

Get Big Oil!

The oil billionaires are making life increasingly miserable for the American working people, even driving a few into a mad rage as they wait for hours in the baking heat of endless gas lines. First it was California, and then in Brooklyn last Friday a young man was shot and killed in front of his pregnant wife after he and another man jockeyed for position at an Amoco station.

Meanwhile the oil magnates get all the gas they need for their limousines, yachts and private planes. With Carter in their pocket, they have a decontrol plan that, according to the Congressional Budget Office, will net the oil trusts an extra \$94.6 billion in "windfall profits" over the next five years.

There is a tidal wave of anger against Big Oil growing among the American people. We

need our gas and we need our heat. But the capitalist politicians of both parties have a deal with Big Oil to get big profits for the sake of imperialism's strategic military plans. Were it not hamstrung by its pro-capitalist bureaucracy, the trade-union movement could lead the overwhelming majority of the population in demanding: Expropriate the oil industry—Smash the energy trusts!

Down with the Republicrats—For a Workers Party!

Hate Carter

"He and the country are no longer speaking because of gasoline."

—Mary McCrory, *New York Post*, 2 June

Toward the end of his reign Lyndon Johnson was afraid to set foot outside the White House. Richard Nixon couldn't show his mug on a college campus. And while active hatred of Jimmy Carter has not reached such proportions, there's little love left for the sanctimonious businessman-Sunday school teacher who scolded America for guzzling gas. Not since Gerald Ford has the country had such a mediocre president—even Lillian Carter says Billy is the smarter of her two sons.

The working people have plenty of reasons to hate Carter. In June inflation hit a record annual rate of 14.4 percent, the highest level in the past 30 years. Across the country people in gas lines correctly aim their fury at the president whose "energy conservation" plan, for all his populist rhetoric, amounts to a \$100 million gift to the oil companies. And although Carter ran for president on a program of putting morality back into government, continuing "Peanutgate" revelations show that Mr. Clean has dirty hands. The stench of hypocrisy coming from the White House has nearly everybody holding his nose.

Carter's plummeting ratings have had Washington abuzz for weeks with rumors of impending cabinet resignations and talk of "battle fatigue" in the administration. In particular, Carter has repeatedly struck out on Capitol Hill—in late May Congress defeated his demand for extension of Rhodesia sanctions and smashed his energy program to smithereens. Not only did the legislators refuse to pass Carter's standby gasoline rationing plan, but despite three solid days of White House lobbying, the House Democratic Caucus trampled over his oil price-decontrol plan. It was, said Representative Edward J. Markey of Massachusetts, "a complete and total repudiation of the President by his own party," every politician thinking about reelection knows that the



Korody/Sygma

Mr. Clean has dirty hands.

American people want their gas and they are not about to hang themselves for Carter and Exxon.

That same week some five Democratic Congressmen publicly announced they would not support Carter's renomination. "Draft Kennedy" committees sprang up in 15 states and a newly released California poll had Teddy beating Jimmy by a 70-to-20 percent margin. To top things off, it was announced in Atlanta May 24 that a federal grand jury had indicted Carter's old buddy, Bert Lance, along with three of his cronies on 33 counts

involving some \$20 million in fraudulent loans. Among other things the report charged that Lance's suspicious dealings continued during his seven-month cabinet tour, a claim denied by the government at the time.

Economy on the Rocks

Behind the draft Kennedy movement is the pervasive hostility to Carter from Democratic Party-loyal stalwarts among labor officialdom and black organizations. While Carter self-righteously says he promised nothing in his campaign (true enough), it was these labor and black lieutenants of the liberal capitalists who brought out the last-minute votes allowing Carter to slip by Ford in November 1976. Since then Carter has given nobody nothin'. Not labor-law reform, not poverty programs, not government-spending programs to provide jobs for the unemployed, not housing projects for the cities.

