from a public forum, the GIM local in Tübingen at a November 27 public meeting on Iran solidarized with the TLD's proletarian opposition to clerical reaction in Iran. No wonder Mandel told the last GIM conference that regarding the future of his German section, "one can only pray."

We can do more than pray. Over the years, serious leftist Usec supporters who sought an alternative to petty-bourgeois impressionism and popular frontism have regrouped themselves behind the authentic Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency. From the Cuban Revolution to the clericalist mass mobilizations in Iran and the insurgency in Nicaragua, our tendency has counterposed the struggle for Trotskyist parties to the Pabloist liquidationism of the Usec. Now again this crisis of the Usec milieu provides opportunities to regroup subjectively revolutionary militants from the Usec into an internationalist formation fighting for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

Jailed by Sandinistas...

(continued from page 7)

Front, through its newspaper *Barricada*, and the Government of National Reconstruction through the words of Moisés Hassan and Daniel Ortega launched a huge campaign accusing the most revolutionary sectors, those who wanted to continue the mass mobilization in Nicaragua, of being counterrevolutionaries. It began with the expulsion in early August of the Simón Bolívar Brigade organized by the Colombian PST. It continued with the arrests of the Frente Obrero people, and ended up with the repression on a mass scale against the Trotskyists and members of FO.

WV: Altogether, how many leftists were jailed during this campaign, after the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade?

Petroni: Well, including the FO militants, the supporters of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria and dissident Sandinista fighters who are critical of the pro-bourgeois line of the Front at this point, I would estimate roughly 200.

WV: Where were you held?

Petroni: I was locked up in El Chipote, which is located in Lake Piscapa and where earlier there were the president's house and offices of Somoza's secret police. I was the only Trotskyist there. Other militants of FO were held in police headquarters; some members of the LMR were arrested in Granada, and two of them (Mario Miranda and Rodrigo Ibarra) are still being held in La Pólora jail in Granada. They were scattered throughout almost all the jails in Nicaragua.

WV: You said there was no specific charge raised against the left-wing prisoners. But didn't they raise any accusations which from the government's standpoint justified the arrests?

Petroni: As for the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria, with which I was working—after a group of us coming out of the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua fused with it, along with a communist opposition nucleus from the FSLN itself—we were accused of leading a labor federation which included 11 factory unions and about 23 agricultural workers unions.

WV: How did your arrest take place?

Petroni: An army patrol led by a Néstor Moncada, who works for the security section in the Sandinista general staff, broke into my house by force. They didn't have a warrant and first took me to the "Ricardo Morales Avilés House," where the Sandinista general staff operates from; from there I was moved, three days later, to El Chipote prison. Their first intention was to liquidate me, i.e., assassinate me. But luckily the middle-level officials didn't agree. After being transferred to El Chipote, the first

14 days were spent in a cell nine feet by six feet together with ten other prisoners—that is, in subhuman conditions and with terrible food.

WV: Was there any working-class mobilization demanding your freedom as well as for the other left-wing prisoners?

Petroni: There was a mobilization not only at a national level in Nicaragua but also on an international scale. Many parties of the Fourth International [United Secretariat] which are led by the Bolshevik Faction [of Nahuel Moreno] held a number of demonstrations abroad. And inside the country as well the LMR undertook a campaign as did the FO newspaper *El Pueblo*.

WV: Were there any marches or demonstrations in Nicaragua?

Petroni: One that I know of, demanding freedom for the revolutionary prisoners, was a march by the government construction workers.

WV: Could you explain the political line of the LMR and the FO?

Petroni: The Liga is a Trotskyist organization. It has a Trotskyist ideology and is opposed to handing over the revolution to the bourgeoisie. It also opposes the participation in the present junta government of the bourgeois elements who are part of it. We hold that it is necessary to deepen the mass mobilization in Nicaragua, expropriate all the arable land and hand it over immediately to the peasants, and expropriate the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to prevent the bourgeoisie from organizing, as it is rapidly doing in Nicaragua today, to deliver a counterrevolutionary blow.

WV: What kind of government do you call for in Nicaragua?

Petroni: Well, for now we are calling on the FSLN itself to break its deals with the bourgeoisie and to form, in alliance with the left and the unions, a workers' and people's government. That is, to begin to form in Nicaragua a People's Assembly and soviets.

