

Iranian Revolution Meets Arab Revolution



Iran's Abadan refinery in flames.

Bureau/Sygma

Iran/Iraq Blood Feud

Turn the Guns Against the Mullahs and Colonels

SEPTEMBER 30—Months of religious curses and border skirmishes between Khomeini's Iran and neighboring Ba'athist Iraq blew up into full-scale war September 17 as Iran bombed Iraqi oil refineries, airports and the capital city of Baghdad while Iraqi armed forces drove deep into Iran's oil-producing region of Khuzistan. As we go to press, Iraq has

the upper hand militarily, having seized the strategic Shatt al-Arab estuary linking both countries' oil lands to the Gulf. Iraqi forces have surrounded Khurramshahr, the major port city of Khuzistan, as well as the provincial capital of Ahwaz. Abadan, site of the world's largest oil refinery, is now a smoldering furnace after repeated aerial bombardment.

In 1975 under the shah's rule—when it was the imperialist-backed gendarme and bullyboy in the Gulf—Iran imposed a treaty on Iraq dividing the waters of Shatt al-Arab. But now with the shah replaced by Khomeini's Shi'ite theocracy the Baghdad colonels saw the

opportunity to take their revenge. Iran's military has been severely crippled through massive purges of the officer corps and desertions from the ranks. With re-supply and technical support from the imperialists cut off, hundreds of Phantom jets and Chieftan tanks rust on the air bases and in depots outside Teheran.

Clearly the working people and oppressed of the Middle East and the world have no interest in the victory of either side in this squalid border war to determine which anti-working-class gang of chauvinists controls the Shatt al-Arab. Naturally both sides blame the present conflict on the imperialists, in

particular the U.S. And if the imperialists have written off Iran as a major supplier of oil under the fanatic mullahs who presently run the country, they still have their eye on the straits of Hormuz, which Iran has threatened to close. Through these straits, at some points only 25 miles wide, pass one-third of the capitalist world's oil supply and two-thirds of the imports for Japan and West Europe.

U.S. Out of the Gulf, Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean

After having its embassy seized in Iran, and faced with the Soviet interven-

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Carter/Reagan: No Choice for Blacks

Who is the Candidate of KKK Racism?

While the Klan and Nazis organize racist terror and provocations on the streets with increasing boldness—burning crosses and shooting blacks from Fontana, California to rural Connecticut—Carter and Reagan have been busy calling each other racists and KKK "symps." The capitalist media has treated the "Klan debate" as election mud-slinging-as-usual. But behind all the nose-holding and polite talk about a "dirty campaign" and "poor taste" is a monstrous political fact which ominously overshadows the election campaign: the growing acceptance of the KKK/Nazis in the capitalist mainstream as part of their reactionary solution to the "black problem."

In this supercharged atmosphere of Carter/Reagan's warmongering against Russia, the racist and anti-communist

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Klansmen's flames in Connecticut 1980.

Grossfeld/Boston Globe

The Bologna Massacre

Letter From Italy

Milan, Italy
29 August 1980

Bologna was horrific. To date it's the largest indiscriminate massacre by the fascists and the state in Italian history. The immediate response of the working class was that it was the fascists even though the government tried to cover it up for 24 hours. And people responded with huge demonstrations everywhere in Italy. The first Saturday in August in Italy is when the majority of those who take vacations catch their trains. The trains are packed beyond limits. I still feel very shocked every time I think about it. We were also in a train station the morning of August 2nd. All the 2nd class carriages overflowing with tourists and working-class families.

The bomb was put into the 2nd class waiting room at the Bologna station. So the target was clear: working-class families. Why did it happen? The imperialist bourgeoisies have been lamenting the weakness of the Italian state for a long time. The *Economist* has been calling for the death penalty for terrorists (i.e., the Red Brigades). And of course the bourgeoisie would like to have a government capable of dealing with the very militant Italian working class—instead of its normal impotence and falling apart. But another very important factor is that Italy has strategic NATO military bases which the American imperialists need to be strong and reliable in the warmongering against the USSR. So instigate a huge massacre and by doing that create the atmosphere necessary for the emergence of a "strong state."

Italian state complicity (directly through the Secret Service) in similar massacres is well documented. But every so often they get caught out, purge a few of the *responsables*, and then change



Italian fascists kill 84 in Bologna railway station bombing.

their name. There are hundreds of books documenting this as well as the many hushed-up coup attempts. The British bourgeoisie has compared Italy to Turkey and although there are obvious differences the level of violence in political life is similar.

The left's reaction to Bologna was pretty pathetic. None of the far left groups had anything more than to say "another fascist attack" and claimed that it was a pre-emptive attack on the upcoming struggles in the fall (FIAT, etc.). The PCI [Communist Party] is of course using this to prepare another popular front. They say that the only way to fight fascism is to strengthen the "democratic institutions." And after one-half million workers from all over Italy showed up in Bologna (many coming back from vacation) to attend the funeral the PCI said to the DC [Christian Democrats]—look we are the people who can bring out the masses into the streets, you need us to collaborate in government. They lament the

attack against "democracy"—after all Italy, i.e., the "Democratic State," is born out of the resistance struggle against fascism. The PCI's line is that Italy is a democratic state, they do not say that it's an imperialist bourgeois state (i.e., the main enemy is at home).

The working class only half buys this line. They want to fight fascism and the memories of the CP partisans are very much alive. That's where the Red Brigades take their roots. The night after Bologna the MSI headquarters in Rome was attacked (MSI is fascist), and the next day the PCI denounced this, pleading for democratic methods of struggle. If the Red Brigades were intelligent they would now go after the fascists thereby gaining support from the working class and giving themselves a cover of defense against the state (i.e., CP ranks would not buy the Rossa you are our leader you have shown us the way line. Rossa was the CP fink knocked off by the BR). Obviously we don't tell the BR what to do and of

course if they went after the fascists it would be substitutionist, but certainly we would feel a certain amount of sympathy if they got a few of those bastards.

We went to the funeral in Bologna. As opposed to the funeral after the 1969 Piazza Fontana massacre (where the secret service and the fascists planted a bomb in a bank killing 18 people) in Bologna there were red flags, hammers and sickles, and posters everywhere. It was pretty shocking to see the station. The bomb destroyed an entire building and the huge hole it left was filled with wreaths. The trade unions had organized free trains for workers to attend the funeral. We took the one from Milan which was packed, three thousand people. On the platform at Bologna it was something to see the workers getting out of the train with their red flags flying standing in silent commemoration in front of the destroyed building.

At the funeral itself it was impossible to get anywhere near the church. The two main squares and the two main roads leading to the church were packed full of workers. There were contingents from everywhere—Naples, Genova, metal workers, FIAT contingents, etc. When the Bologna restaurant workers contingent marched by people applauded in solidarity. They lost six co-workers in the massacre. They were holding posters with the names of their dead comrades and they were all trying not to cry. Forty-year-old men and women with tears running down their faces. I guess that I'm a little bit too sensitive but seeing them made me cry too. The other contingent that received applause of solidarity was the contingent from Brescia. In 1974 the fascists bombed a trade-union demonstration in Brescia killing 18 people.

You know it really makes you wonder how and when it's going to end. The last 15 years in Italy have been of militant working-class struggle and fascist attacks. The working class has not yet been beaten back to passivity, but the cycle can't just go on forever, at some point it's going to crack.... ■

Letter

Hungary 1956, Poland 1980?

New York, New York
September 22, 1980

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

A specter haunts the pages of *Workers Vanguard* these days in its coverage of the strikes of the Polish workers (5-19 September 1980); the specter of the Global Class War Tendency's revolutionary Trotskyist

analysis of the attempted Hungarian counter-revolution in 1956. Twenty years before the dawn of Carter's warmongering "human rights" campaign against the workers states—and the embrace of it by an SWP seasoned in its support of anti-Soviet Russian "dissidents" and Portuguese CIA socialists—Vincent Copeland brilliantly analyzed the incipient Stalinophobia and third campism in the SWP's unconditional support for the Hungarian workers councils.

The Spartacist League's exposure of the Catholic Church—"free trade union" leader connection and its emphasis on the necessity of a political break by workers with the clerical forces if the social gains of the workers state are to be defended—not to mention going further, through political revolution—is a contribution. What *WV*'s Poland articles refuse to admit, however, is that they are also head and shoulders above anything the SL has written on the subject.

This is mainly due to belated acknowledgment of two points:

A.) That, in the event of a struggle for state power between workers councils and the bureaucracy of a deformed workers state and/or the Red Army, it is actions of political counterposition by the workers councils to the capitalist restorationist forces and not the mere espousal of sentiments favoring socialized property forms that is the criterion for military support by Trotskyists.

This is significant because, to our knowledge, never in its entire fifteen year history has the SL laid any conditions on its support for the workers councils in Hungary or the bureaucratic Liebermanite (Dubcek) misleaders in Czechoslovakia. The SL has even gone so far as to locate in the sentiments of the Hungarian workers councils favoring socialized property forms the embryo of a "new" workers state the first week in November 1956, when by all reports the "old" Hungarian workers state had been smashed by the "freedom fighters" in western and central Hungary.

B.) The capitalist class' transitional program for capitalist restoration through decentralization in Eastern Europe (see Trotsky's *Defense of Marxism*). After cautiously crystallizing a mass movement around hypocritically vague, Kronstadt-like demands such as "Free Speech," "Free Trade Unions" and "Free Elections" ("human rights" World War III preparations), it can then launch a more maximal, East Europe-wide program of military disruption and capitalist restoration. While such a program does not alter the long-range political program Trotskyists raise in Eastern Europe, it should play a part in the formulation of immediate agitational demands.

This recognition is a step out of the USec swamp for the SL. *Intercontinental Press* has maintained that counterrevolution is out of the question in Poland, since the church is not publicly challenging the socialized property forms. That this break is only partial on the part of the SL, however, is indicated by the fact that in the same article of 5 September 1980 in which the SL criticizes the USec cover-up, it

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WORKERS VANGUARD



Outside Sydenham 20 September. Mayor Koch praised the cops for 'acting with restraint.'

AP

Save Sydenham Hospital!

Koch's War on Harlem

NYC Cops Unleashed on Black Protesters

Mayor Ed Koch's war on the black people of Harlem turned bloody on Saturday, September 20. Demonstrators supporting a sit-in to save Sydenham Hospital from Koch's budget-cutting ax were the victims of a bloody cop charge as 150 nightstick-swinging police attacked the demonstration. While mothers screamed, "Get the children out of here," the city cops threw down their own barricades to charge the defenseless crowd of some 400 protesters. At least 30 people were injured as the police, some with guns drawn, clubbed women and picked out the most militant protesters for especially vicious treatment.

"There are bodies on the ground," reported the radio news. *WV* reporters saw heads bloodied and police brutally beating a television newswoman. The camera crews barely got out of the way of the batons. James Butler, president of AFSCME Local 420 which represents Sydenham workers said, "The cops went berserk." And Koch lived up to Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel's description of him as New York's own Bull Connor as the mayor denounced the demonstrators as a "black mob" of "punks and thugs and provocateurs" from "radical fringe groups" and praised the cops for "acting with restraint"! That night an army of 500 police surrounded Sydenham.

Protest demonstrations continued throughout the next week, the picket lines swelling to 2,000 for weekend support rallies (including union contingents from AFSCME Locals 420 and 144, UAW District 65, SSEU and supporters from the UFT and District 1199). When the sit-in began September 15, doctors and hospital workers tried to keep the emergency room functioning under "community administration." But in the following days, the police methodically sealed off the leaders, first corridor by corridor then the whole building, from their supporters on the sidewalk. It ended at 2 o'clock in the morning on September 26 when the police marched in, dragging the union

and black community leaders out and dumping them on the street.

