Mullahs' Left-Wing Apostles Paved the Way for Islamic Reaction

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

The verdict of history is often merciless and swift. Only months ago virtually the entire left hailed Khomeini's overthrow of the butcher shah—"Victory in Iran!" said the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in a headline emblazoned on their front page. But now these fake-lefts are desperately trying to change their tune after working feverishly to disguise the reactionary character of Khomeini's Islamic regime. It just won't wash! You asked for Khomeini and you've got him—you now live with the consequences of your betrayal. The truth is only the international Spartacist tendency (UST) warned from the very beginning that the mullahs' victory meant a government just as reactionary as the shah's.

Every day since the fall of the Peacock Throne events in Iran have confirmed that the spoils of Khomeini's triumph are the savage repression of minorities, the reaction of strikers, homosexuals, adulterers and others accused of "crimes against god"; the stoning of unveiled women, the suppression of all opposition parties and press. The slaughter of hundreds of Kurds in northwestern Iran is just the most recent repressive measure of this Shi'ite theocracy in consolidating its victory.

On August 14 Khomeini delivered his "last warning" to the parties of the Iranian left. One week earlier 50,000 people took to the streets in Tehran in opposition to Khomeini's new press law which mandates prison sentences for "insulting" Khomeini, his clergy or the Islamic Republic. The anti-government demonstration on August 14th was dispersed by the garrison troops of President Mohammad Reza. The next day 200,000 fanatics turned out in a "self-defense" march at the foot of the mountains near the capital, and at least 600 Kurds have been massacred in recent fighting. Khomeini has been branded as a "godless" butcher by the left and the right.

The fake left put its party headquarters in Qom, could only express anger that the sacking of leftist offices hadn't been done last February. "Had we acted in a revolutionary manner, had we broken all the pens, had we shut down all those corrupt parties, had we set the scaffold in the main square of each city, we would not have so much trouble today!"

The biggest mobilization of Khomeini's reactionary repression has been directed against the Kurdish national minority. Balkanized between the various Kurdish groups in the Ottoman Empire at Versailles, the Kurds have every right to form a state of their own. But the mullahs have spared no effort in order to maintain Iran as a prison house of oppressed nations: under the dictatorship of the Shi'ite clergy the persecution of the Kurds has been even more savage than under the shah.

To crush the Kurdish struggle for autonomy from the Persian chauvinist regime in Teheran, Khomeini ordered his "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" (Pasdars) and the ex-shah's regular army and air force to launch a full-scale reign of terror in Iranian Kurdistan. Last March over 400 Kurds were slaughtered in Sanandaj, the provincial capital, and at least 600 Kurds have been massacred in recent fighting. Khomeini has continued to maintain, Khomeini is interested in buying more practical items. Fancy fighter bombers may be flashy, but machine guns are much more effective when crashing strikes and demonstrations. Additionally, Khomeini has funneled these weapons into Afghanistan where he has linked arms with the CIA in seeking to overthrow the pro-Moscow, nationalist regime of Nur Muhammad Taraki.

U.S. imperialism is as much for the "godless Communism." What passes these days for defenders of "Western democracy" are the scarily 9th-century barbarians of the Afghani countryside who torture and mutilate Soviet civil­l­ians before killing them, by skinning them alive! The Afghan feudalists recently murdered a Canadian, a Swiss and two West German families—children and all—because they thought they were Russians. Khomeini, Pakistan's General Zia and the Afghani mullahs—these are the people who gain the blessings and arms of the U.S.

So much for the "anti-imperialism" of the Khomeini regime. Today its true face is starkly revealed as it relies increasingly on the shah's army and the Pasdars. It was these same forces that make up the Pasdars who were mobilized with CIA money in 1953 by Ayatollah Kashan to take to the streets to bring down the bourgeoisie-nationalist Mossadeq. On that occasion the mullahs sided with imperialism to reinstate Shah Reza Pahlavi. Now, Khomeini has become a "new shah"—with the complicity of the fake lefts who cheered him on.

U.S. covers up, but the emperor has no clothes

The egregiously misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (UST) to which both the American SWP and Iranian HKS (Socialist Workers Party) are "fraternally" related, disguised and obscured at every stage the reactionary character of Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalist regime. Today the HKS is experiencing the consequences of the "victory" it cheered only six months ago as it, along with other left and secular groups, has had its offices sacked and closed, its press suspended, its members beaten, jailed and threatened with execution. Only now that it has finally dawned on these invertebrate totalitarian, blinded by their own opportunism, that they may actually have to pay for their treachery has the UST belatedly sprung to life and begun screaming from the pages of their newspapers, "Stop the Execution of Socialists in Iran!"

In time-honored reformist fashion they are trying to cover their tracks by playing up the threat hanging over the arrested HKSers. The Stalinists used the sameploy in the period after the 1973 continued on page 10
Imperialist Furor Over “Boat People”

Four and a half years after North Vietnamese and NLF forces defeated U.S. imperialism and smashed capitalist rule in Indochina, former antivar “doves” have once again taken out fog horns to blare their guttural warnings. But this time it is not the brutal American devastation of Indochina that has caused the attention of Joan Baez & Co. The U.S. Today the cry is “save the boat people.”

