

## U.S. Hands Off Iran! Khomeini Hands Off Azerbaijan!

# Mullahs' Iran Ripping Apart

DECEMBER 18—When Ayatollah Khomeini gave his blessing more than six weeks ago to the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran, he was hoping to focus the anger of the Iranian masses on "foreign devils" rather than his own shaky regime. But the international diplomatic crisis touched off by the seizure of American hostages has not been able to halt the centrifugal political forces which threaten to tear apart the unconsolidated "Islamic Republic." Appeals for "national unity" against the U.S. have not persuaded rebellious Kurds to give up their struggle for national autonomy. Azerbaijanis, who constitute Iran's largest minority and one-third of the country's population, are now in open revolt against Khomeini's attempt to shove his Persian-chauvinist constitution down their throats. Hordes of Khomeini's rank-and-file supporters in Teheran are unemployed; their demonstrations demanding jobs have given evidence of rising dissatisfaction with a rudderless regime unable to deliver anything to the masses of workers and peasants except anti-American sermons. And the regular army has been disastrously weakened by desertion, breakdown of American-supplied weapons and still-continuing purges of unreliable officers.

Meanwhile, the collection of Koranic scholars and amateur Islamic politicians which makes up the Iranian "government" seems to reach decisions, when they are reached at all, by a process of haggling akin to that carried on in the bazaar. Khomeini alone can authoritatively formulate policy, and when the "imam" is silent, contradictory voices clash publicly. When the shah was dispatched to Panama, for example, the hard-line Khomeinists in the embassy announced that, "The hostage spies will be tried." But Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, the latest in a revolving-door succession of "foreign ministers," declared that, "No trial will be held"—even telling U.S. newsmen that he hoped to have some of the hostages home in time for Christmas. The upshot was that no one in



Khomeinists celebrate capture of Tabriz radio station December 9. Azerbaijanis shouting "Death to Khomeini" soon retook it.

Teheran or Washington knew what was going on.

Carter, for his part, has a limited number of options in dealing with Khomeini. The commander in chief of American imperialism fears above all that the upheaval in Iran might eventually produce a regime aligned with the USSR. The U.S.' main strategic goal in the present hostage crisis is therefore to preserve Iran as a bastion of anti-Sovietism. The show of air and naval power displayed off the Iranian coast raises the dangerous possibility of an invasion of Iran, which could easily be transformed into a direct confrontation with the Soviet degenerated workers state. In the event of any American attack against Iran revolutionaries would—while of course offering no

political support whatsoever to Khomeini and the mullahs—stand firmly on the side of the Iranian masses' military resistance to Carter's imperialist armed forces. Hands Off Iran!

Fear of military confrontation with the Soviet Union has so far deflected Carter from armed intervention. Further, the Dr. Strangelove in the White House basement "Situation Room" can't figure out how to militarily "liberate" the hostages without getting them killed. In the meantime the State Department worries that the Marines in Teheran or bombers over Qum would add momentum to the wave of anti-Americanism sweeping the Islamic world. And America's imperialist "allies," already annoyed with the U.S. for freezing Iranian assets in American

banks, oppose any further action that might jeopardize their access to Iranian oil. So all Carter can do is invoke meaningless diplomatic sanctions, tossing out Iranian diplomats and obtaining worthless writs from the impotent "World Court." The rabid right wing at home is appeased by threats to deport thousands of Iranian students. Many of these students would face persecution in Iran for their left-wing sympathies and Marxists unconditionally oppose Carter's racist campaign of deportation.

Packing the ex-shah off to Panama's tropical Pearl Islands was the U.S.' most dramatic move in the war of words and diplomatic maneuver. Local strongman Omar Torrijos—for who knows how many U.S. dollars or how much of

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## Rhodesian Nationalists: Come Back Britain

After thousands of their followers have died fighting for a black Zimbabwe, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Patriotic Front have negotiated with London to restore Rhodesia as a British colony. The British imperialists are supposed to supervise "free" elections and turn over power to the winner. To gain the good offices of Margaret Thatcher and Lord Carrington, the Nkomo/Mugabe bloc made one concession after another to white supremacy, including guaranteeing 20 percent of the parliamentary seats to the 4 percent white minority.

When London, having announced the negotiations were successfully concluded, demanded that the nationalist guerrilla forces be confined to isolated rural concentration camps up through the elections, the Patriotic Front balked... for a few days. At this point the British threatened to hold elections *without* the Patriotic Front, thereby maintaining in power the black puppet regime fronting for planter Ian Smith and top general Peter Walls. But Nkomo/Mugabe quickly capitulated and accepted Lord Carrington's "strategic hamlet" program for their forces. Nkomo enthused that the settlement "is a sound basis on which to build a truly democratic society in Zimbabwe" (*New York Times*, 18 December).

Actually implementing the cease-fire on the ground may not go that smoothly. The Smith/Walls/

**Back under the Union Jack: "Her Majesty's" representative Lord Soames reviews Rhodesian troops.**



UPI

Muzorewa forces could well provoke the nationalist guerrillas into fighting back in defiance of their cowardly, treacherous leadership. Britain, maneuvering to establish a stable neo-colonial regime in "Rhodesia-Zimbabwe" could yet be drawn into a dirty colonial war. This would be a big strain for the decrepit imperial power, with its armed forces tied up fighting the IRA in Northern Ireland (and doing its bit against the "Soviet menace" with the Army of the Rhine).

Whatever happens, the Patriotic Front leaders have proven beyond any question that they are *traitors* to the national emancipation of Rhodesia's black masses.

While the petty-bourgeois nationalist Algerian FLN and Angolan MPLA remained tied to imperialist economic domination, they did wage a bitter and self-sacrificing struggle for national independence. Not so the wretched Patriotic Front.

No imperialist troops—No deals with Margaret Thatcher/Lord Carrington! White supremacy in Rhodesia must be smashed! Only a Trotskyist vanguard party of the black proletariat, built on the program of permanent revolution, can lead the toiling masses to genuine liberation through socialist revolution throughout southern Africa. ■

## "With All Deliberate Speed"

It has been 25 years since the U.S. Supreme Court handed down what was widely acclaimed as a landmark decision in the famous 1954 case of *Brown vs. Board of Education*. "Separate but equal" was not equal, said the court, and desegregation of public schools was to proceed "with all deliberate speed."

*Brown vs. Board of Education* was initiated by the outraged father of 10-year-old Linda Brown of Topeka, Kansas, when she was refused entry because of her race into an all-white elementary school five blocks from her home.

Today, Linda Brown Smith has children of her

own who attend the same elementary school she did. It is no longer all white—it is 98 percent black. Early this month she and seven other parents succeeded in reopening the case. As evidence, their petition mentioned the fact that some Topeka schools have a minority enrollment as high as 73 percent while others have only 3 to 6 percent, figures which are not challenged by school officials. As Charles Scott Jr., attorney for the case, said, "Twenty-five years later, the only thing that has changed for black people here is that the quality of their children's education has declined."

Topeka is no exception—across the U.S. today urban schools are more segregated than ever. Given the past decade of "white flight" from the cities, it is obvious that area-wide (metropolitan) busing is the only way to implement school desegregation. Socialists, of course, fight against the rollback of even the token gains for blacks won in the 1960s and particularly for the extension of busing to the suburbs, today anathema to the liberals. Yet the busing programs were gutted by the same liberals who once passed the civil rights legislation. Twenty-five years after the original Supreme Court decision, the second "*Brown vs. Board of Education*" case is a glaring indictment of the failure of the liberal civil rights movement, with its dependence on capitalist courts and cops, to ensure equality for blacks. ■

## Protest Turkish Fascist Killers in Germany

FRANKFURT—Approximately 1,000 to 1,500 Turkish militants and other leftists demonstrated here on Saturday, December 8 against the Turkish fascist "Gray Wolves" organization. At home the Turkish ultra-rightists have been on a murderous offensive, killing more than 2,000 leftists and trade unionists in the last year. Now they are attempting to extend their criminal activities to West Germany, where Turks constitute a sizable proportion of the foreign workers whose labor is key in heavy industry. The demonstration followed the brutal knifing of four Turks in Frankfurt who refused to accept leaflets from the

**TLD contingent calls for workers defense guards at December 8 anti-fascist demonstration in Frankfurt.**



Kommunistische Korrespondenz

"Turkish Federation"—a front group of the Gray Wolves—mobilizing for an ultra-right rally. Several of the Turks were badly injured, and one was in critical condition for several days after the criminal assault.

The demonstration was sponsored by pro-Ecevit (the former Republican prime minister) forces, by the semi-Maoist Devrimi Yol, Jusos [Young Socialists] of the SPD, and the crisis-wracked ex-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund (KB). In keeping with the, at best, reformist policies of these organizations, the mobilization centered on the call for the bourgeois state to ban the Gray Wolves and expel their members from West Germany. As a leaflet by the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) to the demonstration pointed out:

"The bourgeois state will never smash the fascists' paramilitary bands; bans [on fascists] will always be used by the bourgeoisie against the left and the workers movement—in the name of the struggle against 'extremists on the left and right'."

In particular, the West German state would jump at the chance to deport troublesome leftists, foreign workers and students. The massive and provocative police presence at the demonstration—at times encircling the demonstration in combat formation, flanked by

armored vehicles with water cannon—should have sufficed to dispel any illusions in bourgeois "justice"!

While sharply rejecting the call for the state to ban the fascists, the TLD mobilized an independent contingent to the demonstration under the central slogans: "Only the mobilization of the Turkish and German workers movement can smash the Gray Wolves! For trade-union self-defense squads! Jail the Gray Wolves knife attackers! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!"

The spirited contingent of over 20 supporters of the TLD was the only contingent from a West German organization. Despite their sponsorship of the demonstration, the Jusos simply stayed home, while the dozen and a half KB supporters were identified only by the flag of their front group "Anti-Fascist Action" and their Palestine scarves. On the other hand, the militant desire to fight fascism on the part of many Turkish participants was demonstrated as many joined in the TLD chants for independent working-class action against the fascists, police out of the DGB [trade-union federation], for a revolutionary trade-union leadership, and for a workers and peasants government in Turkey. ■

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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## SWP Shoulders "White Man's Burden"

# Why They Lie For Khomeini

When the "students following the imam's line" grabbed the American embassy in Teheran and a bunch of American hostages on November 4, Khomeini grabbed a new lease on political life. And the left, mired in opportunism, grabbed with him. They who shouted "allah akbar" from afar had a stake in the reformation of Khomeini's supposed "anti-imperialist" credentials. Immediately after the hostage seizure the 16 November *Militant* of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) proclaimed "the new wave of anti-imperialist struggles by Iranian workers," and asserted Khomeini was "giving voice to the well-founded anti-imperialist sentiments of most Iranians."

Most of the left had begun to squirm a little as the character of the mullah-led revolution became painfully obvious. Like Khomeini, these fakes hoped to divert attention from the growing awareness that the ayatollah's regime is as reactionary as the shah's. The mullah theocracy executed its Persian-chauvinist, feudalistic "Islamic" justice particularly on national minorities, the "Satanic" left, homosexuals, adulterers and assorted sinners and infidels. But the fake left pretended not to notice—until their own members were picked up and put in jail. Even when 14 of the SWP's comrades of the Iranian HKS were facing death at the hands of the mullahs, the SWP only mounted a half-hearted defense campaign—and forcibly excluded anyone, such as the Spartacist League, who called for proletarian opposition to the reactionary Khomeini regime.

The embassy takeover and hostage



Khomeini's firing squads execute homosexuals. If you think this is true—then according to the SWP you're a racist.

seizure has become a test for the shaky mullah rule. Therefore, it has also become a test of loyalty for the regime's loudest U.S. supporters, the SWP. In an article entitled, "How the Left Responded to War Drive Against Iran," in the 17 December *Intercontinental Press*, David Frankel takes the U.S. left to task for failing its responsibility to remain "the best builders" of "the imam" and his "Iranian Revolution." For the SWP the test required is one of political self-censorship in the service of Khomeini. The more openly reactionary mullah rule becomes, the more threatening even straightforward reporting of events in Iran becomes. *IP* even managed to attack the *Guardian* from the right, because these reformist cheerleaders for

the Iranian Fedayeen wrote that the embassy seizure was a "diversion" for Khomeini.