WV: What about the Frente Obrero?

Petroni: FO is an organization which comes from Maoism, with which it broke about two years ago. It is an organization which operates in the framework of centrism—so that one day its demands are progressive, quite pro-working-class, and the next day it capitulates to the FSLN leadership. The Frente Obrero calls today for the bourgeoisie out of the provisional government, but a few days before I was arrested they had a quite centrist position on calling for the convocation of the Council of State. This body obviously has a bourgeois majority. Later they were for not calling the Council of State, but at the beginning they supported it.

WV: As you know, before the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua left [the U.S.], we wrote an article criticizing the SSN's policies particularly on two questions. First, in calling itself "Sandinista"—in other words, placing itself in a nationalist framework. And secondly for its position on the nature of the government. That is, we are against calling for a Sandinista government, calling on a petty-bourgeois formation to take over. Our demand has always been for a workers and peasants government, i.e., one based on the independent forces of the workers movement. Now after the experience you had with the Sandinista movement in Nicaragua, with the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade and the jailing of leftists after that, have you rethought your call for a Sandinista government?

Petroni: Well, Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua no longer exists as an organization; it joined with the Liga Marxista. It was a group coming out of the ranks of *sandinismo*—more specifically sympathizers of the Proletarian Tendency—that was evolving slowly toward Trotskyism. It was a

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Jailed by Sandinistas...

(continued from page 9)

process that lasted some months, as you can see reading various issues of *Rojero Negro*.

We never called for a government only of the Sandinistas, but instead, as Trotsky says in the Transitional Program, we called on the petty-bourgeois sectors which led the rebellion against Somoza to break their ties with the bourgeoisie and to resolve to form their own government. And at all times we called for an independent workers party—that is, independent of the Sandinistas themselves. So we did not capitulate.

WV: Do you believe that a Sandinista government that breaks with the bourgeoisie would be a workers and peasants government in the sense of the Transitional Program?

Petroni: We don't consider a purely Sandinista government a workers and peasants government. We would consider it a sort of revolutionary provisional government. It would be progressive compared to the present pro-bourgeois government, but nothing more. And we also think that the Sandinistas are incapable of forming one.

WV: In that sense, the call for a Sandinista government, even including that it be based on "organs of people's power" or whatever, really represents a stagist conception of the revolution. That is, first you will have a petty-bourgeois government and later a workers and peasants government...

Petroni: We don't consider it a stagist conception, not at all. That is, calling on the Sandinistas to break [with the bourgeoisie] does not commit us to complicity in an eventual government; on the contrary. What we do believe is that it would have been a very progressive step at the time of the victory of the insurrection against Somoza—it could have been the beginning of a big mass mobilization for a workers and peasants government. The fact of the matter is that the situation is dynamic in Nicaragua. At this moment our central demand is for a workers and peasants government, because an important sector of the masses has already experienced the Sandinistas, and has found out in practice that they refuse to go forward with the revolution, that they refuse to break with the bourgeoisie. The jailing of two or three hundred comrades of the revolutionary left has also demonstrated before the eyes of the Nicaraguan masses that the Sandinistas are soft on the bourgeoisie and come down hard against the sectors who are for deepening the revolution. And that is an experience which the mass movement in Nicaragua necessarily had to go through. The experience of Sandinistas in power. We do not believe that the Sandinistas will ever break with the bourgeoisie, at least as a whole.

WV: The arrest of so many comrades and the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade seems a pretty high price to pay for that kind of education.

From what we could see of the activity of the LMR and the Simón Bolívar Brigade, they seemed to clash with the government over various issues. But our major criticism would be that at a general level its program, its perspective was to pressure the Sandinista movement rather than calling for a break with the Sandinista movement.

One final question. As you know, we have severely criticized, denounced, the policies of the American SWP and the United Secretariat, who supported the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade by the bourgeois "government" of Nicaragua...

Petroni: Look, the SWP's line in Nicaragua was quite disastrous, even playing in some respects a cop role: the public denunciation of left-wing mili-

tants by the SWP, and in particular of the Trotskyists in Nicaragua. The FSLN when it launched the campaign against the Trotskyists was never able to wage a political campaign against us. They called us "sectarians," compared us to the Somozaists. But the SWP acted as the ideological cover for the Sandinista Front, providing articles and interviews to the FSLN, counseling them on how to run the campaign. And in the recent issues of *Perspectiva Mundial* they launch a campaign on behalf of the Sandinistas precisely against the revolutionary sectors in Nicaragua. From a political standpoint this is totally criminal.

