

Workers Must Lead Iranian Revolution!

Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!

Oil Workers Strike Paralyzes Economy

NOVEMBER 13—Iran is at the boiling point as a massive wave of popular hostility has combined with a concerted Islamic opposition to bring the hated Pahlavi monarchy almost to its knees. But the future is by no means clear—the shah has called in the military, there is open talk of a “Pakistan solution” in which clericalists in the army would seize power in the name of the “popular will,” and mass demonstrations under the leadership of the *ulema* (Muslim religious hierarchy) clamor for the imposition of an Islamic state.

Since troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators in the September 8 Bloody Friday massacre in Teheran’s Jaleh Square, mass demonstrations drawing upon every sector of the population have convulsed the country. In response, the shah turned to his sole remaining base of power domestically, the army. With the imposition of a military cabinet headed by General Gholam Reza Azhari, the imperial murderer on the Peacock Throne hopes to check the rapid disintegration of the regime’s authority which has escalated dramatically over the last month.

Only the strength of the military has kept the shah in power this long. Repeated demonstrations by crowds numbering in the hundreds of thousands have left Teheran strewn with rubble, barricades and wrecked cars and troop transports. The universities have been transformed into hotbeds of agitation by Muslim and leftist students. The bazaars remain closed, with artisans and shopkeepers attendant to the signals of the exiled high holyman of Shiite Islam, Ayatollah Khomeini.

But it is the workers’ strikes which have brought the political climate in Iran to the fever point. Hundreds of thousands of state employees and teachers remain out on strike in political opposition to the shah. On October 31 Iran’s 37,000 oil workers staged a sit-down strike and have defiantly withstood government threats and direct military attack in demanding the release of political prisoners, the firing of



Students confront riot police at Teheran University during recent anti-shah protests.

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

corrupt officials and the expulsion of foreign supervisors. Iran’s oil production under management and troop operation of the wells is down to 1.5 million barrels a day from a normal figure of 6.5 million barrels.

With their oil flow threatened and their local linchpin in danger, the imperialists have closed ranks around the huncher shah. Gone are the heart-rending concerns of the bourgeois press for the violation of “human rights” in Iran. Carter rushed to endorse the Azhari cabinet and, of course, added his vacuous praise of the shah’s “liberalizations.” The press has been unanimous in endorsing the shah’s rule, raising the sole criticism that perhaps he has lately been too lenient with the opposition. Every day the *Wall Street Journal* has been publishing articles worrying about the current state of world oil supplies sharply affected by the strike.

As we go to press, the news reports the arrest of strike leaders, army occupation of the refineries and hence resistance by the workers to this attempt to finally

crush the strike. As the imperialists and the shah prepare for a showdown with the proletariat and as the mullahs cast about for the military leader who will establish the “just rule of Islam,” the program of revolutionary Trotskyists becomes all the more urgent: Victory to the Strikes! Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Proletarian Revolution in Iran!

Teheran Is Burning!

The immediate catalyst for summoning the generals to power was the massive rebellion which raged through the streets of Teheran on November 4 and 5. The previous week the regime had moved to shut down the universities in an abortive attempt to prevent a planned week of student protests on behalf of the victims of the shah’s white terror. This only served to further inflame the students and Teheran University was reopened on October 29.

High school students in the capital demonstrated against the exile of the

anti-shah Muslim leader Ayatollah Taleghani on November 4. Joined by students from the university, they then marched on the house of Ayatollah Taleghani, another prominent opponent of the regime recently released from prison. At the gates of Teheran University the marchers toppled a bronze statue of the shah. Imperial troops then moved in to disperse the crowd and opened fire, killing dozens of students.

The following day hundreds of thousands of enraged demonstrators attacked and sacked stores, banks and government offices. In addition to four hotels, the Ministry of “Information” was torched and the shah’s propaganda chief seized and beaten. Tanks prevented the protesters from storming the U.S. embassy after they had crashed through the iron gates of the British embassy and firebombed it. On Monday the new government declared that all “inciters” would be rounded up and that the soldiers would gun down any gathering of more than two persons. Troops

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MAC Wins
Big in
S.F. Phone



Castro Exports
Stalinist
Betrayal



SWP
Bows to
Khomeini

88-Day NYC Press Strike Ends

Union Saved, Jobs Slashed

The 88-day-old New York City newspaper strike ended on November 5 with a settlement which, while far from the *Washington Post*-style union-busting defeat hoped for by the publishers, will leave the Pressmen's Union with an estimated 30 percent fewer members by 1984. The pressmen's stubborn stand and the solidarity, precarious as it was, of the other printing trades unions snapped a string of broken strikes in the industry. But the acceptance of job losses through attrition by the New York pressmen conforms to the dangerous pattern of setbacks imposed on printing trades workers throughout the country.

The strike reportedly cost the publishers perhaps \$150 million in advertising and circulation losses. On the issue which both sides had seen as the key question in the dispute, manning levels in the pressroom, the publishers were forced to settle for the terms proposed by the pressmen in writing the day before the strike began on August 9. This means that "unit manning"—the assignment of a fixed number of pressmen to each press—will remain intact although the number of men per press will drop from 12 to 11.

More important than the manning settlement, however, is the agreement extracted from the pressmen's leaders to allow the union membership to be slashed through attrition. As pressmen die or retire they will not be replaced. There will be no new apprentices and the number of such "flyboys" hired for each shift at the *Times* will drop during the six-year contract period from the current 68 to somewhere between 18 and 38, the exact number to be fixed by arbitration. Moreover, casual pressmen have no guarantee of any work at all.

In exchange for bargaining away hundreds of jobs and casting a shadow over the future of the union, negotiators for the pressmen won guarantees of full-time work for 1,508 pressmen and apprentices through 1984. But the attrition clause in effect gives the publishers what they really wanted, cheaper labor costs in the pressroom. Although attaining this goal will take longer and will be more expensive than they had hoped, by 1984 the publishers' payroll expenses will be running \$10 million less per year.

When they forced the pressmen out on strike August 9 by posting new work rules that would have slashed the number of pressmen's jobs in half, the publishers figured on a quick victory. They were sure that, as at the *Washington Post* in 1975, the other unions would scab on the pressmen. But their calculations were off. Building on the union solidarity established on the picket lines during the Newspaper Guild strike at the *Daily News* in June, the strikers won the support of the Allied Printing Trades Council and of the key independent Deliverers Union and bung tough. The pickets were still there on Labor Day. They were there on Columbus Day, too, and by then the publishers' hopes of a cheap strike during the August advertising slump had disappeared.

The first to cave in to the pressure of the strike was not any of the unions but the head of the Publishers Association, *Post* publisher Rupert Murdoch. Murdoch moved to cash in on his competitors' hard-line stance and resumed publication on October 3 under a "me too" agreement binding him to the terms of whatever settlement was reached with the *Times* and *News*. Murdoch's opportunistic maneuver strengthened the unions' bargaining position and sharply upped the pressure on the two remaining dailies.

But if union solidarity kept the strike alive, the extreme precariousness of that solidarity prevented a real victory. The picture which emerges, as the inside story of the bargaining comes out, is one of continual backstabbing threats to scab on the pressmen by Deliverers Union boss Dong LaChance and Allied Council head George McDonald. At a key October 25 meeting, the *Times* account reveals, Pressmen's Union leader William Kennedy "spent three hours being yelled at by the other union leaders, who told him, in effect, that they were going to cross his lines if he did not settle that day on a formula for pressroom manning" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

deal with the massive increase of automation, particularly in the composing room, or with the proliferation of runaway job shops and papers in the suburbs. These rapid changes in the industry, mandated by the bosses' profit drive, have placed enormous pressures on the remaining jobs of the big city printing workers. Lacking a policy of fighting for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay and organizing the newer shops up to their own standards, the parochial craft unions have taken their stand on increasingly narrow grounds. The 1974 typographers settlement at the key NYC dailies, as well as this year's settlement for the pressmen,

for a quick settlement. And by providing employment (at full NYC union scale) to other newspaper unions it would have revealed the parasitic "interim" papers, published with the connivance of the struck dailies, as scab rags—and thus laid the basis for shutting them down, whether at the Jersey printing plants or as the trucks rolled through the Holland Tunnel.

A labor daily could have served as the organizing center of a drive to smash the publishers' offensive by transforming the strike against the three dailies into an industry-wide strike to organize the unorganized and raise wages and manning standards to a uniform high



Charles Wiesehaan



WV Photo

Press idled by strike at the New York Post (left). Pressmen picket the Times at the beginning of strike (right).

While the other union bureaucrats leaned hard on the pressmen, they practically gang-raped the Guild unit at the *Times*. When on November 4 it became clear that the other unions were about to settle, the *Times* Guild moved to declare its own strike over unresolved issues and threw up picket lines at 7:00 Saturday evening. By 3 p.m. the next afternoon they had been taken down under the threat of the Allied Council to scab, and despite the anger of the Guild members (121 of 347 of them voted to strike alone) the 1978 New York press strike was over.

Some Guild members charged that the union bureaucrats had stepped up the pressure to settle in order that the *Times* would appear before the November 7 election day with an endorsement of Democrat Hugh Carey for governor. Carey had the union tops' backing despite the pro-publisher position which he took in the first week of the strike, a position made clear in the *Cur News* headline: "Gov to Unions: It's Your Fault."

The New York newspaper strike demonstrated that even "tough" craft unionism, as exemplified by Kennedy's hard-nosed stand, is not enough to decisively defeat the nationwide union-busting drive of the publishers. None of the craft union leaders has a strategy to

shows that even the strongest unions have acceded to the publishers' job-slashing strategy, casting a deep shadow over the future of the trade unions in this industry.

The Spartacist League was unique in calling during the recent strike for a labor daily newspaper. Such a paper could have served to give political focus to what was indeed a major battle between labor and capital, one in which the newspaper unions needed all the support they could get. A paper sponsored by the labor movement could have rallied the entire working population to the side of the strikers. Refusing capitalist advertising, it could have put the squeeze on retailers, who would have pressured the press lords, in turn,

level throughout the New York-New Jersey area. The threat which the hundreds of unorganized cold type shops in Manhattan itself and low-wage union shops across the Hudson pose to the New York unions cannot be combated by narrow craft-union means. Such a militant campaign would inevitably have pointed to the need for a genuine industrial union in the printing trades.

However, these policies will never be implemented in the printing trades without a resolute struggle to oust the Kennedys and La Chances—backstabbing bureaucratic misleaders who are always angling for a "deal" with the bosses—and replace them with a leadership committed to militant, united class struggle. ■

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Jane Margolis Wins 42 Percent in Plant

Militant Action Caucus Wins Big in S.F. Phone

SAN FRANCISCO, November 11—In what was reportedly the largest turnout ever for elections of Local 9410 in the Communications Workers of America (CWA), Militant Action Caucus (MAC) candidate Jane Margolis was resoundingly elected as Plant Executive Board representative of the largest CWA local in northern California. Margolis' 372 votes represented a powerful 42 percent of union members who balloted in the plant division, placing her second in a field of 13 candidates.