On top of this the economy is shot to hell. Of course, Carter's men keep whistling cheerily along that there is nothing seriously wrong and even have the gall to say that the present decline is a good thing because it will eventually reduce inflation. Thus Federal Reserve head William Miller recently told a Senate subcommittee:

"The good news is that the economy is slowing down. There will not be a recession, but rather, a pause and consolidation."

—*New York Times*, 25 May

American workers now face both accelerating inflation and an economic downturn. The Commerce Department's Index of Leading Economic Indicators has fallen for the last four straight months. In April industrial production plummeted by 12 percent on an annual basis. Retail sales have also dropped steadily since New Year's, and April orders for non-military goods fell by a whopping 14 percent. Some business economists believe that recession has already set in.

continued on page 10

Persian Army Attacks Arab Minority/6

Free Tommy Lee Hines!

Blacks Face Klan Guns in Alabama

On May 26 Ku Klux Klansmen opened fire on an unarmed demonstration in Decatur, Alabama. Over 20 shots were fired, and when it was over, two blacks and two Klansmen lay wounded, including KKK "Exalted Cyclops" David Kelso, shot in the chest. It was undoubtedly only the Klansmen's realization that they were themselves taking casualties that averted a worse blood-bath, since the Decatur police, who were supposedly protecting the marchers' "constitutional right" to demonstrate, did nothing whatsoever to stop the KKK's murderous assault.

The demonstrators, led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), were protesting the frame-up conviction last summer of Tommy Lee Hines for allegedly raping a white woman. Hines is still in prison in Birmingham, serving a 30-year sentence and facing trial for two more rapes and a robbery. Testimony at the trial made it clear that the mentally retarded young black man couldn't possibly have committed the crimes of which he is accused: he has the mental age of a six-year-old and can't even ride a bike, let alone drive the car he was supposed to have used (see "Tommy Lee Hines is Innocent!", *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). Meanwhile, the cops obviously don't give a damn that the real rapist is still on the loose.

The May 26 march on Decatur city hall, marking the first anniversary of Hines' conviction, was the culmination of a year of escalating violence against the overwhelmingly black protesters, including Klan cross burnings, counter-mobilizations, and "anonymous" sniper fire. This time the group of about 100 started out from a church and headed into town. When they arrived down-

town they were met by a gang of 50 to 100 Klansmen—many of them robed and carrying clubs—who were blocking the road. The Klan advanced—right through a weak, token line of police—and KKKers in a truck began shooting.

The next day, 75 Klansmen burned a cross on the spot and invaded city hall shouting "White Power!" They forced the release of one of their members, arrested under a city ordinance forbidding carrying a gun near a demonstration (he had a rifle with telescopic sight attached), and Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson told his boys to "give the police a chance" to avenge the shooting of Kelso. Not that they needed encouragement—as is well known throughout the South, there is a large overlap in the membership of the KKK and the local police.

Sure enough, the very next day police arrested a black, 49-year-old Curtis Lee Robinson, in his home and charged him with intent to murder Kelso, even though Howard Hines saw Robinson on the march when the firing started, "running right beside me, and he didn't have any gun." This frame-up is part of the police sweep rounding up *any* blacks for the "crime" of owning a gun, a continuation of the law's ruthless intimidation of any black who dares to take even elementary precautions to defend himself.

Militant blacks who have organized armed self-defense against racist terror have always been singled out for particularly vicious repression: Robert F. Williams (author of *Negroes With Guns*), the Deacons for Defense and Justice, the Black Panther Party and, most recently, the northern Mississippi-based United League. The intimidation is traditionally of the "unofficial"



Alabama cops arrest black for defying Klan.

variety in white sheets. But as experience from Monroe, North Carolina to Decatur, Alabama shows, blacks are far better off defending themselves than standing helpless before night-riding terrorists.