And from the standpoint of security I have a personal accusation against the SWP. Those of us who are politically active in Latin America know—and this isn't the first time I have been arrested—that the elementary obligation of any militant is to say what organization he is with, period. Right? That is, not to reveal any information which could help guide the repression. However, the SWP acting as cops in the last issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* gave not only the group but also the tendency of which I am a member. In the first nine days when I was mistreated and beaten [by the Sandinista jailers], I did not give them that information—but the SWP publishes it in their magazine. That is an action of cops, of informers. ■

Greensboro...

(continued from page 5)

out, fascists are terrorists, not ideologues, and they make their "points" with dynamite, the noose, and, as in Greensboro, with semi-automatics.

At bottom the adventurists and the civil-libertarian SWP, as well as the Communist Party, which editorialized (*Daily World*, 7 November) for the blood-soaked federal government to "Ban the Klan," are the two faces of reformism. Both despair of mobilizing the working class to fight fascism. The Detroit November 10 rally however, heavily built by the SL, uniquely demonstrated the potential power of a real labor/black mobilization against fascism. Not only did the SWP boycott the Detroit rally but in its appetite to become the left-wing advisors for the labor bureaucracy has used its paper to lie about the struggle at River Rouge to drive out the KKK-hooded foremen. Frank Hicks, one of the rally organizers and a participant in the Rouge campaign writes in a letter to the *Militant* (also sent to *WV*):

"I was disgusted by the article by Elizabeth Ziers on the anti-Klan petition drive at the Ford River Rouge plant which appeared in the 11/2/79 issue of the *Militant*. It is a bold-faced cover-up of the facts. Not even the *Detroit News* thought to give credit to the labor bureaucracy for the labor action that I, among others, organized....

"Ziers, a Rouge worker herself, showed her true attitude towards fighting the foremen who committed this racist provocation when she told a fellow

worker, 'They already fired these guys. Why don't they lay off?' You, the SWP, have long held the cowardly, liberal position of 'free speech' for fascists. The Klan and the Nazis demonstrated to the world what they do with their so-called 'free speech'—five people now lay in their graves!...

"But the truth is more powerful than lies. Black and white, women and men, 1,000-strong, stood together and forced our union to act against McKulen and Beinke's racist provocation. We did it. It stands as a victory for the workers of Local 600. It is an example of the kind of class-struggle leadership that is necessary in order for us to go forward." ■

U.S. Steel...

(continued from page 12)

divisions like coal and chemicals. Plans for constructing a \$3.5 billion new integrated steel plant in Conneaut, Ohio have been scrapped, and the company intends to squeeze whatever profits it can from steel workers through ruthless speed-up, job cuts and wage restraint.

But steel workers need not resign themselves to ever worsening conditions, eroding wages and the constant threat of unemployment. Workers—fight for your jobs! Seize the plants! For an industrywide strike! Even a successful defensive struggle organized around such demands as unlimited recall rights and unemployment benefits and full government financing of SUB funds can unlock the necessary industrywide struggle for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. Such a struggle will not be led by the McBrides and Balanoffs. It can only be led by a new militant leadership dedicated to sweeping away the irrational and brutal capitalist system and replacing it with a centralized, planned economy and a workers government. ■

Carter's War Threats...

(continued from page 3)

Not so with the Khomeinist fanatics' embassy seizure. When the Islamic Revolutionary Guards denounce American imperialism, they are not just talking about the CIA and oil companies, which many working people in this country don't like either. The "satan" is not U.S. imperialist policy but "western ways." When Khomeini condemns America as a "corrupter of the Iranian nation," he is speaking of the things which for most Americans make life enjoyable—liquor, music, dancing, sex. The Imam of Qum is rightly viewed as a crazy, pleasure-hating tyrant. Throughout the country, workers have started calling bossy foremen "ayatollahs."