The election itself was marked by the dumping of many incumbents, who were rightly identified with the massive defeats which the union membership has suffered. Local president Jack Whitehouse, running for re-election in a three-way race, finished last with under 200 votes. Jack Dempsey, whose clique has actually controlled a majority on the executive board, was also defeated, losing to Jim Imerzel. Significantly, the MAC vote included approximately 65 phone workers who "hulleted" their ballots, voting only for Margolis for executive board. These workers represent a core of militants who are not only fed up with do-nothing union bureaucrats, but have consciously turned to MAC as the only force in the local determined to wage a militant struggle against the company. Moreover, it was the second election within a year in which MAC has been victorious, demonstrating that it has won a consistent following within the membership.

Margolis, who is a former executive board member from the East Bay's CWA Local 9415, told *WU* that even compared to her successful campaign for convention delegate this April, MAC's vote totals increased appreciably. She pointed out that the company has noticeably escalated its attack in recent months, and that there is a broadening realization that only MAC has fought to mobilize the union in response. When the local leadership sat on its hands after 12 operators were fired last fall, the company was then emboldened to go after the plant division. This summer two stewards were fired. MAC initiated a hard-fought defense campaign. With the stewards' structure and the membership's right to union representation at stake, some 40 stewards and executive board members responded to MAC's call by endorsing a demand for a local strike authorization vote. But the struggle for strike authorization was throttled by a combination of active opposition and criminal passivity from the leaders of all three bureaucratic cliques in the local.

The Margolis campaign linked the attacks on Local 9410 to an industry-wide assault by Ma Bell: 100,000 jobs lost in 4 years; brutal enforcement of the company's medieval "absentee control" policy, under which even phone workers who miss work for documented medical reasons can be disciplined; forced overtime, forced transfers and downgrades. The MAC campaign leaflet reprinted verbatim two speeches by Margolis at the 1978 CWA convention. It was Margolis who got up to lead off the fight against the dues hike proposed by CWA International president Glen Watts, not to curry favor with the usual popular resentment to such increases, but to demand that the union counter the company offensive with effective, nationwide strike action and end its

support to the strikebreaking Democratic Party: "I am for money to build a strong, militant union, but not one more cent for inaction and yielding to the phone company."

For years the CWA's policy of supporting the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD—a bloc of unions and "multinational" corporations which sets up company unions in Latin America) with the aid of CIA funds, had gone unchallenged. It


ing bureaucrats at election time were rendered hollow by MAC's hard-hitting campaign. Thus it MAC, and only MAC, which championed consistently such elementary demands as the membership's right to elect its own stewards—a point which was dramatically evidenced earlier this year when a petition signed by 150 plant workers demanding that Margolis be appointed shop steward was blocked by the bureaucracy. The Imerzels, Demp-

as strike action to win a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, nationalization of the phone company without compensation, for labor/black defense guards to smash the fascist scum, and a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government. Noting that delegate Adkins had introduced the MAC-initiated resolution for the unrestricted local right to strike on the floor of the 1978 convention, Margolis pointed out that the emergence of tested militants like Adkins, committed to a clear program of class struggle, represented a real, if modest, step forward in laying the groundwork for a real, fighting opposition throughout the CWA.

In its several-year history in the CWA in the Bay Area, MAC has been witch-hunted both by Ma Bell and the union bureaucracy. Margolis herself was fired in 1975 and only won reinstatement a year later after a hard-fought campaign. Meanwhile, most of the lake-militant oppositions in the CWA have been driven out by the company, become demoralized, or simply been discredited by their false policies. Thus in the Local 9410 elections John Smreker, who supported Jack Whitehouse in 1975 and who ran as a candidate of the Committee Against Racism, which is supported by the Progressive Labor Party, received a paltry 40 votes in his bid for local secretary. In contrast, MAC's powerful showing demonstrated an increasing receptiveness on the part of the membership to support real class-struggle militants possessing the dedication and drive to stand up both to Ma Bell and her labor lackeys.

This summer some 4,500 Long Lines CWA members struck all across the country in defense of phone workers disciplined for respecting the picket lines of operators in Nashville. This was the first militant nationwide action in the CWA for years and demonstrated that the phone workers' will to fight has not been sapped by decades of class collaboration practiced by the union tops. It is groups like MAC which must provide the nucleus of a fighting leadership that can direct the membership's combativity to victory over the bosses. MAC's task in the next period must be to consolidate its hard-won authority and to begin to reach out to other militants who are seeking to build a class-struggle opposition in the CWA. ■

ELECT:
JANE MARGOLIS
PLANT EXEC. BOARD



- Elected 1978 Convention Delegate
- Former Exec. Board member Local 9415
- Leading member of Militant Action Caucus
- Beat back the company's frame-up firing in 1975 because of militant union activities

The only Local delegate to fight for you at the '78 CWA Convention
Elect a proven fighter to the Executive Board!

**ONLY ONE CANDIDATE
WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE
VOTE MARGOLIS ONLY!**

**Militant Action
Caucus Program**

1. Stop Company harassment—Strike action to stop the frame-up firings of our stewards and members. End absence control. For full paid sick leave. No productivity quotas. No forced overtime.
2. Jobs for all—No layoffs, forced transfers and downgrades. For a shorter work week with no cut in pay. 100% automatic COLA.
3. Stop union collaboration with the Company For a militant, fighting union—Dump the sellouts. Build a class struggle leadership. For union solidarity—No one crosses picket lines. Finks out of the union. For union democracy—lower the quorum, for elected stewards.
4. Union action to smash discrimination—union control of hiring, upgrades and transfers. Support busing, ERA, For labor/black defense against Klan/Nazi terror.
5. For international working class solidarity—Break all CWA ties with the CIA labor-front, the AIFLD.
6. Not a dime, not a vote for the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans—Down with the "slave-labor" Taft-Hartley Act. Build a workers' party based on the unions to fight for a workers' government which will seize all major industry without compensation to the capitalist bosses. Establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit.

**GET THIS UNION
OFF ITS KNEES**

Campaign leaflet for MAC candidate Jane Margolis.

was Margolis who at the 1978 convention issued the call for the CWA to break from this murderous appendage to U.S. imperialism: "Thousands of trade unionists have been executed and tortured in Latin America, as we all know; in Chile by military juntas. And I want no stain of this on the banner of our Union." Once again it was MAC which at the convention initiated a fight to end the International's veto power of the local right to strike—winning endorsement from 58 delegates, including many local presidents.

Not one of the other Local 9415 delegates to the CWA Convention, from any of the three bureaucratic slates, raised a peep in protest to Watts' class collaboration that has crippled the union. Indeed, not one said a word about anything! Even the usual phrases about "democracy" mouthed by aspir-

ants and Whitehouses—all of whom have run on the same slates in the past—were left to squabble among themselves over who had stolen more from the union treasury, a tawdry affair which only drove home MAC's point that there is no fundamental difference among these phonies.

Militant Wins in L.A.

MAC also heralded the election of Gary Adkins to the executive board of Local 11501 in Los Angeles. Margolis told *WU* that Adkins, an area steward in the central switching complex in L.A. and the instructor for the local's introductory stewards school, received 114 votes for exec board, finishing second out of 12 candidates. Adkins' successful campaign had been endorsed by some ten stewards in his local. Adkins ran on a program which included such demands

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Daughtry vs. Koch: Feud in the Democratic Party

On November 6 some 500 predominantly black protesters streamed across the Brooklyn Bridge on their way to the concrete canyons of Wall Street chanting "We're Fired Up, Can't Take No More!" The marchers were celebrating Black Solidarity Day. In the front lines many carried pictures of Arthur Miller, the black community leader whose strangulation-killing by the cops last summer was the catalyst which brought the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn to flashpoint.

The demonstration had a militant air, at least by late '70's standards. A jaunty Rev. Herbert Daughtry flanked by his green-jacketed bodyguards of the Crown Heights "black community patrols" headed up the march. Conjuring up the mood of the sixties, the crowd was sprinkled with red, black and green nationalist flags. Several marchers carried flags depicting still-imprisoned ex-Black Panthers Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) and Geronimo Pratt. Outside the Stock Exchange Daughtry denounced "white capitalism"; black people, he said, had exhausted their appeals to Koch and the courts and were now marching on the real seat of power.

But November 6 was not only, or even mainly, Black Solidarity Day in New York City. It was also the day before election day. And the Black United Front (BUF) demonstration was a long-planned campaign event to bring out the black vote for a wide range of black Democratic Party incumbents and hopeful candidates. From start to finish the march was a carefully orchestrated pressure tactic, part of an ongoing patronage war within the Democratic Party between the black elected officials and what they see as Mayor Koch's Jewish mafia.

That this was the case became crystal clear later that night when the second part of the celebration, the "Anti-Koch Rally" got under way. More than 1,000 Brooklyn black people turned out at New York Community College to hear five hours of long-winded speeches. Even the cultural part of the program brought no relief—several of the poetry readings were so wretched they had Stalinist hack Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) visibly cringing. Represented on the platform was the full spectrum of black-nationalist activists from the "Marxist-leninist" Baraka to the hardcore cultural nationalists of Jitu Weusi's "The East" to a gaggle of three-piece-suited clubhouse pols.

The thrust of the rally was intended by Daughtry to be an election-eve platform for the black Democrats. Brooklyn Assemblyman Al Vann was a no-show, but State Senators Major Owens of Brooklyn and Carl McCall of Harlem were there to pitch for votes. While McCall urged votes to black Democrats "who are committed to you," Owens apologized for being too busy campaigning on behalf of a black city council candidate to attend the earlier march. But he praised the BUF for its "sophistication" in not only "marching when it's time to march" but endorsing black candidates as well.

Former state senator and head of Brooklyn CORE Sam Pinn, along with Dr. Verinal Cave, former black member of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, and Cenie Williams, Coordinator of the City-wide Coalition of Black



Rev. Daughtry speaks at Wall Street rally surrounded by bodyguards.



Black United Front marchers on Wall Street November 6.

Organizations, all added their voices to the struggle to "put a black mayor in City Hall." Finally, a rather subdued Daughtry finished off the evening asserting it was time for blacks to begin to "run our own candidates."

Black Democrats vs. the Jewish Mayor

The present lash-up of black Democrats against the Koch administration began forming late last winter, soon after the mayor's inauguration. Koch, the epitome of the 1960's "reform Democrat," rode into office last year on the crest of a racist backlash with his advocacy of the death penalty and echoing the vicious "Night of the Animals" press hysteria which followed the July 1977 black-out. Nevertheless, after making the point that they carried some electoral clout by running out-going Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton in the primary, the black Democrats loyally swung their support to Koch. Now, like the AFL-CIO, bureaucracy which handed the key labor vote to Carter only to get the shaft, the black politicians have been screaming "betrayal."

But Koch had made his two-point program: get the unions and get the

blacks—clear from the beginning. Once in office he simply proceeded to carry it out. Declaring all-out war on what he called the "poverticians" he began wholesale firings of black administrators and a massive "reorganization" of the poverty programs themselves.