But Frankel's wildest slanders (almost two columns' worth) were reserved for the Spartacist League, which he says has "increasingly taken outright racist and pro-imperialist positions." What are these positions? Frankel accuses: "Rather than directing their fire at the imperialist power...the Spartacists aimed all their venom at Ayatollah Khomeini." It's an old refrain. They always accused Lenin of spending more time attacking the Mensheviks than attacking the tsar...and clerical reactionary Khomeini is hardly a Menshevik. In the eyes of the SWP our great crime is that we resolutely oppose the

"imam" and his theocratic dictatorship, that we call for workers revolution in Iran today. Like the Khomeini gangs, the SWP claims that to oppose the ayatollah is to support U.S. imperialism, if not satan himself.

The Frankel article simply lies about our position on Iran. They quote our front-page headline, "Iran Embassy Crisis" and our secondary headline, "Khomeini Fanatics Provoke Imperialist Threats" (*WV* No. 244, 23 November). But *IP* doesn't mention the other article on the front page, an urgent warning printed hours after Carter's announcement that warships were being dispatched to the Persian Gulf (dated "November 20, 11:30 p.m."), and entitled "Hands Off Iran!" We wrote:

"The American working class must militantly oppose these war threats. In the event of actual U.S. armed intervention, workers and socialists must stand for military defense of Iran against imperialist attack, while opposing the reactionary mullah rulers, and stand ready to offer revolutionary defensism toward the Soviet degenerated workers state as well."

Some "pro-imperialist position."

### Why They Lie

It's certainly not new for the SWP to slander, distort and lie about our positions. But the *IP* article clearly reveals the motive behind the lie: imperialist-liberal moralism. Above all, the SL is taken to task for telling the truth. If *WV* observes that the vast majority of the American population has not responded to the taking of hostages in Teheran the way they responded, for instance, to Vietnam and Angola—then we must be part of an

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## Implement Busing—Extend It to the Suburbs!

# Cleveland Teachers: Stay Out and Win!

CLEVELAND—Close to 2,500 angry public school teachers rallied downtown here December 14 to demand victory in their two-month-old strike against the Cleveland School Board. Militant teachers marched from a strike meeting to the board's offices at Sixth and Rockwell where pickets surrounded the building and chanted their opposition to the city's latest insulting offer. "It's a farce," one teacher said, "they're not promising us anything."

Despite the vacillations of the leadership of the Cleveland Teachers Union (CTU) and the mounting pressure exerted by the courts, local politicians and "concerned" citizens groups, the strikers are determined to win relief from the miserable wages—\$9,887 annually for new hires—which are the lowest in Cuyahoga County and among the worst in the state. Pickets told reporters that they often buy school supplies out of their own pockets and teach in classrooms "equipped" with buckets to catch leaking rain water. And according to the assistant state school superintendent none of Cleveland's 146 public schools meet the minimum educational and physical standards set by Ohio.

Union negotiators have scaled down their original wage demands to hikes of roughly 15 percent a year, which would barely keep up with inflation. The School Board, however, is offer-

ing only half of that. On December 12 a Common Pleas Court judge ordered the union to vote by mail ballot on a "compromise" proposal which in fact is only minimally better than the Board offer. Unfortunately CTU president Eugene Kolach indicated that the union would cooperate with the court-ordered balloting although it represents an intolerable attack on the union's independence.

So far the School Board's efforts to obtain a back-to-work order have failed largely because the judges remember that the CTU ranks ignored a strikebreaking injunction last fall, when the union struck for five weeks after enduring repeated payless paydays and two years without a raise. But anti-strike pressure is mounting. Mayor Voinovich, several local businessmen and the publisher of a local black newspaper have all been named as possible mediators in the contract talks. On December 5, some 40 demonstrators, mainly black, sat in at the offices of the School Board vowing to remain until the classrooms are reopened.

The teachers' strike occurs in a city which is in default on its bank loans and heavily polarized along racial lines. Although the sit-in demonstrators claim to be "neutral" in the strike, the NAACP and black community groups heavily represented among the protestors appear increasingly ready to

oppose the teachers' strike on the grounds that it disrupts implementation of Cleveland's minimal and endlessly postponed busing plan. Ominously, federal judge Frank Battisti, overseer of the busing plan, called on all parties to appear in his chambers to discuss the strike-bound school system. Last year the liberal Battisti demanded that school expenditures be slashed and the union contract torn up as the price for keeping the schools open.

The School Board, in turn, has used the city's impoverished financial situation as a wedge against the CTU and to delay implementation of busing. As it did last year, the Board once again proposed to tie any CTU raise to voter approval of a tax increase. Five such levies have been defeated here since April 1978, mainly on the strength of white voters who view any new money for education as the means to pay for court-ordered busing.

Revolutionaries denounce the tax referenda as a provocation and refuse to support either side. To vote for the higher taxes means to shift even more the burden of the city's financial crisis onto the backs of Cleveland's hard-pressed working class and petty bourgeoisie, both black and white, and let off scot-free the bankers who hold the city by the throat. Votes against the levies would be votes of solidarity with racist, anti-busing forces.

The School Board's provocations have already stirred up a racist backlash. On December 11 anti-busing forces led by CORK (Citizens Opposed to Rearranging Kids) showed up at the School Board's office to demand the eviction of the sit-in demonstrators. CORK threatened to mobilize vigilantes to do the job if the city would not. The CTU and the entire Cleveland labor movement must prepare to crush any such racist mobilizations. The unions as well must unambiguously demand implementation of the busing/desegregation plan—and demand further that it be extended to Cleveland's affluent suburbs.

At the same time, the NAACP's union-busting must be roundly condemned. Anti-labor liberals who attack the unions, stand for slashing social services and increasing the tax burden offer no solution. A militant anti-capitalist offensive is needed to smash the banks' stranglehold over the city by demanding cancellation of the debt. This requires above all the building of a class-struggle leadership in the unions which would end the labor movement's subordination to the Democratic and Republican politicians who differ merely over whose services, whose salaries and whose jobs to cut in the interests of the banks.

Victory to the teachers strike! Implement the busing plan! Extend it to the suburbs! Cancel the debt! ■

# Azerbaijan: Bridge to the October Revolution

## Baku or Qum?

*Editor's Note: We reprint below excerpts from a talk by Reuben Samuels, of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, given in New York on December 9*

The bridge between the Russian Revolution and Persia is Azerbaijan, the Baku oilfields and Tabriz, the commercial center of the Azerbaijani nation. Today the border of revolution—and counterrevolution—divides this nation exactly in half. Approximately 5 million Azerbaijanis live in Iran and 5 million live in the Soviet Union.

On one side of the border, in Soviet Azerbaijan, there are radical land reforms; there is no indentured servitude; there is no sharecropping; everyone has a right to learn and to speak and to publish in his native language. The veil has been eliminated; women are liberated from the isolation of the house and the home. The masses no longer practice self-flagellation. There are of course enormous Stalinist deformations, which since 1923 have historically shaped developments in Azerbaijan. But the social foundations, collectivized property, have permitted the population to overcome the atomization—that vestige of feudalism which has been preserved by imperialism across the border. This has been an enormous pull on the rest of Azerbaijan. There has been a long history of identity within this nation that is temporarily divided.

In 1905 there were revolutions which swept throughout the East—China, Persia, India, as well as Russia. The Persian revolution had its beginnings in Tabriz. This was called the Constitutional Revolution, ultimately subordinated to the mullahs and the shahs. Essentially you had a constitutional monarchy of the old shahs, called the Qajars, in which a court of the mullahs [the *ulema*] was institutionalized. Ultimately the outcome of this struggle was rather reactionary and reflected the leadership of the struggle, mainly the middle classes. Although the movement was led by the religious leaders, in Tabriz there was a large component which was republican in nature, anti-clericalist and influenced by the revolutionary social democrats and Marxists of the Baku oilfields.

The 1917 revolution in Russia had an impact in what became Soviet Central Asia, in Azerbaijan, and other sections of Iran. In Gilan there was a movement called the Jangali which set up the Soviet Socialist Republic of Gilan under one of the local khans, sent fraternal greetings to Lenin and attempted to carry out a land reform, which was only suppressed by the British in 1921.

The small nascent Communist Party—originally formed in the Baku oilfields and then spread to Tabriz and other cities mainly through the Azerbaijanis who were the most politically advanced of the nations that made up the Persian empire—was the bridge for Bolshevism. This Communist Party was wiped out in Iran, but some of the cadres went back to Azerbaijan or emigrated elsewhere and escaped the persecution.

There was another development in the 1920s. The British installed Reza Shah, a Cossack adventurer who, in order to escape the Russian Revolution, marched with his troops into Teheran. In the chaos of post-World War I, he had the strongest army in Persia. So the British decided to back

him, equipped his army, and he went out and attempted to create a modern centralized state. He eliminated the veil and carried out certain modernizing reforms. But basically the country remained extremely backward.

During this period there grew up a movement that looked to Reza Shah as a modernizer. Something like the Young Turks, somebody who was going to bring Iran into the 20th century. One of the most famous of this school was Arani, the founder of the movement that became Tudeh.



Militants of Azerbaijani-based Muslim People's Party defending their Tabriz party offices.

Arani went abroad in 1922 to study in western Europe where he came into contact with socialist literature, but apparently not Lenin on the national question.

Arani returned to Teheran in 1930 to set up Marxist study cells in the universities. The cells were discovered and suppressed in the great student strike of 1937 in Teheran and there were arrests of what became known as "the 53." These were mainly professional people—professors, lawyers, doctors, merchants—who were in the study cells or defended them. It was in jail that they came in contact with some of the old members of the Communist Party which had been suppressed.

During WWII it was felt that Reza Shah would become a German collaborator and the British and Russians intervened in Iran. The shah was toppled, there was a general amnesty of political prisoners and "the 53" were released. They came out committed to founding some kind of mass party—the Tudeh Party. If you read histories of the Tudeh Party, you'd think it was simply set up by a bunch of Stalinists or GPU agents from Russia. This is not the case. It represented some people who had been in Russia, but many whose first contact with socialism came in prison or in western Europe, before the development of a mass Stalinist movement.

These people reflected the various weaknesses of their backgrounds. Pischevari, for instance, was always an Azerbaijani nationalist first and foremost. Arani was always a Persian chauvinist, even though he had assimilated a certain amount of Marxism and Leninism. Nevertheless when these intellectuals came out of prison they tried to form the party which became known as Tudeh. At the first congress the central committee was elected. To give you an idea of the social composition of the leadership, it included three doctors, three clerks, three workers, a senior civil servant, a supreme court judge, a lawyer, a professor, a writer and a former factory manager. Within a matter of a year and a half they ran a trade-union movement of 400,000. On May Day, 1946 the union came out in the open and paraded in Abadan, the

central oil refinery area in southwest Iran, 81,000 strong—an industrial strength to be reckoned with.

I've always been curious and only recently found out why there came to be two left-wing parties in Iran during and after World War II. What became popularly known as the Azerbaijan Democratic Party and Tudeh, "the masses" party. Now Tudeh had a terrible line on the national question. For example, a newspaper close to Tudeh, called *The Falcon*, said the Farsi language, that is, Persian, is "the

best means for perfecting our national unity." Another magazine said, "The national language of Azerbaijan is Farsi."

Interestingly enough, in the trade unions they had their own organ which was called *Zafar*, or *Victory*. Here they wrote regarding the national question, "The people of Azerbaijan have spoken Turkish for 900 years. Who can deny that it is their mother tongue? The worst way to deal with the problem is to force one language on all the minorities as the tsar tried to do."