However, the chauvinism provoked by the Khomeinists can be mobilized for particularly reactionary ends. Since the U.S. slipped from its hegemonic position among the imperialists, and since its loss in Vietnam, this country has seemingly faced endless humiliations at the hands of foreigners. Americans have witnessed "Teddy Roosevelt's canal" being turned over to Panamanian sovereignty. They've watched the dollar, not long ago considered as good as gold, depreciate evermore in world currency markets. They've seen German and Japanese competition drive major U.S. manufacturers to the verge of bankruptcy. And they've been told that inflation, falling real income and all manner of economic ills are caused by the Arab sheiks of OPEC. Khomeini's insane, violent anti-Americanism touched off a long-brewing nationalist reaction. Ominously, the super-militarists can taste a popular mandate to "restore America's might."

The American ruling class is hoping that this "Vietnam syndrome" is now over, that the Teheran embassy crisis has revived the "send in the marines" mentality of pre-Vietnam. For example, the *New York Times* (2 December) published a front-page headline, "Iran is

Helping U.S. to Shed Fear of Intervening Abroad." According to Democratic Party national chairman John White: "We may have reached a turning point in our attitude toward ourselves, and that is a feeling that we have a right to protect legitimate American interests anywhere in the world." What this imperialist politician calls "protecting legitimate American interests" is plundering and terrorizing the workers and peasants of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, in one important sense, Khomeini has done the Pentagon a great favor, albeit unwittingly. He has supplied a national cause they could not have created themselves.

Carter Gives Khomeini a Political Lease on Life

If Khomeini did U.S. imperialism an unwitting favor, Carter had certainly done the same for him when he took in the shah. Khomeini needed help: his regime was in the throes of a grave crisis. In August, Teheran was torn by fierce street fighting as 50,000 leftists and liberals, protesting the suppression of the oppositional press, clashed with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards. Throughout the month of October, militant student protests against Khomeini's ban on political discussion in the classroom and increased tuition costs racked the universities.

The purge of "un-Islamic" elements from industry and the government administration has been ruining the Iranian economy. Since February, both inflation and unemployment have skyrocketed. To the masses' demands for bread and work, the ayatollah has answered that the nourishment of Islam is spiritual. He has also answered with bullets.

The well-organized uprising of Iran's one-and-a-half-million-strong Kurdish minority demanding autonomy from Teheran's rule posed the gravest challenge to the ayatollah's regime. The "Islamic Revolution" put an end to the shah's large and well-equipped army as an effective fighting force and the formation of the "Pasdars" or revolutionary guards did not compensate for the loss. Desertion, absenteeism and indiscipline were the order of the day. Weapons fell apart for lack of maintenance as spare parts disappeared and American technicians were no longer around to repair them. Faced with the ferocious resistance of the veteran Kurdish guerrillas, the "Islamic Republic's" armed forces were fought to a standstill.

At this point Khomeini managed to overcome his loathing for the "satanic West" in an unholy lust for American machine-gun bullets, artillery and helicopters. Washington, though it had backed the shah till the end, was only too happy to try to win the ayatollah's favor. The Defense Department announced that it would look favorably on Iran's request for \$5 billion in military hardware already on order at the time of the shah's overthrow. Unlike Khomeini, the U.S. rulers are not Persian chauvinists and could under different circumstances back Kurdish independence, as Nixon/Kissinger did in Iraq. Washington supplied Khomeini's forces because it wanted a strong Iranian state as a counter to the USSR.

Despite Washington's tentative vote of confidence in Khomeini's regime, Iran by late October was driving toward anarchy. At this point, Jimmy Carter decided to allow the shah into the U.S. Outside the ranks of the Persian Shi'ite faithful, for whom Khomeini is Allah's annointed on earth, the ayatollah's popular authority stems from one thing and one thing only: he is the man who overthrew the hated shah, U.S. imperialism's hangman in Iran. If Carter had deliberately wanted to shore up popular support for Khomeini, he could not have chosen a better means. By seizing the American embassy and demanding

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that the shah be returned to Iran for trial, the ayatollah diverted mass discontent against the Islamic theocracy against the autocracy. Thus the reactionary religious fanatic can once again appear before the Iranian people as the enemy of the shah and U.S. imperialism.

The present crisis gives Khomeini the chance to consolidate a strong state apparatus, something he has not been able to do since taking power in February. Army recruits will not lightly go AWOL if they think the U.S. is about to invade their country. Even the disgruntled officers who look back favorably on the shah's rule will obey Khomeini if the nation is attacked by the greatest military power on earth.