To be sure, Decatur police have recently picked up a few token Klansmen on arms charges to "balance" things out, but this should fool nobody. For months the Klan has openly paraded around town brandishing sawed-off shotguns, riot guns and even

Thompson submachine guns at rallies. In February, just after Decatur passed an ordinance against carrying weapons in demonstrations, 150 Klansmen rode through town in pickups, flaunting their rifles and taunting, "Mayor Dukes, if you want our guns, come and get them!" The police stood by, claiming they couldn't figure out if this was a violation of the ordinance!

Rev. R.B. Cottonreader, the demonstration leader and an SCLC
continued on page 10

Poor, Blacks Victims of State Electric Chair

Stop the Executions!

This time it was not Gary Gilmore in the capitalist state's death trap. This time the victim didn't demand his execution. For months John Spenkelink fought desperately to save his life, and even during his last 15 minutes he struggled with prison guards while

screaming, "This is murder! This is murder!"

It was. It was legal murder.

At 10:13 in the morning of May 25, the lights of Florida's Raiford State Prison dimmed. Inmates who had been shouting, cursing, banging on cell doors and bars, suddenly fell deathly quiet. And in the small 12 x 15 foot execution chamber, 32 witnesses saw a man murdered by government decree.

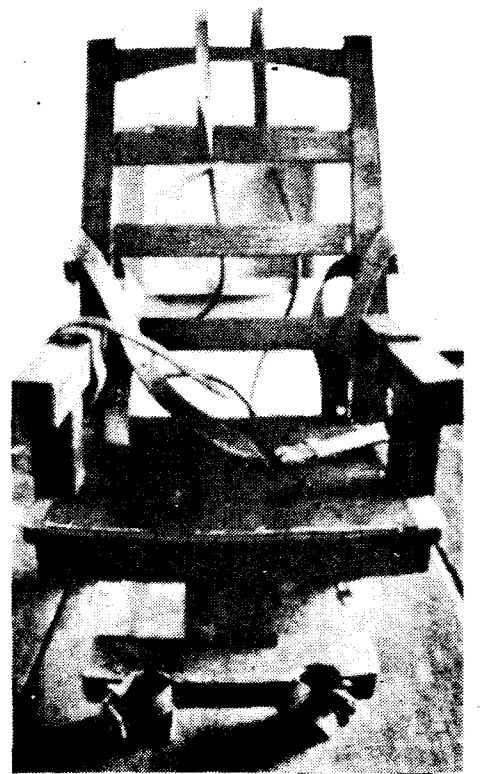
Gary Gilmore in 1977, admitting guilt, willingly faced a Utah firing squad. But John Spenkelink, proclaiming his innocence, fought to live. And by no means is his claim easily discounted. Accused of murdering an escaped convict he claimed raped him at gunpoint and then forced him to play Russian roulette with the revolver, Spenkelink, to the end, claimed he killed in self-defense. At his 1973 trial, he refused to buy a life-saving plea of guilty to second degree murder because he hoped to vindicate himself in court. But Florida, anxious to reinstate the death penalty, purchased the right to legal murder: Spenkelink's co-defendant, Frank Brum, bought freedom by turning state's evidence against him.

Five times his case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, twice within two days of his death as Spenkelink's attorneys desperately sought a stay of execution.

But the high court would have none of it. Having orchestrated the legal offensive against the democratic rights of the oppressed, the supreme jurists of capitalist class rule finalized the death warrant of John Spenkelink, perhaps an innocent man.

Execution by decree is a brutalizing weapon in the arsenal of bourgeois rule. But with or without the death penalty, executions go on in the streets. The state's hired guns, the cops, carry out the roles of judge, jury and executioner by gunning down impoverished ghetto youth "in the act of escape." On Thanksgiving Day 1977, just a few months after Gilmore's "death wish" was fulfilled, a New York cop, Robert Torsney, walked up to a 15-year-old black youth and shot him in the head. Torsney pleaded temporary insanity, and with the aid of a less than vigorous prosecution spent weekends with his family and weekdays in a psychiatric institution. Now a state psychiatric panel, finding him perfectly "sane," has recommended the immediate release of this killer-cop.