The whole policy of the protest leaders has been to pressure one Democratic Party politician after another. Governor Carey, always ready to play "soft cop" to Koch's "hard cop" (as he did during the transit strike last spring), waffled on his previously solid support for closing Sydenham. After a meeting with Rangel and other black officials, Carey announced he would help the Harlem community "process the application" for state and federal funding. But he cynically admitted the hollowness of this gesture when he told reporters, "I have no money appropriated in the state budget" and "no discretionary funds at this time." The black misleaders' latest ploy is to send an envoy to the Near East to try to get some OPEC oil money.

Koch has made Sydenham the spearhead of his attack on New York City's minority population. For months the confrontation at the hospital has been

building as it became the first to go in Koch's plan which originally called for closing six ghetto medical facilities. And this is not just your ordinary racist politician advocating "benign neglect" of black people. From the day he took office railing against poverty pimps and welfare cheats, the "liberal" Koch has been trying to make himself the candidate of a white backlash. Now he is being projected as a "fusion" candidate on both Democratic and Republican tickets in next year's mayoral race. To do this he has systematically, deliberately cut all ties with even the most "respectable" black Democrats from Charles Rangel, Basil Patterson and Percy Sutton on down.

While Koch is popular with white New Yorkers (69 percent in a recent poll said they would definitely or probably support him next time around), barely a third of the black population supports him. And no wonder: with city minority youth unemployment over 40 percent and the high school dropout rate almost

50 percent, Koch runs around slashing welfare, ghetto fire stations and hospitals. While arson-for-profit fires rage in the South Bronx, Koch cancels the Charlotte Street housing project, and promised federal funds just disappear down the rathole. And at a private dinner last year given by the elite "Inner Circle" club, Koch donned an Afro wig and did a minstrel show imitation of blacks protesting the hospital shut-downs! Black judge "Turn 'Em Loose Bruce" Wright (who brought down the mayor's wrath by granting bail to a victim of a cop frame-up) had Koch's number when he said that getting into a public debate with Koch would be like starting a "pissing contest with a skunk."

Now Koch wants to turn Sydenham Hospital into a drug rehabilitation "detox" center. Carey talks about the virtue of preventive medicine and neighborhood clinics. Health and Hospitals officials say there are other

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Clean the Cops Out of the Unions!

Chicago Teamster Chiefs Hire Killer Cops

CHICAGO—On the afternoon of July 6 three plainclothes policemen, on duty in an El train packed with fans returning from a White Sox game, beat up a 51-year-old black man named Richard Ramey. The police claim that Ramey, described by his neighbors as a kind and quiet man, refused to cease smoking on the train and "provoked" a struggle. They don't mention that the three burly cops had already handcuffed their victim when the beating occurred. "His legs were broken," the Cook County medical examiner later said. "He had bruises all over his body. There was a small fracture in his neck. He was really clobbered." Ramey died that night, listed as a homicide victim.

The three cops involved—Lewis Klisz, Fred Christiano and Fred Earullo—are all veteran policemen with at least ten years on the force. They have no disciplinary record. But they do have

a history of beating hapless people on El platforms. The three were suspended and indicted on July 22 on murder charges.

Chicago's black community was revolted by Ramey's death. The killer cops routinely shoot down black youth and get away with it. But this time authorities feared that in the wake of the Miami ghetto explosion angry black residents would not take it any more. Though indicted and suspended (and out of jail on lenient bail terms), the murderous trio did not remain unemployed for long. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) hired Klisz, Christiano and Earullo as freight handlers at the city's McCormick Place exhibition hall, a plum patronage job paying more than they earned as police officers.

The hiring was a disgusting ploy in the IBT's bid for the votes of 10,500

Chicago cops below the rank of sergeant who will vote on union representation October 16. In an effort to upstage its competitors (all of which are "cop unions" like the Fraternal Order of Police) and thus increase its already hefty slice of the city patronage pie, the bureaucracy which lords it over the Teamsters union is shouting a message to the overwhelmingly white, notoriously racist Chicago police force: vote for us and it's open season on blacks, because we'll take care of you. This vile, racist defense of *murder* turns the stomachs of all decent trade unionists. The entire labor movement must demand that the Teamsters throw out these dangerous killers, *now!* And dump the fakers who hired them to boot.

In fact, the unions should have nothing to do with the murderous police, black or white. It's not just that

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Titan Bombs in Arkansas

On September 19 a powerful blast rocked a nuclear missile site in Damascus, Arkansas killing one and injuring 22. According to the Pentagon the cause was "human error," the system was "perfectly safe." It seems that a day earlier a technician dropped a socket from a socket wrench. Not so unusual an occurrence, except that somehow the socket fell 70 feet and punctured a 10,000-gallon fuel tank of a Titan rocket.

Water was sprayed on the missile as fuel vapors filled the silo. Accident teams tried to investigate, but could not get close to the missile. At 3 a.m. nearby residents became aware of the problem, when the lid of the silo shattered in an enormous, expanding fireball. Multiton pieces of debris, including the missile atomic warhead, flew up to half a mile into their fields, lawns, and gardens. "I knew we were all going to die," said a reporter who witnessed the ear-splitting explosion.

The 750-ton concrete silo lid, designed to withstand a direct nuclear hit, is now in chunks adorning various local cow pastures. The conventional explosives that trigger the warhead also exploded. The big bomb itself didn't go off, though—luckily for the imperialist war drive's public image. But since these things are supposed to blow up over the Soviet Union and not in rural Arkansas, quite a few local residents, congressmen and officials were upset.

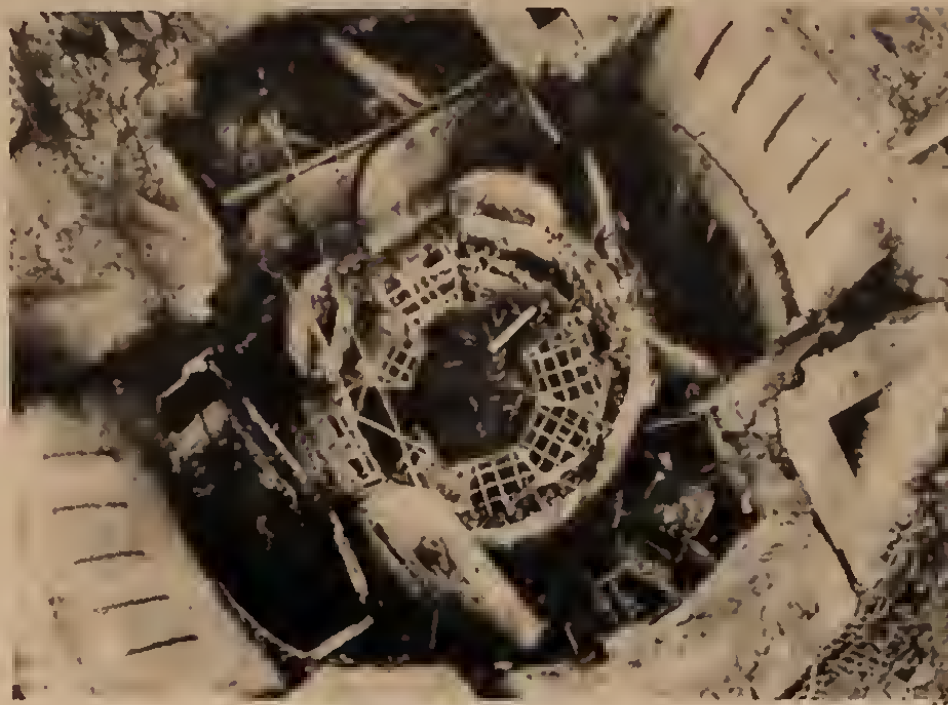
Senators complained about the lack of safety equipment—there aren't even sirens to warn the neighbors of untoward events. The local sheriff, who had been injured by gas from an accident two years ago, initiated the evacuation himself and bitterly complained about the lack of information and cooperation from the Air Force. The State Police were outraged that they got short notification about the movement of the truck supposedly carrying the warhead (now nicely packed in oil in "do not drop" containers after its several-hundred-yard flight) out of the area. At least one nearby town wasn't even warned.

And Russell Baker wrote a how-to guide for the rest of us, noting the security problems of referring to nuclear weapons, on what to do when you find a "Thing in the Garden."

Nothing to worry about, said the Air Force, which arrogantly would "neither confirm nor deny" even the existence of a nuclear warhead or the toxicity of the fuel components. At a press conference the day of the explosion, Secretary of the Air Force Hans Mark "defended the missile... asserting that the Titan II is the largest, most reliable, best missile among our space launchers."...Mr. Mark added that it is 'perfectly safe' to operate but noted that even safe systems can have accidents" (*New York Times*, 20 September).

Even if a nuclear warhead was tossed around (maybe it was just a few megatons of dynamite targeted at a Soviet leader's house, in accordance with Carter's first-strike Presidential Directives 58 and 59), we were assured several times a day that the nuclear explosion mechanism was "fail-safe" and could kill only *them*—and only when "we" told it to. And while there are no fail-safe mechanisms to prevent the spread of radioactive materials constituting the warhead, the PR people kept repeating that there was no radioactivity in the area and that the bomb (or its pieces) was never "outside the security control of the Air Force."

Well, accidents do happen. They happen a lot, in fact. This one was far from the first with this "most reliable" missile system: 125 "incidents" reported in the past five years, and how many more covered up? Two killed and 29 injured in a 1978 fuel leak. Fifty-three



A dropped socket wrench explodes missile silo lid capable of withstanding direct nuclear hit.

construction workers killed in 1965. Since January 1978 alone nine accidents in the 18 Arkansas silos. In recent months an Arkansas senator collected safety complaints from a dozen Titan personnel. And according to an NBC report, commissioned several weeks before this latest explosion, at the time of the August 1978 accident "of 18 Titan missiles stationed in Kansas, there were serious leaks in 17." This list is clearly only partial.

Now the Air Force is denying that the incidence of brain damage and nervous disorders among its exposed technicians and hapless civilians at Damascus has anything to do with the exposure. And a PIO (public information officer) who had to explain to a recently evacuated town that it was all okay ended up admitting there were so many leaks that there wasn't enough staff to fix them. The Titan is safe, says the Air Force, and even "better now than when it was new" (in a recent report to Congress). So there is more than a little public skepticism about Air Force estimates of hazards.

Good thing these missiles are no less than *perfectly* safe. What about the safety of those H-bomb(s) on the B-52 that burned up in North Dakota only a week before the Arkansas blow-out? State officials only found out about that by accident, when an alert radio traffic monitor overheard the code words "broken arrow"—indicating "a major accident with nuclear arms aboard"! Or NORAD's famous 46-cent integrated circuits that have already twice in the last year told their trigger-happy mentors that the Russians were coming? Last November U.S. jet interceptors actually took off, while this June Minutemen button-pushers went on full alert before the false alarm was discovered. Or how about the safety of the B-52 that crashed in Thule, Greenland in 1969, scattering four nuclear bombs around the landscape?

And the B-52 that collided with a tanker and dropped four H-bombs over Palomares, Spain in January 1966 must have been a little less than perfect too. With plutonium scattered over the countryside, the *New York Times* reported at the time "a small amount of basically harmless radiation"! But the U.S. government finally did acknowledge that one of the bombs was missing and that the conventional explosives in two of the located bombs had exploded. They even had their ambassador and the Spanish Information Minister go swimming with their families "to demonstrate their confidence that the water is safe." And a month and a half later 1,500 tons of "basically harmless" dirt were barged off for burial in the U.S.