No doubt the "imam" and his clerical "Assembly of Experts" hoped that the present feverish mood of anti-Americanism and national unity would result in an overwhelmingly positive response when Iranians went to the polls December 2 in a referendum on a new Islamic constitution giving Khomeini nearly unlimited powers as "faghi" (dictator) of Iran. With armed Islamic guards manning the ballot boxes and keeping a sharp eye on the color of the ballots cast (green for "yes," red for "no"), a heavy "no" vote was highly unlikely. Instead disgruntled voters boycotted the balloting in large numbers. In Kurdistan and Baluchistan the referendum was a total failure. The votes in the Kurdish stronghold of Mehabad (mostly from the pro-Moscow, pro-Khomeini Tudeh Party) will never be counted—an angry mob seized and burned the ballot box. In Baluchistan armed rebels voted "no" on the Persian chauvinist constitution by kidnapping a government official and torching a polling station.

Khomeini is an Islamic medievalist, but Iran is not a medieval society. The workers, whose strikes were a decisive blow against the shah, fought for economic egalitarianism as well as democratic rights. The Westernized students and other petty-bourgeois layers who rallied to the Islamic opposition wanted political liberalization and democratic institutions. Iran's national minorities, the Kurds, Baluchis, Turkomans, Arabs, Azerbaijanis and others who together constitute a majority of the population, believed the overthrow of the shah would bring an end to Persian domination. All these forces have come into conflict with the Islamic Republic and the mullahs, who can satisfy none of their demands. Khomeini's drive to return Iran to the seventh century has met stubborn, massive and increasing resistance, which the temporary hysteria aroused by the embassy crisis will not be able to overcome.

Down With the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!

The seizure of the American embassy and its staff has also revived the left's claim that Khomeini is a great "anti-imperialist" fighter. As proletarian revolutionists, we shed no tears over the fate of the imperialist diplomats, Marine Corps lifers and CIA agents held hostage. The U.S. embassy in Teheran is, as Khomeini claims, "a nest of spies."

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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It is directly responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of Iranians.

We also solidarize with the hatred of the Iranian masses for the shah and his American guardians. But the Islamic fanatics who have seized the embassy do not want to get the shah for his real crimes—the crushing of the workers movement and the left, suppression of all democratic freedoms, the subjugation of national minorities and women, the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. For Khomeini's followers the shah's great crime was encouraging Western ways in Iran.

The struggle against capitalist/imperialist domination in backward countries has nothing in common with national/cultural isolation, with building "a Wall of China between East and West" in Khomeini's words. A victorious revolutionary socialist government in Iran would, of course, eliminate all U.S. military installations and would expropriate all major foreign economic holdings. And the security forces of an Iranian workers state would purge the country of CIA agents far more thoroughly than the Khomeinists ever will. But an Iranian socialist government would not seek to cut off all diplomatic, economic and cultural ties with the advanced capitalist countries. On the contrary, the revolution will be made by internationalists, led by Trotskyists, and forged in struggle against capitalism's shahs and ayatollahs.

—Hands Off Iran! Oppose Carter's War Threats! Defend Iran Against U.S. Military Attack!

—No Asylum for the Butcher Shah!

—Down with the Islamic Reactionary Khomeini! For Workers Revolution in Iran!

—For Military Defense of the Soviet Degenerated Workers State Against Imperialism! For Proletarian Political Revolution Against the Stalinist Bureaucracies! ■

Mullahs...

(continued from page 1)

shah of Iran, who was often compared to the hated Caliph. The intensity of this year's orgy of bloodletting, indicating the faithful's willingness to be martyred, is seen as proof that the Iranian masses are willing to follow Khomeini even into a fiery apocalypse against the military forces of U.S. imperialism.

No wonder then that many U.S. commentators are expressing dark Spenglerian fears that having sown the wind, America must now reap the whirlwind of Islamic fury. Is the Ayatollah Khomeini to be the scourge of imperialism, the new savior who will lead a pan-Islamic *jihad*—holy war—of the "wretched of the earth" against their imperialist oppressors?