Why this difference? Partly it was the experience of attempting to organize the industrial proletariat of Iran, concentrated in two places, Isfahan—the Manchester of Iran—and Abadan, the oilfields. The attempt to organize the oilfields in Abadan was complicated because the British recruited their workforce on the basis of mixed nationalities, in order to exploit the national differences to the maximum. So the very necessity of forging a trade-union movement in the oilfields almost dictated, irrespective of the ideology of the leaders, a policy of revolutionary integrationism and recognizing the right to self-determination for the oppressed nationalities. And so the trade-union newspaper had a more progressive line on the national question.

Pischevari, as I mentioned before, was more a nationalist than a socialist. When he went back to Azerbaijan, now emancipated, the first thing he did was form the party called the Ferde, more popularly translated as the Azerbaijan Democratic Party. One of the first things it did was send condolences to the deposed Reza Shah. The whole Tudeh Party in Azerbaijan and its mass organization went over to the Azerbaijan Democratic Party, as did many bourgeois parties. Of course the party collaborated with the Soviet troops. As a consequence the ambassador from the Soviet Union, who willy-nilly began to show up at Tudeh central committee meetings, forbade any open polemics between Tudeh and the Azerbaijan Democratic Party. Nonetheless, through their front groups and privately, the polemics were quite hostile.

In part because of this Stalinist subordination of the Tudeh Party to the narrow social interests of the Soviet Union's bureaucratic caste, Tudeh basically supported the British presence in southern Iran, just as it supported the Soviet presence in northern Iran. It did not call for ousting the British. When the shah's son—the present deposed shah—was put on the throne, they not only supported him but entered his first cabinet. This cabinet of course went on to suppress the democratic institutions that were set up in Azerbaijan under the Soviet army. There was also the savage suppression of the Kurdistan Republic, which was completely under the control of the mullahs.

In Azerbaijan certain reforms were carried out in the wake of the Red Army. There were land reforms. Azerbaijani was allowed as a written/spoken language in the schools. Both in its orders to Tudeh as well as its actions in Azerbaijan, the Red Army was relatively sensitive to the national question. This may have been as much from opportunism as it was from any remembrance of the Leninist texts, but it was a fact. With the withdrawal of the Red Army Azerbaijan—often referred to as a republic, but really a self-governing province—collapsed. This opened the door to the savage persecution of the left and trade-union movement as the shah began to reconsolidate power in the late 1940s.

To conclude, the elementary tasks which in a deformed way were undertaken by Tudeh in the 1940s, of creating a vehicle of independent class organization, remain on the agenda today in Iran. The power and potential of such a movement was demonstrated by the effect that even Tudeh, with its backwardness, its handful of intellectuals with their deformed understanding of Marxism—the impetus that they were very rapidly able to give to a mass movement. Such a party must have assimilated the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution, especially on the questions of the nationalities which profoundly affect this multinational empire.

In that sense, it is not unlike tsarist Russia, where the national question was strategic, where most of the population was still in agrarian slavery. Also the woman question, the emancipation of women from the veil is strategic. These basic democratic questions that were resolved in some sense by the bourgeois revolutions in western Europe remain on the agenda today in the East. It is only the October Revolution that has shown the path forward to their solution in the East, the solution which had to have as its basis collectivized, socialized property and the independent organization of the proletariat.

The deformation of the Bolshevik Revolution by Stalinism, and the disastrous impact this had on the national question, especially in Central Asia, has stopped the revolution at a border which is artificial. With the liberation of the Soviet Union from Stalinism through proletarian political revolution, with the liberation of Iran from the vestiges of feudalism, of barbarism, of imperialism through a proletarian revolution, through socialist revolution in the imperialist countries that have created the Khomeinis, the Pakistani colonels and Stalinism—that is the road forward for the oppressed masses of both the East and the West. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Lords a'Leaping Over "Fourth Man" Revelations!

# Queen of Spies?

## Kim Philby's Triumph Still Vexes British Aristocracy!

Yet another of England's seemingly endless supply of honorable schoolboy spies has been flushed out: Sir Anthony Blunt, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures and ex-Soviet agent. The ever-so-distinguished elderly aesthete and art historian was fingered in a recent book by Andrew Boyle, *The Climate of Treason* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1979), under the codename "Maurice." Margaret Thatcher confirmed in Parliament that Blunt was indeed "Maurice," the long-sought "Fourth Man" connected to the network of Soviet agents inside British intelligence which included Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean and master spy H.A.R. "Kim" Philby (the "Third Man").

Naturally it's all terribly embarrassing for Britain's clubby upper-crust establishment, having one of their own suddenly made the object of vulgar press and public attention. "I say, your father is going to give our Blunt a bit of a rough ride, isn't he?" a Conservative member of Parliament anxiously asked Boyle's son before the book's publication (*Washington Post*, 16 November). But what's most worrisome to Britain's seedy aristocracy is that the Royal Family, indeed the Queen herself, knew all about Blunt's activities since 1964 (when he supposedly confessed all to a highly select circle—not including the Prime Minister). Yet for years and years she kept him on as part of the Royal Household, cataloguing pictures, escorting her to art shows and even—the unkindest cut of all—giving him a knighthood.

What must Sir Freddie Laker, Sir Harold Wilson and all those other deserving chaps think of similar royal favors now? What any self-respecting communist would think is obvious: the only honorable thing for "Sir Anthony" to have done in the circumstances was to fling away his title, that disgusting remnant of feudal class privilege. Blunt, however, has remained silent. With delicious irony he announced from hiding that to reveal anything might violate the Official Secrets Act! (The bare-minimum Marxist program for Britain is: abolish the monarchy, abolish the House of Lords, abolish the Established Church, and abolish pub licensing hours.)

The British upper class certainly isn't personally horrified by the mess itself: "Oh, we've known for years, my dear, that Blunt (or Burgess, or Maclean, or Philby, or whoever) was a flaming communist down at Cambridge, and we always suspected..." So goes the after-dinner talk. No, it's that "the public" knows—that's the rub. For this ingrained caste of giddy plotters and snobbish feudal extremists, "there'll always be an England" means there will always be Lords and Ladies and a nasty Hessian queen. One hopes at least that Blunt was still in contact with his Soviet mentors when he undertook a particularly sensitive mission for King George VI after World War II—retrieval of the Duke of Windsor's correspondence, reportedly highly admiring, with Adolf Hitler—and that the goods on the Nazi-loving aristocrats may be published someday.

More competent British civil servants are no doubt upset because digging up all this old dirt only reopens the old wound which the Burgess/Maclean (and later Philby) affair inflicted on that "special relationship" between American and British intelligence agencies. During the war, the cordial contempt in which the British held the American naifs and boors of the OSS and FBI was more than amply returned by U.S. suspicion of British flabbiness and upper-class amateurism. In the event, American suspicions were confirmed in spades by the 1951 defection to Moscow of Burgess and Maclean, and then Philby's appearance in 1963 as a Hero of the Soviet Union. And now Blunt! Everybody knows Britain doesn't have any secrets worth stealing these days, but the memories are painful.

John Le Carré's latest-but-one espionage novel, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, captured well the deadly, helpless hatred for "the Cousins" which the old-line British establishment spies, bereft of their Empire, must feel for the American imperialists, inheritors of all they built (the peculiar *Schadenfreude* coloring the scenes of American pull-out from Vietnam, for example). Of course, the Americans have their own problems. If the typical British spy is a Cambridge don who would never question a fellow gentleman about personal affairs, the

CIA counterpart is a crewcut bureaucrat who only believes his computer printouts and fictitious "body counts." And if the British have their Soviet "moles," the Americans are done in by spaced-out, bored hippies who sell the Russians top-secret documents for the price of a few snorts of cocaine. (Remember the TRW "Black Vault" scandal a couple of years ago, where two such southern California types carted out thousands of spy satellite plans and secret messages they were supposed to be guarding.)

The Blunt affair may seem to be a tempest in a rather tepid teapot from the American viewpoint. The most heartfelt

cry of anguish to appear on this side of the Atlantic came from *New York Times* art critic Hilton Kramer. What got Kramer was not that Blunt had betrayed Britain, but rather "Beauty"—more specifically, "our sense of what it means to be a great art scholar": "It suggests, at the very least, that this vocation need have nothing to do with either moral intelligence or personal probity" ("The Blunt Case: A Life Devoted to Beauty and Treachery," *New York Times*, 2 December).

Oh really, Hilton! Only an eternally naive, "forever panting, forever young" American could have swallowed Keats' *continued on page 9*



Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean, Kim Philby: Recruited at Cambridge in the 30s, their successful careers as Soviet agents still drive British establishment up the wall.

# How the "Answer" Lambertists Trotskyists



On November 13 in front of the Mutualité in Paris, supporters of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) were driven away forcibly by the goon squad of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). The OCI had called a public meeting on Nicaragua, with the participation of the newly formed Ligue Communiste Internationaliste (LCI), the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT) and Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction (BF), to which "all international Trotskyist forces" had been invited. As soon as the LTF had begun to hand out leaflets and sell its publications, about 50 members of the OCI goon squad immediately intervened, violently driving off the LTF militants, hitting some of them and ripping up leaflets and newspapers. Others who protested this aggression were also attacked. But the action was clearly aimed at the LTF, since salesmen of *Rouge*, *Tribune Ouvrière* and *Révolution Internationale* were not stopped.

A report of the assault appeared in *Rouge* (16 November), newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). In reply, Lambert's OCI simply noted that on October 25 the LTF had been forcibly excluded from an LCR public meeting. Such a "defense" shows only that both the OCI and LCR fear they cannot defend their respective parodies of Trotskyism against the Trotskyist criticism of the LTF.

But there was also a special message in the OCI attack, intended for some of those who witnessed it; members of the LCI, which is allied to the OCI in the so-called "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International," are put on notice that there is no room in the OCI for oppositionists. Lambert himself brags that there hasn't been a faction fight in his organization since 1953 (interview in *Rouge*, 25 May). The way the OCI dealt with the bureaucrat Berg and the dubious Varga is the concrete proof.

The split in the United Secretariat (USec) shook the pseudo-Trotskyist milieu in France and gave birth to the LCI. The new group's main leaders (Nemo, Ulysse, Seldjouk, etc.) had headed the French LTT, formed within the LCR on the basis of the reformist politics of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). They soon became fans of the reformist OCI during the long SWP/OCI flirtation, which then blew up and was replaced by the OCI's new alliance with Moreno's BF. Now they have formed the LCI as a transmission belt to carry the heterogeneous elements who left the LCR straight into the OCI.

But some of those who rejected the squabbling, faction-ridden LCR and its liquidationist policies will be hard for the OCI to assimilate. The ostensible split issue was Nicaragua, where the OCI/BF bloc opposed the USec's blatant capitulation to the Nicaraguan FSLN. Militants repelled by the USec/SWP's hailing of the expulsion from Nicaragua of Moreno's Simón Bolívar Brigade will not find the OCI—the "Trotskyist" left guard of André Bergeron's Force Ouvrière bureaucracy—congenial to many more of their leftist impulses. And if these comrades seek to generalize their left criticisms of the USec, they will find themselves intersecting the program of the international Sparta-

## Gangsterism and Slander

cist tendency (iSt), which emerged from the SWP in 1963 in opposition to the USec/SWP's capitulation to Castro (dubbed by the SWP an "unconscious Trotskyist") and in favor of the formation of Trotskyist parties in every country. It was in the hope of sealing off leftist LCI supporters from the LTF, French section of the iSt, that Lambert unleashed his goon squad on November 13.

### Slander, Handmaiden of Gangsterism

The LCI members are getting a crash course in Lambertism. An interview with Nemo in the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (17-24 November) goes out of its way to slander the LTF:

"... the LTT has nothing to do with sects which, like the Spartacists, do not hesitate to call themselves the Fourth International and do nothing but maintain the divisions in our movement for the sole profit of the bureaucratic apparatuses."