A nasty record, but those who seize on these frightening incidents to ban all

nuclear power are grotesquely missing the point. In our arguments against the "no-nuke" eco-freaks we have been clear that with nuclear power plants, as with any technology, there will be accidents. Capitalism pursues profits, not the safety or well-being of the workers or those living near their facilities, so we call for safety measures at nuclear plants (as well as other hazardous workplaces—like coal mines) to be under the control of union committees of those who work with the equipment.

But here we have *bombs*. When a nuclear power plant goes there is danger of death from radioactivity. But these bombs are *designed* for mass destruction. According to a TV newscast the day of the Damascus blast, just one of these Titan warheads if exploded over Greenwich, Connecticut would wipe out everything in the New York City area, New Haven and all points between. Where are the protesting eco-freaks now with their fear of every decaying nucleus or flying charged particle? Missiles

mean megadeaths, not projections of *n* induced cancers over 30 years. But the eco-freaks run for the ideological safety of their solar- or garbage-powered caves, protesting destruction of the ozone layer by foreign-made aircraft like the Concorde—not a peep out of these Chicken Littles about the military, whose high-flying death jets are a mortal danger.

And what of the owners and controllers of this and the U.S.' other 1,053 (admitted) land-based ICBMs? They have bigger fish than Arkansas farmers to fry. Never mind safety—they are in a full-scale armament drive aimed at getting first-strike capability against the Soviet Union, and this from only one leg of their nuclear "triad." If the USSR had not developed its own nuclear weapons and missile systems, it is very possible the Soviet people would already have been incinerated by the capitalist madmen. We are revolutionaries, not pacifist handwringers, and so defend the Soviet degenerated workers state's military preparedness—including its nuclear arsenal—against Western imperialism.

The *New York Times* ran a long series of articles on U.S. military preparedness, and the lack thereof, alongside its reports on the Titan accident. MX, Trident, cruise missiles, nerve gas: they want them NOW! With shameless arrogance and remarkably Orwellian logic, the imperialist warmongers conclude from their "perfectly safe" Titan accident... build the MX!

The accidents these "things" have, even if their "fail-safe" fails, are small compared to what they're designed to do. And an "accident" can be mistaken for a designed launch, as *Pravda* pointed out, thus initiating the expected response. Carter and Reagan are competing over who can give U.S. imperialism the itchiest trigger finger. The intended world destruction by these missiles and the other components of the imperialist war machine will be prevented only by the international victory of the working class. ■



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Not Our Son of a Bitch!

Somoza Gets His

Not even the puppet masters shed a tear. When former Nicaraguan strongman Anastasio Somoza Debayle was blown to bits on a street of the Paraguayan capital of Asunción September 17—his white Mercedes riddled with machine-gun bullets, the roof torn off by a direct hit from a bazooka, with limbs and blood and glass scattered over the pavement—all that a spokesman for the U.S. State Department could muster was, "Of course we deplore violent death, no matter to whom it occurs or where." (This from the butchers who murdered more than a million people in Vietnam!) Only Ronald Reagan said it was "a sad loss."

In Managua there was dancing in the streets as the Nicaraguan population, which suffered under the heel of the bloodsucking Somoza dynasty for 45 years, rejoiced at the death of the tyrant. In the poor barrios the execution of "the buzzard" was celebrated by burning his effigy. Certainly the joy must have been tremendous. Almost 50,000 had been killed, overwhelmingly young people, by Somoza's hated private army, the National Guard, in 18 months of bitter uprisings and the final insurrection which toppled the dictator in July 1979.

It wasn't the first time a Somoza had gotten his from the end of a gun. In 1956 the founder of the dynasty was shot by a young poet, Rigoberto López Pérez, who dreamed that his heroic act would free the land of oppression. Then, however, it was "Somoza is dead, Long live Somoza" as El Jefe's sons stepped in to continue the family's rule. But Nicaragua was not simply your typical caudillo-ridden Latin American mini-state under a man on horseback—El Supremo, El Benefactor, El Macho. In an age where the term "puppet" is widely misused to include virtually every U.S.-backed dictator, the Somozas were the genuine article. Somoza I was left behind to administer this neo-colony when the Marines withdrew; Somoza III was ousted when it became evident that American bayonets were not going to prop him up.

A recent book by Latin American journalist Eduardo Crawley, though its title is now surpassed by events (*Dictators Never Die: A Portrait of Nicaragua and the Somoza Dynasty* [New York, 1979]), traces the origins and inner workings of Somozaland. Though Anastasio Somoza García, first of the dynastic line, married into one of the leading Liberal Party clans in Nicaragua, his climb to power was due to support from the U.S. at every decisive point. When Henry Stimson came to arrange a peace settlement of the Liberal-Conservative civil war in 1928, Anastasio served as his interpreter. And when under Franklin Roosevelt the Marines were finally withdrawn in 1934, including the officers who commanded the National Guard, they had to find a replacement. Their choice was the "friendly, likable" Somoza.

The Guard had been set up supposedly as a politically neutral, "professional" constabulary carrying out functions both of police and army. But in fact it merely gave the faction in power when the American forces left a well-armed instrument that could efficiently repress the opposition (whereas previously Liberal and Conservative "armies" had been more or less equal in strength). And given the lack of the social forces to sustain even a semblance of bourgeois democracy, it served as a power base for the Jefe Director to drive out all his rivals from both the rival cliques. By adroitly using gangs of fascist thugs to

create disturbances, then imposing martial law in the main towns one by one, he enforced his monopoly on armed power. And by a series of forcing maneuvers he was able to drive President Sacasa (his wife's uncle) out of office.

Toward an ongoing peasant-based rebellion in northern Nicaragua, Somoza was less than "friendly and likable," however. Alone of all the Liberal generals, Augusto Sandino refused to lay down arms in the 1928 settlement imposed by Stimson. The "compromise" was based on the U.S. Marines' bloody mopping-up operations on behalf of the "duly constituted" Conservative government (itself the result of a coup). Sandino vowed to keep fighting until the Yankees were driven from the country. After some disastrous early guerrilla actions, he managed to hold the U.S.-commanded National Guard at bay for several years. Somoza finally managed to liquidate the rebel leader not by victory on the battlefield but through treachery. In February 1934, following a summit dinner at Sacasa's residence, Sandino was shot by Somoza Guardsmen near the American embassy.

While dominating Nicaragua militarily, Anastasio Somoza was anxious to consolidate his power by securing the official blessing of the United States. After several years he finally got an invitation to visit FDR at the White House along with other Latin American heads of state. In an exchange that later became famous, Roosevelt asked his Secretary of State about Somoza, "Isn't that man supposed to be a son of a bitch?" To which Cordell Hull replied, "He sure is, but he is our son of a bitch."

He certainly proved that, for over the next four decades Nicaragua acted as a Central American gendarme for the United States, repeatedly seeking to subvert elected governments throughout the region by raising the spectre of Communism. During the 1948 civil war in Costa Rica and again in 1954, Somoza-backed reactionary exiles used Nicaragua as a base against the liberal Figueres. Also in 1954 Nicaraguan forces took part in the CIA-engineered overthrow of the Arbenz government of Guatemala. And in 1961 bases in Nicaragua were used as the launching point for the failed Bay of Pigs invasion against Castro's Cuba. "Non-interference" is hardly a Somoza catchword.

The Marines may be gone, but Nicaragua under the Somozas was closer to an American protectorate than an independent nation. Under the Somoza sons, the American ambassador was a proconsul in the imperial tradition. The *Wall Street Journal* (23 February 1978) wrote that: "At times, the U.S. presence here has lacked subtlety: A picture of recent U.S. Ambassador Turner Shelton, for example, adorns the Nicaraguan equivalent of a \$3 bill." Shelton was a close associate of Nixon friend (and Cuban exile) Bebe Rebozo and of the reclusive multimillionaire Howard Hughes, both of whom holed up in the Managua Hilton for long periods of time.

Economically, the ruling family ran Nicaragua like a private hunting preserve. "Managua, Nicaragua, it's a wonderful town," ran a popular American song, "You can buy a hacienda for a few pesos down." And that's what the upstart dictator proceeded to do. By aggressively exploiting his control of the state finances he proceeded to amass a business empire far outstripping the

traditional Liberal business families and Conservative landowners. Over the years the Somozas gained absolute dominance over agriculture, industry and commerce. But before a massive earthquake which destroyed the capital in 1972, they did not have large holdings in construction and banking.

Using that tragic "opportunity," the ruling family managed to make tens of millions of dollars from the international relief aid, channeling it through new Somoza banks, buying up Somoza-owned land for housing developments, using only newly formed Somoza construction companies for the rebuilding. Crawley provides a graphic description of the dynasty's economic domination by describing the life of a middle-level government official, "Apolonio Estrada":

"Every morning, the Estrada family breakfasts on Presto instant coffee, another Somoza product, milk pasteurized by the General's dairy products company, and sugar which might have come from Montelimar, Santa Rita or Dolores, all owned by Somoza. Yesterday's rubbish will have been carted away in a Mercedes truck (bought at the Somoza agency, which also supplies vehicles for the Guardia and top government officials).

"Apolonio's pre-lunch drink is usually a Somoza-distilled rum with Somoza ice cubes; lunch itself is Somoza-slaughtered beef and a salad dressed in Somoza oil. As Señora Estrada retreats into the kitchen while listening to Somoza radio, Apolonio's youngest son switches on the set to watch Somoza television, and Apolonio himself sinks into an armchair to smoke a Somoza cigarette (lit by a Somoza match)."

The Somozas' greedy grab for total economic power in the wake of the 1972 earthquake was the end of the road for the rest of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie (which had gone along with the Gener-



West Point graduate Anastasio Somoza blown to bits.

al's dictatorship as long as they could make a tidy profit). To describe the dynasty as "bloodsucking" is not simply metaphorical, for the Somozas also controlled a major company, Plasmáfésis, which bought blood from the peasants for a pittance for shipment to American hospitals. And when the leading bourgeois opposition figure, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro was murdered by Somoza hit-men in January 1979, it provoked a national uprising stretching from wealthy Conservative scions to impoverished shantytown dwellers.

Anastasio Somoza Jr. was hounded from the country in July 1979, first



finding refuge in Miami, Florida—the graveyard for Latin American dictators—and then moving on to the Bahamas and Paraguay, private preserve of his buddy General Stroessner (who has ruled the country single-handedly since 1954). While the bulk of the non-Somoza bourgeoisie reluctantly supported the armed struggle which led to the overthrow of the dictatorship, real political power now lies in the hands of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) and its army. Like the early Castro 26th of July Movement, the FSLN is a petty-bourgeois force which while seeking an accommodation with imperialism and "enlightened" local capitalists, could also be pushed by exceptional circumstances into going farther than they intended in expropriating the bourgeoisie. To date, however, the Sandinistas remain allied to the local capitalist class. Revolutionaries in Nicaragua must demand: Break with the bourgeoisie—For a workers government!