Islam and Imperialism

Far from it—there is in fact a deep interdependence between Islam and imperialism. Islam has its place within the framework of imperialism, which retards the social and economic development of the oppressed. As an ideological reflection of archaic social classes and modes of production threatened by imperialist penetration, Islam shakes its fist both at bourgeois capital and bourgeois rights, the progressive gains of the French Revolution. The bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the West mobilized the masses against the feudal order, including the state church. However, the would-be Westernizing rulers of the Islamic East—the Nassers, Bhuttos, Pahlavis—are bonapartists based on the army. Thus the mullahs can organize mass reaction to what are seen as elite, corrupt, almost foreign regimes.

The contradictory character of Islam's opposition to imperialism was clearly demonstrated in the very CIA-backed coup of 1953 that brought the

shah to power, ousting the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq. When Mossadeq first came to power, he was backed by the mullahs. But with the growing influence of the Stalinist Tudeh Party under his National Front government, a section of the Islamic clergy led by Ayatollah Kashnai joined the CIA plot to restore the shah. So while the American embassy in Teheran is justly hated as the sinister power behind the

the History of Early Christianity," that the fundamental dividing line between revolutionary Protestantism and Islam is that for the former "the religious disguise is only a flag and a mask for attacks on an economic order which is becoming antiquated" whereas Islam is based on that feudal order which is antiquated.

In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels analyzed religion as "nothing other than the

Engels On Islam

A peculiar antithesis to this was the religious risings in the Mohammedan world, particularly in Africa. Islam is a religion adapted to Orientals, especially Arabs, i.e., on one hand to townsmen engaged in trade and industry, on the other to nomadic Bedouins. Therein lies, however, the embryo of a periodically recurring collision. The townspeople grow rich, luxurious and lax in the observation of the "law." The Bedouins, poor and hence of strict morals, contemplate with envy and covetousness these riches and pleasures. Then they unite under a prophet, a Mahdi, to chastise the apostates and restore the observation of the ritual and the true faith and to appropriate in recompense the treasures of the renegades. In a hundred years they are naturally in the same position as the renegades were: a new purge of the faith is required, a new Mahdi arises and the game starts again from the beginning.

That is what happened from the conquest campaigns of the African Almoravids and Almohads in Spain to the last Mahdi of Khartoum who so successfully thwarted the English. It happened in the same way or similarly with the risings in Persia and other Mohammedan countries. All these movements are clothed in religion but they have their source in economic causes; and yet, even when they are victorious, they allow the old economic conditions to persist untouched. So the old situation remains unchanged and the collision recurs periodically. In the popular risings of the Christian West, on the contrary, the religious disguise is only a flag and a mask for attacks on an economic order which is becoming antiquated. This is finally overthrown, a new one arises and the world progresses.

—Frederick Engels,

On the History of Early Christianity (1895)

Peacock Throne, far too little has been said of the complicity of the mosques in restoring the shah as an anti-communist bulwark in 1953.

SWP Lies: Even Stalin Would Have Blushed

The SWP's prostration before Islamic reaction has taken on such incredible proportions in the 7 December *Militant* that the most subservient Stalinist or even Richard Nixon might well have blushed. A Fred Feldman special, "Behind racist lies about 'Islamic fanatics,'" denounced as a "fake" the bourgeois press descriptions of Ashura. Feldman protests, "Similar propaganda was poured out last year to discredit major anti-shah demonstrations planned for Muharran...but the bloody flagellants predicted throughout the U.S. press were nowhere to be found."

We can only presume that the filmed coverage of hundreds of thousands of Muharram flagellants shown on every major television network last year were simply massive U.S. propaganda fabrications created by Cecil B. DeMille and paid for by the CIA using Iranian extras rented from SAVAK and paraded through Hollywood streets with fake Teheran skylines and building fronts. We must assume the CIA bribed or brainwashed reporters, visitors and scholars who claimed to have witnessed the bloody ceremonies. According to the SWP, to claim that Moslems practice flagellation is "stirring up racist and religious bigotry to justify oppression of the peoples of the Middle East." Although Catholic sects in South Europe also practice flagellation, for squeamish liberals and prissy reformists apparently the simple recording of the facts of feudal practices of debasement becomes "racist and religious bigotry."

Religious Obscurantism vs. Marxist Materialism

The SWP repeats its absurd historical analogy between Khomeini's movement and the revolutionary Protestant movements during the rise of capitalism in the *Militant* article:

"This is not the first time in history that a progressive movement took a religious form at the start. The same thing happened at the beginning of the anti-feudal revolutions in Europe that established democratic capitalist states."