With all Koch's ranting about "getting tough" with welfare chiselers it was no surprise that the first blow-up with the black Democratic leaders came over his appointment of Blanche Bernstein to head the city's Human Resources Administration. Bernstein quickly distinguished herself as the first welfare commissioner ever to come out against an increase in welfare! Next came the forced resignation of Koch's human rights commissioner, Patricia Nieto-Ortiz, when she insisted on reviewing the city's own record of minority hiring. And on April 6 four black ministers sat in at Koch's office demanding more summer jobs for youth. Koch promptly ordered the cops to haul them off to the slammer.

Following these preliminaries Koch proceeded to go after two of the big poverty programs. He simply canceled the city's \$4 million contribution to the Addiction Services Agencies. Then he "reorganized" some \$6.3 million in

federal funds out of the Model Cities program while drastically cutting back its staff some 80 percent! Shortly afterwards two important black leaders, Harlem Congressman Charles B. Rangel and State Senator McCall (another featured speaker at Daughtry's rally) took Koch to court to try to stop any more "restructuring" of the city's poverty programs.

In an article, "Black Leaders Sue to Stop a Koch Move," reporting on the Rangel/McCall suit the *New York Times* (May 25) commented on what it characterized as the "rapidly growing, deep antagonism between the Mayor and [an] important segment of the city's black political leadership." In addition to the earlier mentioned beefs the black leaders cited a Koch plan to distribute federally funded summer youth jobs through a computerized lottery system instead of through the black churches, as well as complaints about the Mayor's lily-white "Silk Stocking" district inner circle. But to these charges mayoral aides replied to the *Times*:

"Under previous administrations, the Mayor's people say, black leaders—and particularly their antipoverty programs—had been made a part of the political clubhouse system and that these leaders are now upset at the loss of money, jobs and power."

As the months progressed the feud between the black pols and Koch found its reflection in the noisy press war between the liberal muckraking *Village Voice* and the black liberal *Amsterdam News*. With Percy Sutton a 37 percent stockholder, it was predictable that the black paper would be annoyed when the *Voice* lauded Koch's moves against the poverty programs. But the sparks really started to fly when Jack Newfield's April 10 article, "'Amsterdam News' Sells out Harlem," documented the paper's owners' extensive personal stake in the city's poverty programs.

Thus, according to Newfield, *Amsterdam News* publisher John Procope was a partner in the insurance-brokerage firm which held a \$10 million city contract to insure the day care centers. Head Start centers, senior citizens' halls and so forth. And the chairman of the paper's board of directors, John Edmonds, was (Newfield alleged) up until 1973 director of Harlem Model Cities, as well as attorney for the \$5 million federally funded corruption-riddled United Harlem Draglighters.

The *Amsterdam News* counterattacked the next week, saying that the Murdoch-owned *Village Voice* was in no position to sling mud. Newfield and the rest of the white liberals at the *Voice*, said the black paper, just played into Koch's hands with their exposés. A 15 April article, "Newfield: Apologizer for Koch," railed:

"Why has the *Amsterdam News* come under so vicious and unprincipled an attack by the liberal left? Mr. Newfield is concerned about the Mayor's 'commendable' plan for reorganizing the anti-poverty program.

"His problem is that the *Amsterdam News* understands the implications of the plan, nothing less than the consolidation of all federal funds for New York City in the hands of one omnipotent super poverty-pimp, Ed Koch."

Flashpoint

In the midst of the hewing patronage battle, on June 14, Arthur Miller was strangled to death by the cops, a

particularly gruesome crime even for the "guardians of law and order" who regularly shoot down unarmed ghetto youth in the streets. Miller was an enterprising black capitalist, the owner of a small construction firm as well as an active Democratic Party politician and founder of a local anti-poverty project. For the black politicians he was one of their own. The Crown Heights community was seething over the slaying of Miller; a furious crowd marched on City Hall demanding a stop to police brutality and the prosecution of his killers.

Then a strange thing happened. When, two days later, a black teenager, Victor Rhodes, was severely beaten by a Hasidic vigilante squad, Daughtry and the black politicians turned the protest away from the cops and onto the Jews. The black Democrats had, at last, found a way to increase their political clout—by cynically manipulating the uproar over the Miller killing. If the black poverty programs were being cut, it was because the Jews were getting too big a piece of the pie. The Hasidim, said the BUF, got "special treatment" at the hands of the Jewish mayor. "Every group," said Daughtry, "looks out for its own. Koch rewards his own kind." Organizing the "black community patrols," he threatened: "When the people of the long black coats meet our men, let us see what will happen."

On July 16 some 4,000 blacks marched on the Crown Heights Hasidic synagogue, shaking their fists and jeering. And while the black Democratic Party politicians cynically fanned the flames of ethnic hatred, bringing the Crown Heights tinderbox to the brink of a bloody race war, virtually the entire NYC left tailed after them. First to the Hasidic synagogue, then to the steps of the police precinct where Daughtry denounced not killer cops, but "Hasidic domination" of the police.

The Hasidic vigilante squads inevitably committed racist abuses. However, they are not the KKK—rather, they are the communalist response to black lumpen crime. The Hasidic community is neither a white oppressor caste nor is it a reactionary political group like the JDL with a political program to deny blacks their democratic rights. A marginal religious sect, they are simply a couple of rungs higher on the economic ladder than the West Indian blacks in the neighboring ghetto. Daughtry's "solution" was to organize counter-vigilantes, which simply escalates the likelihood of race war in Crown Heights. In such a situation of intercommunal hostility the only possible communist response is to call for breaking the vicious cycle of ethnic vigilantism. But the Spartacist League was the *only* organization with the courage and the Marxist program to take this position.

Since the summer the anti-Koch campaign of the black Democrats has continued. For the moment the BUF has ceased marching on synagogues. Nonetheless, Daughtry & Co. continue to fuel the flames of black anti-Semitism as a club with which to beat the Koch machine. At the November 6 demonstration Daughtry declared Koch ought to "be selling bagels on the street corner." And while at an October 31 planning meeting for the demonstration, attended by most of the participating left organizations, Daughtry focused on the demand "Justice for Arthur Miller," that same afternoon he announced the demonstration's goals:

"In a press conference on the City Hall steps Daughtry also called for an investigation of the Crown Heights Hasidic community which he called, 'kind of a Ku Klux Klan organization...' Daughtry pledged to dramatize his demands with a march on Wall Street next Monday..."

—New York Daily Press, 31 October

The Ten Demands

As the Black Solidarity Day marchers

came across the Brooklyn Bridge a TV reporter asked Daughtry whether the demonstration was just about the Arthur Miller case. Daughtry said no, it was about the same ten-point program he had posted on the door of City Hall on September 28. And a BUF leaflet, "Why We March," distributed on November 6 said of the ten demands: "These demands dealt with basic human needs, jobs, housing, hospital care and protection."

So who could object to a program demanding jobs, housing, hospital care and protection? Take a closer look. Demand number two, for instance, protests "White Racist Terror Attacks upon Blacks and People of Color." And what does this mean? The blurb in the right-hand column makes it explicit: "Hasidic Jews' vicious attack on Victor Rhodes..." In other words, the same blacks-vs.-Hasidic-Jews ethnic vigilantism which very nearly provoked communal riots last summer.

Or take demand number three, protesting "Inhuman Treatment of Blacks and Poor in the Human Resources Administration." This turns out to mean "Commissioner Blanche Bernstein must Resign or be Fired." And demand number four protests "Mayoral Control and Manipulation of CAP and Model Cities Programs." The right-hand column explains, "Koch has taken over poverty programs used to organize the poor and will now use them as his personal political patronage."

But for all of Daughtry's "anti-capitalist" rhetoric outside the Stock Exchange, the BUF demands do not call for a single new job! They simply call for changing the color of the faces of those distributing the "personal political patronage." As Baraka's CAP used to say, "black faces in high places" will not liberate the oppressed masses. Who would claim that blacks are better off in Tom Bradley's Los Angeles, Coleman Young's Detroit or Kenneth Gibson's Newark?

What serious black militants who want to struggle against the oppression of racial minorities in capitalist America must understand is that Koch's racist program of gutting the poverty programs and dumping the black administrators is not simply a patronage grab by a new gang in power. The mayor is simply carrying out on a local level the decision of a unanimous ruling class to go after the inner cities. The black populace and the programs thrown to them as sops during the turbulent 1960's are victims of the same attack which brought the axe of Big MAC and the EFCB down upon the city unions. And while virtually every one of the gains of the 1960's has been gutted or is now presently under frontal attack, instead of putting up a program to mobilize the masses to defend and extend what has been won, the Daughtrys, the Vanns, the McCalls and the Pinnas are only out to save their own hustles.

In contrast to the ethnic pork-harrelling which has been the name of the Democratic Party game in New York since the days of Tammany Hall, in contrast to the black clubhouse politicians and the reformists who seek to redivide the shrinking capitalist pie, in our recent electoral campaign the Spartacist League fought for a mobilization of NYC labor to lead behind it all sections of the oppressed in a powerful struggle against the loss of every single job, every single dollar of social services. We fought to link these demands to the need to go beyond the confines of the decaying capitalist system and fight for the victorious socialist revolution. Thus our campaign brochure demanded:

"Triple welfare! Unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages! Free quality health care for all! Restore and expand rent control—Expropriate the real estate corporations! Free mass

transit! Billions to save the subways!"

Integral to this program was the struggle against the kill-crazed NYC cops who shoot down unarmed black youth in cold blood, who regularly gun down turnstile jumpers for the price of a token. But what did Daughtry & Co. do when on October 25 a Brooklyn grand jury cleared the killers of Arthur Miller, ruling that his strangulation death was "accidental" since the cops were using regulation procedures? Did they march on the court house demanding the killer-cops to be jailed? Did they march on City Hall? No—when there was a chance to mobilize thousands of people in the streets, Daughtry and his BUF simply called for a federal investigation while keeping the black population out of the streets. Do nothing, they advised. Stay at home for the next two weeks, and

come out to the day-before-the-election rally!

For over six months the Arthur Miller case has refused to die. From the grizzly slaying of Miller last June to Koch's promise that there would be no whitewash to the court ruling last month that Miller's death was "accidental," the case stands as a living symbol of the racist "justice" in capitalist America. Yet for the careerist black Democratic Party politicians the case is being cynically manipulated as they push a well-orchestrated operation to further their own careers. It is a telling measure of the extreme crisis of leadership within the black population that this lush-up of patently self-serving, warmed-over black nationalists and Democratic hacks can pose as champions of the oppressed black masses. ■

Remember this Tradition?