Certainly there is a point. By the tens of thousands they are heading out of Vietnam in leaky dinghies and trawlers often only to be drowned when the overcrowded boats capsize. But the outpouring of “humanitarian concern” by the imperialists, the media and their assorted liberal hangers-on reeks with hypocrisy. The U.S. is no more concerned with the true fate of the boat people than are the ASEAN “front line” states who threaten to push them back to the Stone Age. U.S. by the imperialists, the media and their people than are the ASEAN large merchant/trading community. The former businessmen who were expatriated last year and those petty-bourgeois elements whose livelihoods depended on the military machine have felt an acute drop in their standard of living. Depressed of the opportunity to accrete their painful capital under the centralized, planned economy of Vietnam, many got to shabby fishing boats to take them to the urban slums of “freedom.”

Furthermore, thousands of urban dwellers, ethnic Vietnamese as well as Hoa, are being ordered to do heavy labor in the agricultural zones. Years of imperialist terror forcing forced thousands to the cities and crippled Vietnamese agriculture making such measures economically necessary. Rather than coping with the hardships objectively imposed by life, the boat people have chosen to flee the country. Significantly they are not going to China, with its collectivized economy, but to the capitalist countries of Southeast Asia.

A genuinely communist government in Vietnam would want to retain the relatively well-educated and skilled Chinese minority and use their talents. Moreover, the integration of the Hoa into the Vietnamese national and economic commonwealth, and the amelioration of the ethnic minorities, is the fundamental source of the Vietnamese national unity. While there are undoubtedly many of a Nation.

While there are undoubtedly many particularly odious types among the refugees, the change of heart was almost immediately got out early. That the boat people flourished in the South China Sea under the protection of the Vietnamese imperialists. While right-wing thugs outfit like the Vietnamese Association of Australia and its local chapters and networks may recruit new members, we recognize that opposition to admission of boat people has come from the likes of the fascist British National Front and the American Fascist Party. However, the fascist and racist chantor about the “yellow peril.”

Who are the Boat People?

It is obvious that there is a strong ethnic component to the exodus from Vietnam as most of the refugees are of Chinese (Hoa) background. The Chinese in Vietnam were not uniformly distributed throughout all ethnic groups. Largely concentrated in the South, particularly in the huge city of Cholon outside Saigon, the Hoa represent the overwhelming majority of Vietnam’s large merchant/trading community. The former businessmen who were expatriated last year and those petty-bourgeois elements whose livelihoods depended on the military machine have felt an acute drop in their standard of living. Depressed of the opportunity to accrete their painful capital under the centralized, planned economy of Vietnam, many got to shabby fishing boats to take them to the urban slums of “freedom.”

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The Class-Struggle Road to Chicano Liberation

L.A. 3

SEPTEMBER 1979

In the wake of nationwide cutbacks in education Chicano students face increasingly difficult conditions at colleges throughout the country. Minority admissions have been drastically cut and financial aid contracts, which typically involved living costs, have been rescinded. This situation, along with the inadequate training received at impoverished barrio high schools, drives many Chicano youth out of college before they can complete a degree. And there is no job for many once out of school.

These cutbacks are not isolated but are part of the attacks on the living standards of the entire working class. While the variety of depression and austerity deals its heaviest blows on blacks and Latinos it is also aimed at curbing the aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie, the trade unions—because these organizations, though they are today misled by the degenerate petty-bourgeois leadership, nevertheless represent the potential instruments for decisive struggle against capital austerity and oppression.

Carter and the capitalist class who are responsible for this decaying economic system can be defeated. But what is needed is a class-struggle program against capitalism. The Chicano Youth League (SYL), a revolutionary socialist organization and youth section of the Spartacist League (SL), has such a program—a program which not only addresses the immediate and real needs of Chicanos and other oppressed minorities, but also provides a strategy for overthrowing the capitalist system which perpetuates racial and national oppression.

Fight for Open Admissions!

Like many other leftist and minority student organizations, the SYL actively campaigned against the racist Bakke decision. And today we defend special admissions programs against administration attacks. However, only the SYL actively sought to turn the fight against the Bakke decision into a struggle which demanded more than a return to the token quotas of these special admissions programs. As communists we reject the racist status quo. We fight for open admissions (i.e., free university education with no restrictive entrance requirements) along with a full state-subsidized living stipend. Only through open admissions will the race and class bias of the universities be broken down.

While the SYL defends minority quotas in student admissions against administration attack, we oppose government Affirmative Action schemes in hiring which undermine the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state. When the government seeks to intervene in union affairs it does so on the side of the bosses, attempting to gut union seniority systems, ripping up union-negotiated contracts and further dividing workers along traditional sex and ethnic lines. Weakening the unions leaves all sectors of the working class defenseless against the capitalist state.

Huelga Si, Migra No! Victory to UFW Strike at Chavela.

The UFW went on strike to demand that the UFVW strike be allowed.

SYL defends UFVW strike, condemns Chavez's support to "La migra." MECHA is silent on deportation.

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You Cheered for Khomeini, But You’re Not Cheering Now

Ernest Mandel: We Challenge You to a Debate

A special sociology lecture series at Boston University this summer became a wide-ranging debate between the revolutionary Marxism of the Spartacist tendency and the revisionist views of the Trotskyist “United Secretariat” (USec). Ernest Mandel (see “SYL Corners Professor Mandel” and “Mandel Unveiled” in Workers Vanguard No. 237, 3 August). The sharpest confrontation centered on Iran and our comrades repeatedly nailed the professor for the USec’s support to Khomeini as a supposed “progressive” alternative to the bloody shah. In the class Mandel simply waved aside opposition to Khomeini’s rule as he alibied Islamic reaction: “So, some of our comrades are in jail—what then is our organization is legal. Our paper is legal... Only a small number of left-wing militants are in jail... So, that you have a step from a reactionary dictatorship, which was bourgeois, toward what you could call partial bourgeois democracy...”