In a 23 November leaflet, the LTF replied that this charge was a "not-so-subtle attempt by Nemo to make an amalgam between the Spartacists and the megalomaniacal and irrelevant followers of the highly dubious Michel Varga."

But the slanders continue. The second issue of the LCI newspaper states:

"The LCI has nothing to do with these small sects who proclaim themselves 'the Fourth International' or want to have it 'reborn.' The struggle which we are waging against the SWP leadership is without mercy: by this means we are defending the Fourth International and the American Trotskyist organization against its new Castroite leadership. But this battle has nothing to do with the policies of the Spartacist provocateurs who characterize the SWP as reformist. The LCI is entirely on the side of the SWP against these provocateurs. These sects have only one aim, to destroy the Trotskyist organizations, to put obstacles in the way of their unification, to fight the Fourth International."

—*Tribune Ouvrière*, 24 November

Of course, the OCI/LCI are well aware that, far from baptizing ourselves the Fourth International, our tendency calls for the rebirth of the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloist revisionism in 1951-53. Our "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (July 1974) states that "the international Spartacist tendency is just that, a tendency in the process of consolidation." But truth is

of no interest to the OCI; indeed, it is a danger. The LCI militants must be taught contempt for truth before they can find a happy home in the OCI

And the OCI-inspired LCI leaders are proceeding full steam ahead with the well-known Lambertist methods of dealing with

opponents. Cop-baiting slander is a necessary concomitant of physical suppression of Trotskyist criticism, for its ultimate aim is to place the critic

outside the framework of workers democracy. The OCI is notorious on the French left for its ready recourse to slander and violence, as for example over the Varga affair. For ten years the OCI included the Hungarian emigré Varga on its leading bodies—then in 1972 it expelled him and announced he was a long-time "CIA agent." It proclaimed him outside

the workers movement and indulged in repeated physical assaults against his followers. "Provocateurs"? We would gladly place our unblemished record of defense of workers democracy against the sordid reputation of the OCI. It was no accident that the OCI had to buttress its claims against Varga by approvingly quoting in its press our independent verdict that (though he had been slandered by the OCI) he was "a highly dubious figure."

The OCI/LCI leaderships are engaged in a genuine provocation: attempting to bind the heterogeneous LCI membership to Lambertist politics by making it complicit in attacks on the LTF. This is an old trick of the Stalinists, who in Greece used to give new members the job of assassinating a Trotskyist as their first assignment; after such an initiation, the new member dared not wonder whether Trotskyism might have anything to say for itself.

### Will the Real Fourth International Please Stand Up?

The iSt is a democratic-centralist international tendency struggling for the rebirth of the Fourth International. The OCI and its partners in the "Parity Committee" have long since renounced authentic internationalism in favor of rotten blocs masquerading as "the Fourth International." From 1966 to 1971 the OCI was allied with the English organization of Gerry Healy, foisting off these political bandits (who are now the agents of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi) as the continuity of anti-Pabloist struggle though Healy and Lambert could not even agree on what to call their "international" (to Healy it was the "International Committee of the Fourth International," to Lambert "the IC for the Reconstruction..."). For the last five years Nemo's LTT has been an SWP-inspired loyal opposition in the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," as was Moreno until he broke from the SWP in 1975.

Today's OCI/BF/LCI "Parity Committee" is busily preparing another "Fourth International" masquerade though again the bloc cannot even agree on basic terms, describing itself in the same breath as being for the "reconstruction" (OCI), "reorganization" (BF) and "reunification" (LCI) of the Fourth International (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-17 November). Grandiose claims about convening an "all-inclusive World Congress" to the contrary, the Parity Committee is simply one more unstable bloc of those forces who lined up behind the SWP in opposing from the right the petty-bourgeois guerrillaism of Ernest Mandel. Of course, the SWP is not now numbered among their ranks; hence the absurd assertion that the SWP—already run with an iron hand by Jack Barnes when many LCI members were still in diapers—now has a "new Castroite leadership."

The iSt—for many years the only organization in the world to characterize Cuba as a deformed workers state and call for building a Trotskyist party to lead a political revolution against the Castroite bureaucracy—does not flinch at the slander that we "maintain the divisions in our movement for the sole profit of the bureaucratic apparatuses" (i.e., the

continued on page 11



Moreno, the adventurer.



Varga, the dubious.



Healy, cheerleader for Qaddafi.

# Which Way for the Nicaraguan Revolution?

On U.S. Tour

## FSLN Comandantes Break Strikes, Bait Trotskyists

When the "Council of the Americas" met in New York's posh Plaza Hotel earlier this month it was probably the first time these corporate-financed promoters of U.S. investment in Latin America ever played host to a trio of guerrilla revolutionaries in fatigues and combat boots. But although the overthrow of the bloody dynasty of Somoza, Inc. represented a serious defeat for American imperialism, the three *comandantes* of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua had come, as the Nicaraguan UN mission's press release put it, "to strengthen [their] ties of friendship with all countries, the United States among others" by "meeting with representatives from the private sector." More concretely, they had come to urge the assembled businessmen to take a profitable part in the capitalist reconstruction of Nicaragua.

Instead of aggressively moving to expropriate not only Somoza's holdings but the factories and large estates of all the Nicaraguan capitalists and landlords, the FSLN has chosen to revive the "anti-Somoza" private sector. This strategy coincides with the interests of State Department and Congressional liberals, who seek to forestall a "second Cuba" in Nicaragua by buying off the FSLN with imperialist "aid." Thus, after FSLN leaders Jaime Wheelock, Victor Tirado and René Núñez stopped by for negotiations, a House committee approved a \$75 million grant and loan package for Nicaragua, 60 percent of it earmarked for private business. The still-sizable Somoza lobby, which overlaps with the shah's friends in Congress (when they're bought, they *stay* bought), was appeased by an amendment cutting off aid in the event that Cuban or Soviet troops show up in Nicaragua.

The FSLN's pro-capitalist policies are being carried out under the slogan of "national reconstruction." Given the tremendous destruction wrought by Somoza's troops (in one of his last acts before fleeing to

Miami, the dictator ordered the systematic bombing of factories belonging to opposition businessmen) and the still-unrepaired damage left by the massive 1972 earthquake, capitalist industry must literally be "reconstructed" from the ground up. At the same time the new government finds itself compelled to silence leftists who advocate going beyond the capitalist limits imposed on the anti-Somoza revolution by the petty-bourgeois FSLN leaders. So when Jaime Wheelock addressed a left-wing audience at New York's Columbia University December 7 the Spartacist League (SL) challenged the FSLN leader on his government's repression of the far left in Nicaragua (see accompanying leaflet). In the discussion period an SL spokesman put the following question to Wheelock:

"At this moment you are in the United States seeking economic aid, not only here but from the government as well. I want to ask if there is a relationship between this request for money from the most powerful imperialist country in the world and the fact that in your Sandinista jails today there are left-wing militants of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria... and of the Frente Obrero, including Mario Miranda and Rodrigo Ibarra."

The chairman attempted to cut off the question and hard-line FSLN supporters tried to drown out and rush our comrade. Only when it appeared that a melee would ensue did they decide to answer the question. Dressed in snappy olive green fatigues and shiny black combat boots, Wheelock played the role of dashing and handsome young *comandante* to the hilt. First he attacked the SL for criticizing "from a quite comfortable position" those who had fought "with arms in hand, at the cost of their own lives" against Somoza. Denying that he had come to the U.S. seeking funds (a statement contradicted by the FSLN's own press release), Wheelock nevertheless maintained that the Sandinistas would "use the money of imperialism to build socialism." Admitting that they had in-



WV Photo  
Jaime Wheelock speaks behind portrait of Nicaraguan nationalist hero Sandino.

deed locked up leftists, he attempted to justify the repression:

"That is really a painful situation for us. But just imagine, when there is a lack of supplies, when much needs to be produced, that someone comes and tells the workers that they should shut down the factory to demand higher wages. Higher wages for one sector of the workers while there is 50 percent unemployment! What a strike will produce is more shortages. It brings to mind nothing so much as that which occurred in Chile some years ago. An indecisive government began to suffer strikes and increasing shortages. The petty bourgeoisie, which you referred to, began to turn its back on the revolution."

This is the line of reformist and popular-frontist politicians the world over: the workers must pay to appease their exploiters. For Jaime Wheelock (who *continued on page 9*

Reprinted below is the English version of a leaflet distributed by the New York Spartacist League at a forum given by FSLN leader Jaime Wheelock at Columbia University, December 7.

A hundred thousand people jammed Managua's newly-named Plaza of the Revolution in July to cheer the Sandinista-led overthrow of the blood-drenched Somoza dynasty installed by the U.S. marines 45 years ago. Revolutionaries the world over cheered this defeat for U.S. imperialism in Latin America. What Washington feared most of all was that the Nicaraguan revolution might lead to proletarian power. But this was not a proletarian revolution. Rather, the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas took the guerrilla road. They struck a deal with those elements of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie who wanted capitalism without Somoza. Together they came to power and together they rule. So Washington is a lot less worried now.

### Guerrillas Govern with Millionaires

The speaker tonight, Sandinista Jaime Wheelock, sits in a government with "Cottonseed Oil King" Alfonso Robelo and Violeta Chamorro, a representative of Nicaragua's wealthiest capitalist landlord dynasty. Wheelock wears the banner of the "Proletarian Tendency" of the FSLN. But there is

## Jaime Wheelock: Why Are Leftists in Your Jails?

nothing proletarian in the actions of this Minister of Agrarian Reform who returned the haciendas seized by the peasants to the "anti-Somoza" landlords and declared, "We must keep solidarity with those members of the private sector who supported the ouster of Somoza." (*New York Times*, 5 August 1979). Afraid of the radicalization of the masses and seeking to prove its trustworthiness to the Chamorros, and its credit-worthiness to the U.S. State Department, the FSLN government launched a campaign of repression against the left.

### FSLN Attacks the Left

At this moment members of the Movimiento de Acción Popular, Frente Obrero and the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria are in Sandinista jails. Upon coming to power, the FSLN deported and turned over to General Torrijos' Panamanian police militants of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, followers of the Argentine reformist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In time-worn fashion, the

FSLN slandered such left critics as "CIA agents," while Wheelock denounced as counterrevolutionaries the "Trotskyists and all those who wish to accelerate the evolution of the regime in Nicaragua" (*Le Monde*, 21 August 1979). The FSLN campaign to "get" the "ultra-lefts" is aided by the reformist American Socialist Workers Party which has despicably acted as the finger-men for the junta against even its own "comrades" in the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." This crime was the detonator which blew apart this fake-Trotskyist international rotten bloc.

### What Next?

Despite the Sandinista leadership's stated intention to integrate "the new Nicaragua" into the capitalist-imperialist order, the fate of the revolution is not yet sealed. The old capitalist state apparatus has been shattered with the rout of Somoza's National Guard. The masses, radicalized and largely

pauperized by devastating civil war, cannot and do not want to live in the old way. What is needed in Nicaragua is a revolutionary Trotskyist party to lead the workers and peasants against the rotting capitalist system.

Tonight we will no doubt hear Jaime Wheelock and the FSLN comandantes talk about the Nicaraguan struggle as if it will spontaneously flow from the present class-collaborationist strategy into the socialist paradise. This is the most dangerous illusion! There is a choice to be made—either the road of proletarian revolution or the road of capitalist consolidation and increased repression of the Nicaraguan masses!

The international Spartacist tendency demands: Free Mario Miranda, Rodrigo Ibarra and all left prisoners in Sandinista jails! For popular tribunals to try the National Guard criminals! No to the disarming of the Nicaraguan masses! For a constituent assembly! For the expropriation of *all* landed estates, industry and major commerce including those of the "anti-Somoza" bourgeoisie! For the centralization of the unions and mass organizations of the workers and peasants in soviets—for a workers and peasants government! For a Socialist United States of Latin America! Not the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the FSLN, but a Trotskyist party, Nicaraguan section of the reborn Fourth International, to fight for proletarian revolution!

# Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

pany go under is a lesser evil to an expensive government bailout. A *Wall Street Journal* (13 November) editorial opposing Carter's plan put it bluntly: "Senator Proxmire has a better idea: bankruptcy."

So Chrysler workers have not seen the worst. The Senate Banking Committee has already insisted that the contract be torn up and a *three-year wage freeze* instituted as its price for supporting a bailout. At the going inflation rate, this means a 40 percent pay cut! It further demanded that Chrysler raise more cash from private sources. Since the company's credit lines are virtually exhausted, this can be realized only by selling off assets and liquidating more money-losing plants. Already the closing date for Dodge Main has been moved up to early January.

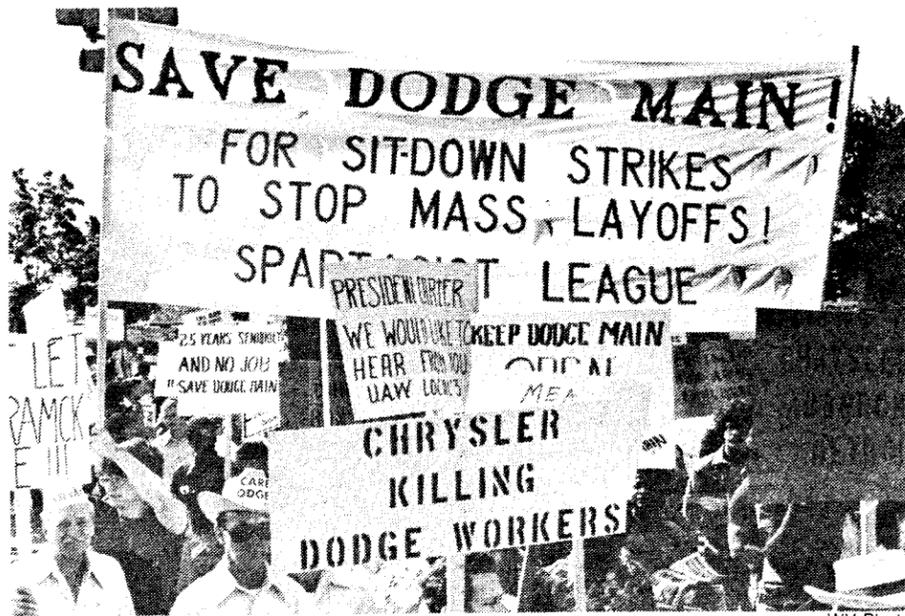
Solidarity House, despite its verbal protests, has signaled its willingness to accept a wage freeze of shorter duration or some other kind of additional pay cut. "Only if it's necessary to guarantee Chrysler's survival," says Fraser—knowing full well that the company already verges on bankruptcy. In addition, the UAW tops have pledged to give Chrysler \$400 million from union funds—one-third the total amount of the new settlement—in the form of loans or stock purchases! Such pro-company practices make Fraser a fitting member of the Chrysler board of directors. Hailed by social democrats as a great breakthrough for "industrial democracy," Fraser's elevation to Chrysler's management promises to be the shortest such reformist triumph on record.

## Seize the Chrysler Plants!

Now comfortably settled in the corporate boardroom in Highland Park, the last thing Doug Fraser intends to do is to lead a struggle against the

Chrysler bosses. The UAW leaders have accordingly come up with a new scapegoat: the Japanese. The union bureaucrats have already moved to initiate a reactionary, chauvinist campaign to limit foreign imports. Gearing up to pit American auto workers against their Japanese counterparts in a cut-

looted the company and left it a stinking corpse of inefficient, dilapidated plants. So if foreign imports have now surged to 25 percent of the American market and Chrysler's share is half of what it was a decade ago, that should not be surprising. It is not the Japanese who are to blame—it is the American bosses.



Auto workers' demonstration at Chrysler headquarters in July. Substandard contracts and social-democratic schemes won't save UAW jobs.

throat battle for a dwindling number of jobs, UAW vice president Irving Bluestone recently threatened: "If the Japanese don't move to correct the situation, it could lead to injudicious decisions on both sides" (*Business Week*, 5 November).

But the testimony of the American bourgeoisie itself gives the lie to such chauvinist demagoguery. Railing against Carter's bailout schemes, the big-business press has produced page after page of evidence documenting the incompetency of Chrysler's management, its refusal to upgrade domestic plants, stupid investments abroad, etc. The Chrysler bosses systematically

Labor support to economic protectionism ties the workers of different countries to their own ruling classes' drive for foreign markets and spheres of exploitation, a drive which ultimately produces imperialist wars. For international working-class solidarity against capitalist attacks!

Within the workers movement, only *Workers Vanguard* has consistently opposed bailout schemes and counterposed the need for militant class struggle. The UAW bureaucracy and the fake left, advocates of government bailouts and reformist nationalization gimmicks, falsely told Chrysler workers

to look to the capitalist state to save their jobs and livelihoods. But this is a looted and mismanaged company rather than a major industry shut down during a generalized economic crisis as in the 1930s. In the present situation, even full nationalization of Chrysler would simply lead to pay cuts, tax subsidies and import controls in order to make these hopelessly obsolete plants "profitable." The one thing that has come through crystal clear, particularly in the Senate hearings, is that any government rescue plan for the Chrysler bosses means mass layoffs and a virtual wage freeze for Chrysler workers.

But if Carter's bailout is no solution, that does not mean that Chrysler workers have to stand by passively while the company goes bankrupt and they are thrown on the scrapheap after years of sweat and toil on the assembly line. Chrysler chairman Iacocca and his colleagues, the bankers, the wealthy stock and bond holders won't be reduced to poverty if Chrysler goes broke. They'll just sell off the assets. After looting the company and trying to bleed the labor force, why should they get the proceeds? As we wrote last August:

"The only way workers can hope to salvage this situation of sunk companies is to seize them. Not piracy but mutiny.... If it broke then the workers ought to elect a board to liquidate Chrysler. But not a cent to the Wall Street stockholders of Chrysler! Let the stocks, bonds and bank debts go down the tubes. All the money from the sale of assets should go to the Chrysler workforce, including the foreign workers."

—"Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers," *WV* No. 238, 17 August

Chrysler workers: Occupy the plants! Seize the assets! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Fraser off the Chrysler board! Break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

# Chicago Transit...

(continued from page 12)

The city has mounted an open and vicious strikebreaking campaign against the ATU, complete with a temporary restraining order (issued in the middle of the night by a judge whose son is retained by the CTA), threatened fines of \$500,000 levied against the unions for each day of the strike, police intimidation of pickets, propaganda about "greedy and arrogant strikers," escort of token scab buses through the picket lines. At one point Monday night police feigned an assault on pickets at a CTA bus barn, in order to distract attention while six buses slipped out the back way and paraded briefly through the city under heavy escort. And a top priority of city officials, openly emphasized in the media, has been to "remove" the mass picket lines "so that drivers who wish to return to work may do so."

Contrary to this wishful thinking, transit workers are united against scabbing and determined to stand behind their union and win. Morale on the spontaneous and spirited mass picket lines is high, and when the temporary restraining order which "outlaws" the strike was read to the picketers, they laughed. These men and women know that the controversial cost-of-living formula—which has made Chicago transit workers the highest paid in the nation—is worth fighting for. Many on the lines compared this situation with the 1966 New York City transit strike, which immobilized the city and resulted in the jailing of the union president. The comparison is a good one, for Chicago transit workers face the same wage- and job-slashing future if they don't fight now.

Resentment against the mayor is

intense. These are the people who elected her to replace a discredited city administration last March, and she has repaid them with threats to initiate mass strikebreaking and bluster about "secret contingency plans" to keep the CTA running. (For a publicity stunt Byrne sent her daughter to train as a potential scab driver before the strike.) Resentment against the Chicago Police Department for its scabherding is also growing. These guardians of capitalist "law and order" are no part of the workers movement. Firemen and employees organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) must demand that their unions immediately end their bargaining coalition with the Confederation of Police.

Teamsters, including gasoline delivery drivers, and many craft workers such as members of the International Association of Machinists, are honoring the ATU lines. But in a fit of disgusting treachery the ATU International has refused to sanction the strike by the two locals (a development which was announced not by the union but by CTA Chairman Eugene Barnes! Barnes, ironically, is a former transit worker who was rewarded for selling out a wildcat strike of predominantly black workers in 1968.)

## Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

The leaderships of Locals 241 and 308 lack the class-struggle program necessary to win this fight. These timid business unionists have repeatedly tried to make a deal with Byrne, including on the key COLA provision. They have done nothing to organize picketing or defense of the lines, have winked their eyes at police scabherding, have permitted transit clerks and supervisors who belong to the union to return to work,

and have agreed to let management keep the trains and buses in running order. Transit workers need to elect strike committees that will organize militant, mass picket lines and take the contract negotiations out of the hands of the sellout union bureaucrats. In the face of the massive fines and other strikebreaking measures directed at the transit unions, the entire Chicago labor movement must be mobilized in mass demonstrations of support for the strikers.

At this juncture, when there exists the objective possibility of uniting all city labor to stop the mayor's attacks, transit workers need a leadership which will fight for a citywide strike on a class program of ending take-aways and layoffs, preserving the ATU cost-of-living formula and extending it to all city workers, winning a decent contract for all public employees, heading off severe cuts in areas such as transit and schools, and implementing free, quality mass transit for the riding public. Such a fight would necessarily mean breaking from illusions in the reigning Democratic Party, specifically the Richard Daley legacy with its myth of Chicago as "the city that works" through cooperation between Democratic Party politicians and labor.

It is not uncommon to hear striking

black transit workers lament that if Daley were alive things would be better, harking back to a quick settlement by "The Boss" of a 1974 two-hour transit walkout in a similar cost-of-living dispute. But Daley could afford to buy a little labor peace in a key sector, while banning union organizing for most of the workforce and imposing substandard wages on less powerful city employees. Byrne is presiding over the fragmentation of the Daley machine in a period of severe economic downturn. Byrne's opponents in the Democratic Party, including those like Michael Bilandic who initially inherited the bulk of the old Daley machine, stand united with the mayor in her union-busting offensive. Certainly none of these capitalist politicians have uttered a peep in defense of the CTA strikers.

The only real alternative for workers is to break with the Democratic Party and build their own party, a workers party, which would turn the attacks around and defeat the rich industrialists and profit-bloated bankers who now run the city for themselves. Victory to the transit strike! No victimization of any striker! Drop the union-busting fines! Extend COLA to all city workers! For a citywide strike to roll back service cuts and layoffs and to win union representation and contracts for all public employees! ■

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# Queen of Spies?...

(continued from page 5)

old cliché about the Grecian Urn: "Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that is all/Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." Anyhow, anybody who read Blunt's early works knew he was imbued with "Marxist" fancies, a fondness for socialist realism, etc.

## James Jesus Angleton Strikes Again?

A close examination of Boyle's book reveals a rather more sinister American hand in the affair. Where *did* Boyle get all his best stuff from? An examination of the last three chapters of his book reveals some 23 footnotes attributed to "confidential sources," overwhelmingly anonymous CIA informants. And prominent in the text is one James Jesus Angleton, *eminence grise* of the CIA's counter-intelligence operations until his forced retirement in 1974. It is reasonable to assume, given both Angleton's overwhelming fixation on Russian "moles" and well-known penchant for waging "covert wars" on "weakness" in imperialism's spy agencies, that he is behind the exposure of Blunt.