As for the deposed Somoza, he had become superfluous to Washington. He had hoped to enjoy his personal fortune (estimated at \$500 million plus) in gilded retirement, occasionally getting in trouble for fooling with a local strongman's mistress. But it was not to be. His was a common fate among those who would serve the U.S. imperialist colossus as its assassins and flunkies. Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, also installed in power at the head of a National Guard set up by the Marines, was bumped off with machine guns supplied by the CIA. In Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, after years of loyal service to Cardinal Spellman and his bosses in the White House, was assassinated in the back of a van in a coup d'état sponsored by the United States. In Somoza's case, however, the authors of the deed are not new handmaidens of imperialism but would-be avengers of the long-suffering Nicaraguan people. Unlike Winston Churchill, Franco and the shah of Iran, Somoza did not die in bed. And for this we, too, rejoice. Unfortunately, Somoza was not executed by a popular revolutionary tribunal but as an act of individual terror. And however gratifying we find his bloody end, we also recognize that this kind of terrorism characterizes a petty-bourgeois substitutionalism counterposed to proletarian revolution. But still and all, we can only consider the disposal of the tyrant Somoza III as an elementary act of sanitation and justice. ■

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KKK ...

(continued from page 1)

terror of the fascists becomes the domestic cutting edge of the reactionary Cold War. The Carter/Reagan "Klan debate" heightens the perception that the Klan is only an extreme version of the capitalist consensus—to dump blacks in the ghettos to rot, to use black youth as cannon fodder in a new war—a perception that the fascists are just Democrats and Republicans "in a hurry." Not in decades have black people been so desperate, despairing and so leaderless, the fascists so audacious and "respectable." And not in years have the capitalist candidates for president made such an open show of racism.

Carter, Reagan Court Klan Terror

In late July, Bill Wilkinson, "Imperial Wizard" of the "Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" came out for Reagan with the statement that: "The Republican platform reads as if it were written by a Klansman." Noting gleefully that the Republicans opposed the ERA and busing, Wilkinson went on to praise the GOP for its support of "Klan issues" like "free enterprise, prayer in the schools, reduced taxes, the death penalty, states rights and so on." On this basis the Klan might have as easily supported Carter and the Democrats who are no less against busing, for "free enterprise" and "so on." But for the Klan it is not a matter of debating programmatic points of agreement and disagreement. Their "program" is blasted out of shotguns at Greensboro and on the borders of southern California patrolling for immigrants. There is nothing particularly new in the Republican program as far as the Klan is concerned. What is new is the KKK's bid for public acceptance.

Reagan claimed to reject this controversial source of electoral support,



Hanka/Real Paper

Connecticut, 1980: These racist terrorists won't be stopped by liberal/left calls to "ban the Klan."

but on August 3 he told a white audience at the Neshoba County Fair in Philadelphia, Mississippi: "I believe in states rights." It was not hard to break this time-worn racist code. As the *New York Times* (27 September) noted, "Cries of 'states' rights' rang from the [Neshoba

County] fair in the summer of 1964" when civil rights workers Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner were "murdered and buried by a mob that included law-enforcement officials." Reagan believed like Bilbo and Ross Barnett did in states' rights. It meant segregation

Southern style—Old Jim Crow. Reagan, however, who had penned the "states' rights" phrase himself, played innocent (as if the remark were lifted from the *Federalist Papers*).

Jimmy Carter went to Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church to warn the

Fascists Bomb CP Office in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Fascist terror backed by cop repression has struck the left recently in an ominous series of attacks in southern California. September 16, San Diego: at a Democratic Party meeting four black activists associated with a Communist Party (CP) anti-repression group are beaten, and two of them arrested on serious frame-up charges, when they attempt to speak against the Democrats' KKK

candidate Metzger. September 20, Los Angeles: CP offices are bombed in broad daylight; fortunately no one is hurt. September 23, again Los Angeles: 20 people at a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) campaign meeting narrowly escape injury and possible death after a man is discovered planting a pipe bomb outside their rear door.

Supporters of the CP's National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) had gone to the September 16 meeting of the San Diego County Democratic Party Central Committee urging the body to withdraw support from Klan "Grand Dragon" and Democratic Congressional candidate Tom Metzger. According to the 18 September *Daily World*, after NAARPR executive secretary Charlene Mitchell had testified against Metzger, her brother, Deacon Alexander, "was jumped by members of the KKK." A member of the Black Panther Party, Bob Duren, tried to come to Alexander's aid, whereupon one of the attackers, a plainclothes policeman, pulled out his badge and arrested the two victims of the assault. When Mitchell and another woman left the meeting to go to the police station, they too were attacked by KKKers and only escaped by running to the precinct.

Duren and Alexander were initially booked on trumped-up charges of suspicion of carrying a concealed weapon, assault on a police officer and resisting arrest. The two black leftists told *WW* that their arraignment date has

been postponed and the San Diego DA is considering Metzger's demand that they additionally be charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Duren and Alexander were first slapped with \$37,000 bail, but are now out on reduced bail of \$2,500 each.

Four days after the KKK/cop attack and frame-up in San Diego, Communist Party headquarters in Los Angeles were bombed. The Wilshire Boulevard office

had its door blown off, and it was pure luck that no one was in the office at the time. Other people were in the building, however. Then on Tuesday, September 23, a man was spotted crouching at the alley door of a Socialist Workers Party office on Broadway in L.A. According to the 3 October *Militant*, SWPer Jim Little said the bomber coolly placed a white handkerchief around the pipe, walked over to Little's car and threatened him with a pistol before disappearing down an alley. Thirty minutes later a telephone caller told the SWP, "The bomb that didn't go off tonight will go

The fascists are encouraged in their murderous attacks by the "even-handed" treatment from the capitalist media. When the KKK/Nazis murdered five leftists, blacks and labor organizers in cold blood in Greensboro, everyone from the reactionary local press to the liberal New York papers called it a "shoot-out" between violent extremists. Now the SWP has adopted the bourgeois journalists' same mode of "objectivity" in equating the fascist/cop attackers and their victims. Reporting the San Diego incident the *Militant* refuses to take a side:

"During the fight a .25 caliber pistol appeared. According to Alexander and Duren it was planted by the police.

"The police version is that the plainclothes cop jumped Alexander because he saw him draw the pistol."

Faced with this vicious and obvious provocation, the "socialist news-weekly" just reports "two versions." But it is a different story when they are the target.

Mr. L. Preckel
Deputy District Attorney
San Diego, California

As a candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, I strongly protest the arrest of Deacon Alexander and Bob Duren, members of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). Drop all charges immediately against these anti-Klan protesters—lock up the KKK cut-throats who attacked them and representatives of the NAARPR. These individuals were victims of a vicious frame-up by KKK grand dragon Tom Metzger and his fascist goons.

For mass mobilization of labor and minorities to stop the Klan-Nazis as in San Francisco on April 19 when a Spartacist League-initiated demonstration of 1,200 unionists, socialists and minorities stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in Civic Center. Working people must chase these fascists back into their holes—Drop all charges against Alexander and Duren—Jail Tom Metzger's thugs.

Reply is formally requested.

Sincerely,

Diana Coleman, candidate for SF Board of Supervisors
Sponsor: Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, Suite 729,
55 Sutter St., San Francisco, California 94104
(415) 863-6964

Drop Charges Against Curtis Lee Robinson!

An all-white jury in Decatur, Alabama (the site where the Scottsboro Boys were held four decades ago) began hearing testimony September 30 in the trial of Curtis Lee Robinson, a black man accused of shooting a Ku Klux Klansman last year. The incident occurred when an armed mob of 50 to 75 Klansmen attacked a peaceful group of black marchers in downtown Decatur in May 1979 as they were protesting the frame-up conviction of black youth Tommy Lee Hines (see "Free Tommy Lee Hines! Blacks Face Klan Guns in Alabama," *WV* 233, 8 June 1979).

Curtis Lee Robinson, a 50-year-old black maintenance supervisor at Decatur City Hall is being tried for assault with intent to murder KKK "Exalted Cyclops" David Kelso who was wounded in the chest. His attorney

told the jury that a Klansman with a stick struck the first blow and a police lieutenant testified he heard several Klansmen shout "kill the nigger" just before the gunshots were fired. A KKK military commando squad, ominously training for "race war" in the Alabama hills, says it will retaliate in blood if Robinson is not convicted (*New York Times*, 28 September). The capitalists would rather see Greensboros, where blacks and leftists lie dead on the street, and a license to kill for their KKK/Nazi murderers than see a black man defend himself from fascist attack. In a decent society Curtis Lee Robinson would get a medal of honor for his heroic action. All charges against him must be dropped! No More Greensboros! For the right of armed self defense against fascist attack!

large black audience: "You have seen in this campaign the stirrings of hate, the rebirth of codewords like 'states' rights.'" This from Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter, who campaigned for Georgia governor in 1970 on the promise that if elected the first person he would bring in to address the legislature would be George Wallace; from Jimmy "life is not fair" Carter, who won the support of the racist Citizens Council of Georgia that year. And Carter's black face in the cabinet, Patricia Harris, told a United Steelworkers of America convention in Los Angeles, August 5, that behind Reagan she "sees the specter [of a] white sheet."

Then on September 1, Reagan went after Carter for beginning the Democratic campaign in Tuscumbia, Alabama which Reagan erroneously identified as "the city that gave birth to and is the parent body of the Ku Klux Klan." That Reagan was factually wrong again was not the issue—it was a matter of "taste" and "sensitivity." Carter said it was a "slur" on the South. Reagan said

off later. If you don't believe me ask your Commie buddies around Wilshire."

Bob Duren told *WV* that the NAARPR had gone to the Democratic Party meeting where they were jumped in order to press for a Congressional investigation of the brutal KKK attack on anti-Klan demonstrators in Ocean-side last March. Yet the terrorists responsible for that bloody assault—Metzger and his boys—were sitting right in the room! The absurdity of the Communist Party's call on the bourgeois state to stop the fascists could not be clearer than in San Diego where the Democrats are officially represented, if not controlled, by the Ku Klux Klan. The fascists are the shock troops of capitalist reaction, and if their services are not presently needed, the ruling class is not about to outlaw them.

As for the civil libertarian Socialist Workers Party, it thinks that the way to answer KKK baseball bats and knives in Oceanside and fascist bullets in Fontana is through reasoned debate with these killers and by beating them at the polls! Yet the week after the SWP's San Diego Congressional candidate appeared on national TV with KKK terrorist Metzger (his "Democratic Party opponent"), SWP offices narrowly escape a bombing. While the two contenders were sitting in the studio together, the fascists were outside wiring up their bomb! Unlike such suicidal social democrats, communists do not support "free speech" for the Klan. There is no debating with fascist nightriders and cross-burners—what's needed is to mobilize labor, blacks and all defenders of democratic rights to crush these vermin in the streets. ■

Carter's remarks were a slur on his character, and besides the Democrats had started it in the first place. So Reagan apologized to Carter. Carter alleged that he did not think Reagan was a racist. And both candidates seem to be engaged in a friendly competition to be the number one "respectable" anti-black politician.

But were the apologies really necessary? Carter's cozying up to the Klan was not simply a matter of starting his official campaign in Tuscumbia. Just hours after a parade of 75 to 100 Klansmen (who wore their hoods open so that others in the town could recognize them) Carter told the crowd

that the KKK had besmirched the glorious traditions of Southern slavery. Sitting on the platform with two living symbols of segregation, George Wallace and former Senator from Mississippi James Eastland, the U.S. president offered hosannas to that historic symbol of the slave South: "As a Southerner, it makes me angry when I see them [the Klan] with the Confederate battle flag."

If Reagan really wanted to link Carter and the Democrats with the Klan it wouldn't have been too hard. On June 3 "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger won the Democratic Party Congressional nomination in the 43rd district of southern California, and despite pleas by a California rabbi and many others Carter has refused to denounce his party's KKK candidate. However, the Republicans are in no position to throw such stones. In May an American Nazi Party member won 43 percent of the vote in the North Carolina GOP primary for attorney general; in August a former Klansman and Nazi was nominated as the Republican Congressional candidate in Michigan's Dearborn Heights district.