Revolutionaries oppose barbaric capital punishment and the media-hyped, three-ring death circus of the bourgeoisie. The U.S. capitalist state carries out these ghastly executions, particularly against blacks and racial



Sherman/Newsweek

Florida death chair

minorities. Over half of all death row inmates are black and Spanish-speaking. And of all those convicted of first-degree murder, far more minority group members receive the death penalty than do whites. Revolutionaries demand an immediate end to this racist medieval barbarism, cruelly updated by twentieth century technology. Not one more execution—Abolish the death penalty! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager) Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$3.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 233

8 June 1979

"National Unity" in Shambles

Trudeau Routed in Canada

TORONTO—On May 22 Canadian voters went to the polls and threw out Pierre Trudeau's government, thus ending eleven years of Liberal rule. The days of "Trudeaumania" are long past as voters were fed up with double-digit inflation, 8 percent unemployment and an arrogant millionaire prime minister who mocked Canadians as "greedy, lazy and overfed." In his place they now have Conservative leader "Joe Who?" Clark, a political dimwit who makes Gerald Ford look like a whiz kid.

The big issue in an otherwise unspeakably dull campaign was the national question in Quebec. Since the 1976 election of the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) provincial government, the question of Quebec self-determination and the break-up of Canada has been sharply posed. Trudeau, a bilingual Québécois, campaigned as the only man who could hold Canada together. But "national unity" had little appeal in English Canada where the vote swung to the Progressive Conservatives (PC) who emerged six seats short of a parliamentary majority.

The campaign demonstrated the increasingly sharp regional and national polarization of Canadian politics. While Trudeau puffed that it was "almost treasonable" not to see "national unity" as the main issue of the campaign, both Tory chief Clark and New Democratic Party (NDP) leader Ed Broadbent vowed to maintain the subjugation of Quebec within the Confederation. Trudeau himself is hardly a champion of the national rights of Canada's Québécois minority: in 1970 he instituted the War Measures Act, rounding up hundreds of trade unionists, leftists and nationalists in Quebec; and in January 1978 he made his infamous New Year's Resolution that he would not be "shy about using the sword" to suppress Quebec's right to independence. Nevertheless, ever since the Tories hanged Louis Riel in 1885, the Liberal Party has relied on a solid base in Quebec as key to power in Ottawa.

This time Quebec voters once again turned out for the Liberals who won 67 of Quebec's 75 seats. At the same time the Liberals were pretty much wiped out of English-speaking Canada, winning only three seats west of Ontario. As usual the Anglo-chauvinist social democrats of the NDP got no support in Quebec. Joe Clark's victory without Quebec (where the PCs got only two seats) can only exacerbate antagonisms between the oppressed French-speaking nation and the federal government. The overwhelming support for the staunchly federalist Liberals in Quebec does not indicate popular sentiment for independence, however. And Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque recently confessed that if the PQ's long-promised referendum on its watered-down version of separatism were held today it would fail.

In the later stages of the campaign the Liberals realized that the "national unity" issue would not salvage Trudeau's plummeting political fortunes in English Canada. So they invented a new issue: "repatriate" the constitution. Canada does not have its own constitution because it did not have its own bourgeois revolution. As a remnant of its history as a British colonial bulwark against the American bourgeois-democratic revolution, Canada is still tied to the "mother country" by the British North America Act instituted by the British parliament under Queen Victoria in 1867. Appropriately, the



UPI

The loser and Joe who?