Angleton has been fond of claiming for years that he suspected Kim Philby all along, in fact had the goods on him. (If so, one wonders why it took some 12 years—from 1951 when Burgess-Maclean fled Washington until 1963 when Philby felt the net closing in on him in Beirut and fled—for the other shoe to drop.) But James Jesus Angleton, an orchid-growing Yale "establishment" sort who'd suspect his own grandmother of being a Russian spy, is nothing if not single-minded. After all, if you suspect *everybody* and watch them all closely enough, sooner or later you're bound to catch something. Of course, Angleton has his own, rather peculiar viewpoint—he's believed for years that the Sino-Soviet split is all a clever scheme cooked up by the KGB to fool Western governments (not to mention the Khrushchev-Tito split or the "détente" policies of the USSR).

So while Boyle's book is obviously the result of much painstaking research, much undoubtedly accurate, it nonetheless has a rather strange character. We don't doubt Blunt's Soviet activities—his own statements and behavior subsequent to the recent revelation confirm it. Two things in particular stand out: the purely gratuitous insinuation that Kim Philby's second wife Aileen was offed by the KGB (her anonymous "distinguished Harley Street physician" is paraphrased as saying it wasn't in her character to commit suicide) and all the name-dropping of prominent Soviet authorities and intelligence agents early in the book as possible "controls" for Philby, Blunt, et al.

While Boyle seems to have down pretty pat the internal wranglings between the British M15 and M16 intelligence agencies, he seems entirely unaware of the tensions within the Soviet apparatus: the difference between the GPU and the Soviet Army's Fourth Department, just for example. Without any evident justification, but simply for sensationalism, Boyle has dropped in the names of any and all prominent Soviet leaders—Maxim Litvinov, Karl Radek, et al.—in his early chapters, as possible tie-ins to the rather tertiary little circle of Cambridge radicals in the 1930s who came over to the Soviet Union. It seems that to this day they still don't know who *really* ran the British "moles."

## Why Did They Do It?

There was a rather flamboyant quality to some of the Cambridge spies, notably Guy Francis de Moncy Burgess, invariably referred to as "the dissolute Burgess." We can't resist retelling just one Burgess story. It seems that he was

warned by a friend before departing for Washington, D.C. to take it easy: "For God's sakes, Guy, remember that in America you must constantly bear in mind three big don'ts: They are Communism, homosexuality, and the color bar." Burgess reportedly replied, "What you are really trying to say is don't make a pass at Paul Robeson." (One wonders what Burgess' long-suffering Soviet "control" made of all this. Now there would be a really interesting memoir!) Bourgeois ideologues may try to

**James Jesus Angleton: Does this man really know what evil lurks in the hearts of men?**



dismiss Burgess, Maclean, maybe even poor old Blunt as simply neurotic homosexual cliquists—but the one that sticks in their craw is Kim Philby. He had everything, was cool, competent—the head of British operations against the Soviet Union, and a Russian spy! He got away with it all and is apparently living in comfortable semi-retirement in Russia at this moment. The genuine hysteria and anger over the Blunt affair being whipped up by the British press is striking. But the ringing appeals to patriotism have a forced quality: among all layers of the population there is real self-doubt as a nation. Britain is washed up as a world power and life in "Merrie Olde England" is increasingly cold and poor.

So why did so many of the British upper-class find their inspiration in

Soviet Russia in the 1930s? All the whining *apologias* about poor little rich boys born to rule an Empire and instead stuck with a crummy over-populated little island don't explain it. After all, significant sections of the working class, too, were won to what they saw as communism in Soviet Russia. Claud Cockburn caught a lot of the truth, refuting all the heated speculations about some sinister Soviet "mastermind" manipulating the schoolboys: "There was no need of one. The

circumstances at that time were quite enough to do the trick. The gilded popinjays were living on a small lush oasis in the middle of an economic desert and all but the oafs among them knew it."

—New York Times, 23 November

Despite all the press barrage painting the British agents as cynical monsters—the *Climate of Treason*, *Betrayer of a Generation* book titles—Philby and his circle were clearly motivated by a desire to serve what they believed to be world revolution. As we wrote in "Heroic Soviet Spies" (*WV* No. 166, 15 July 1977), "...even among those who joined the Soviet intelligence service of the 1930's, when Stalin's domination was solidly established, the spark of ideological commitment was not altogether absent." (For years part of the Philby circle, on the face of it Anthony Blunt

finally opted for betraying not his class origins but his comrades, and the cause for which they fought. If this is so, it is fitting that as a turncoat Blunt must end his days reviled by those who "turned" him, while Maclean and Philby are honored in Moscow.)

Although taking pleasure in the exploits and triumphs of the Philby group, Leninist-Trotskyist communists point out that these Soviet moles were unable to wage a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Espionage is one of the necessary defensive measures carried out by all states, and the information is only as good as the use it is put to. Stalin's bureaucratic regime—which usurped power by politically expropriating the Soviet workers and their Communist Party—threw away much of the vital information which its agents, at great risk, dug up and transmitted in the early days of World War II. Both Leopold Trepper's "Red Orchestra" network in Nazi-occupied Europe and Richard Sorge in Japan sent repeated warnings that Hitler was about to invade the USSR in 1941. Stalin ignored them because he actually believed in his illusions of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—in this case the Hitler-Stalin pact—thereby criminally undermining Soviet defense. (In addition he executed virtually the entire general staff of the Red Army in the last of the Moscow Purge trials.)

As Trepper's memoir, *The Great Game*, makes clear—and comments by Philby, too, in *My Silent War*—the Soviet agents were quite aware of Stalin's purges and deeply shaken by them. In fact, for some communists during the 1930s, posts abroad as Soviet intelligence agents were the only way they saw to avoid the murderous Stalinist repression while saving whatever shreds of personal honor they could. It was the Trotskyists alone, fighting for proletarian political revolution in the USSR and social revolution in the capitalist countries, who waged a consistent struggle to save the Soviet Union for socialism. But the years of courageous and nerve-wracking efforts by Philby, Trepper, Sorge and their comrades in attempting to defend the homeland of the October Revolution from counterrevolution deserve due recognition from the world working class. ■

## FSLN...

(continued from page 7)

studied "land reform" under Allende's regime), the lesson of Chile is that strikes and "ultraleftists" provoked Pinochet's bloody coup. The reality is completely different. An economy wracked by capitalist crisis and undermined by imperialist sabotage drove the petty bourgeoisie to the right because the Unidad Popular could offer no *revolutionary* measures to prevent their ruin. The workers, who struck and occupied factories in a fight to preserve their jobs and living conditions, were demoralized when "their" government set the cops and troops against them. Afraid to arm the masses, Allende relied completely on the "constitutionalist" officers to put down attempted coups and CIA-financed "destabilization." It was not rebellious workers and leftist militants but the misleaders who left them defenseless on 11 September 1973 who are to blame for the Chilean catastrophe.

If there remained any doubt about the FSLN's attitude toward Trotskyists after Wheelock's speech, Victor Tirado cleared them up at a press conference the following day. When a *WV* reporter asked Tirado, an FSLN leader since 1962, "how you justify jailing militants and leftists who are trying to extend the revolution in Nicaragua?" the *comandante* responded: "First of all, they aren't leftists... it is a Trotskyite current.

We believe that the Trotskyite current has been eliminated historically..." Socialist Workers Party spokesmen Gus Horowitz and Fred Murphy sat meekly through this tirade, asking only if Nicaragua needed more food aid and could Tirado please describe the FSLN's social welfare programs.

The repression of the left contrasts sharply to the leniency shown by the FSLN toward the criminals of Somoza's National Guard. In order to impress the U.S. with their "moderation," the Sandinistas released hundreds of Guardsmen and only recently have trials been announced for the worst offenders. One mother, whose three sons had been murdered by a freed Somoza mercenary, tearfully appealed, "What sort of justice is this? Justice for them, not for us" (quoted in *New York Times Magazine*, 2 December). And while the

workers are being told to tighten their belts, Somoza's imperialist creditors are being paid back with interest. As negotiations with American bankers opened in Mexico City, one Wall Street analyst noted a "good sign": "The Nicaraguans are honoring their past debts, which means that they're not opting out of the Western economy" (*New York Times*, 15 December).

The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is today forced to bide its time and recoup forces. Far from seeking to break the strength of the class enemy of the oppressed, the petty-bourgeois FSLN tops, under the slogan of "national reconstruction," are disarming the masses, jailing leftists and reconstituting a bourgeois army. What is needed above all today is a Trotskyist party fighting for the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants for socialist revolution. ■

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# Iran Ripping Apart...

(continued from page 1)

Pahlavi's stolen billions—agreed to shelter the king without a country. Not only did this remove the original justification for the embassy seizure, i.e., the ex-shah's presence in the U.S., but it had the additional advantage of putting Pahlavi in a "progressive," "Third World" country instead of such previously mentioned alternatives as Sadat's Egypt and apartheid South Africa. Moreover, right-wing critics of Carter's Panama Canal treaty may now be convinced that General Torrijos, despite being buddy-buddy with Castro, is a reliable friend of U.S. imperialism.

While Carter worries about the Soviets and Teddy Kennedy, Khomeini worries about staying afloat. It may well be a life-and-death question for his regime. If he cannot forge a stable government and effective army now, under the threat of foreign invasion and with the nationalist frenzy whipped up in the anti-shah, anti-Carter crusade, he may never be able to.

## Turmoil in Tabriz

The most dramatic demonstration of just how unstable Khomeini's Islamic Republic is, came with the recent upheaval in Azerbaijan. Triggered when pro-Khomeini thugs attacked the Teheran residence of Azerbaijani ayatollah Shariatmadari, protest demonstrations in Teheran and the Azerbaijani capital of Tabriz turned into street fights between pro-Khomeini thugs and the Azerbaijani masses who follow Shariatmadari. Khomeini declared a holy war on the rebels but the air force in Teheran refused to intervene. Units of the regular army, air force and *pasdaran* (Islamic guards) in Tabriz all openly defied Khomeini to side with the rival ayatollah. Eight hundred pro-Shariatmadari officers were reportedly sacked from the army command at Khomeini's orders.

The insurgency climaxed on December 9 in Tabriz. 10,000 Khomeini supporters marched on the state radio station which had been occupied by Shariatmadari loyalists and retook the building. When the news hit town a crowd numbering in the tens of thousands converged on the radio station. Khomeini's "revolutionary guards" fired on the unarmed crowd and five persons were killed and dozens wounded. Into the chaos stepped the local army units, who took control of the station and declared loyalty to Shariatmadari, who welcomed their action.

The fighting on both sides has been waged under reactionary clerical leadership. But Marxists are by no means

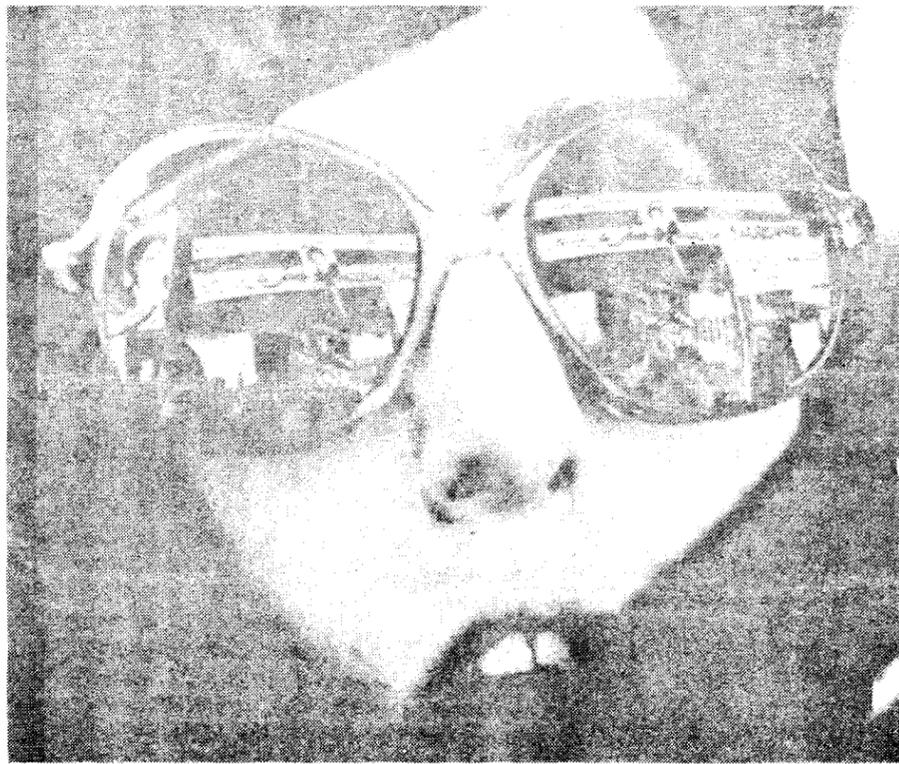
neutral in this confrontation between oppressed Azerbaijanis fighting for national autonomy and Persian chauvinists fighting to impose Khomeini's dictatorial rule. When Khomeini staged a referendum on December 2 on a Persian-chauvinist theocratic constitution making himself *faghi* (dictator) for life, 80 percent of the voters in Azerbaijan boycotted the polls to protest the constitution's lack of provisions guaranteeing Azerbaijani self-rule, language and cultural rights. In the absence of working-class opposition to all forms of clerical reaction, the Azerbaijani masses look to "their" ayatollah, Shariatmadari, to defend their national rights.