But the Klan isn't some parliamentary outfit that expects to win at the polls. They are a fascist terror group that senses it can use the present reactionary climate created by Carter and Reagan to recruit the future shock troops for the capitalists to use at a time of sharp crisis—to crack the union movement and to persecute blacks and other minorities. In the hills outside of Birmingham, Alabama the Klan now has its own boot camp (called My Lai in honor of mass murderer William Calley) where KKKers armed with M-16

rifles practice guerrilla warfare. The Klansmen are self-admittedly training for "race war" or as one of these fascists put it, "I believe in the white race and this is the way it's going to be before it's all over."

Meanwhile, in Scotland, Connecticut on September 13 an estimated 500 attended the first public KKK rally in that state in 70 years. Standing round a burning cross the hooded terrorists yelled "put a nigger on that cross" and chanted the names of those they would like to see murdered, "Andrew Young, Cassius Clay, Richard Pryor" (*Hartford Advocate*, 17 September). Grotesquely, ABC urged the Klan to burn its 20-foot kerosene soaked cross before 9 p.m. so they could show this theater of racism on their news broadcast! Although an equal number of anti-Klan demonstrators had mobilized, the KKKers were protected by hundreds of state troopers and cops.

That same week the Nazis said they would march on Yom Kippur in the heavily Jewish Chicago suburb of Evanston. And in Greensboro, the state continues its license-to-kill trial of the KKK/Nazis for murdering five leftists last November. In its closing statement at this frame-up trial—designed to jail the victims and let the murderers go free—the state barely contested the defense claim that the Klan/Nazis did not fire all the shots. The prosecution wants this same "evidence" for its case against the Communist Workers Party supporters who survived the attack.

Following Carter's visit to Tuscumbia the Klansmen there have been bragging that it was a great boost to recruitment.

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Protest NBC Platform for KKK

On September 24, NBC television broadcast a live "chat" with fascist terrorist Bill Wilkinson, so-called "Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." The chummy host, Tom Snyder, and the network brass thereby provided a platform for deadly racist killers. Appearing at first in Klan regalia, Wilkinson returned after a commercial in a natty suit as a mod '80s-style racist. But he had just returned from a fiery cross-burning in Scotland, Connecticut, and bragged that in the present climate of KKK "respectability" similar race-hate rallies were scheduled around the country. His message was the same racist, anti-communist filth which the nightriders have been spewing out for decades, even advertising "Klan Special Forces" units training with automatic weapons for "race war" to wipe out blacks.

By televising coast-to-coast such calls for genocide, NBC and Tom Snyder are not defending free speech. They are furthering the cause of race-murder, and innocent blacks will die because of the "even-handed" aiding-and-abetting from these "knee-jerk liberals." This outrage set off a wave of protest, including the telegram printed here, initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, which was endorsed by a number of labor and left militants and defenders of democratic rights:

Endorsers

Spartacist League/U.S.
Partisan Defense Committee
Frank Donner, attorney
Conrad Lynn, attorney
William Kunstler, attorney
Naomi Jay, National Secretary of Habonim Labor Zionist Youth
Daniel Soyer, Secretary, Jewish Socialist Youth Bund
David Lutzker, National Secretary, Hashomer Hatzair

24 September 1980
Tom Snyder
c/o National Broadcasting Corp.
New York, NY

We vigorously oppose NBC giving the KKK "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson national network time on the Tom Snyder show tonight. The KKK and Nazis are fascist action groups committed to the mass murder of Jews, blacks, unionists and leftists as demonstrated from Greensboro, North Carolina to Fontana, California. Nazis and Klansmen came from throughout North America to "celebrate" Hitler's Birthday on April 19 at a "Hitlerfest" in North Carolina. On that same day Klansmen burned crosses and gunned down four black women in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Nazis were prevented from a similar "Hitlerfest" in San Francisco only by a mass demonstration of 1,200 unionists, Jews, blacks, gays, Chicanos and other enemies of fascist terror. Fascists use the media only to mobilize for genocide and their appearance on national TV can only fuel their ominous growth and boldness. No platform for Bill Wilkinson!

Ritchie Bradley, Militant Solidarity Caucus,
United Auto Workers Local 906, Mahwah, NJ
Gene Herson, Militant-Solidarity Caucus,
National Maritime Union
Rabbi Charles Sheer, Columbia University
Jewish Student Union
Rabbi Ronald Roness, Hillel Director, City College
Andrea Snegroti, Vice President,
Communications Workers of America Local 1150
Charon Glodwyn, Vice President,
Communications Workers of America Local 1150
Spartacus Youth League
David Thorstead, gay activist
American Indian Movement
Donald Banks, AIM
Charles R. Garry, attorney
Robert Allen, editor, *Black Scholar*
Diana Coleman, 1980 candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors
Howard Keylor, Executive Board,
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Larry Ackerman, steward, Communications Workers of America Local 9410

Paul Costan, steward, CWA Local 9410
Spence S. Burton, education director,
California Association of Letter Carriers
Norman Huntman, International
Association of Machinists District Lodge 56 and Local Lodge 739
Willy Lee Bell, chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM Local 739
Alice Walker, author
Rick Flores, Vice President, United Steel Workers Local 2869, Fontana, CA
Alvin S. Gant, President, Mailhandlers Union Local 302, San Francisco
Ron Tyeskey, President, Local 214, National Association of Letter Carriers, San Francisco
Vince Courtney, Executive Secretary, SEIU Local 400, Secretary-Treasurer, Northern California Joint Council of Service Employees
Fernando Guerrero, President, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-1978

(organizational affiliation listed for identification purposes only)

NAACP and Urban League also sent their own telegrams of protest.

KKK...

(continued from page 7)

Wilkinson added that by 1984 "whoever is running for president will be courting the Klan vote." The "Imperial Wizard" is too modest. Both presidential candidates are already courting the Klan vote, though not the official endorsement.

With "Lesser Evils" Like These...

It used to be that presidential candidates, particularly the Democratic Party standard-bearer, would regularly make promises to cure the ills of black America. And in 1976 it was the black vote that put Carter in the White House. Now there aren't even the empty promises. It is all too obvious that conditions for blacks have become so miserable, so deeply rooted in the economy, that it can only get worse under capitalism. But what about the black vote? In a close race, say in New York state, black voters could make the difference. So the candidates are appealing to this vote on a consciously negative basis: "My opponent is an even bigger racist than I am." At worst they figure maybe all black voters will stay home on election day.

The black elected officials (BEOs) and the traditional black leadership have picked up on this "lesser evil" argument to try to hustle the vote for Carter. Julian Bond, for instance, took the announcement of KKK support for Reagan as the signal to shift his support to Carter. Jesse Jackson, who was recently cited in a black poll as the "most respected black leader in America," has become Carter's great black hope. Jackson grabbed headlines when

he denounced Carter and flirted with an endorsement of the Republicans. But at the Democratic Party convention he struck a personal deal at the mountain top of the party and endorsed Carter—as "a lesser evil," of course.

Millions of blacks have had enough of the liberal Democrats' "evil." It was the liberals in Congress and the courts who killed busing and have led attacks on even the token gains of the civil rights movement. Black unemployment is double that of the mid-'60s. The Urban League reported recently that 70 percent of all unemployed blacks never received any jobless benefits and more than half of all poor black households received no welfare assistance. Blacks in the ghettos are the first victims of capitalist cutback austerity—with hospitals that can't heal, schools that can't teach, ghetto tenements unfit to live in, services decaying at a rate that crushes the aspirations of the young. Perhaps the most telling statistic in racist America comes from a U.S. Labor Department survey showing that *young blacks with college degrees have a higher rate of unemployment than white high school dropouts!*

No wonder blacks will sit this election out in massive numbers. A recent poll of middle-class blacks reflected the deep disgruntlement with the Democratic Party, with a third of the blacks polled favoring a black political party. But the traditional black organizations have no alternative. There is lots of talk about a black agenda, but the first order of business is always to vote Democratic. The NAACP announced that in 1976 only 26 percent of blacks between the ages of 18 and 24 bothered to register and vote. Their solution? A voter registration drive for the Democrats.

What is really going on among the black sellouts is an attempt to pressure the Democrats into some false promises. Recently the black leaders, upset with Reagan and Carter's racist remarks, took a stand for "black sensitivity." But social reality has passed them by. What these black vote hustlers want is a smoother racist to sell to black America. A Jimmy Carter who does not rub their noses in the Confederate flag while he grinds down the ghetto poor. Liberals have long pretended that racism was merely a matter of "sensitivity," of attitude, and at most a matter of education. But the sheer enormity of the economic and social oppression of blacks makes it clear that there can be no solution this side of the socialist revolution.

Fed up with the depression-level unemployment and inflation, American workers are no longer so willing to follow the union bureaucrats in casting their votes for the Democratic Party. So in the 1980 elections the capitalist contestants figure the working-class vote is up for grabs. The airwaves are filled with electoral pitches aimed at workers, highlighting patriotic pride and military preparedness. For white workers the capitalist politicians have a racist message: no matter how bad it gets for you, it will be worse for blacks.

For blacks, locked into an impoverished existence and already in the cross hairs of the cops and KKK, the situation is desperate. But now the hundreds of thousands of laid-off white workers are also standing in the welfare and unemployment lines they once thought were reserved for "blacks only." Fighting side by side, black and white workers can turn the situation around. And these are

not just abstract good wishes. Concentrated in the heartland of "Depression USA," black auto workers, for example, can be key to mobilizing American labor in a real fight against the capitalists' austerity program and the massive layoffs and smashing the fascist menace.

Last November a 500-strong rally in Detroit—mainly black, many of them auto workers from area plants—successfully stopped a threatened Klan march. This labor/black mobilization points the way toward crushing the KKK/Nazis. In the mid-1930s the fascists were far more numerous than they are today. They were openly backed by industrial magnates like Henry Ford. But they were swept aside by the rise of the mass industrial unions—militant class struggle cut the ground from under the fascists who feed off the desperation bred by capitalist depression. And whenever the Silver Shirts, Black Legion, Coughlinites and their ilk tried to surface in the industrial centers they were stopped in their tracks by powerful union mobilizations.

As always it was communists, the Trotskyists, who took the lead in organizing the working class to crush these race-hating, labor-hating terrorists. Today as then, it will not be by supporting phony "lesser evils" at the polls but by mobilizing in the factories and mills of America that black workers have the power to bring down the vicious racist ruling class of Carter/Reagan. Not as token black front men for the Democratic and Republican parties of the capitalists, but fighting alongside their class brothers and sisters in the struggle to build a workers party, to forge a revolutionary leadership that can achieve a workers government that will rid us of the fascist scum forever. ■

Sydenham...

(continued from page 3)

hospitals just a few blocks away. But these private hospitals are not required to take the poor. As for nine-to-five "family neighborhood centers," what good do they do when the baby pours boiling water on itself, someone has a heart attack or you get cut up with a knife? In a ghetto if you don't have an emergency room you haven't got medical care, period. And the municipal hospitals are already bulging. As the city was closing down Sydenham, workers at Harlem Hospital were picketing because there weren't enough nurses. Diane Lacey of the Coalition to Save Sydenham noted at the September 21 rally they "brought the shah of Iran" to New York because it has some of the best medical facilities in the world, "yet here in Harlem the people have the highest illness and death rates in this country." Some statistics tell why: Harlem has fewer than one doctor for every 1,000 people compared to 6 for every 1,000 in Koch's old Congressional district on the Upper East Side. In large portions of the South Bronx, there is one doctor for every 10,000 people, compared to a statewide ratio of one doctor for 405!