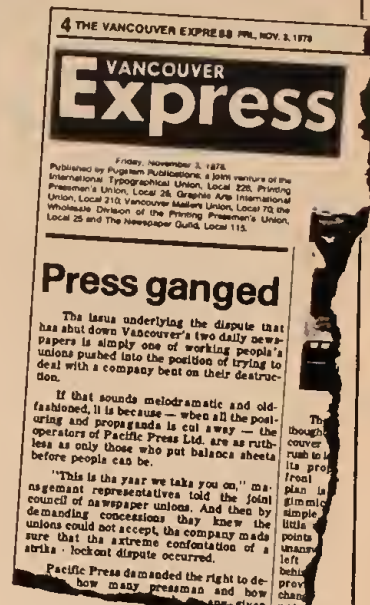
REPRINTED FROM
SPARTACIST CANADA,
NOVEMBER 1978

VANCOUVER, November 3—The first issue of the *Vancouver Express*, published by the six newspaper unions on strike against Pacific Press, hit the streets today. In its editorial, "Press ganged," the *Express* tells the strikers' side of the story and exposes the publishers' union-busting drive.

The strike against Pacific Press, which publishes Vancouver's two daily newspapers, the *Sun* and *The Province*, is the latest battle in a long war waged by newspaper publishers against the printing trades unions. "It's not just a strike—it's a war," said Phil Needham, the co-chairman of the press unions' joint bargaining council. Needham also pointed to the bitter 1975-76 *Washington Post* strike which broke the pressmen's union and strengthened the newspaper bosses' union-busting campaign. "Now the battleground is in Vancouver," he said.

The major issue in the strike is management's attempt to drastically cut the union's manning scale—the same job-slashing attack which provoked the New York newspaper strike. Reportedly, the publishers even offered to buy the union's manning clause out of the contract for a cool one million dollars (the money was to be spread out in a package deal to the pressmen). This deal to gut the newspaper unions was flatly rejected. The newspaper bosses' other tactic to break the unions is to exclude jobs from union jurisdiction through re-classification.

The Vancouver press unions have dug in for a long battle. The *Express*



Newspaper of striking Vancouver pressmen.

story on the strike reported that "the picket lines will remain up until all unions have ratified new collective agreements." The strikers have already taken an important step toward turning the tide on management's union-busting drive and winning public support for their battle by putting out their own newspaper. During the 1970 strike against Pacific Press the *Express* (which is published three times weekly) was Vancouver's only newspaper for three months. Stop the newspaper bosses' union-busting drive! Victory to the Vancouver press strike! ■

Vancouver's Labor Newspaper

Here is some welcome news from Canada's Pacific coast—a labor battle in which the workers haven't started out with both hands tied behind their backs. In New York the leaders of the pressmen's union from the beginning agreed to manning cutbacks and argued only over how many jobs should be lost. But the Vancouver unions are demanding no tampering with their manning scales as the precondition for serious bargaining. This demand, if firmly maintained, poses the possibility of a real victory against the cost-cutting publishers instead of yet another setback, however qualified.

The Vancouver unions also have armed themselves with a potentially powerful weapon in publishing their own newspaper. Though bogged down by capitalist advertising (which it has cornered despite a boycott

being urged by the Board of Trade, Canada's Chamber of Commerce), the *Express* can present the unions' side of the story, fill the void for the newspaper-reading public and cement union solidarity by providing jobs for strikers and those respecting their picket lines.

During the New York press strike, the Spartacist League championed the call for a labor daily newspaper, printed at NYC union scale and mobilizing the rest of the labor movement for financial support rather than relying on capitalist advertising. The Vancouver *Express* is not so bold and audacious an effort, but with solidarity on the picket lines and determination by the strikers not to relent to takeaways, it could help turn the tide against the continent-wide assaults of the profit-hungry publishers.

The defeat of imperialism in Angola is the heaviest blow which it has suffered in the West in all of history," wrote well-known Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez, giving the credit to the Cuban leaders, whom he praised for "the speed and calmness with which they acted, fully realizing the consequences." Even allowing for literary hyperbole, the historical evaluation is rather out of proportion. But García Márquez' enthusiasm for Fidel Castro's "revolutionary mission" in Africa is characteristic of a whole spectrum of left-wingers who have been searching for a popular cause ever since the end of the Vietnam War.

Although this reaction was most typical of "Third World" nationalists and Stalinist fellow travelers, it was also reflected in those claiming the revolutionary heritage of Trotskyism. Among the leaders of Ernest Mandel's misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), the most starry-eyed was the voluble armchair guerrilla Ixio Maitan, who proclaimed, "Cuba's decisive commitment to a crucial anti-imperialist battle has few precedents in the history of past decades." (*Imprecor*, 18 March 1976)

But even the social-democratic, reformist wing of the USec, led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), leaped to Castro's side. In the 28 July 1978 *Militant*, the introduction to a major centerfold article by veteran SWP leader Joe Hansen on "Cuba and

The Kremlin's Lieutenant in Africa

CASTRO EXPORTS STALINIST BETRAYAL



"peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist powers and their capitalist system?"

His answer:

"But in Africa, Cuban activities have greatly increased instability at the expense of the imperialist powers. Castro has followed a course that closed off rather than invited a deal with American imperialism. This fact alone speaks decisively against the contention that the events in Africa offer proof that a hardened bureaucratic caste has taken over in Cuba."

Some of Hansen's arguments are downright ludicrous, such as his attempt to claim independent initiative by Castro in Africa on the basis that the Kremlin could have used Latvians, Poles or Czechs instead and "Cuba is the farthest from the scene." Others are blatantly anti-Marxist, such as his "constructive criticism" urging Castro & Co. to "go all the way" rather than limiting Cuban foreign policy to "anti-imperialism":

"The Cubans seem to be primarily interested in bolstering the anti-imperialist aspects of the upheavals in these areas [Angola and Ethiopia]. But to overlook the struggle for socialist goals can only prove counter-productive."

This sharp distinction between anti-imperialist and socialist goals is a direct

historical falsification of past USec positions. In accord with the SWP's post-1969 turn away from vicarious guerrillaism (more recently joined by the Mandelite USec majority), in his introduction he criticizes the Guevarist line of continental guerrilla war as "based on a misjudgment of both the Cuban experience and the possibilities for its repetition".

"The general conclusion to be drawn from this turn of events is that more effective means than a guerrilla hand is required to lead the struggle for socialism."

But back in 1963, in the first flush of petty-bourgeois radical enthusiasm for Castroism, the USec was founded on the basis of support to guerrillaism. One of the main lessons to be drawn from the Cuban and Chinese experiences, wrote the SWP in the USec's founding document, was that "guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces... can play a decisive role in... precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power" ("For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement"). Another document from the USec's reunification congress spoke of the possibility of "coming to power even with a blunted instrument" in backward countries.

This rewriting of history is not accidental, for in order to portray Castro's foreign policy as "anti-imperialist" the USec has systematically distorted and covered up the actual policies of Havana. Thus in answering Joseph Hansen's "Trotskyist" apologies for Castroism it is necessary to look at the facts. The early period from 1961 to 1965 is analyzed in our article, "Castro's Search for Hemispheric Detente" (*BT* No. 141, 21 January 1977). Here, in reviewing the zig-zags of Cuban foreign policy since the "heroic period" of Guevarism in the mid-1960's, we shall show that despite a frequently more militant flavor—the consequences of Cuba's situation as a besieged island outpost—Castroite policy throughout has been fundamentally nationalist, circumscribed (where not directly dictated) by the dévante policies of its big brothers in the Kremlin bureaucracy.

From the Tricontinental to OLAS

Hansen argues that in the early years the Cuban government "both politically and materially" aided attempts to spread revolutionary guerrilla struggles throughout Latin America, culminating in the 1967 OI AS conference. Other USec leaders have similarly praised Guevara's talk of a continental revolution:

"... this concept, which is essentially Trotskyist and opposed to the false theory of socialism in one country, has

been adopted by the Fidelista leadership of the Cuban Revolution. The appeal in the Second Declaration of Havana and the resolution of the [1966] Tricontinental Congress calling on the Latin American masses to take political power are examples of this."

Hugo Gonzales Morosco, "The Cuban Revolution and its Lessons," in Ernest Mandel, ed., *Fifty Years of World Revolution, 1917-1967*

To begin with, the Tricontinental's theses do not endorse the permanent revolution any more than did the "Second Declaration of Havana" with its call for unity with "the most progressive layers of the bourgeoisie." The most "advanced" demands in the general declaration of the Tricontinental Conference were for:

"... the right of national control of basic resources, of nationalization of the banks and vital enterprises, of state control of foreign trade and exchange, of growth of the public sector, of reconsideration and repudiation of spurious and anti-national debts..., of the realization of a true agrarian reform which eliminates feudal and semi-feudal property."

Tricontinental No. 3, November-December 1967

There is absolutely nothing here that "African socialists," Latin American nationalist generals and other "Third World" populist demagogues could not endorse—and a good number of them did sign it, including the likes of Guinea's Sékou Touré and Cheddi Jagan of Guyana. The conference also included a number of the most right-wing Latin American Communist parties, and by a vote of 31 to 9 it endorsed the Soviet line of "peaceful coexistence" (Adolfo Gilly, "A Conference Without Glory and Without Program," *Monthly Review*, April 1966).

The most dramatic confirmation of the Stalinist character of the Cuban leadership at the Tricontinental conference was Castro's virulent attack on Trotskyism. His tirade was directed against the Posadas tendency—a hysterical split-off from the USec which after a decade and a half of marginal existence has since fractured and disappeared into the shadowy fringes of the Latin American left—denouncing the Posadistas' claim that Castro had crushed a Guevara faction and "eliminated" "Che." The "jele máximo" dragged out the time-worn slanders that Trotskyists are "known to be at the service of Yankee imperialism, as is the Fourth International." And he bitterly denounced the Guatemalan MR-13, which had ties with the Posadistas and called for socialist revolution, while praising the rival FAR, led by the Guatemalan Stalinists and calling only for "democratic" revolution.

The response of Hansen ("Adolfo

PART III OF WV SERIES

STALINIST RULE IN CUBA

Africa" proclaimed that one thing that had not changed in the 20 years since the Cuban Revolution was "the Castro leadership's support for anti-imperialist struggles around the world."

Hansen's article is now the introduction to a book collecting his writings on Cuba, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1978). In it he poses the latest turn in Castro's foreign policy as a striking confirmation of his (and the USec's) longstanding description of Cuba as a healthy, non-Stalinist workers state and of Castro as a revolutionary Marxist. Hansen asks:

"What does Havana's rising influence in African affairs show about the present status of the Cuban revolution? Has a parasitic caste become entrenched in



Fidel greets Leonid Brezhnev at Havana airport.

Specchio

Cuba? Has the revolution degenerated to such a point that it must now be said that a Stalinist regime has usurped power? With the wisdom of hindsight must it now be acknowledged that the Cuban revolution was Stalinist-led from the beginning? Or do the new developments speak otherwise, indicating continuation of a policy to extend the revolution internationally, thus cutting across the Stalinist policy of

reflection of the Stalinist shibboleth of "two-stage revolution." The Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution holds that in the present epoch a struggle against imperialism is impossible without directly challenging capitalist rule.