But the rivalry between the two ayatollahs reflects more than just the Azerbaijani national question. Shariatmadari has long been regarded as the moderate, pragmatic pole in the Shi'ite hierarchy. Unlike Khomeini, he stayed in Iran under the shah and was widely touted as the man who might bring about a rapprochement between the Pahlavi autocracy and the Islamic opposition. He is still seen as a possible rallying point for the remnants of the shah's old bureaucracy and the less dogmatic, more pro-Western supporters of an Islamic Republic.

Despite the Azerbaijani masses' illusion in the reactionary theocrat Shariatmadari, the fighting in Tabriz pitted an oppressed national minority against the forces of Persian-chauvinist centralism. We stand for the right of national self-determination for the Azerbaijanis (as well as the Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, etc.) and would give military support to a national insurgency against Khomeini's forces. Disarm pro-Khomeini army units and the *pasdaran* thugs! For militias based on the independent mobilization of the working class and its allies!

The mullah-loving fake-left Khomeinists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and their Iranian affiliate of the same name (HKS) have not unexpectedly backed Khomeini's attempt to suppress the fractious Azerbaijani nationalists. For the past year the SWP and HKS have been tailing Khomeini, claiming that his "Islamic revolution" was progressive despite the mullah regime's attempts to put women in veils, massacre Kurdish rebels, impose brutal Koranic "justice" and jail leftists, including 14 members of the HKS. When Khomeini supporters seized the embassy, the SWP and HKS fell to their knees to hail the "anti-imperialist" struggle. So it's no big surprise that the SWP's *Militant* comes out for the suppression of the Azerbaijanis.

Echoing Khomeini's calls to obey "your religious duty and national responsibility to concentrate on the confrontation with the U.S.," the 21 December *Militant* urged the Azerbaijanis to "avoid violence" and unite behind



Reflection of Khomeinlite U.S. embassy occupation in Teheran.

Khomeini's "anti-imperialist struggle." The *Militant's* version of the radio station battle simply lies by omission, recording the Khomeinists' mobilization for "unity against imperialism" and leaving unmentioned the Azerbaijani nationalist "countermobilization" which was met by machine gun fire from the "anti-imperialist" Khomeini supporters. The local Iranian army and even the Tabriz *pasdaran* wouldn't back Khomeini's *jihad* against the rebels. The SWP and HKS, however, hail the thugs who'll kill a Kurd for Khomeini or axe an Azerbaijani for Allah.

## For a Trotskyist Party!

With anarchy engulfing Iranian society, Khomeini used the embassy takeover to once again rally national unity against the hated shah and his American backers. The tailist left, like the SWP, runs with Khomeini in calling for a strong state in the name of "anti-imperialism." But the consolidation of an Islamic theocracy will require more than endless denunciations of the "corrupter Pahlavis" and "satanic America."

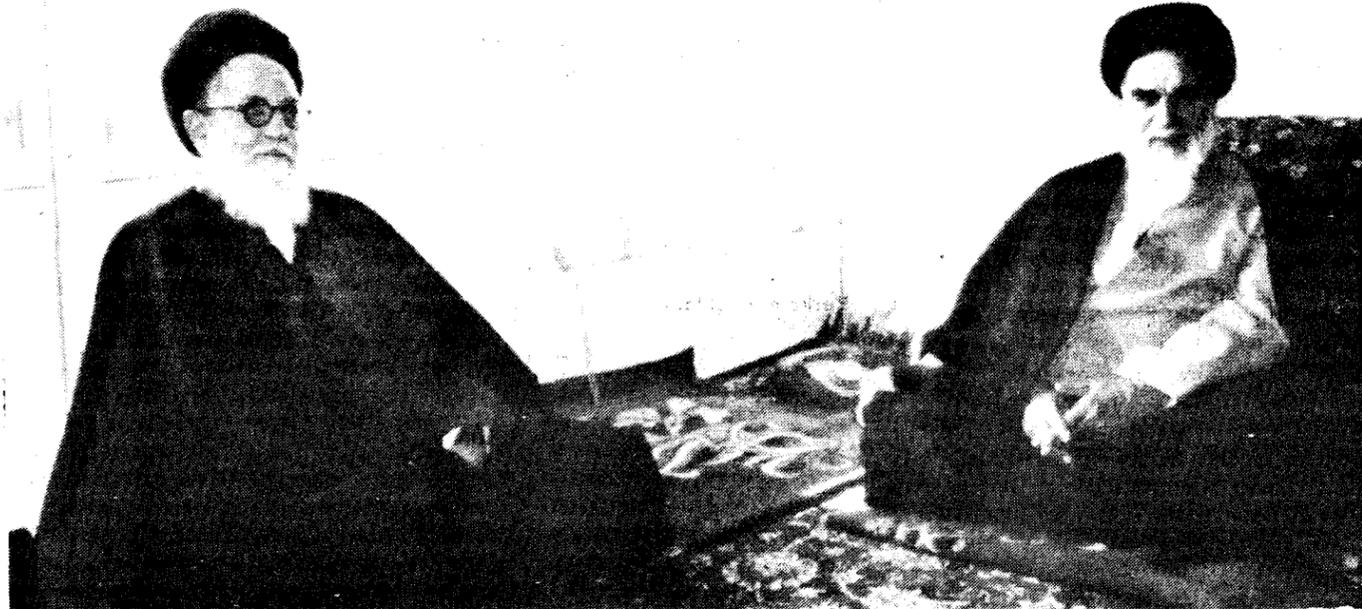
The ayatollahs' program of returning Iran to the seventh-century puritanical desert "paradise" of the Koran is not just reactionary; it is *utopian*. To buy arms to suppress the national minorities, to finance the Palestinians, to spread his "revolution" throughout the Islamic world, Khomeini needs money from oil exports. And the oil industry requires skilled proletarians and technologically sophisticated administrators. In short, if Khomeini wants to be a power in the real world he must base his rule in part

on a modern industrial economy. But this rests upon social classes who are opposed to medieval religious obscurantism.

Khomeini cannot consolidate state power on the social basis of the pre-capitalist bazaari merchants, money-lenders and mullahs. The vestiges of feudal backwardness and barbarism, the millions of immiserated petty craftsmen and dispossessed peasants, the women in chadors and young men flagellating themselves with chains—these are the social base of Khomeini and Shariatmadari, of all the mullahs. That these Islamic institutions—which chain the craftsman to the guild, the peasant to his landlord—could continue to exist in the late 20th century is the real indictment of the shah's purported modernization and the legacy of imperialism.

Imperialist domination has meant the subjugation of the enslaved nations of the East in conditions of economic and social backwardness, while only certain sectors of the economy (of use to the imperialists) are allowed to develop. Peasants plow their fields next to the most advanced petroleum refineries, modern textile mills rise beside the bazaars. The social power of the Iranian proletariat was demonstrated in the monumental strike wave that shook the country during 1977-78, laying the basis for the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty. But this proletariat has been betrayed by the Stalinist Tudeh and beheaded many times over by the shah's notorious secret police, the SAVAK, leaving the mullahs to attempt to consolidate their own dictatorship which has proven to be every bit as reactionary as the shah's.

In the epoch of imperialist decay, only the proletariat has the social power and class interests to rally behind it the



Feuding ayatollahs Shariatmadari (left) and Khomeini.

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

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atomized and deeply oppressed toiling masses of the countryside and workshops, throwing off the twin yoke of imperialist domination and feudal backwardness through the establishment of its own state power. After the Bolsheviks took power in Russia they saw Azerbaijan, with its strategically important Baku oil workers, as the bridge to revolution in Persia, and Persia as the bridge to the East. Today it is under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, section of a reformed Fourth International, that the Iranian workers will cross that bridge. ■

## Khomeini...

(continued from page 3)

imperialist plot. Presumably, leftists are supposed to pretend, like the SWP's *Militant* ("Workers say NO! to U.S. war moves"), that there's a vast outpouring of pro-Iranian sentiment in U.S. factories and campuses—a pure fantasy. If we say that every sector of the American population recoils from the mullahs' program of religious reaction, then we must have joined the imperialist conspiracy to give the "imam" a "bad press." Frankel quotes *WV*:

"The Teheran Embassy is denounced not merely as a 'nest of spies,' which it certainly is, but also as a den of corruption. Purging 'corruption' in Khomeini's Iran includes banning popular music, movies, alcohol, mixed bathing, extra-marital sex, homosexuals and most other aspects of 'decadent' Judeo-Christian Western culture."

Then *IP* draws its own conclusion: "If that doesn't warrant sending the aircraft carriers, what does?"

This is the standard liberal/Stalinist response. The syllogism is simple: if these observations about the mullah-led revolution are true, then it would "warrant sending the aircraft carriers." Behind all the rhetoric about "progressive nationalism" and "progressive Islam" is the old missionary axiom: Just like a YWCA secretary, the SWP believes that if backward countries don't have a decent liberal society, then "we" have the moral duty to go in there and clear them out. The SWP is "anti-war," you see, and therefore it cannot be true that Khomeini's Iran "bans popular music, movies, alcohol, mixed bathing," etc. Nor do they jail leftists, stone unveiled women, or send the shah's army against the Kurds, Arabs, Turkomans or Azerbaijanis. The HKS prisoners are simply imagining that they are in jail.

### The SWP's Liberal Burden

In the heyday of 19th century British imperialism, the ideology of moral responsibility of the "White Man's Burden" was openly professed. The aging Colonel Blimps sipped their sundowners and contemplated their "civilizing" mission among the "wogs," "kaffirs" and "fuzzie wuzzies." But the liberals accepted the same framework. Their later political support to various

nationalists was, in fact, a form of imperialist patronizing, a version of international "benign neglect" behind an ideology of philistine cultural relativism.

George Orwell told the truth. Drawing on his own experience as a colonial policeman, his novel *Burmese Days* bitingly exposed the true horror of colonialism: the desperate mutual contempt in which both masters and their former servants played out their cynical games. But this understanding of the seamy side of "independence" (shared by V.S. Naipaul) did not lead Orwell to support the imperialists. On the contrary, he knew that the continued presence of the "Great White Fathers" could only impede the necessary fighting out of the fundamental battles. By the way, does the SWP today like "post-independence" Burma under its deeply corrupt generals? Why do they think tens of thousands of ethnic Muslims have been driven out of Burma into starving Bangladesh (or is that just another figment of imperialist imagination)?