Unfortunately, the black leadership in the Sydenham protests has mainly tried to turn the mass anger into electoral pressure. At the rallies, tables were set up for people to register to vote. "Call the mayor... Call the governor... Call the president's reelection committee," said the leaflets. "Stand by the elected officials who have come out for the sit-in," was the oft-repeated theme as the black Democrats took the platform at the weekend rallies—keeping their eye on the ballot box in November, of course. Their supporters took up the old civil rights song, "We Shall Not Be Moved" and substituted the lyrics, "Koch Shall Be Removed."

In the forefront of the sit-in and protests at Sydenham was demagogic Brooklyn preacher Herbert Daughtry, who figures to be the linchpin of the new lash-up of black politicians trying to build a "Dump Koch" movement.

Rangel can do the talking with Albany and the White House while Daughtry will deliver the street action in return for



WV Photo

a say in doling out the crumbs (if they get any). Daughtry isn't averse to a few ill-organized confrontations with the cops, and of course this is the same race-baiter who deliberately tried to provoke a pogromist explosion, setting blacks against Jews in the tinderbox Brooklyn community of Crown Heights two years ago. But there is more a division of labor than political opposition between the "respectable" black elected officials (BEOs) and "firebrands" like Daughtry.

The disaffected black Democratic pols finally got the news that Koch won't deliver anything, but they turn instead to...Carcy and Carter! Last year Deputy Mayor Basil Patterson noisily quit the Koch administration over the scheduled hospital closings, and now he is working as Carey's secretary of state. At the rallies the preachers and politicians went out of their way to avoid criticizing the "Guv," and their attitude toward Carter was one of pressure: "Carter is in danger of losing the black vote," Daughtry told Sydenham protesters, and his Black United Front put out a leaflet urging them to direct their efforts toward the

president's reelection committee. But from that quarter they won't even get peanuts—Koch's program is only slightly more extreme than the rest of the bourgeois politicians who were clamoring, almost without exception, for budget-cutting, wage-slashing "austerity."

Most of the left predictably tailed the black ministers and Democrats without criticism. The Communist Party's Harlem organizer was among those who sat in at the hospital for 11 days, and the *Daily World* (27 September) wrote that the protests are "creating an entirely new political situation in the capital of Black America." But there will be no real change without a *political break* from the Democratic Party by labor and minority groups.

When the demonstrators occupied Sydenham, Koch's strategy was to wait them out—what did he care, they were going to close the place anyway. What the black protesters need is not better connections to Albany or "dialogue" with Gracie Mansion but the mobilization of real social power. New York witnessed that last April during the 11-day subway strike, and while it went down to defeat for lack of a fighting

leadership, Koch certainly went on a war footing to go after the largely black transit workers. We pointed out at the time that a class-struggle leadership in key sectors of the labor movement could have united with the ghetto masses to wage a victorious struggle against all the job and service cuts, wage losses, etc. (see "NYC Transit Showdown," *WV* No. 252, 21 March). But instead there has been a cycle of union-black confrontations, and black-white divisions within the unions, from which only the racists like Koch benefit.

There is good reason why Harlem hates Koch. And it is the task of communists to see that this anger is not channeled once again into support for another capitalist politician. At a time when the Klan is burning crosses in Connecticut (and not so long ago in the Rockaways), when Carter isn't promising a cent to blacks anywhere, it should be clearer than ever that the Democrats are no "lesser evil." The fight against the anti-working-class, anti-black austerity programs must be directed into a struggle to build a genuine class-struggle workers party, which can unite all of the oppressed in a fight for a workers government. ■

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Iran/Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

tion in Afghanistan to aid in suppressing a U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary rebellion, American imperialism has launched a massive military build-up in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean—including 31 ships, two of which are aircraft carriers.

An elementary demand for Marxists and the labor movement must be for the U.S. and NATO to get out of the Gulf, out of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia included. If the U.S. were to intervene militarily in the Gulf, Marxists would call for the military victory of whatever forces sought to resist imperialist intervention, including the Iraqi armed forces or Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards." It is also possible that an imperialist intervention could draw in Russia in a military confrontation, thereby posing the proletarian duty of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union.

But the imperialist powers have little leverage in the present conflict and are assuming a posture of neutrality in the hopes that their oil supplies will not be disrupted. Iraq, presently a Soviet military client although economically a client of the West European powers, has been seeking to integrate itself further into the imperialist camp—shopping for arms in France and attempting to strangle the powerful Iraqi Communist Party. President Carter would gladly trade all the military support Khomeini could use for the hostages, but the self-declared "imam" is presently not doing business with the "satan" in the White House.

The Kremlin, which supports both the "Arab Revolution" in Baghdad and Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution"—despite the thousands of Iraqi and Iranian Communists who have been jailed, shot or hung by these "revolutions"—has called for the belligerents to establish "good neighborly relations." Many second-rate, third-rate and no-rate world powers have offered themselves up as mediators—from Fidel Castro as chairman of the "non-aligned movement" (ironically, Iraq's president Hussein is slated to take Castro's place in 1982), to Pakistani tyrant Mohammad Zia ul-Haq on behalf of the Islamic Conference, to the PLO's Yasir Arafat.

War: The Acid Test

The Iraq-Iran war puts all the self-proclaimed revolutionaries in Iran, especially those who have begun (belatedly) to adopt a critical or even hostile attitude toward Khomeini, to the test. With the mullahs whipping up Persian chauvinism and martyr mania for the *ji-had* (holy war) against the infidel Iraqi Ba'athists, Iranian youth are following the "imam's line" by registering in droves for military duty.

Not surprisingly, all signs indicate that virtually the entire Iranian left has capitulated to this wave of Persian patriotism. The People's Fedayeen Guerrillas, the largest group on the Iranian far left, has reportedly called on its followers "to defend the revolution and independence of the country in the face of attacks from the Iraqi fascist regime." This statement was reprinted on the front page of the stridently Islamic fundamentalist paper *Itala'at* on September 25. According to the *New York Times* (25 September), not only the Fedayeen but, "All the leftist groups have offered to send men to the front." *Instead of forming a proletarian opposition to Khomeini's holy war, the left is joining the unholy alliance embracing everyone from Khomeini's fanatics to Crown Prince Riza.*

But one need not turn to the Iranian left to find drumbeaters for Khomeini's Persian chauvinist *ji-had*. The 3 October *Militant*, organ of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) whose Iranian co-thinkers are the notorious Khomeini-sycophants of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), screams:

"The Iranian revolution is under attack." And the attack, it asserts, comes from Washington: "The Carter administration and the government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq share a common interest in trying to stop the revolutionary process in Iran...."

Should we be surprised that the SWP/HKE, who supported and lied for Khomeini through his imposition of the veil, the stoning to death of adulterers and homosexuals, his persecution and murder of leftists and his genocide against the Kurds, should support this Persian chauvinist war to defend *the shah's treaty*? The SWP now finds the "Arab Revolution" it once hailed to be the agent of U.S. imperialism. And the *Militant* here breaks *to the right* from Castro to stand beside the clerical reactionary Khomeini.

The British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and their American satellite, the Workers League, have followed their "imam" from Tripoli, Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, out of the workers movement. Like Qaddafi they hailed simultaneously the "Arab Revolution" in Baghdad and the "Islamic Revolution" in Teheran, to the point where they whitewashed the hanging and shooting of Communists and other leftists by both. Now with the two "Revolutions" at each others' throats, the WRP, like Qaddafi, counsels mediation and ludicrously blames the war on Israel. Now that the Zionist state is sending out feelers to Khomeini for an anti-Iraq bloc, we can only wonder at what Qaddafi will put into the next issue of the WRP's *News Line*.

War: The Mother of Revolution

We are opposed to the victory of either side in this reactionary border war, but we are not pacifists. We do not view with disapproval two regimes—which have systematically terrorized and murdered national and religious minorities (or in the case of the Shi'ites in Iraq, a religious *majority*), militant workers and communists—grinding up their opposed military machines fighting each other. One can't help but recall the 1965 border war between India and Pakistan over the contested desert area known as the Rann of Kutch. For two months the Indian and Pakistani armed forces went at each other—with the only result being that each side knocked out a lot of the other's tanks and jets. If we did not have faith in the working classes of Iraq and Iran to overthrow their respective oppressors in Baghdad and Teheran we would dearly like to see both the Ba'athist officers and Persian Shi'ite mullahs get all the military support they could use to exhaust themselves in the ancient feud over who controls the waterways of the Tigris and Euphrates.

But war is also the mother of revolution. And the Iraqi-Iranian conflict lays bare their real "border problem": the oppressed nationalities that are divided by the artificial border separating Iran and Iraq, especially the Kurds and the ethnic Arabs who compose a majority of Khuzistan (which Arab nationalists appropriately call Arabistan).

The Kurdish nation, divided by five state boundaries in the Near East, has been savagely persecuted by both the Ba'athists and Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards." Khomeini's hand has been stayed from genocide only by his incapacity to create a modern armed forces on the basis of exalting the Sword of Islam and the promise of easy passage to heaven for martyrs. The Iran-Iraq war offers the Kurds the greatest opportunity to carve out a nation-state since the short-lived "Kurdish Republic" of Mahabad in 1946. Leninists support the unconditional right of the Kurdish people to self-determination and defend that right as long as the Kurds are not subordinated to an imperialist power, even if Kurdish independence is first realized for only a part of the Kurdish people—e.g., those living in Iran.

In the Abadan refineries and on the docks of Khurramshar is to be found a proletariat which, though in its majority Arab, is drawn from nationalities throughout Iran and the Middle East (although Khomeini expelled many of the foreign workers, especially from Pakistan and India). The oil workers of Iran and Iraq have been in the vanguard of the working class of their countries.

Within their ranks (as well as among the heroic, if deeply confused petty-bourgeois radicals of the Iranian Fedayeen) are to be found the cadres for authentic revolutionary Trotskyist parties in Iran and Iraq, sections of a reborn Fourth International. This war and the position of revolutionary defeatism will be an acid test for a revolutionary regroupment of these cadres, breaking them from illusions in radical Arab nationalism of the Ba'athists or the utopian populism of the Fedayeen. *Khomeini and Hussein must go the way of the shah and the Hashemites, but in their place must rise a socialist federation of the Middle East!* ■

Hungary...

(continued from page 2)

adamantly denies that the danger of capitalist counter-revolution existed in Hungary in 1956, using the very same USec method! Here, the SL contradicts its own 1966 analysis that the success of the Hungarian uprising would have delivered power into the hands of Hungary's "Catholic-peasant majority."

Recognition of these points are transparent concessions to the Global Class War Tendency writings of 1956, then opposed by the now SL leadership. In order to forestall an identity crisis in its ranks, the SL must come up with a qualitative difference between the events in Hungary and Poland. It attempts to do this with its assertion that the danger of clerical reaction exists in Poland, whereas Mindszenty was an "irrelevance" in Hungary. A glance at the *New York Times* for October-November 1956, the SL's above-mentioned quote, or a reading of the internationally respected Marxist scholar Isaac Deutscher—who, while supporting the uprising, called Mindszenty "the spiritual head" of the uprising—should dispel that myth.

The SL's other time-honored tactic seems to consist in triannual ritual denunciations of Sam Marcy's apologetics for the workers state bureaucracies—which they are. The current abject reformism of Marcy, paradoxically combined with his past association with the Global Class War Tendency, has proven a major subjective obstacle to finding the path of genuine Trotskyism. But Marcy's course is no more predicted in his writings on Hungary than Kautsky's apostasy was predicted by his earlier support of Marx and Engels.