One month later the USec’s “frenzied” section in Iran, the HKS, along with all other left and secular organizations, was illegal, its press banned, its leaders in jail. Mandel & Co. have blood on their hands. Their criminal policies have paved the way for Khomeini’s slaughter of thousands of Kurds and the executions of leftist. The HKS was paid the ultimate price for class betrayal as their members face death in the shah’s torture chambers taken over by the imperialist American bourgeoisie.

Ernest Mandel, you claim to stand in the tradition of Trotskyism, the struggle for revolutionary Marxism in our epoch. But you share the same relationship to Trotsky as the later Karl Kautsky did to Marx. The “United Secretariat” of which you are a spokesman represents a collection of unprincipled opportunists who have capitulated within their national terrains to the dominant pressures of non-proletarian forces: in Latin America to guerrillism; in Western Europe to the populist front; in China and Indochina to Stalinism; and in the United States to the imperialist American bourgeoisie.

Your supporters in the Socialist Workers Party, who call upon the U.S. army, drenched in the blood of their rapacious counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam, to defend black civil rights in Boston are no different from the British “Labour Party” of Callaghan and Wilson which sent its imperial troops to the last vestige of British colonialism, Northern Ireland, under the guise of “defending” civil rights. Your invitation to teach a course on the “Marxist Theory of the Bourgeois State” in Boston is equivalent to giving Callaghan or Lord Wilson an academic platform in Belfast to lecture on “Socialism and the National Question.”

But your opportunism has reached a new low in regard to Iran. In Iran you sided with the Kerenskys and the Chiang Kai-sheks who at least in some fashion appeared as advocates of the bourgeois revolution, but the forces who openly proclaimed their intention to establish a theocratic state, the Black Hundreds of Iran. You and the “USec” attempted to propagate the lie that democratic freedoms would be honored under the “Islamic Republic,” that the “inevitable radicalization” would bring the left to power (“After Khomeini, U.S.”). But Khomeini made his intentions perfectly clear. He hated the communists more than the shah. His supporters marched through the streets chanting “Death or the veil!” “Death to the communists!” demanding one nation under Islam.

Only the international Spartacist tendency warned that supporting Khomeini against the shah was like playing Russian roulette with five bullets in the chamber. In Iran the working class, especially the strategic oil workers, could have been the motor force for a genuine social revolution. While you and your supporters sang the praises of the “anti-imperialist” ayatollah, we fought for an independent proletarian axis in the struggle to overthrow the shah and open the road to a workers and peasants government.

Now Khomeini is wielding his “sword of Islam” against the left, the workers movement and the national minorities. Unveiled women are stoned in the streets. Homosexuals are flogged and put to death by firing squads. The Arabs, Turkmans and Kurds are gunned down for demanding their national rights. A new law recently proclaimed by the secretive “Revolutionary Council” threatens death to those who engage in “counterrevolutionary acts” such as “inciting” workers to strike or holding political demonstrations. Your own comrades, 16 members of the HKS Socialist Workers Party of Iran, and supporters of the Fedayeen face execution by the rabidly anti-communist mullahs. And this you say is “a victory for the Iranian masses,” and “while not an ideal democracy, a step forward,” and “the beginning of permanent revolution.”

What is urgently needed is a united-front defense by the left, labor movement and all those concerned for democratic rights throughout the world to save the endangered Iranian mili­tants. Yet in this crucial hour, you and your fraternal organization in the U.S., the SWP, are doing your best to sabotage the defense of your own comrades. The SWP has excluded anyone who refuses to swear allegiance to Khomeini’s “Iranian revolution” from protest demonstrations for the imprisoned members of the HKS. According to the Militant (6 July), to call for “Down with Islamic reaction” and demand massive united-front protests against the arrests of the HKS continued on page 11

Workers Vanguard Subcription Drive

Sept. 14-Oct. 19

The latest issue of Workers Vanguard launches the Spartacist League/Spartacist Youth League’s annual subscription drive to be held September 14-October 19. Quota totaling 2,800 points are projected on the basis of last year’s highly successful drive. In addition to selling WV subs, the drive will aim at expanding the subscription bases of Young Spartacus and Women and Revolution and at expanding bookstore placements. This year’s sub drive will also be an important part of the recruitment campaign discussed in Young Spartacus No. 73 (May) and will coincide with a heavy schedule of public forums and regional tours.

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"I was furious seeing left-wing groups following Khomeini"

Interview with Iranian Militant

Last month YSP interviewed an Iranian militant who was once a guerrilla with the Mojahedeen. Now sympathetic to Tehran, he detailed his break from Islam and his support for the S. position on Iran. While not necessarily agreeing with all of Fareed's views, we print below an edited version of that interview.

YSP: Fareed, tell us something about your personal history.
Fareed: I was born in the so-called "Holy City" in the northeastern part of Iran. 4 was raised in a very, very religious, very strict family. I went to a special high school—part of a program throughout Iran where they established high schools so they could pick up students who were "special" and put them in one location and teach them an Americanized program. The advantage of the high school was that we were in contact with college students and so we got political views. Before I joined the Mojahedeen I was active in two other groups. I was 17 when I became officially a member of the Mojahedeen. But I was captured and imprisoned for a year and I came back with some new thoughts.