In order to claim that his early 1960's analyses had withstood the test of time, Hansen is forced to engage in direct

Gilly, Fidel Castro and the Fourth International," reprinted in *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*) was to mildly rebuke Castro for "repeating" Stalinist slanders, express the hope that his attack on Trotskyism would only be "an episodic step backwards," and spend most of the article taking the *Posadistas* to task, among other things for the latter's charge that Cuba supported Kremlin-style peaceful coexistence. (In the early 1960's, when Castro had the Cuban Trotskyists arrested and the printing plates for an edition of Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* smashed on the presses—Hansen & Co. maintained a criminal silence.) Not until old-line Stalinist hack Blas Roca—the "Earl Browder of Cuba"—did Hansen really open up his guns, and even then he was extremely cautious lest any of his words be taken as an attack on "the Castro team," which of course includes the likes of Blas Roca.

Coming out of the Tricontinental were two Cuban-led international organizations, the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAI) and the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS). OSPAAI soon proved to be stillborn and did little more than publish its magazine. In contrast, the Cubans at first made an attempt at building OLAS, including setting up national committees. It even held a conference in 1967 which Hansen hailed as "an encouraging achievement and step forward for the world revolution." Two years later a congress of the fake-Trotskyist USec voted that its Latin American work would henceforth be based above all on: "Integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by the Cuban revolution and the OLAS" ("Resolution on Latin America," *Intercontinental Press*, 14 July 1969).

By that time Hansen had gotten cold feet about Guevarist guerrillaism and opposed the resolution of the Mandel majority. But that was hardly the tack he took in 1967. In a glowing report ("The OLAS Conference: Tactics and Strategy of a Continental Revolution," reprinted in his latest book), he began by trying to butter up Castro by "explaining" the latter's anti-Trotskyist diatribe at the Tricontinental. According to the SWP leader's disgusting apology, this "was taken by all vanguard elements with any real knowledge of the Trotskyist movement as at best a mistaken identification of Trotskyism with the bizarre sect of J. Posadas and at worst nothing but a belated echo of old Stalinist slanders, the purpose of which remained completely obscure." He went on to prettify the conference itself:

"... the political meaning of the OLAS conference is absolutely clear. It regis-



Lefori/Gamma-Liaison



Couret/Gamma-Liaison

Above: Ethiopian dictator Mengistu hosting Fidel on recent visit to Addis Ababa. Below: Cuban troops in Ethiopia.

place, Castro did *not* break with all right-wing CP currents: except for the CP's of Argentina and Brazil, every other Latin American pro-Moscow party attended the OLAS meeting. And as for the crime of the Venezuelans, he only demanded that it return to its 1962-65 policy of supporting the MIR guerrillas.

Hansen goes on to generalize that, "The question of armed struggle was thus taken at the OLAS conference as the decisive dividing line, separating the revolutionists from the reformists on a continental scale. In this respect it echoed the Bolshevik tradition." Nonsense. The Bolsheviks considered the Russian anarchists and narodniks (who certainly believed in "armed struggle")

hand, an apology for "Third World" Stalinism.

Bolivia-Prague: Castro's Right Turn

Furthermore, it was not long after the OLAS conference that the Cuban regime itself put down the gun, if only temporarily. The disastrous adventure of Che Guevara in Bolivia, while testimony to the dedication of the courageous band so vilely assassinated by the CIA and their Bolivian cohorts, was a political and military fiasco from every standpoint. In an emotional speech to a crowd in Revolution Square Castro put the blame on the Bolivian Communist Party for not coming through with promised reinforcements. But then it was the Cuban leadership that decided to rely on the Kremlin's Bolivian waterboys—who only did what came naturally—just as they built the Tricontinental and OLAS conferences on the participation of the Latin American CP's, and bitterly broke with the Guatemalan guerrilla group (MR-13) which refused to accept Stalinist domination.

Moreover, taken together with the annihilation of Castroite and Maoist guerrilla groups in Peru, as well as the difficult straits of the Venezuelan FALN and the Guatemalan FAR, it was obvious even to crass empiricists that the whole Guevarist strategy of peasant guerrillaism was a failure. (This wisdom did not, however, extend to the USec, whose tailist appetites are so strong as to blind them not only to Marxist principle but even to simple fact. In 1969 they proclaimed rural guerrilla war as the axis of Latin American struggles for the coming period; when *not one* such struggle occurred, they concluded in 1974 that "armed struggle" should include urban guerrillas as well; and when these disappeared as well they concluded late last year that they had misjudged the rhythm of events. To say

the least.) The Cuban regime evidently concluded that the massive Pentagon/CIA counterinsurgency programs had worked, and consequently cut off the meager arms supply to the bedraggled hands of their supporters strung out along the foothills of the Andes.

Still under considerable pressure from the Yankee imperialist colossus to the north (Castro once remarked that U.S. politicians went into a frenzy because Cuba was only 90 miles from Florida, they should think what he must feel like with the world's most powerful imperialist state a mere 90 miles from Havana), the Cubans apparently also decided to mend their fences with Moscow, in return for stepped-up Soviet military and economic aid. So when on August 23, 1968 Soviet tanks rolled into Prague, Castro went on the airwaves to support the *Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia*. This speech was a rude awakening for many a Latin American Castroite, and should have shaken even the USec. But so mired had these ex-Trotskyists become to excusing the inexcusable, that Joe Hansen wrote a lengthy article ("Fidel Castro and the Events in Czechoslovakia," reprinted in this collection) in which he "regrets" in passing that Castro did not see the Czech invasion as one of the Kremlin's worst crimes ever... and then goes on for pages in praise of Castro's criticisms of peaceful coexistence!

Aside from the introduction, the last article in *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* was written in 1970. Thus more than half a decade of Cuban foreign policy is not even mentioned in Hansen's book. It is not accidental that this is the period when some of the most egregious opportunist acts were committed by the Castro regime—betrayals which the USec would like to wish away. During this time Castro sidled up to every even mildly nationalist populist in Latin America, with a special affection for military regimes, praising their "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary" credentials. Meanwhile, the remaining guerrillas were left to fend for themselves. Douglas Bravo, leader of the Venezuelan FALN, when he broke with Havana in 1970 denounced the Cubans for "concentrating exclusively on strengthening their economy and suspending all aid to the Latin American revolutionary movements" (*Le Monde*, 15 January 1970).

Castro's favorite during the early 1970's was the Peruvian military government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado. In 1969 he hailed the leftist junta in Lima as a "new phenomenon," namely that of "a group of progressive officers playing a revolutionary role" (cited in Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Cuba in the 1970's: Pragmatism and Institutionalization* [1974]). Another of these "pistol-packing progressives" was General Omar Torrijos of Panama, who last year grabbed headlines by negotiating a new Panama Canal treaty with Jimmy Carter allowing the U.S. to retain control of the Canal Zone until the year 2000, and an unlimited right to reinvade thereafter so long as it claims a threat to canal operations. In addition to praising this U.S.-trained bonaparte as a revolutionary, Castro counseled patience to Torrijos, reminding him that the U.S. still controlled the Guantánamo naval base and adding, "We are not in a hurry" to recover it (*New York Times*, 13 January 1976).

Elsewhere in the Caribbean basin, the Cubans have been wooing Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley. Manley accompanied Castro to the 1973 Algiers conference of "non-aligned" countries, supported Cuban intervention in Angola against the South Africa/CIA imperialist attack, and reportedly has had elite police units trained in Havana (see "Political Gang Warfare Escalates in Jamaica," *WV* No. 118, 16 July 1976). And showing that "hygones can be bygones," in the last couple of years Cuiha has been on the friendliest of terms with Guyanese prime

continued on page 9



Castro with Pinochet during the Allende regime.

tered the fundamental differentiation of the Cuban revolution from the old Communist parties and their class-collaborationist policies."

To justify this interpretation, Castro's attack on the Venezuelan Communist Party was blown up into a break with all the "right-wing CP currents." In the first

as "liberals in disguise." And any number of reformist/nationalist/populist currents have been willing to engage in guerrilla warfare under particular circumstances. J.V. Stalin himself was not notably reluctant to "pick up the gun." Hansen's line is nothing but Maoist-Castroist contra-

Trotskyist Politics on NYC Street Corners



From left to right: SYL supporter in garment district, Gene Herson of the seamen's Militant-Solidarity Caucus, Stamberg supporting striking pressmen and speaking at Sheridan Square, unionist addresses rally at supermarket and Stamberg discusses Spartacist program at NMU hall

WV Photos

Stamberg Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

against the same Democratic incumbent, on an "independent" line with the active support of the CP and "community control" advocates of Spanish-speaking Chelsea. When he received 4.6 percent, it was noted as one of the best showings for any radical candidate anywhere in the U.S. that year.

Stamberg's impressive showing was not merely part of a general protest vote. In fact, there was less overlap among the votes cast for the left parties than one might have expected. Thus in many election districts Stamberg did well where the SWP/CP did not. In one Chelsea district, for instance, the Spartacist Party got 20 votes, the CP 8 and the SWP 2. Yet we campaigned hard in the ILGWU cooperatives and did not get many votes, whereas the CP rolled up most of its vote for the entire assembly district in these few blocks.

We ran an intensive campaign. Unlike the reformists whose primary purpose is to achieve credentials as a respectable "socialist alternative" electoral party, we run to make communist propaganda. So we ran for an office that did not require us to spend too much time collecting petition signatures. Instead, we revived the soap-box street corner rally, handed out thousands of pages of literature, pasted up posters on lamp posts and subway stations, gave interviews to local newspapers. From the first public act of the campaign—supporting the striking pressmen on their picket lines—we wanted the residents of the 64th Assembly District to know that here was a revolutionary socialist campaign going on.

We wanted to make people sit up and take notice. We wanted to show them that the program of socialist revolution bears no resemblance to rotten liberalism or to the reformism of the second-hand Democrats of the CP and SWP. In liberal Greenwich Village, we ran against all that liberals hold dear. Sometimes it must have seemed to them that we had a four-point program: for the dreaded Westway, against gun

control, for the defense of the Soviet Union, down with Carter's "human rights" crusade. We attacked the liberals' most cherished illusions in the capitalist state, to which they look to "protect" black schoolchildren and "democratize" the unions. In the heart of the gay ghetto at Sheridan Square, we attacked not only the Democrats' assault on gays' democratic rights but also the dangerous illusions of "gay power."

We wanted to be visible and controversial. And we attracted a lot of attention. In *Gaysweek*, one of the most widely circulated gay newspapers in the city, a favorable article concentrated on the Spartacist League's program to fight the oppression of homosexuals and women. Even the punk culture vultures of the *Soho News* felt obliged to attack Stamberg's communist campaign with personal insult and "camp" McCarthyism.

Our biggest publicity "coup" was a sympathetic notice by *Village Voice* columnist Joe Conason (6 November). Explaining Stamberg was "campaigning simply to raise the consciousness of voters against the capitalist system," he presented excerpts from the Spartacist Party program:

"Her program puts forward little-mentioned solutions to the city's difficulties, some of which have a distinct appeal: expropriation of the

banks, Con Edison, and New York Telephone (where Stamberg worked); restoration of free admission to the city university system; and the abolition of the Emergency Financial Control Board."