We urge *Workers Vanguard* to undertake a thorough re-evaluation of its analysis of the Hungarian events in 1956. Such an undertaking, if followed through to its end courageously, will also lead to a thorough review of the SL's crypto-Shachtmanite theory of the state, and eventual renunciation of its "Marxist" Bulletin No. 8 on Cuba.

In struggle,

Kit B.

SL supporter

1974-1977

Communist Cadre Marxist member

WV replies: The truth is concrete. Violating this basic Marxist axiom, Marcyite Kit B. writes a letter on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which says almost nothing concrete about that revolution or the political consciousness of the workers who made it. And it says nothing about the significant *differences* between the Hungarian Revolution and the present crisis in Poland.

The present Polish crisis is

distinguished precisely by the identification of the mass of striking workers and the close association of their principal leaders with a powerful Catholic church opposition. Unlike the present Polish crisis, the Hungarian Revolution grew out of a deep split within the bureaucracy. Seeking to oust Stalin's bloody and hated hatchetman Rakosi, national-liberal elements around Imre Nagy appealed to the workers and intellectuals. Just three weeks before the outbreak of the revolution there was a mass demonstration of some 200,000 to mark the official rehabilitation of Ladislav Rajk, the popular Communist leader executed in 1949 as an agent of Tito.

Effective power in the revolution lay with the workers councils, which were clearly *not* anti-communist. No one, not even the Kremlin or Marcy, claimed that the mass of the working class supported Cardinal Mindszenty or the petty-bourgeois, clericalist Smallholders Party. In fact, the workers councils overwhelmingly supported the "national-liberal" Stalinist Nagy, commonly regarded as a Hungarian Tito. The Budapest revolutionary committees elected as co-leaders of the Revolutionary Military Committee a Communist, Colonel Pal Maleter (who proclaimed that he would remain so), and General Bela Kiraly, a former Communist closely associated with the Nagy group.

The Budapest Parliament of Workers Councils adopted as its first programmatic principle that "the factory belongs to the workers" and that "the supreme controlling body of the factory is the workers council" (reproduced in Bill Lomax, *Hungary 1956* [1976]). While this is a syndicalist deviation from Marxian scientific socialism, it is incompatible with the re-establishment of a capitalist order and parliamentary sovereignty over economic policy. On the available evidence, the Hungarian workers looked toward an idealized version of Titoist Yugoslavia—an independent "socialist" country with "workers self-management."

Had free elections to a constituent assembly grown out of the revolution (by no means a certainty), it is likely the Smallholders Party would have won. But would the workers councils have without a struggle liquidated themselves and turned over power to a parliamentary government which they did not in general support? To answer yes, inevitably, as the Marcyites do, is to attribute to the Hungarian workers an exceptional respect for bourgeois democracy for which there is no evidence. It represents a *defeatist* attitude toward proletarian political revolution in Stalinist-ruled East Europe.

Contrary to Kit B.'s protestation, Sam Marcy's present posture as would-be adviser to the Stalinist bureaucracies is a *logical extension* of his position on the Hungarian Revolution. Basically he maintained that, in the absence of a Trotskyist leadership and given the workers' bourgeois-democratic illusions, *any* popular uprising in a Stalinist-ruled country would inevitably lead to capitalist restoration. If one accepts this premise, the Stalinist status quo is a necessary lesser evil pending socialist revolution in the imperialist centers. This is, of course, nothing but the abandonment of the Trotskyist program of political revolution.

As Farrell Dobbs rightly said at the time:

"The workers in the [Marcyite] minority view, have in large measure become alienated from communism by the Stalinist violations of their democratic rights and the economic repression to which they have been subjected; hence the bureaucracy alone can be relied upon to defend the workers state against bourgeois restoration...."

"It is a false view in every respect and fatal to a revolutionary perspective. It would leave nothing but defense of the status quo in the Soviet sphere, contradicting the very essence of political revolution against the bureaucracy."

—"The Issues in the Hungarian Revolution," *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, February 1957 ■

Militant Caucus...

(continued from page 12)

long-time Executive Board members of longshore Local 10.

The Militant Caucus has a six-year history in the union of fighting for class-struggle policies to win. It was the Militant Caucus which fought for mass picketing and hot-cargo tactics during the 1974-75 KNC strike, thereby saving that union shop. And it was an MC motion which threw official Local 6 backing behind a rally of 400 unionists in Union City on September 20 in defense of the Kitayama Nursery strike, where workers fighting for union recognition of the Laborers Union have been facing harassment by cops sent by the mayor, who is also the nursery owner!

These elections are taking place in the context of the most concerted employer attacks on the union in 30 years—attacks on the grievance procedure, firings of union stewards, ever more rigid attendance policies and production standards and blacklisting of union activists. Only the Militant Caucus has consistently argued for and implemented independent workingclass self-defense, as opposed to the defeatist bureaucrats' strategy of reliance on the bosses' parties, Democratic and Republican. The MC has opposed endorsements to labor's enemies, such as San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein and Jimmy Carter, and instead has struggled to win the union to the perspective of a workers party to fight for a workers government. It has fought for mass picketing to defend the picket line, instead of reliance on the bosses' cops. And the MC has defended the



Militant Caucus candidate and hiring hall steward Pete Woolston talks with co-workers outside Local 6 headquarters.

right to strike as against the bureaucrats' impotent "weapon" of arbitration.

The Caucus has recently been in the forefront of mobilizing critical labor muscle to stop the dangerous growth of American fascism. The April 19th Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) rally in San Francisco which stopped the Nazis from coming on that day was organized with the help of the Militant Caucus. This successful action demonstrated the power of a key Caucus demand: union-organized defense guards to smash racist violence.

Finally, it was the Militant Caucus which has fought for genuine international working-class solidarity action, such as the longshore boycott in 1974 of ships from the repressive Chilean regime. Only the MC has stood up

against Carter's anti-Soviet war drive: as a recent issue of the Caucus newsletter stated, "Despite the bureaucratic Soviet leadership, labor must defend the Soviet Union against imperialism just as we defend the labor movement here, despite its bureaucratic leadership, against the bosses and their state" ("Warehouse Militant," 29 August 1980).

This exemplary record of class struggle contrasts sharply with the head-in-the-sand "strategy" of the bureaucrats. ILWU International president Jimmy Herman and his followers, like Local 6 president Keith Eickman, have allowed the union to be cut to pieces while they hang onto the tail of the Democratic Party. In the meantime, well-known supporters of the Commu-

nist Party's *People's World* (PW) such as business agent Joe Figuereido, Joe Lindsay, Victoria Mercado and Franklin Alexander—all cling to Herman/Eickman despite their occasional "left" noises. Figuereido, for instance, was instrumental in ensuring that the ILWU did not officially endorse the April 19 anti-Nazi action, in order to satisfy Eickman and Mayor Feinstein! And when the MC recently put up a motion for defense guards to protect the home of Dovard Howard, the black phone worker shot by a racist in Fontana, Lindsay saw to it that the action proposal was gutted because Fontana is "too far away"! The CP's impotent reformist strategy of reliance on the bosses' government to "ban the Klan" has only encouraged the fascists even more.

It is hard to tell the *PW* supporters from the top officers because their program is the same: reliance on the government or the "good will" of the bosses rather than mobilizing the union. And the motley "Rank and File Coalition" of Maoists, aspiring bureaucrats and supporters of business agent Roberto Flotte has been no better. At key junctures these people have usually taken a dive rather than fighting for a militant policy against the opposition of Local and International tops. During the bitter 137-day strike at Pfizer warehouse earlier this year, when the MC was fighting for mass pickets to stop the scabbing, the Coalition was organizing disco dances! And when the MC was building for ANCAN, these fakers stayed home!

It is time to get the ILWU back on its feet and restore the power which built the union through class-struggle action like the 1934 SF general strike. Vote Militant Caucus! ■

Chicago Cops...

(continued from page 3)

part of their job is to "keep blacks in their place" through the use of cop terror. These badge-toting thugs are mercenaries paid to protect the private property and social order of the capitalists, the rich who rule this country, by keeping the working class down. A recent graphic example of the role of the police involved a local steel worker who was assisting strikers in stopping scab trucks at M&T Chemicals in East Chicago, Indiana. He was attacked by a black cop who threw him against a fence, then arrested him for "disorderly conduct." Strikebreaking, scabherding, victimization of black militants and the left—these are the duties of the killers in blue.

Sure, a few cops demonstrated with striking Chicago firemen during last winter's bitter firefighters strike. But the same police escorted scab fire trucks through the lines and paraded scab

buses past transit workers' pickets during the bus strike. It was the cops who protected Nazis when they staged their race-hate rallies in Marquette Park and Skokie, who murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton in his bed. The three psychos who clobbered Richard Ramey to death fit right in. And so long as bureaucrats like the Chicago Teamster tops condone such vicious atrocities, it is little wonder that many blacks see labor as part of a racist power structure which aims to keep them down. As a first step in mobilizing the unions to fight racial oppression they must expel the bosses' hired guns!

Black liberals, of course, have sought to turn the ghetto masses' outrage over the cop murder of Richard Ramey not against the police but against the labor movement. The IBT "has a long history of racism and mob domination which make many doubt that it should be the union organization to represent Chicago policemen," editorialized the city's black daily, the *Chicago Defender*. As if it were the Teamsters, and not the Chicago Police Department, which regularly terrorizes and murders innocent blacks! Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH urged that "no black police officer should talk with Teamster organizers...." These black Democrats are just doing donkey work for the cops and their bosses, the racist white politicians, by taking the heat off the real culprit—the capitalist system.

Particularly hypocritical is Mr. "Black Capitalism" himself, Jesse Jackson, whose standard refrain is to call for more black cops—which as any ghetto victim can testify is no help at all. This is the same Jackson who incited black firemen to break ranks and scab last winter, who set up scab schools in the ghettos during the teachers strike. He spent much of last year mediating for wildcatting prison guards at Cook County Jail, the thugs who brutalize black youth lucky enough to escape summary cop execution on the ghetto streets. And every time there is an explosion of black anger over racist

injustice—Miami, Chattanooga—Jackson rushes to the scene to tell black people to "cool it."

Meanwhile, much of the left joins the liberal chorus in denouncing the IBT while refusing to call for cops out of the unions. Under the headline "Chi. police to vote for collective bargaining," the Communist Party's *Daily World* (24 September) is concerned only to protect affirmative action. And the Communist Labor Party, another reformist Stalinist outfit, asks, "Are Chicago's cops going to join hands with such an infamous union?" (*People's Tribune*, 23 September). The Teamsters, says the CLP, are "using white chauvinism to steer the organizing effort away from any progressive goals." What "progressive goals" can there possibly be in organizing the infamous Chicago police, the guard dogs of capital and oppressors of blacks? None!

As for the undeniable "long history of racism and mob domination" in the Teamsters, this is a matter for the rank and file, both black and white. They must throw out the bureaucrats who are in league with racketeers and who sell out to the trucking bosses. And part of this struggle is the fight to mobilize the power of labor against racist attacks. It

happened in San Francisco this April and in Detroit last November, when hundreds of union members, blacks and socialists united in demonstrations which stopped the Nazis and Klan from marching. The hundreds of thousands of members in Chicago's integrated labor movement have the strength to halt the killer cops in their tracks. What they need is a leadership that is equal to the task.