Must we really point out that Khomeini's goal is a *pro-feudalist* revolution? Engels was quite clear, in his "On

reflection in the minds of men of those external forces which dominate them in their daily lives." When man through the collective and planned ownership of the means of production becomes master of his social conditions, religion will wither away. The proletariat, whose conditions of labor most directly pose the social ownership of the means of production, is the class with the greatest potential and material interest for rising above religious prejudice, finding its way to a materialist and Marxist worldview.

The economic strikes of last year in Iran showed the enormous social power of the Iranian proletariat. It was those massive strike waves, which hit every sector of the economy and paralyzed Iranian society, which began the opposition which finally brought down the shah. The mullahs were able to lead the final assault because every independent political expression of the oppressed masses had been crushed by the shah. However, the bankruptcy of the left in the Middle East, and its consistent refusal to organize the working class independently for the seizure of power, played its part in this reactionary outcome. The Stalinist Tudeh Party lost its mass base through repression, but it would have been happy to have handed it over to Khomeini—just as it threw the enormous support it had after World War II behind the shah and his prime minister Qavam. The remnants of the Tudeh Party, along with the bourgeois National Front, marched right beside the landlords and mullahs after Khomeini.

Thus the Iranian proletariat has been beheaded several times over. The task of revolutionaries must be to aid this strategic proletariat of the Moslem East to crystallize its revolutionary vanguard, which must place itself at the head of all the oppressed to replace the Persian chauvinist "Islamic Republic" of Khomeini with a workers and peasants government. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, resting on the peasantry, can resolve the urgent democratic tasks that remain on the agenda in Iran. And in alliance with Soviet Russia, freed of Stalinist domination through proletarian political revolution, Iran can serve as a revolutionary beacon to the rest of the Moslem East, can end forever the cries of the oppressed that historically have found their tortured and distorted expression only through self-flagellation and the eerie funeral wails of Muharram. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Factory Seizures to Fight Mass Firings!

U.S. Steel Dumps 13,000 Workers

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Hundreds of steel workers and members of their families stormed the headquarters of the United States Steel Corporation in Pittsburgh in response to plant closings announced last week by the nation's largest steel manufacturer. The angry crowd—led by several hundred militants from Youngstown, Ohio—brushed past security guards after picketing in a snowstorm outside the complex. They proceeded to occupy the first and second floors of the building, where they demanded to see David Roderick, the chairman of U.S. Steel. "We want Roderick," they chanted. "We want jobs."

The demonstration in Pittsburgh was sparked by Roderick's November 27 announcement that the company intends to shut down 16 steel plants in eight states, a measure which will cost 13,000 steel workers their jobs. Hardest hit were Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley of Ohio, once known as "America's Ruhr," where U.S. Steel's last remaining operations and 3,500 jobs are to be eliminated. One day later Jones & Laughlin, the third-largest domestic steel producer, followed suit with pink slips for 1,400 workers employed in its Youngstown plants.

Roderick's plan to eliminate the least productive of U.S. Steel's facilities is similar to the cutbacks at Youngstown Sheet & Tube and at Bethlehem Steel in 1977. But it is more than that. It is an announcement to the entire Steelworkers (USWA) union of what the bosses have in mind for the 1980 contract negotiations. Roderick made it amply clear that unless the union accepts major cutbacks the huge mills in Birmingham and Chicago/Gary are next in line. If the company can't be made competitive, he warned, "We will have no choice but to take further actions to accomplish our long-range objective of making our steel operation an attractive business."

Such a frontal assault on steel workers should have evoked an instant and militant response from the union. But the 1,000 Youngstown USWA



More than 1,000 USWA members in Youngstown on November 29 demand union action against mass layoffs.

members who jammed their union halls for an emergency meeting the day before the Pittsburgh demonstration were told nothing they hadn't heard before. For years their union leaders have preached that maintaining labor peace and enforcing the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement were the key to preserving jobs. The USWA tops have urged support for every program of government subsidy to the bosses, centering on protectionist legislation limiting foreign steel imports. And it has all proven a bitter lie to the thousands of steel workers thrown on the scrapheap.