Of course, he singled out for criticism Stamberg's opposition to "petty-bourgeois" ecology faddism.

At the election night celebration, Stamberg noted it was the enormous effort of the New York Spartacist League that "put us on the map in this city." The election campaign was "not so much more than we usually do, but much more visible."

The Truth Doesn't Hurt

The campaign confirmed much of what we knew was true about political life in America, reminded us of some things we hadn't thought much about for a while, and taught us some things.

Our anti-electoralist bias nearly pushed us into some mistakes early on. As Stamberg said after the election: "For us it seemed right for everyone to go out and vote for the central committee of his choice." In the process we almost forgot to publicize our candidate. Finally we realized we had to strike a balance between our program and the candidate who carried it.

It is axiomatic in American bourgeois election campaigns that politicians lie. In fact, in common parlance the words

"campaign promises" are understood to mean "cynical lie." And the reformists play the same game; they just lie about different things: that the bourgeois government can be "pressured" into fighting for working people, that whatever is popular is right.

Just how powerful the truth can be was demonstrated in a central campaign debate when the Spartacist League confronted the CP and SWP (see "Race War or Class War," *WV* No. 218, 3 November). While the SWP lied to cover for the black Democratic pork-barrelers in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, we told the truth about what happened—that a protest which should have been mounted against killer-cop brutality marched instead on a synagogue.

During the campaign, we were struck by the depth of electoralist illusions among the American public. (In fact, many people take voting so seriously that they gave our candidate a hearing that we might not otherwise get.) It is a testament to American backwardness that so many workers are deceived by the electoral process, an exercise in illusion-mongering controlled by the ruling class (and junked when capitalist expediency requires). And we were disgusted by the extent to which the reformists add to these deadly illusions.

With strikingly similar programs and aims, the CP and SWP ran quite similar campaigns. During one televised round-table of minor candidates, the moderator asked the CP's Jarvis Tyner and the SWP's Dianne Feeley "what the differences are between the SWP and the CP." There were no takers. Finally Tyner told the moderator that if he listened "carefully" he could "detect" a difference between the parties' programs, adding quickly that of course they shared "the same general approach." Evidently the SWP isn't too embarrassed by its overt kinship with a party it still formally characterizes as reformist. On another TV appearance, Feeley said the SWP liked "some [!] of Trotsky's ideas!"

Marjorie Stamberg did not win the election. But the Spartacist election campaign was a bolshevik victory for those who believe in Trotsky's ideas and fight for his program of international proletarian revolution. ■

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Castro...

(continued from page 7)

minister Forbes Burnham. This is the same man who in 1964 ousted former Castro crony Cheddi Jagan from power with the aid of the CIA!

Most treacherous of all was the Cuban leader's political support to Salvador Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government in Chile. US leaders lavished praise on Castro for his 1967 denunciation of the Venezuelan CP's support for a "peaceful road" to revolution; but when three years later the Chilean popular front came to office through elections, the historical protagonist of guerrilla war had nothing but praise for Allende's UP. In fact, when Castro visited Chile in November 1971 he said in a speech to the trade-union federation: "...there was never any contradiction between the concepts of the Cuban Revolution and the paths followed by the left movement and the workers' parties in Chile" (*Fidel in Chile* [1972]). Castro reportedly voiced "confidential" criticisms to Allende about the lack of mass mobilization, but the popular front government publicly hailed by the Cuban leader meanwhile was politically disarming the workers by preaching faith in the "constitutional" military and "democratic" bourgeoisie. The price of this treachery: more than 30,000 dead, 500,000 exiled, a revolutionary opportunity smashed.

Cuba in Africa

In a manner similar to China during the period before Nixon's 1971 foreign policy shift, the rulers of the Cuban deformed workers state have followed a somewhat more aggressive foreign policy line than their Kremlin mentors, without however ceasing to base themselves on the narrow nationalist considerations of a Stalinist bureaucracy. "Reformism under the gun," we called it in the case of the Maoists. And when an opportunity presented itself to regain an aura of revolutionary militancy while doing a favor for Brezhnev, Castro & Co. leaped at the chance. The opening was the battle over Angola which followed the end of Portuguese colonial rule in late 1975.

It is Cuba's new role in Africa that has elicited panegyrics from all the tired radicals of yesteryear, now respectable but still yearning for a good cause. As Washington debates whether Castro is merely a pawn of the Russians, the pseudo-Marxists follow suit. Author Garcia Márquez, who when he ventures into politics is a sycophantic adulator of Fidel, has published a lengthy interview with his *comandante supremo* in which he describes how Cuba independently decided to aid the Angolan MPLA against the South African/CIA assault. Hansen also concludes that "the Castro regime exercised a certain initiative in bringing Cuban influence to bear...." Perhaps it did, although it obviously could not have acted without Soviet agreement (all the weaponry and most of the transport supporting Cuban troops in Angola and Ethiopia are Russian).

To buttress his thesis that Cuba is a non-bureaucratized workers state with a revolutionary leadership (albeit rather dull-witted—after all, Castro has been an "unconscious Trotskyist" for well-nigh 20 years now according to the I Sec), Hansen tries to argue that Castro's policy is to "extend the revolution internationally, thus cutting across the Stalinist policy of 'peaceful coexistence' with the imperialist powers...." Here he has clearly struck out, for the Cubans insistently maintain that their policies in Africa are in consonance with détente. Indeed, at the first (!) congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in December 1975, while the fighting in Angola was proceeding at full tilt and thousands of Cuban troops were aboard troop carriers in mid-Atlantic, the Castro leadership formally adopted détente as official party policy.

Why is the SWP so eager to rush to the support of Cuba's African ventures? Most likely for a variety of reasons. One is indicated by Hansen's curious remark: "A new aspect of this involvement is its legality...." In responding to the appeal [of the MPLA], the Cubans acted in accordance with international law! Contrary to Hansen's remark quoted earlier, there was a significant sector of the U.S. bourgeoisie which saw Castro as a stabilizing influence in Africa. Unwilling to tie American fortunes to the doomed Rhodesian regime and hated South Africa, they saw Cuban troops as preventing a bloody, inconclusive civil war in Angola and restraining the unpredictable demagogue Mengistu in Ethiopia. Thus U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young noted on a television interview that "there's a sense in which the Cubans bring a certain stability and order to Angola" (*New York Times*, 3 February 1977). Hansen is remembering the days when the SWP made a political bloc with the defeatist wing of the Democratic Party over Vietnam.

Another reason is certainly to cover up its own infamous neutrality during the heat of the 1975-76 South African invasion. At that time the SWP refused to take sides between the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA and the CIA-financed FNLA or South African-aided UNITA. In a National Committee report in the 23 January 1976 *Militant* (the South African invasion was launched in late October 1975), SWP spokesman Tony Thomas speculated:

"If the imperialist intervention increases, as seems quite likely, we may decide to favor the victory of one or another of the groups on tactical grounds, but of course without giving it any political support."

In point of fact, the SWP never got around to adjusting its line while the fighting was going on, causing it some notoriety within the United Secretariat.

Hansen's former Latin American bloc partners (in the decade-long factional struggle in the USec), led by chameleon-like Nahuel Moreno, taxed the SWP for not giving military support to the MPLA at this crucial moment and for later twisting the facts to hide its position. The SWP even went so far as

to republish a "finally edited" version of Thomas' NC report (in the hook *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* [1976]) which dropped the apologies for the FNLA and UNITA while adding post factum their revised line that imperialist invasion could/did change the character of the war. Having accomplished this sleight-of-hand they then published a dishonest internal document (Doug Jenness and Tony Thomas, "The SWP's Policy in Relation to Angola: Historic Error or a Record to Be Proud Of?" *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, July 1977) claiming to be incensed at the Morenoites' accusation.

More recently the SWP has run into flak from the Mandel ex-majority (now formally dissolved, but still with its own international publication), which after being slightly camouflaged Castroites for eight years suddenly comes up with orthodox-sounding "Trotskyist" criticisms of Cuban foreign policy in Africa. The same issue of *Inprecor* (21 September 1978) which publishes a translation of Hansen's introduction also contains a counter-article by Mandelite Africa "expert" Claude Gabriel on "The Role of Cuba in Africa." After excoriating Cuba for the brutal repression of leftists by its allies in Angola and Ethiopia—something Hansen mentions only by-the-by—he notes:

"It would thus be wrong to mechanically conclude from the existence of conflicts between Cuba and imperialism in Africa that the Castroite leadership is outside the framework of peaceful coexistence."

Both of these attacks on Hansen are essentially after-the-fact rationalizations. The Morenoites are quite experienced at cover-up and distortion themselves (having stonewalled it for several years over their scandalous political support to the Peronist government of Argentina in 1974-75) and simply want a factional club to beat the SWP. The more extreme Mandelites, on the other hand, have a case of sour grapes after getting hurned in their guerrillaist fling.

Unlike the SWP—whose reformist capitulation before the imperialist liberals led it to adopt a pro-FNLA/UNITA "neutrality" during the 1975-76 imperialist power grab in Angola; and unlike the Mandel wing of the USec,

which supported the MPLA in the nationalist feuding before the South African invasion changed the character of the civil war, the Spartacist tendency has maintained a principled policy of proletarian political independence from all the rival nationalists while calling for military victory to the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA against the imperialist drive (see "Smash Imperialist Power Play in Angola!" *WP* No. 85, 14 November 1975).

Hansen & Co. are forced to systematically distort Cuban policies—and even surreptitiously rewrite their own—because they long ago abandoned their formal Trotskyist program in favor of tailing after "Third World" Stalinism and later their "own" bourgeoisie. The Spartacist tendency has been *unique* in holding that the Cuban workers state was qualitatively bureaucratically deformed from its inception. Although a hardened bureaucratic caste had not been congealed at first, the predominance of a bonapartist leadership in the absence of soviet forms of workers democracy was *decisive*—as we wrote more than 15 years ago (see "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International" [July 1963], in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9)—in determining the Stalinist character of the Castro regime.

While calling for militant defense of the Cuban revolution against imperialist attack, we pointed out that the hardening bureaucracy was programmatically incapable of leading the imperialist struggle which was its only hope of victory in the long run; it would have to be replaced through a proletarian political revolution. As Castro has become increasingly obviously enmeshed in the Kremlin's global maneuvers, abandoning its guerrilla supporters, lauding "anti-imperialist" generals and the like, it is our Marxist analysis that is confirmed over and over. Hansen's attempt to invent a mythical revolutionary role for Castro, whose African policies are simply part of a broader Soviet effort to gain a little elbow room within the framework of détente, is factually inaccurate, theoretically bankrupt and politically liquidationist.