Chicago mayor Jane Byrne has reacted to the furor over the Ramey murder by appointing a "Citizens' Committee" to investigate reports of brutality and "attitudes" in the police department. Such gutless and powerless committees and "review boards" have never yet stopped the uniformed thugs who believe they have a license to kill. What's needed is a fight throughout the labor movement to dump the corrupt, racist bureaucrats and unite blacks and labor under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party. Such an alliance can smash the racist system that serves only the bosses. Killer cops belong in jail, not in the IBT! Police and prison guards out of the union movement! Dump the Teamster bureaucrats—for a class-struggle leadership! ■

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Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Spartacist League Central Committee
Editor, *Spartacist*

San Francisco

Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
55 Laguna, Room 202
UC Extension
For information call: (415) 863-6963

Berkeley

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
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Los Angeles

Sunday, October 5, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
(213) 662-1564

Speaker to be announced

Chicago

Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room
(Michigan Avenue & Balbo)
For information call: (312) 427-0003

Coleman...

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and state and to keep the government out of the bedroom—against the hypocritical reaction of "right-to-lifers," who protest abortion in the name of the sacredness of the individual and call upon the state to force women to give birth against their will. Against the feminist puritans who march for state censorship of pornography in the name of women's liberation. And Diana Coleman even wants SF residents to be able to light up a cigarette on a BART platform without intervention from Big Brother environmentalism.

It is a vote of positive indifference to "The Big Issue" among the rad-libs and reformists of SF: district vs. city-wide elections. Every pork-barreler wants his community "constituency" and every reformist his "sector," but class-biased and racist gerrymandering can be and has been as easily accomplished by district as by at-large elections. Most of all a vote for Diana Coleman is a vote for a fighting labor movement. And that is the message the Spartacist campaign has started to bring to SF labor.

• • • • •

We print below a short address given by Diana Coleman to the September membership meeting of her former Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Diana was a member of CWA for six years and a union steward. The 75 members present voted to set aside the normal order of business to hear her speak. She was introduced by the Local vice president, Marie Malliet, applauded roundly, and after her speech was asked to remain for a question and answer period. During the question period, a member of the Militant Action Caucus announced MAC's endorsement of the Coleman campaign.

I'm running for Board of Supervisors and I know a lot of you, and I guess a lot of you know me. I've been speaking in front of a number of different groups, including the Central Labor Council, and so on. But I'm especially happy to speak to my old local, to 9410, to the people I know, to the people I've worked with: I've really enjoyed this chance and appreciate the invitation.

In running for Board of Supervisors my main campaign slogan is "Enough of the Democrats and Republicans! It's Time for a Workers Party!" And what I want to ask people here to do is take an

objective look at the kind of Democratic Party administration you've got in San Francisco, take a look at the guys downtown, what they've stood for. So that under Moscone and Feinstein, who are both Democrats, we saw the city workers strike smashed, the teachers strike smashed; we saw at the Local 2 strike that the cops were called out against them.

And I know that these incumbents on the Board of Supervisors—I feel like I've been running against them since April, because as a supporter of the Spartacist League, which I am, I worked on the April 19th Committee Against Nazis which kept the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Now this was initiated by the Spartacist League but it was made a success by the labor movement coming out, especially, I would say, Local 9410, which officially endorsed the demonstration and sent the largest contingent.

I saw then that the labor movement really made a difference in stopping the Nazis. And I saw what the Board of Supervisors did, too. They did nothing but block the demonstration every way they could. So that if they had their way the swastika would probably be flying on the flagpole at City Hall. I saw what these guys stand for, they demonstrated it. And I think on a national level, with Carter and Reagan—*Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper that I support, ran a headline that said, "Carter, Reagan—Oh Shit!" And I think this expresses a lot of people's views. Because there isn't too much alternative... unemployment, inflation, the possibility of war, where you go and die so the bosses can make a profit.

I know there's probably a lot of people in this room who are not too happy with the phone contract, and for good reason. It doesn't keep up with inflation. If you were in the Rubber Workers, you would probably feel even worse. They signed an agreement with Uniroyal where they would take a 13 percent decrease so that Uniroyal can keep up its profits. And it's this sort of thing which is general throughout the labor movement, an example of what the ties to the capitalist parties have meant, what the ties to the Democrats and Republicans have meant. And it's meant labor hasn't fought in its own interests and hasn't fought to keep up the standards of working-class people in this country and hasn't fought for minorities.

So that's what this campaign is about: breaking labor's ties with the Democrats and Republicans.

Now, I'm running as a socialist. I'd like to see a workers government in this country. I'd like to see major industry expropriated. I know this is not right around the corner. But I do think that this campaign is something which could be a small but important step towards building a mass workers party that we need in this country and that's why I'm running in this city. I'd like to stand for a program which is both for the phone workers of this city and the working-class people of this city, for black and minority people in this city. And I'd like to see some phone workers and other people get involved in this type of campaign, for labor to fight in its own interests and make San Francisco the kind of labor town that it once was. So I think labor has the power to do it, if labor has its own political party and can stand up on its hind legs and fight for itself. That's what this campaign is about. Thank you. (applause)

[In the discussion period a member of the Local asked about the question of "district elections."]

Question: Diana, I realize that this question to you is somewhat redundant but I'm going to pose it for the benefit of those San Francisco residents that are present. And that is, I'd like to know your position on district elections, and that, if I may for a second express my feelings about district elections, I feel very strongly about them, that the



WV Photo

SEPTEMBER 24—Picket line protest of 60 at the Philippine consulate in San Francisco against the bloody Marcos dictatorship and continued martial law in one of Carter's lands of "human rights." A Spartacist contingent at the demonstration distributed a leaflet in support of the candidacy of Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors which read in part: "[Diana Coleman] calls for a workers revolution in the Philippines against the Marcos regime. She opposes the U.S. military presence in the Philip-

pines.... Freedom from the yoke of imperialism, freedom for the Filipino workers and peasants, can only be realized through a class struggle which sweeps away not only the bloody Marcos dictatorship but also Filipino capitalism, loyal servant of imperialism.

"As the candidate of the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, Diana Coleman also supports the democratic rights of the Filipino people in the U.S. She calls for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers."

Welcome Support of Socialist Artists!

Union of Socialist Artists/SF
Fall 1980

Support Spartacist Candidate Diana Coleman for San Francisco Supervisor!

The Union of Socialist Artists, an organization of San Francisco art workers, supports Spartacist League candidate Diana Coleman for city supervisor. Of all candidates and special interest forces involved in the race for supervisor, only Diana Coleman and the Spartacist League represent a consistent and principled program of social transformation and support to minority and oppressed groups. Diana Coleman and the Spartacist League initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis that stopped Nazi/Klan celebrating Hitler's birthday at the San Francisco Civic Center. Diana Coleman stands in defense of the working class against big business. Stop union busting! Pass ERA! For jobs, free medical care, education, transit! Expand rent control! Vote for Diana Coleman!

Kātosrōta of San Francisco

Spartacist Party
Campaign Committee
Spartacist League
P.O. Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
25 September 1980

Comrades,

Enclosed please find (1) a flyer for "Lysistrata," Kātosrōta Theater Collective's October show; (2) an initial organizing flyer for the Union of

Socialist Artists; (3) copy of USA/SF endorsement of Diana Coleman for SF supervisor.

The Union of Socialist Artists emerged from the Theater Collective as a politically oriented cultural propaganda support group. Our basic intention is to promote the understanding of communism and class struggle among artists and to agitate for a radical caucus within art workers unions, particularly Equity. We are also now capable of organizing fund-raising performances in connection of "Lysistrata" and to have Spartacist campaign literature available for interested members of the audience. Whereas we are not planning to limit our total involvement with any one left-oriented group, we recognize the political superiority of the Spartacist principled Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist line.

We would like to encourage our members to investigate the Spartacist line. We do not define ourselves as a "party" but rather as a support group to political organization. We do not recognize art to be a revolutionary factor *per se*, but we seek to use our artistic orientation to encourage class-struggle awareness among other art workers. Hopefully we can maintain close comradely ties with the SL as a basis for our own political development.

Personally I was gratified to be one of Diana Coleman's initial endorsers. My work with the Theater Collective has limited my ability to directly participate in the campaign this month, but I will have more time in October. I wish the campaign much success.

In solidarity,

Alexander Larsen
Kātosrōta Theater Collective and
USA/SF

COLEMAN NEEDS CASH

The so-called "non-partisan" election for San Francisco Board of Supervisors is a hypocritical farce. Behind the capitalist candidates stand the big party machines with their "big bucks." They have their message of war and soft-core racism all over the media, and their expensive posters plastered on lamp posts and billboards from the Mission to the Sunset district. Behind Diana Coleman stands a program of working-class struggle, a program to change the world. But it takes more than endless hours of hard work by volunteers to get her program onto the streets and into the factories of San Francisco. It takes money.

In this year of the Carter/Reagan and KKK election, Diana Coleman's candidacy is the only one anywhere which offers working people a chance to cast a vote in their own interest. We hope readers of *Workers Vanguard* everywhere will come to see this campaign as their own. Urgent—contribute to the Coleman campaign! Checks should be made payable and sent to:

Spartacist Party Campaign
Committee
Suite 729, 55 Sutter St.
San Francisco, CA 94104

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Supporter for S.F. Supervisor **Diana Coleman: Labor Must Stop Klan Terror!**

SAN FRANCISCO, September 25—Spartacist supporter Diana Coleman took her campaign for Board of Supervisors to the longshoremen, warehousemen and to her home local of phone workers this week. Her slogan, "Enough—It's Time for a Workers Party!" was met with interest and enthusiasm from workers who are disgusted with the capitalists' reactionary choice of Carter/Reagan. At the ILWU Local 10 union hiring hall on September 11 and then early the next morning at the pay lines at the Ferry Building on the Embarcadero, Diana talked with longshoremen about the recently launched campaign. She stressed the need to build labor/minority mass actions against fascist attacks, like the one that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday

in San Francisco on April 19.

One veteran longshoreman said that just before election day all the candidates come out to glad-hand the workers and ask for their votes. The reformists do the same. But for the first time, SF workers met a candidate of the left who was not a vote-hustling extension of the liberal/eco-faddist community politics of the area. Against the reformist "people-before-profits" electoralism of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, Diana Coleman—backed by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee—makes it clear that the future of San Francisco labor and all labor won't be decided at the polls but on the battle lines of the class struggle.

While reformists strive for high ADA ratings from the "good liberals," Diana

Diana Coleman
campaigns at
the longshore
paylines.



WV Photo

Coleman's Trotskyist revolutionary program is off the continuum of liberal-conservative politics. A vote for Coleman is a vote against the "no-nuke" nonsense of middle-class despair that demonstrates against nuclear power plants while U.S. imperialism plans World War III against Russia. It is a vote against gun control and every other liberal and reformist scheme which

places confidence and a monopoly of violence in the capitalist state. It is a vote for the defense of democratic rights and social liberation of the oppressed and exploited—against shrouding women in veils, against the mullahs in Iran, a vote to "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

A vote for Diana Coleman is also a vote for the strict separation of church and state.
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Militant Caucus: For a Fighting ILWU!



Caucus militants led ILWU pickets defending Union City laborers' strike against cops.

WV Photo

OAKLAND—The membership of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) will have a real choice in the upcoming November 20 local elections: five members of the Militant Caucus (MC) will be running for office on a program for a fighting ILWU. These include: house committeeman Pete Farruggio, running for Business Agent in the East Bay; hiring hall steward Pcte Woolston, for General Executive Board (GEB), East Bay; veteran 24-year union member Jack Doe for GEB, East Bay; from the West Bay, house steward Jackie Clark and house committee member Mike Kasian for GEB.

In addition, all five are running for delegate to the ILWU international convention which will be held next April. These candidates are also endorsed by MC members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, veteran ILWUers and

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