YSP: What led to your arrest?
Fareed: We were a group of five people in prison. I was talking about how I had acted and there was a person who was a link between the state of the Mojahedeen and our group. He was well known by SAVAK [the shah's murderous secret police] so he was supposed to escape so that nobody would capture him—he come polite, how did you learn to become polite?

YSP: What did you believe you were fighting for when you joined?
Fareed: I believed first of all that I was fighting for the god and then for people, poor people.

YSP: Why did you begin to change your mind about Islam?
Fareed: In Persia we have an old philosopher and he has a saying. Someone asked him, "How would you become polite, how you learn to become polite?" He said: "I learned it from impolite people." Which is very cute because it shows how you can learn from the contradictions of an ideology. There was, is, a very famous person in the jail. He was the father of Shariat— a well-known intellectual of the religious group, Muslims, back home. His father was in jail and there were also some Marxists there. They would have arguments with him and he was short in answer. So I would ask him to teach me something so that I could argue [against the Marxists] and win. But he would say things that would not help. That was the first shot.

There was a book there which was written by one of the most important Islamic philosophers—his name is Jaafrai (they call him "master Jaafrai"). In jail there were just a few books allowed, they were mostly for religion and against communism and oddly enough his book was allowed in the jail. I read the book and every page I read made my suspicions stronger because I was reading this religious book and I was losing my faith in any kind of religion simultaneously. So I came out of jail shaky. I came out in the middle and I wanted to find answers and I was very serious about it—it took me about a year and a half to reach the end results.

After I came out of jail I went to see Jaafrai personally. I was even more disappointed—he was just a man ruling in a room full of books, but stupid as a donkey. I wanted him to tell me why I should believe in god. He started describing the Russian type of government and communism. He said: "I would love to put a tape recorder somewhere and let the communists talk with me and then show it to you, and then you could listen and see how weak they are." He didn't give me anything. Then I referred him to another famous person. After I saw him I decided I wasn't going to be a religious person anymore because in order to be religious I had to believe, not to choose with my knowledge. So that was it.

Islam is being called by some people the "socialist religion"—this is one of the funniest things I have ever heard. This stems from the fact that the Mojahedeen—about seven or eight years ago they didn't have any access to the Marxist texts. Then they started seriously considering them because they knew there was something wrong with religion. In practical matters they couldn't apply their religious ideas on making a revolution. They wanted to borrow some other ideology which was the most militant of the day and patch it to Islam.

Islam is the religion of the time when slavery was being transformed into feudalism and all the rules and the things written in the Koran just voice the situation of that special time of history. And sure enough it is the religion of the wealthy against the poor. It's not compatible with socialism at all. If some people are going to chop off Marxists and put it on such a funny body as Islam or any other religion they are free to name it whatever they want. But I tell them there are essential contradictions between Islam and Marxism. They are in different categories; you cannot mix them.

YSP: What do you hear from your friends in Iran at the present time?
Fareed: I had a very large telephone bill.

The Mullahs' Left-Wing Apostles Paved the Way for Khomeini's Islamic Reaction

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

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University of Massachusetts/Amherst
Wednesday, September 19
Room 166-170 Campus Center
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Cuba, Nicaragua—What Strategy for Revolution in Latin America?

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University of California at Davis
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Los Angeles
California State/Los Angeles
Wednesday, October 10
Library, U.C. Cen
For information: (213) 662-1564

Santa Cruz
University of California at Santa Cruz
Wednesday, October 3
For information: (408) 462-3769

San Francisco
San Francisco State University
Thursday, October 4
Room 8112-113 Student Union
For information: (415) 835-1535
Outrage

Young Spartacus Interview

On July 16 in front of hundreds of stunned delegates, U.S. Secret Service agents grabbed union official Jane Margolis, handcuffed her and dragged her protesting off the floor of the 41st Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Margolis, an elected delegate, shop steward and member of the executive board of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco) was rushed from the hall and locked in an adjoining room shortly before Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak, in a blatant attempt to prevent her from registering any dissent against the administration's anti-labor policies.

The Secret Service maintains that Margolis, who is a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), is "under investigation." The support of hundreds of rank-and-file phone workers and a significant number of local CWA officials has, however, at least temporarily, beaten back an ominous and unprecedented attack by the government on the trade-union movement.

Delegate Margolis at CWA convention: "We are not to blame for inflation and recession."

Young Spartacus spoke with Jane Margolis in mid-August:

YSp: Can you tell us about your recent union convention?

Jane: I'm an elected executive board member from the San Francisco Local 9410 and this is the second year that I have been elected to go the national convention. I had planned on making a motion as soon as the convention opened calling on the delegates to disavow Jimmy Carter since I do not believe that the CWA should be used as a platform to further his anti-labor, strike-breaking policies.

YSp: Did they tell you what you were charged with?

Jane: No, they just said I was under arrest and took me into a back room.

YSp: Did they tell you what you were charged with?

Jane: No, they just said I was under arrest. I asked them, "Why am I being held here?" and they said that they had secret sources that I was a threat to the life of the president. And I asked them, "What was the source?" They said they could not reveal their source, but that they had every right to detain me there for 72 hours—as long as the president was in the vicinity.

Now this charge was just totally absurd, it was ludicrous. They didn't even frisk me, they didn't search my purse which was on the convention floor. The only thing I had on me was my cane which I use to get around because of a stroke I had in the nineties. They decided to intimidate me and intimidate the other delegates.

YSp: Did they give you any reason why they denied you a lawyer or wouldn't let you make a phone call?

Jane: No, no reason at all.

YSp: How did you get released?