And it doesn't explain Cuban policy in Africa or anywhere else. ■

NYC Press Covers Trotskyist Candidate



SWP Bows to Holy Man Khomeini

The Iranian masses have taken to the streets in opposition to the terror of the blood-drenched Pahlavi monarchy. The shah's absolutist regime, facing an enraged population, is now reduced to its two essential bases of support, the army and American imperialism. But rather than a plebeian mobilization threatening to deal the death blow to the shah's white terror, or even a bourgeois-led "democratic" movement, the current opposition is an amorphous movement led by the organized Islamic clergy.

The religious leaders' control over mass demonstrations has forced fake-leftists around the world to adopt all sorts of political contortions. For Stalinists, well experienced at dressing up everyone from Chiang Kai-shek to Nasser to even Idi Amin, portraying the revered leader of the opposition, the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini, as a "progressive" is second nature. But swallowing this line has apparently posed some problems for the ex-Trotskyists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has long paraded about as the most consistent tailists of the feminist movement on the American left. They also publish the works of Leon Trotsky. So when the SWP was faced with a mass-based opposition to the shah which at times stoned women for not wearing the symbol of medieval oppression, the veil, even these veteran cynics have had to go through some gyrations to claim that black is white, that the *ulama's* Muslim fundamentalism is really "a step forward." But they have made the effort, nonetheless, for the mullahs have indeed achieved the SWP's one criterion for support: "mass action in the streets."

The obscene spectacle of an ostensibly Trotskyist organization (not to mention anyone claiming to be socialist, democratic or even secular) supporting a drive for a Muslim theocracy drew a critical letter from an ex-member, Marvin Garson, and a long response by SWPer David Frankel in the *Militant* of 3 November. The writer of the letter observed that the Muslim leaders' opposition to the shah was based on a hatred of alcohol, movies, women's rights and other "pornographic" aspects of Western culture and that the mullahs demand control over any parliamentary body—in short that this was a *reactionary* mobilization. The letter further noted that "I saw nothing in your coverage, no facts that is, to counter that impression, especially on the crucial point of emancipation of women, which the revolt seemed to oppose."

Frankel's response is filled with the predictably opportunist talk of mass struggles irreversibly set in motion, of ever unfolding revolutionary "dynamics" and "processes," and so on. He tries to claim that the religious leaders don't determine the political thrust of the anti-shah movement, don't control this movement, are irrelevant to the future course of the struggle and in any case were "progressive" in the early stages of the movement. Anyhow, says Frankel, it's all been blown up by the bourgeois press anyway! Garson, however, had already homed in on the SWP's cynical tailism in his description of the *Militant's* journalism: "So much on the extent of the fighting in Iran, and so little on the character of it" (emphasis in original).

The Ostrich Peers About

In order to portray the mullah-led movement as a democratic one, the SWP suppresses the Muslim preachers' unashamedly reactionary slogans. One would never know from the *Militant* that the followers of exiled Ayatollah Khomeini shouted for "Death or the Veil" in the streets of Tahriz; that the

religious center of Qom is a city completely bereft of movies, non-religious literature, bars or women without the traditional *chador* (veil or cloak); that Khomeini is a staunch anti-communist who adamantly refuses any collaboration with the left; that the protesters' choice of targets is motivated by the "anti-imperialism" of the Koran; "insidious" hanks, "immodest" movies, etc.

Amazingly, Frankel's article does not mention Khomeini's name *once*. Given Khomeini's role as the head of the religious opposition and his portrait which adorns virtually every demonstration, this ostrich-like posture is untenable. So in a subsequent *Militant* (17 November) we find the following brazen statement among its usual turgid

position on the question of women's rights. Only a year ago the SWP's co-thinkers in the Iranian Sattar League gave a central role 28 paragraphs in their programmatic document to a long exposition on the women's movement in Iran. In a country still under the sway of medieval obscurantism they threw in every plank of the National Organization for Women's program down to 24-hour day care. Wrote the Sattar League: "Religious superstition and all the backward hierarchical social relationships will be challenged by the growth of the women's movement" (quoted in *SWP International Information Bulletin*, July 1977). But that was before Khomeini.

Now the SWP is confronted with a "women's movement" which serves as

the proletariat by *re-opening* the Tehran bazaar which had been shut down as part of a religious-led protest. While genuine Marxists seek to break the proletariat from the reactionary mullahs, the SWP seeks to tie them to Khomeini.

Where Reformism Leads

For years the SWP distinguished itself by its pacifist, civil-libertarian approach to the Iranian class struggle. Despite the shah's savage suppression of strikes, gunning down of leftist guerrillas and arrest and torture of student militants, the SWP's pet creation was a Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI)—a committee which hauled Iranian leftist opponents into U.S. courts to face deportation and which dismissed defense of the royal murderer's leftist opponents as subordinate to the question of what poetry was considered printable in Iran.

These sniveling social democrats even had the temerity to publicly polemicize against the call to smash the shah's blood-drenched dictatorship as being mere "wishful thinking" (see "Down With the Shah"—SWP Says No," *W/1* No. 191, 3 February 1978). And the SWP's studied refusal to raise any slogan demanding the overthrow of the shah hit paydirt when Ramsey Clark, formerly the U.S. bourgeoisie's top cop, became a prominent backer of CAIFI.

Today in Iran, however, the sacking of banks, offices, movie theaters, etc., and the calls of "Death to the shah!" are the handwork of a bourgeois opposition which tries to pass itself off in the "respectable" trappings of "democracy." So now the pages of the *Militant* are supersaturated with uncritical enthusiasm for these Muslim-led protests. If a fundamentalist-religious opposition is willing to champion the 1906-07 Constitution for its guarantees of mullah veto power over all civil legislation, then the SWP is willing to praise these newfound "democrats" to the skies.

For several years now the SWP has been mucking around in the Iranian student movement in the U.S. trying to pass off liberal civil libertarianism as Trotskyism. Now that the question of state power is sharply posed, the Stalinist frenzy rises to a fever pitch against all those who fail to praise the currently popular theocrat. Hence the orchestrated campaign of Maoist-Muslim demonstrations against our forums throughout the U.S. And what does the SWP do? Like the rest of the reformists they bow to Khomeini.

For Trotskyists the intervention into the political arena of a massive proletarian strike movement spearheaded by the oil workers has the potential to break through the showdown between the shah and the clergy and open the road to a workers and peasants government in Iran. It is the Iranian proletariat, the most powerful in the region, which has the capacity to smash the shah's reign of terror and lift Iran from the centuries-long legacy of backwardness, poverty and obscurantism. ■



Muslim women protest the shah in traditional veil, carrying the portrait of Khomeini whom the SWP labels "progressive."

rewrites of the bourgeoisie press:

"It is true that Khomeini has gained wide respect. He is the only prominent opposition leader who has not retreated in fear at the development of the mass movement and who has refused any suggestion of compromise with the shah."

"Although Khomeini subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary, he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the shah's 'modernization' is progressive."

How, one might ask, does the SWP come to determine that a religious leader claiming the time of the prophet (seventh century A.D.) as his sole point of reference is "progressive"? Simple. According to a speaker from the SWP's Iranian student front group at a November 10 New York City forum the proof is that Khomeini is "popular." As if Hitler's railings against foreign domination of Germany and hatred of Jews were not "popular," or the slaughter of Indonesian Communists and working-class militants in 1965 in the name of Islam. And what could be more "popular" in a Muslim country than an old-fashioned *jihād* against opponents of the Koran?

Frankel's head-in-the-sand defense of an Islamic-led movement is matched by the SWP's obviously embarrassed

the auxiliary of a movement based on this very same "religious superstition" and social backwardness. And furthermore it is "popular." The SWP is forced to root through their news reports in an attempt to prove that unveiled women are the norm at anti-shah demonstrations. But unfortunately for this journalistic flim-flam, a leading member of the Sattar League is now enthusing that, "Women, organized in separate contingents and covered with their *chadors* [veils], led the fraternization with the army troops in Tehran..." (*Intercontinental Press*, 20 November)! Not only do veiled women recurrently appear in the mullah-led protests, but the religious opposition is re-imposing the wearing of the *chador* as a symbol of devotion to Khomeini.

In order to gloss over the reactionary/ clerical character of the Khomeini-led religious opposition, the SWP tries to pass off the current strike wave as a mere part of the "movement" against the shah. Now in fact, prior to the last month the working class was not at all active in the demonstrations as a driving force. Instead it was the shopkeepers, merchants and half-peasant seasonal laborers who rallied to Khomeini's banner. When the workers' strike wave mushroomed, these petty-bourgeois elements demonstrated their hatred of

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

occupied newspaper offices and radio and television facilities.

The shah tried to make the policy of the mailed fist more credible by announcing yet another purge of his underlings. A number of government and business figures including former premier Amir Abbas Hoveida were arrested on charges of corruption. The shah even rounded up more than a dozen officials of the dreaded SAVAK, his sadistic secret police, and former SAVAK head Nematollah Nassiri for "abuses."

While hoping that sheer military force on the streets of Iran would contain the protests, the shah began casting about for partners in a coalition government. The bourgeois liberals of the National Front were the natural choice, particularly since the current crisis would allow them increased leverage in wheeling and dealing with the shah. The establishment of a coalition government featuring a tame house opposition would permit an unhidled military crackdown on leftists and strikers.

The National Front, however, realized that hegemony over the crowds in the streets, the means by which to pressure the shah, is in the hands of Khomeini. So these bourgeois liberals have instead abased themselves before this "messenger of Muhammad." National Front leader Karim Sanjahi told *Le Monde* (1 November) that his "democratic, national and socialist government" is really the same thing as Khomeini's "Islamic government."

Unlike the National Front, Khomeini adamantly refuses all negotiation with the shah. Sanjahi thus shuttled back and forth between visits to Khomeini, exiled in France, and discussions with the shah's emissaries. In the end he yielded to the ayatollah's pressure and announced, "we will continue the struggle" and refused to enter a coalition with the shah. On November 11 he reaped the consequences of this decision when he and his aides were arrested in Teheran.

Oil Strike Shock Waves

Up until now the Pahlavi dictatorship has been able to weather the storm of protests led by Khomeini and the other Muslim fundamentalist leaders, despite their increasing size and intensity. But the current oil workers' strike threatens to cripple the Iranian economy and eat away the royal treasury.

Because of its strategic position at the lifeline of Iran's economy, the oil strike is the most dramatic expression of a strike wave whose demands have escalated from simple wage claims to assaults on the regime's barbaric tools of oppression. The month-old strike of government employees is still in full force. Employees at the Ministry of Finance parade through its halls chant-

ing "Death to the Shah!" Some half a million teachers continue their two-month-long strike, demanding an end to martial law, freedom for the prisoners in the shah's dungeons, their own independent teachers union and the end of state censorship and SAVAK interference in the schools.

On October 28 the telecommunication workers struck demanding a union, the release of political prisoners and the investigation of the corruption and secret deals with American firms made by the industry. The employees of Iran Air raised similar political demands in their November 1 strike. Late October

tion of the extent of his authority is the printing of paper money bearing his portrait rather than the shah's. He is the idol of the petty shopkeepers of the hazaar. One *New York Times* account (13 November) quoted a hardware store owner as saying, "Khomeini said we won't work—we don't work. If he says we go back, we go back."