The Youngstown meeting was addressed both by supporters of Lloyd McBride's International and the Sadlowski/Balanoff dissidents. But what they had to say was virtually

indistinguishable. It was the same old crap about appealing to the capitalist government that Youngstown workers employed by Little Steel had been fed two years ago. They never got their jobs back. "We heard that all before," the ranks heckled the speakers. The only new twist was the call for a government bailout à la Chrysler. If the companies don't have the money to operate their plants, said McBride's District 26 director Frank Leseganich, "We'll get it for them. We'll go to the feds." But that too was greeted with a lot of skepticism because steel workers know how Chrysler workers fared under the terms of Carter's bailout. And they also know that even the recently negotiated substandard contract is likely to be vetoed by a Congress intent on a wage freeze. So it was not surprising that steel workers interrupted Leseganich, demanding to know if he too was proposing to "bargain jobs versus wages."

They also gave it to USWA staff representative Marvin Weinstock, who ran on Sadlowski's ticket in 1977. They wanted to know why he hadn't done a thing to halt the layoffs at Youngstown Sheet & Tube two years ago. USWA members in fact have as much reason to be disgusted at Sadlowski/Balanoff as at McBride. For all their phony talk about "the right to strike," at every crucial juncture—the last contract, the layoffs in 1977 and today—these fake "progressives" have been as eager to quell militancy in the ranks as the USWA International. And today Sadlowski/Balanoff aren't talking strike either—they're pushing impotent schemes appealing for laws that outlaw plant closings. Betrayed by a leadership that refuses to fight, steel workers are understandably bitter.

The newest round of plant closings in steel shows that the bankruptcy of Chrysler was no accident. The scrapping of whole sections of industry and the

proletariat at each economic downturn is the stark reality of both the present and future of decaying American capitalism. The 20,000 Little Steel workers sacked in 1977 and the more than 100,000 Chrysler workers have learned through bitter experience that the trade-union bureaucracy's attempt to prop up the capitalist system through government bailouts and protectionist schemes offers no way out. But unless a class-struggle leadership is forged in the unions, the just anger of the working masses will be channeled into support for even more vicious forms of national chauvinism which pit American workers against their German and Japanese counterparts in a dog-eat-dog struggle for a dwindling number of jobs.

The attempt to blame foreign steel workers for the inefficient and obsolescent state of the American steel industry is a reactionary diversion from the need to fight the bosses at home. Of course foreign steel is more competitive. For 30 years the arrogant steel barons—like the Chrysler bosses—have wrung their operations dry, milking every penny for dividends while refusing to invest in capital development. The newest U.S. Steel plant, the Fairless works near Philadelphia—an early 1950s project—is as "new" as the *oldest* Japanese mill. So while American steel operations are profitable, they are not profitable enough to suit the bosses. The steel division of U.S. Steel, for example, which represents 73 percent of the company's sales, accounts for only 13 percent of its profits.

In the face of economic recession and tightened market competition, the American steel bosses are slamming the plant gates in the faces of tens of thousands of steel workers. Rather than throwing more money into a loser, U.S. Steel has decided to direct future plant investments towards more profitable

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Down With Ayatollah of Kenmore Square!

Defend the BU Faculty Five!

BOSTON, 3 December—Five Boston University professors are threatened with firing for refusing to cross a picket line of striking campus clerical workers last September. The five—antiwar activist and radical Howard Zinn, Murray Levin, Caryl Rivers, Andrew Dibner and former faculty union president Fritz Ringer—were singled out for their faculty union activism and vocal opposition to the widely despised, flamboyant right-wing BU president, known locally as "Madman John Silber." The "BU Five" taught classes outside (as did other teachers) rather than cross the picket lines, to show their solidarity with campus workers in the face of Silber's nine-year history of union-busting at BU. The Boston Spartacus Youth League has been active in the protests sparked

by the ayatollah Silber's heavy-handed repression.

There will be a rally Thursday night to defend the BU Five. Speakers will include Howard Zinn, Murray Levin, Daniel Ellsberg, MIT Nobel Laureate Salvador Luria (who initiated a petition to oust Silber which already has 600 signatures) and Mike Adams. Adams is a laid-off auto militant from Detroit's UAW Local 140, whose experiences as a union activist point to the need for a fighting working-class program to defeat union-busting attacks, whether on campus or in the factories.

Dump Silber! Hands off the BU Five—No Firings! Picket lines mean don't cross! No reprisals against faculty or campus workers for union activities!