Jane: This is what was being held there a Channel 2 newsmen happened to walk into the room—he was looking for the presidential party. I asked him if he was my lawyer. He said, "No," he was Channel 2. I asked him, "What's going on here?" and I said, "I've been held here simply because I want to give a speech against Jimmy Carter." When I had said that, the cops and the Secret Service who were in the room told me that if I didn't stop talking they would handcuff me again, and they told the newsmen to get out of the room. He then went to the Secret Service command post and asked them what was going on, why was I being detained. And they denied any knowledge of a delegate being detained in the back room.

YSp: So while you're being held the Secret Service was saying they knew nothing about it?

Jane: Right. So this newsmen started circulating and trying to find out what was going on which helped to blow the cover on the case.

Also what happened was that several delegates who saw me getting dragged off the convention floor were attempting to get the microphone, demanding to know why I was being hauled of and where was I being held. Some delegates from Southern California, Washington and Oregon were talking about a possible walkout until I was released and out on the convention floor.

Because of the newsmen blowing the cover on it and the ruckus that it started to create on the floor, I believe that the Secret Service realized that this was going to be too costly for Carter politically. So even though they had maintained that they could hold me there for 72 hours and that according to the law I was an apparent "threat to the life of the president," they released me after about 30 minutes.

YSp: This is the first known time that the Secret Service has invaded a union convention and seized a union officer. What do you think was behind it?

Jane: Carter's policies are not popular with the American working class. It is well known that he used Taft-Hartley against the miners strike in 1978, and he is determined to use it against our own possible strike in 1978. All of us workers are having to live under wage freezes and high inflation. He has the highest rating of any president—lower than Nixon—and what we had here was the possibility of a lot of visible discontent with the Carter administration. So the Watts bureaucracy and the Carter administration and the Secret Service goons were going to do anything they could to avoid any political criticism coming from the floor of the convention.

When Carter came, Watts put on a good show for him as if all the delegates were behind him. But it was quickly demonstrated the second or third day that there was an incredible amount of dislike for Carter. All of a sudden a lot of delegates were talking about how Carter had not answered any of the questions he had been asked. You saw a lot of Ted Kennedy buttons appearing, and the guests that came further on in the convention that had criticisms of Jimmy Carter were widely applauded and greeted very warmly.

YSp: Were you able to get the microphone while Carter was there?

Jane: No, and this was no accident. I was released from the back room at about 40 minutes before President Carter was scheduled to address the convention. Delegates were being told the procedure that would be used to ask him questions: it was going to be the first 20 delegates that got in line. I ran to a microphone and I was delegate number 16—my name was listed as one of the 20 delegates who would be able to ask President Carter a question. But when the president was done with delegate number 16, after only 55 minutes, he cut off all questioning.

Delegates saw this as no accident, but a move to prevent me from speaking. At last year's convention I had made a speech against a proposed dues increase because most of the dues would just be going down the rat hole of paying for more Democratic Party politicians' campaigns. I also spoke against Carter's use of Taft-Hartley against the miners. I'm in the Militant Action Caucus and one of the "spots" of our political program is not a dime, not a vote to the strikebreaking Democrats and Republican candidates. We have put out literature at all the last eight conventions against labor support to the Democrats. We are for workers party. So, my views are very well known and they knew that I had
CWA's Secret Service Drags Its Feet Off Convention Floor!

Jon P. Fastegh

over 100 members signed telegrams within a day demanding an apology from the White House. In the week after the convention over 600 members signed protest telegrams and petitions. We had a union meeting two days after we returned from the convention, one of the largest meetings in the last two years. Over 150 members showed up and passed sense-of-the-body motions demanding an apology and that the local hold a demonstration outside of the Secret Service offices.

YSp: What other support have you received?
Jane: While we were at the convention over 70 delegates from all over the country having these town hall meetings, wanting to find out what the American people are thinking, what they feel about his administration, then he is going to have to hear criticism and he cannot use his Secret Service goons to silence representatives at a union convention.

The leaflet was very well received. People at the convention did not like the continual presence of the Secret Service. Secret Service agents stayed for the entire week following me around, following me whenever I left the convention floor, trying to approach me, trying to question me, trying to intimidate me and other delegates. They were even at the union hospitality rooms at night wearing phony CWA delegate badges. Delegates were complaining that they could not talk freely because their union had been invaded by the Secret Service and the police. A couple of hours before the convention was going to adjourn several delegates felt that my safety might be in danger—they did not know if the Secret Service was going to come up and handcuff me again under equally phony, fraudulent accusations. So a squad of union members was formed to escort me out of the convention until I could be in a safe place so that there would be no possibility of another Secret Service attack on me.

YSp: What do you plan to do next?
Jane: We plan on organizing a national protest of CWA delegates to demand a public apology from the White House to my self and to the entire union convention. If they will handcuff me now to protect Carter's election campaign, what will they attempt to do to the membership in 1980 to prevent a strike against the phone company which could be very embarrassing for Carter. If they can get away with invading our union and silencing me, this will only be a precedent for them to invade other unions and silence other critics of the government and of Jimmy Carter's anti-labor policies. So we intend to go on a campaign footing, appealing to delegates all around the country to raise this issue up with the union membership, with their executive boards, to demand that the White House apologize. As part of this I intend to initiate a suit against the Secret Service. What we want to do is mobilize the union to guard our independence from the Carter government. YSp: How did the membership respond in your home local in San Francisco?
Jane: With tremendous support. When they heard about the Secret Service dragging me off the convention floor, country signed a petition demanding an apology from the White House. The Los Angeles local passed a motion protesting the political censorship at the convention. We've also heard that many delegates, now that they've gotten away from the heat of the convention, feel that they were manipulated and used by Carter and the Watts bureaucracy and that they are outraged that more delegates did not actually come to my defense. They see that they could be next if they decide to speak up against Carter and Watts' cover-up for the Carter administration.