On the streets of Iran's cities, thousands of Muslim students are shock troops, expressing the movement's program of Islamic fundamentalism by attacking liquor stores, movie theaters and night clubs. These were again the targets (including a Pepsi Cola plant) in



Above, Ayatollah Khomeini prays with followers in exile in France. Below, striking refinery workers in Abadan.

also saw strikes by railway and long-shore workers, iron miners at Yazd and 150,000 textile workers.

One account vividly illustrates the strength of the workers' upsurge:

"Many factories, while technically open, reportedly have become little more than meeting places for the disgruntled workers to hold political meetings and discuss new demands. 'Some of the demands that have been accepted are extraordinary: paid meals, paid transportation to work, rehiring of employees fired during the last 15 years no matter what the cause, pay for travel time to work, and dismissal of some supervisors.'"

—*Washington Post*, 4 November 1978.

But it is above all the oil workers who threaten the shah. On October 31 they staged a sitdown strike at the world's largest integrated refinery complex at Abadan. Soon the strike spread from the oil wells of Iran's southwestern province of Khuzistan to the petrochemical complexes of Bandar Shahpur and Bid Boland and refineries in Tabriz and Shiraz. The strikers vowed to produce enough oil for Iran's domestic needs, but even the distribution of this limited amount was hindered by a strike of loading and delivery workers.

Khuzistan was put under military governorship and troops attacked a strike meeting at the Abadan refinery. The oil fields were occupied by the army, and soldiers have even been sent in as seahs, although their lack of technical training makes them of little use.

No to Islamic Reaction!

Khomeini remains the undisputed leader of the opposition. One illustra-

tion of the extent of his authority is the printing of paper money bearing his portrait rather than the shah's. He is the idol of the petty shopkeepers of the hazaar. One *New York Times* account (13 November) quoted a hardware store owner as saying, "Khomeini said we won't work—we don't work. If he says we go back, we go back."

On the streets of Iran's cities, thousands of Muslim students are shock troops, expressing the movement's program of Islamic fundamentalism by attacking liquor stores, movie theaters and night clubs. These were again the targets (including a Pepsi Cola plant) in

the recent Teheran revolt—once again providing stark evidence that their "anti-imperialism" is nothing more than an obscurantist hatred for Western culture and modernization.

Khomeini and the mullahs do have support from the unemployed, the textile workers and construction laborers, who are fresh from the countryside. Other sections of the proletariat are quite distant from this brand of Muslim fanaticism. The air line strikers, for example, steadfastly refused to fly some 20,000 pilgrims to Mecca. (The shah intervened to offer the pilgrims transport in air force planes in an attempt to refurbish his religious credentials.)

The workers' strikes were the first upsurge independent of the essentially petty-bourgeois Muslims in the

anti-shah movement. In the last few months reports indicate that with the release of a number of leftist prisoners and the reopening of the universities the Iranian left has become a more vocal and organized presence.

However, the leftist students and striking workers seem united to the bourgeois liberals and Muslim clergy by a common "democratic" program directed against the shah: the end of martial law, freeing of political prisoners and replacement of the monarchy by a parliamentary regime. The Iranian Stalinists, furthermore, seek to cement this into the outright subordination of the proletariat in an "anti-imperialist" bloc. Many go to the extent of proclaiming the "revolutionary heritage" of Shi'ite Islam.

This is a recipe for a disastrous defeat for the Iranian proletariat. There is no common denominator between the demands of the mullahs and those of the strikers. The Muslims call for an *Islamic* republic. They support the Constitution of 1906 and particularly the added 1907 clause which explicitly guarantees clerical veto power over all legislation. The mullahs' opposition to the shah is a reactionary one, no matter how it plays on the crimes of the shah's dictatorship. The fanatical hatred of social advances since the time of the prophet Muhammad (the seventh century A.D.) has its parallels in the military-based regimes of Pakistan or Libya and in the region-wide revival of religious obscurantism and its vicious oppression of women.

Parliamentary democracy is hardly the vehicle for this program of social reaction. One observer aptly summarized the real meaning of Khomeini's "Islamic social order": "a military adventure of the 'Pakistani' type, which under the cover of a religious facade, will endeavour to satisfy the mullahs by conducting a double fight against corruption and for the defense of Islamic values" (*Le Monde*, 5 October). Behind Khomeini's repeated appeals to the army to overthrow the shah is the specter of the suppression of the left and working class by a junta of "soldiers of Islam."

An Iranian Trotskyist party must join in the struggle for bourgeois democratic demands. But this is *inseparable* from an irreconcilable opposition to the mullahs' reactionary drive. The struggle for a sovereign, secular constituent assembly, land to the tiller, women's rights, smashing SAVAK and the monarchy and the right of self-determination for Iran's oppressed nationalities are impossible without the independent mobilization of the working class.

This also requires a sharp political struggle against all those who seek to tie the working class to an "anti-imperialist united front," the "national bourgeoisie," etc. Only the intervention of an Iranian Trotskyist vanguard party can push the strike movement beyond its current demands and win the proletariat to a program for power: the revolutionary struggle for an Iranian workers and peasants government. ■

In a despicable act of political thuggery, a Young Socialist Alliance (YSA—youth group of the Socialist Workers Party) member assaulted a campus spokesman for the Spartacus Youth League at the University of Chicago today (November 14). Confronted over the SWP/YSA's capitulation to the political influence of the mullahs in Iran and the SWP/YSA's abandonment of its posture as best defenders of women's rights, the YSAer launched an unprovoked physical attack upon our comrade and had to be restrained by passers-by. This cowardly act is a disgusting affront to the principles of workers democracy. In adapting to the political outlook of the fervently anti-communist Islamic opposition in Iran, perhaps the SWP/YSA are now finding a kinship with their political methods as well!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

3.2 Percent Vote Spartacist in NYC Election

The Stamberg Campaign: A Bolshevik Success

NEW YORK CITY, November 14—When the Spartacist League undertook to run a bolshevik election campaign in New York in 1978, we were not expecting to get a lot of votes. The New Left/liberal heyday of the 1960's is long gone; even the Great Fiscal Crisis is already old news. So we took as the theme of our campaign nothing more "topical" than socialist revolution: "the sheer enormity of this city's problems leads inescapably to one conclusion: it will take a socialist revolution to save New York."

eschewing reformist "tax the rich" gimmicks, we squarely addressed the issues on everyone's mind and posed the perspective of a struggle led by the labor movement. Flying in the face of the predominant liberal crusades (like "ecological" opposition to a West Side expressway), we put forward solutions that made sense. We took the revolution as our issue and ran with it for two months—a visible, contentious, aggressively socialist campaign. Though we always said the future will be decided not at the polls but on the battle lines of the class struggle, nevertheless we were frankly gratified to find we made a lot of sense to a lot of the voters of the 64th Assembly District.

On election night, Spartacist Party "poll watchers" brought the news from 94 of the 96 election districts in the 64th Assembly District to an election night celebration of campaign supporters. The crowd, many of whom had spent part of the day meeting voters on their way to the polls with "palm cards"



Stamberg campaign revived the soap-box, street corner rally.

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urging them to vote "For a Socialist Fight to Save New York," cheered the news that Stamberg had received 871 votes, more than 3.2 percent (see Spartacist Party Campaign Committee press release, reprinted in this issue). Having aimed our campaign not only against the capitalists and their Democratic Party but also against the reform-

ism of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—denouncing their electoralism, their appeals to shift the "priorities" of capitalism—we were pleased to have outpolled the "twin parties" of reformism, whose gubernatorial candidates took an unsurprising 1.6 percent each in the 64th Assembly District.

In general, left candidates usually poll about one and a half percent or less. In this somewhat more radical district, which includes parts of Greenwich Village and Chelsea, the figures are often somewhat higher. In 1976 a *Daily World* staff writer, Amadeo Richardson, ran for the same office as Stamberg

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Spartacist Party Campaign Committee Press Release

NEW YORK CITY, November 10—The Spartacist Party announces that its candidate for NY State Assembly in the 64th A.D. (Greenwich Village-Chelsea), MARJORIE STAMBERG, received 871 votes in Tuesday's election (with returns from 94 of the 96 Election Districts), amounting to over 3.2 percent of the total vote cast for Assembly in the district. In several Election Districts on the Lower East Side and in the West Village Stamberg tallied as much as 10 percent of the vote. This was a substantial showing for the revolutionary socialist candidate who ran against incumbent liberal Democrat William Passannante.

Stamberg's vote was actually higher than two-thirds of the Liberal Party assembly candidates in NYC

where they ran as a third party instead of simply endorsing the Democrats, and exceeded the totals of ten Republican candidates as well. Yet the *New York Times* and other media which publish the vote totals of even the minor capitalist parties (including "Right-to-Life" candidates) uniformly fail to report the election results of the parties of the radical left. In the 64th A.D. the gubernatorial candidates of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party received 457 and 459 votes respectively, or 1.6 percent of the total votes cast for governor in the district.

The Stamberg campaign received widespread press coverage in the *Village Voice*, *Gayweek*, *Soho Brekh News*, *Black American*, *Village*, *Gay Community News*, *Columbia Spectator* and *Washington Square News*. Attention focused on the fact that Stamberg's campaign FOR A SOCIALIST FIGHT TO SAVE NEW YORK posed revolutionary solutions as the only answer to the city's problems. Spartacist Party campaign literature called

upon the "powerful NYC labor movement to lead a united struggle on behalf of all the oppressed. Break with the Democrats, dump the union bureaucrats who helped the banks loot the city, and build a mass workers party which would fight for a workers government." *Village Voice* columnist Joe Conason wrote that he was disappointed because Passannante had refused to debate Stamberg; he would have liked "to watch a liberal Democrat answer the accusations of a tough Trotskyist."

The Spartacist Party campaign laid particular stress on the need for a working-class defense of democratic rights. Demonstrating for the passage of Intro 384, the NYC gay rights bill, Stamberg warned that the Democratic Party was leading an assault against democratic rights for homosexuals, as well as against women, blacks and other minorities. Two days after the election, the Democratic-dominated City Council voted down Intro 384. Against the background of the rising cycle of communal violence in Crown Heights, Stamberg called for an end

to vigilante terror on both sides, blaming the pork-barrel Democratic politicians for sidetracking the felt outrage of blacks against killer cops into ethnic hatreds.

The Spartacist Party attracted attention in the district with its campaign against the parties of big business by reviving the old socialist tradition of street corner "soap box" rallies. This was not just one more "protest candidate." Stamberg rejected "reformist schemes of penny-ante municipal reform, tax the rich gimmicks and community control." She also spoke out against popular anti-Westway sentiment, pointing out that Manhattan needs adequate highway transportation and improved mass transit. Following the election, Stamberg explained the success of the Trotskyist campaign: "We offered the plain truth. If we rolled up twice the percentage of both our reformist political opponents, it may well be because a growing number of Americans are prepared to hear the revolutionary truth and are tired of the second-hand Democrats on the left."