It is from this twisted modern version of "White Man's Burden" that the SWP draws a sort of white, Protestant imperialist morality play with a cast of the world's peoples neatly divided between good and evil. The devil peoples who have no virtues struggle against the angel peoples who have no vices. The "white man's burden" becomes "white man's guilt." This is the same imperialist ideology that leads to "make the world safe for democracy," the "alliance for progress" and...the Vietnam war. The SWP shares these values. In order to oppose the conclusions, the SWP has to deny the facts. Thus the "antiwar" movement they built in the late '60s, and which they would like to repeat today, was fundamentally liberal in content. As Marxists, we resolutely, politically and militarily oppose imperialism on the basis of proletarian class interest. Therefore we do not have to lie about the unpleasant facts of life in Khomeini's Iran.

### A Dangerous Pack of Lies

The SWP and the rest of the left which has adopted the method of the liberal lie has done no favor to the cause of the oppressed. In every case, the SWP follows the lead of those members of any oppressed group expressing bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideology: feminism, black nationalism, etc. The SWP seeks not to combat the oppression suffered by members of this group, but rather to accommodate their present misleaders.

In Iran, this opportunism leads them to actually support the wearing of the veil. Witness an item in the 14 December *Militant* "Women in Revolt" column:

"Women are freer than ever before in Iran. The participation of millions of women in overthrowing the shah has changed their consciousness and given them tremendous self confidence. They will never return to the degrading position they held under the shah's rule....

"Some women who never wore the veil are now doing so as a symbol of national liberation. Some wear it in opposition to western dress styles that turn women into sex objects. Some have chosen not to wear it."

In contrast, the SL raises a communist program for the liberation of women through proletarian revolution, and through the pages of our journal *Women and Revolution* we launched a campaign against Khomeini's imposition of the veil.

Like the liberals and Stalinists whose worldview it shares, the SWP has to deny that oppression oppresses. For them, there is only discrimination, to be fought with democratic reforms, and racism, which they define as bad ideas. There is no internalization of oppression: everyone is the same. The plight of racial minorities in the U.S. is summed up in the situation of a black brain surgeon who can't buy a house in the white suburbs. But what about the ghetto youth, imprisoned by illiteracy

## Drive KKK-Hooded Foremen Out of Ford

DETROIT—Auto workers here are continuing their fight to drive out of the industry two foremen who paraded up and down the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) at Ford River Rouge wearing Ku Klux Klan hoods. Following a vigorous and successful campaign, members of Local 600 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) succeeded in ousting the foremen, Tim McKulen and Fred Beinke, from the Rouge. But even though 1,000 members of the Local signed petitions demanding the firing of these racists, the union agreed to let the company transfer them to two suburban Detroit plants, Wixom and Wayne Assembly. Now at Wixom angry workers reportedly made it so hot for McKulen that Ford had to put him in a management position off the assembly line. Subsequently some 800 workers at the plant signed petitions demanding that McKulen be fired.

The UAW bureaucracy has acted as a roadblock in this struggle. The Vawters/Ross leadership of the DAP

has done nothing to implement the unit's November 2 motion demanding that McKulen and Beinke be fired, and at a subsequent membership meeting it even denied that such a resolution had been passed! At Wixom the Local 36 leaders have similarly sat on their hands. However, auto workers have the power to win this fight. As a December 13 leaflet signed by some 20 union militants at the Rouge underscored:

"We knew that the silence of the union and black leaders after the Greensboro massacre was an invitation to further Klan terror. Five hundred of us demonstrated in Kennedy Square over the opposition of Coleman Young and Local 600 leaders. We broke this silence. We must link arms with the brothers and sisters at Wixom in the fight to force Ford to fire McKulen and Beinke. It was our power that ran McKulen and Beinke out of Rouge and forced Coleman Young to back down on his threat to arrest anti-Klan demonstrators in Detroit. Every unit in the Rouge must add its voice to the demands: STOP KLAN TERROR! FIRE MCKULEN AND BEINKE!"

and forced into a life of lumpen crime? By the reformists' lights, if you even mention the fact of lumpen crime you are a racist. The subject is taboo. And since everyone—black workers, white petty bourgeoisie, you name it—has to face this subject in daily life, they leave the field open to the racists.

In a recent Spartacist League forum on Iran in New York City, SL spokesman Reuben Samuels gave the Marxist answer to the reformists who lie for Khomeini:

"The reason we have to emphasize the truth is to counter the chauvinists. People who lie about what's happening in Iran pretend there's no self-flagellation, when millions of people see it [on TV]. We are told that if you believe what you see, you're a racist. I believe those people beating themselves are beating themselves. They're not *not* beating themselves. And I do not believe the liberals who claim that oppression has not resulted in such practices as suttee, as self-flagellation, as the surgical violation of women in puberty rites.

"Yes, I think that if you're honest and speak the truth that you undercut the chauvinists. You state the facts of the world as they are, and then go on and say how these practices have endured into the 20th century. You see, they have endured because the organic development of the economy, which took place in western Europe in the 16th through the 19th century, was not permitted to take place in these countries, due to their subjugation to colonialism and imperialism. And therefore the social foundations of these barbaric practices at bottom are the responsibility of the imperialist world order." ■

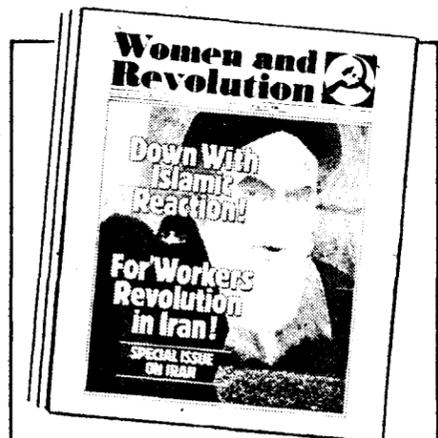
## Lambertists...

(continued from page 6)

Kremlin). Indeed, coming from the Lambertists—who shared the CIA line on Portugal, Angola and eastern European "dissidents" and who call for the capitalist reunification of Germany—we can only take this as a compliment. But it is an atrocity that leftists in the LCI who broke from the USec because they did not want to endorse and even instigate bourgeois repression against the left in Nicaragua are now accepting as their mentors the Stalinophobic OCI which hailed the anti-Communist mobilizations in Portugal.

Confronted with a choice between the rightward-moving centrist USec and the social-democratic OCI, subjectively revolutionary militants must choose neither. They must demand the full political discussion that was denied them when they were stampeded into a split. They must ask why Barnes and Mandel, Lambert and Moreno were united in supporting the Persian-chauvinist, clerical-reactionary mullahs who are now brutally oppressing women, national minorities and leftists in Iran. They must condemn the gangsterist attacks on the militants of the LTF. They must investigate the principled history and Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Call Out All City Workers!

# Victory to Chicago Transit Strike!

CHICAGO, December 18—"The city that works" stopped working this week, when with a powerful display of labor militancy public transit workers defied a strikebreaking court order and walked off the job to defend their cost-of-living protection. In zero-degree weather, the strike by 11,000 members of Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308 (representing bus drivers and rail rapid-transit workers, respectively) completely shut down the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) system, stranding one million commuters with no way to get to work and socking a multi-million-dollar Christmas shopping loss to downtown stores.

The shutdown intersected a critical gasoline shortage caused by a strike of Teamster-organized fuel truck drivers against several major oil companies. As hundreds of thousands of regular CTA riders took to private cars and further drained fuel supplies a total transportation breakdown in America's second metropolis was posed. Meanwhile, Chicago firemen voted over the weekend to strike for a contract if necessary, and the School Board announced that it is so deeply in debt that it may not be able to pay schoolteachers or reopen the public schools after Christmas vacation.

Chicago is entering a real crisis, and Mayor Jane Byrne has decided that it's unionized city workers who will take it



Defying zero-degree weather, striking transit workers shut down Chicago.

WV Photo

in the gut. The city is determined to axe the full cost-of-living formula included in transit contracts for the last two decades, which has kept transit workers even with inflation through quarterly increases (amounting to almost \$1.25 per hour last year). This elementary measure of protection against raging inflation, which should be shared by all

workers, is now "too expensive." The CTA further provoked a transit strike with a plan to hire part-time workers, who will be denied union fringe benefits and seniority rights—i.e., to create a pool of second-class, lower-paid transit employees whom the city can push around at will.

As for the firemen, Byrne has balked

at even signing a contract with the Chicago Firefighters' Union (although she promised such a contract during her mayoral campaign), insisting that the union await a study by her "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining" for public employees. This "Mayor's Committee," which includes sellout trade-union leaders like Chicago Federation of Labor head William Lee (and at one time fake-"progressive" Alice Peurala of Steelworkers Local 65), is designed to prevent militant unionization of city workers while the mayor continues the budget-slashing and layoffs which have victimized hundreds this year. And the livelihood of school employees is under heavy attack, as a debt-ridden school board insists on making interest payments to the big banks before issuing pay checks to teachers or operating the schools.

### Defend the Picket Line!

Now is the time for city workers to unite against a concerted assault on their wages, conditions and job security. The powerful Amalgamated Transit Union can lead the city labor movement in *joint strike action* to smash Byrne's wage- and job-slashing, to win contracts and union representation for all public employees and to stop intended cut-backs in public services.

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# Chrysler Bailout Bleeds Workers

In the old days before unions, when a company lost money it turned to the workers and told them: take a wage cut or you're out on the street. Eliminating this cutthroat practice was one of the main goals of the great CIO organizing drive in the 1930s. Equal pay for equal work, regardless of the profits or losses of a particular capitalist employer, was and is a basic principle of industrial unionism. But now with Chrysler facing bankruptcy, the Fraser bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers (UAW) has brought back the "pay cut or walk" era. In fact, the situation is even worse. More than half the Chrysler workforce has been laid off, while the rest labor for superexploitative wages.

When Chrysler first appealed for federal aid to stave off bankruptcy last August, we warned: "Whatever scheme is cooked up to revive Chrysler, it is certain that auto workers will be its victims, not its beneficiaries" ("Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers!" WV No. 238, 17 August). And sure enough, to buy a government bailout UAW's Solidarity House has abandoned the 40-year tradition of Big 3 wage parity on which the union was built. Under the new contract Chrysler

workers get \$4,000 per man or 25 percent less in wages and benefits than union members in GM and Ford. This actually understates the difference. The Chrysler contract is heavily back-loaded. Almost all the increases are scheduled for the second and third years (assuming the company survives till then). With inflation in the 10-15 percent range, this means that the dollars Chrysler workers are supposed to get later will be worth a lot less than the money GM and Ford workers get this year.

### Ruling Class Demands Total Wage Freeze

But the ruling class doesn't just want a sweetheart contract; it is determined to make Chrysler workers bleed to the last drop. The first denunciation of the settlement came from within the Carter administration itself. Alfred Kahn, head of the president's Council on Wage and Price Stability, bitterly claimed that the "contract does not remotely approach the kind of sacrifice that I think has to be demonstrated as a condition for being bailed out." And the big-business press has been single-minded in denouncing



Headed for the scrap heap. Chrysler's intended shutdown of the Dodge Main plant will cost 5,000 auto workers their jobs.

UPI

Carter for being soft on Chrysler and the UAW. The *New York Times* (26 November) ran a particularly vicious anti-labor editorial, "Guaranteeing Chrysler's Fat Paychecks," which stated, "We're with Mr. Kahn," and went on:

"If Chrysler's union were to accept a wage freeze—hardly an unprecedented concession to a failing employer—the company would save \$1.3 billion.... Such a freeze in a time of high inflation would not be easy on Chrysler's employees but they would still earn as much as most industrial workers....

"Before Congress cedes a dime to Chrysler, it has an obligation to ask for a real commitment from the primary beneficiaries, Chrysler's workers."

If there's one thing Wall Street understands, it's profits and losses. And the verdict on Chrysler is that it is a loser. While it may be the country's tenth largest industrial corporation, Chrysler's sales have dwindled to under 10 percent of the auto market, and it is not considered vital to the economy. For the bourgeoisie, letting the com-

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