One of the most exciting developments has been the formation of a Los Angeles Militant Action Caucus! Many of these militants are black and Chicano and need no explanations as to the role of the government and the Secret Service.

YSp: Can you tell us about your history in the union and more about the Militant Action Caucus?
Jane: I have been working for the phone company, and been in the union, for eight years. I'm a shop steward and I was elected to the union executive board in Oakland in 1972 and recently to the executive board in San Francisco. I've now also twice been elected a delegate to national conventions.

I am a spokesperson for the Militant Action Caucus which is a caucus inside the CWA—all of us are CWA members. We want to fight to form a united class-struggle leadership inside the CWA. We want to stop the union leadership from collaborating with the company, and we are fighting for a national job pressure day.

Recently you might have heard about National Job Pressure Day which is continued on page 6
Outrage...
(continued from page 7)

sponsored by the CWA. Phone workers are the victims of tremendous job pressures. We have no sick leave. Automation is costing us our jobs. There is a lot of petty harassment of operators. You have to have permission to go to the bathroom. Racial and sexual discrimination is part of the daily life at the phone company. We see the only way that job pressures can end is through a national strike in 1980. Phone workers have tremendous power,

For CWA Convention Delegates

JANE MARGOLIS
* 78 Convention Delegate
* Exec. Board Member

PAUL COSTAN
* Steward
* 5 Years in Plant Dept.

DIANA COLEMAN
* 6 Years in Plant Dept.

Militant Action Caucus Delegate
Jane Margolis was the only local delegate of the CWA's internation's sellout policies at the 78 Convention. This Union needs fighters. Elect the MAC Slate. Get this Union off its knees!

Vote MAC Slate Only!

we can bring a halt to communications. But the union leadership that we have now defends the profits of the phone company, defends the interests of the phone company and will do anything to keep the membership controlled. To use class-struggle tactics that are needed we need a new leadership in this union. a leadership that will fight instead of bowing to the company.

The company has tried to silence us. They have attempted to keep MAC. to bring victory to the phone workers. we can bring a halt to communications. of our members. In 1975 I was framed up and fired for

But the union leadership that we have now has attempted to purge the union of any examples of so-called "untruths." They wanted to be able to attack us out of "disrepute." It was really an attempt to purge the union of any of the militants, of any disloyalty. They used some of MAC's literature where we had said that the union leadership collaborates with the company and that they have sold out in several strikes as examples of so-called "untruths." They wanted to be able to kick us out of the union.

I went to the union convention which that year was held in Miami, Florida, to try to stop that amendment. That amendment was put out by the executive committee and linked up with other delegates and rank-and-file members at the convention in a campaign to defeat 19-2C, which was what the amendment was called. We showed many delegates there on TV that while 19-2C would right now be primarily directed against MAC, it could be used against any of the demonstrators. And if the leadership collaborated with the company and that they decided to criticize the International leadership. The delegates did realize that this was a very anti-democratic move to be used to stop all discussion within the union, and we were successful in defeating it.

What other kinds of issues has MAC been involved in?

Jane: We see that the unions can be a challenge to the bosses' political parties. In the late 1970s, we had seen action to defend our jobs. A couple of years ago there was an incredible racist police action organized by the then-mayor of San Francisco, Joe Aloe. Joe Aloe. He proposed that all blacks carry around South Africa-type ID cards and under Operation Zebra blacks were stopped, frisked, searched. Opposed on the picket line is Ed Dempsey. We fought for our local to hold a labor demonstration against Operation Zebra. We want to get rid of that Ed Dempsey as an example.

For CWA Convention Delegates

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DELEGATE JAMES MARGOLIS (Local 9418)
I am opposed to the Philips amendment. I am opposed to any dues increase. I would be for a dues increase if we had seen action to defend our members.

The main reason we are in this bind today in our struggle against the phone company is because of the Taft-Hartley amendment. Everyone knows that a thousand union jobs have been lost the last four years. I'd be for a dues increase if we had a national strike which would have won real job security for our members, which would have stopped the company offensive to reduce the work force.

I would be for a dues increase if the Union had fought against absence control; if we had paid sick leave. I'd be for a dues increase if the Union had stopped forced overtime, and if we had the legal right to strike to defend our members in defense of grievances.

Jaye: There have been other oppositional groupings in the CWA, but they have come and gone. Why is that the case? One reason is that the United Action Caucus, for example, that was around for a couple of years. They had a very anti-democratic sellout record. In New York, for instance, they supported Edward Kennedy and the "Fascist" to the incumbent local leadership. He is now the New York Local 1101 president, and has reduced the number of local meetings to twice a year, he has stopped any attempts to elect shop stewards and he has attempted to decertify any stool politician in opposition to him. The United Action Caucus (like Final Warning which was a caucus supported by the Maoist Revo­ lutionary Communist Party) had a policy of supporting the candidates they thought was a "lesser evil" candidate. But none of these people ran on a political program of opposition to the sell-out policies of the International. In the United States these groupings were not able to stand up to the pressure of the International and were not able to see the necessity of forming labor/black
defense guards against the Klan and Nazi attacks that have been increasing in the last few years. It is crucial that the union movement participate in, organize and lead movements against the racist mobilization that's becoming.

During the years of the Vietnam War we fought for labor strikes against the war. We have been active in raising money for the United Farm Workers Union [UFW], but more than that we have been active in calling on the H. WU [International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union]. Teamsters and Naslcll clerks unions to carry out real labor solidarity with the UFW and refuse to handle scab goods. We are continually fighting to protect the picket line—one of labor's most important weapons—standing firm on our principles that a picket line means "don't cross!" And I'd also like to add that we've been active in campaigning against charging for directorcy assistance and against phone company rate increases.

Jaye: We want to continue our fight for the local right to strike, for a national strike when our contract expires in August 1980, for the election of shop stewards, for 24-hour company-provided child care. We want to stop the reform school conditions in the phone company. We will continue our campaign to break all the illegal picketings at the reactionary CIA-backed AIHLD [American Institute for Free Labor Development]. We will work to stop the reactionaries and improve the conditions at the phone company. We will continue our campaign to break all the illegal picketings at the reactionary CIA-backed AIHLD [American Institute for Free Labor Development]. We will work to stop the reactionaries and improve the conditions at the phone company.

Money is going into antilabor, antiunion politics. And I'm opposed to any dues increase. We see that the unions can be a challenge to the bosses' political parties. We want a union that will be able to fight the phone company, but the present leadership is opposed to these workshops and the bosses' political parties. We want a union that will be able to fight the phone company, but the present leadership is opposed to these workshops and the bosses' political parties. We want a union that will be able to fight the phone company, but the present leadership is opposed to these workshops and the bosses' political parties. We want a union that will be able to fight the phone company, but the present leadership is opposed to these workshops and the bosses' political parties.

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Iranian Militant...

(continued from page 5)

last time because I have been talking with them for a while. They are saying that things are out of hand: there is Khomeini, there are Islamic committees, we have got to stop this. Sometimes the leftist is playing his own song and nobody knows who the ruler is. My friend told me about one incident—he was an eyewitness—for example. They beat an army sergeant and the next day they executed him. I am not sure after word came from the capital: he was sentenced to two years and two months in prison. So if there is a collision and shooting which writes anything against the Fedayeen, do you think that they would do it the next day. So this is the cause of the split.

Fareed: What about the status of women in Iran?

Fareed: In Islann women are treated as inferior. There are tons and tons of stories told in the Koran which explicitly put the women inferior to men. Islamic rule can't differ from their orders, from their holy books. So the women are suffering. I know that in some cities in the south women who didn't want to wear the veil were beaten up personally. Some women wear the veil from fear of being beaten up, from fear of being quoted in the street, especially the komiteh men. They don't have the freedom to choose. When they say to Khomeini's representatives that we want the freedom to wear or not wear the veil—that's all they want. They think of it as no go. So Khomeini goes on and says women don't want to wear the veil, we want a woman out, and we don't allow this in an Islamic Republic. Which is a very dirty thing to say about women.

Fareed: What do you think is needed for a genuine revolution in Iran?

Fareed: I am inclined towards Trotskyism. When I think to get rid of the shah he was being replaced by mujahds. I was just curious seeing all these leftist-elements left by the shah and Khomeini and the mujahds. I was looking at some group which would raise a genuine anti-imperialist struggle against the state. There was no big campaign when last time because I have been talking with friends back home. They are saying me about one incident—he was an Islamic party as equating the Khomeini regime and this is much worse. I have discussed with people and they ask me if Khomeini is good and I say he is terrible. They say, "Do you like the shah?" and I say, "I can't, it's the recognition." So I don't think we should make clear that we are against the shah and against Khomeini.
Unconditional Military Defense of Cuba!

(Excerpted from Workers Vanguard No. 239, 14 September.)

The Senate blow-up over Washing­
ton's attempt to overthrow the strong Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba is the biggest outburst of manufactured imperialist hysteria since Lyndon John­
son's Gulf of Tonkin red herring greased the skids for full-scale U.S. imperialist­
subordination to the bloody ayatol­
lah regime in Teheran.

Toilers

"Khomeini's movement is being ridiculed in the Islamic Republic. While many political

organizations are now taking all necessary measures-including felony laws and the death penalty for political activities" the HKSers warned that the dynamic of the "Khomeini's inner circle."

At every critical juncture, on every crucial issue, the HKS has tried to present its credentials as a loyal social­
democratic opposition to the dictator­
ship of the mullahs. From hailing Khomeini's "victory" to their friendly IV debate on the mullahs' "sexuality of its parliamentary cretinism "Bill of Rights for Workers and

"We don't engage in 'anti-Islamic activi­
ties" the HKSers proclaimed.

The Khomeini Committee pointed out that its members are "working people... lead him toward revolutionary program of activities..."

Equal justice to all, I am told that the pogroms, the "Mullahs!" the HKSers gloryed in the Middle East.

"The HKS is not an armed organization and purely dedicated to nonviolent struggle. Moreover, they are completely opposed to violence..."

"The HKS points out that its members in Afghanistan did nothing more than sell the party's weekly newspaper, kurdi, and explain their political views, which had to do with suggestions for the Constitu­tion. Moreover, the Imam's Committee for the Khomeini State was always informed of their activities."

I am told that the HKSers were "engaged in 'anti-Islamic activi­
ties' like some other groups. We don't encourage 'armed struggle against the central government' like the Kurds. Maybe they're guilty... but we're not." That's the disgusting cry of the HKS' innocence.

We Will Not Forget Your Betrayals!

Last fall as the mullah-led opposition gained force, the HKS warned that the Islamic clerics were as reactionary as the butcher shah. But when we said "Down with the Shah!" the HKSers crowed that "Mullahs Win!" the U.S./S.W.P. replied that this was imperialist propaganda, that we were duplicating Khomeini's "ultra­

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who claimed Khomeini as a "progressive" alternative to the Shah, who hoped to ride to power on a wave of power on the coattails of Islamic reaction. They are covered with blood.

Even Stalin criticized Chiang Kai-shek after he slaughtered the Communists in the 1927 Shanghai massacre. The U.S.S.R.'s sudden discovery that Khomeini is not so progressive after all outdoes Stalin himself in hypocrisy. Chiang Kai-shek,usted to be a revolutionary nationalist and friend of the Russian Revolution when he was courting Stalin's support. But Khomeini, who claimed Khomeini as a "counterrevolutionary line as they are of capitalist bourgeoisie will be surprised to see the miserable conditions of exploitation and exploitation of the working class, and all the other bourgeois parties. Break with all the bourgeois parties. Break with all the bourgeois parties.

The road forward for the workers revolution in Russia. The morphing of news out of Iran daily proves the crisis of leadership of the Communist International Marxist Group) and the Democratic Party to lead the fight. And you know where the civil libertarians are today. And that's where they are going to fight against you. It's not an issue of working class or fights over black and white. The fight for a communist future is a one for the fighting. And we're going to fight for the future, and we're going to fight for our rights. And we're going to fight for our future.
The last decade hasn't exactly been a sterling one for the U.S. ruling class. Johnson cast his hand in the till, Nixon skipped out before he could be thrown out and Vietnam handed the U.S. a stunning defeat. How could Americans not be cynical about the government? So Jimmy "the smiling wonder" Carter ran for President as an outsider, unassailed by the corrupt Washington mire, promising to restore the faith of the American people. What a flop.

Three years into his term of office it's obvious why Carter almost lost the election to the man whose most noticeable talent was his ability to bang his head into doors and to trip over lines in the sidewalk. In the midst of widespread social and political discontent Carter's popularity has sunk almost as low as Nixon's. His firing of half his cabinet this summer even provoked questions about his mental stability.

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

No wonder deep political gloom reigns among the capitalists and their political stooges. What irony was it that the signs of U.S. capitalism's morbidity than the irrationality of gas lines, inflation and recession. U.S. imperialism has slid from global top dog to one of a number of dangerously competing imperialist powers.

Carter's absurd July 15 Sunday Night Sermon, complete with practiced fast pounding and studied grimaces, blamed the American people for the decay of a failing capitalist system. "It is clear," he intoned, "that the true problems of our nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages. Deeper even than inflation or recession... Owning things and consuming things did not satisfy our longing for meaning." Carter's answer? Let the American people own less and consume less—oh yes, and pray.

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

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

The isolation and brittleness of his regime is such that it can't even stand the presence of any but the most hardened "yes-men." Carter's con game cannot have players who may turn out to be nay-sayers, whistle-blowers and general skeptics. When the faith healer tells the crippled to "arise for god," they better get up and sing "hallelujah!"

Carter, Kennedy, Reagan, Ford mean no jobs, no gas, no future.

**Young Spartacus**

**Dump the "Republicrats"—Build a Workers Party!**

**Hate Carter, Hate Capitalism!**

"The cost billions of dollars, that knit together an America designed to suit Big Oil and auto industrialists, let him go to the gas lines in his jet plane and criminally seized militant union leader Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the convention. She was going to say to her brothers and sisters that this man should not be allowed to use the CWA convention as a platform for his strikebreaking policies. For her intention to make this simple statement of working-class sense and solidarity, she received brutal treatment from Carter's goons. Trampling over the rights of the union and its elected delegates, the Carter "team" was not going to stand for a voice of class-struggle militancy.

But the unfortunate fact is that Carter's government crisis is not prompted by such proletarian class opposition. As in Nixon's Watergate crisis, the bourgeoisie is again cursed with a weak and isolated government but blessed with a wrecktess class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy. The labor fakers understand their job is to prevent a governmental crisis from becoming a full-scale social and political crisis. As with Watergate they are prepared again to help the bourgeoisie parties ride out their present troubles without significant loss of support. In this regard their main task is to keep working-class discontent within the bounds of the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats. Fed up with Carter? Well then, they ask increasingly disaffected ranks, how about Kennedy? Kennedy, however, is no less anti-labor than Carter. If he can redeem his reputation, sunk in the waters of Chappaquiddick, he would merely be more effective, more professional, in leading his party in an assault on the workers, blacks and poor. Although Kennedy likes to pose as a 1970s-style "New Deal" progressive, he wants to impose wage controls and his oil program is hardly different than what there is now. Kennedy also backs the new FBI "charter" which legalizes much of what these hit-men have been doing undercover. California's weedy sinister governor Jerry Brown is no answer either. He prescribes nothing other than more layoffs and cutbacks in social services under the slogan "small is beautiful."

Within the confines of racist, capitalist America there is absolutely no reason to have any confidence in a better future. Cold winters, gasless summers...the defeat of busing, the Klan again on the march...the draft is coming back...college costs grow by leaps and bounds. And all the bourgeoisie can offer is more of the same.

There is an alternative to decaying capitalism. Malnutrition, blighted ghettos, inadequate services are not rooted in the "human condition" but in a...