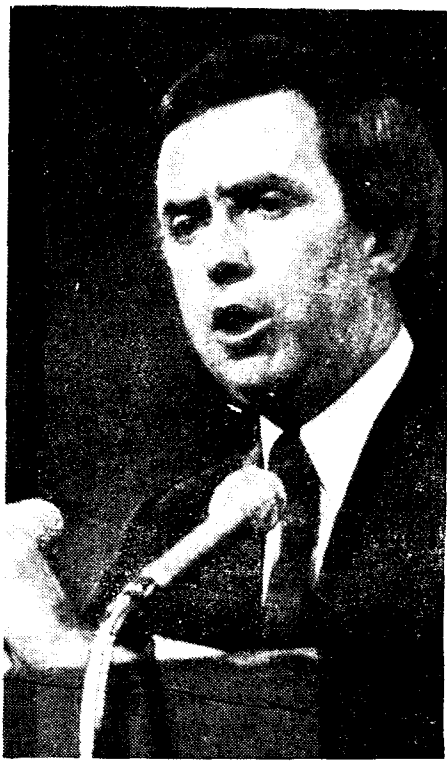
election was held the day after the traditional Canadian holiday in celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday—an occasion long since forgotten in the British Isles.

As a tribute to the triviality of the election contest, the contending political aspirants were often upstaged in the media by the continuing exploits and exposés of Margaret Trudeau, the prime minister's estranged wife. In her recent "literary" contribution, *Beyond Reasons*, which sold hundreds of thousands of copies during the campaign, Maggie reveals an embarrassing tidbit of bourgeois hypocrisy. While the federal government prosecutes thousands for use of marijuana, a "restricted drug" grouped together with heroin in Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police agents were burning incense to disguise the smell when she was lighting up in the prime minister's residence.

And as Trudeau, Clark and Broadbent were out on the hustings, the McDonald Commission continued its toothless investigation of RCMP criminal activity. Hearings before the commission revealed that three of Trudeau's solicitor-generals ordered or had knowledge of RCMP burglary, mail openings and use of agents provocateurs. Trudeau and his fellow Liberals kept mum, while Clark had his own simple police-state solution: lift the legal restraints on the Mounties and let these scarlet-clad terrorists and thugs do their dirty work unfettered by juridical niceties.

NDP Coalitionism: No Alternative for Canadian Workers

In the middle of the campaign Jean-Claude Parrot, national president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), was jailed for defying the federal parliament's strikebreaking measures last October. Trudeau smashed the militant nationwide postal strike in order to pave the way for continuation of wage controls in the public sector. But just as they maintained a stony silence over the Liberals' assault on the postal workers, top leaders of the Canadian labor movement did nothing to protest the imprisonment of Parrot. The president of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), Dennis McDermott, warned that rabble-rousers might counsel workers to "storm the barricades" in defense of Parrot; but he, however, advised trade



Makris/Newsweek

unionists to instead "storm the ballot boxes" and vote NDP.

Throughout the election campaign CLC staff and organizers were assigned to campaign for the NDP. Meanwhile Broadbent, who helped Trudeau rush his bills to break the CUPW strike through parliament last October and then denounced the postal workers for defying the "law of the land," dropped the NDP's traditional demand for the nationalization of Canada's resource industries. During the campaign Sudbury miners were in the eighth bitter month of their continuing strike against the nickel barons of Inco. Even in this bastion of NDP support Broadbent had nothing more to offer the intransigent nickel miners than his "new industrial strategy" of Canadian bosses for Canadian property. (Inco is already majority Canadian-owned.)

Anticipating that neither of the main

bourgeois parties would win a majority of the seats in federal parliament, the NDP offered up its services to make a coalition with either the Tories or the Liberals. As a consequence, the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) advocated a position of conditional non-support to the NDP: until the social democrats repudiate coalition a vote for the NDP could not be an expression in any sense of independent working-class political action. In the end the NDP's moderation won it very little: in its industrial base in Ontario it lost two seats, while overall it simply regained the number of seats it had in 1972.

RWL: Muddled Minimalism

The TL's principled opposition to support to the NDP evoked shrill squeals from the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). The RWL takes the TL to task for the obvious truth that, "The one thing that is clear about the 1979 federal elections is that the losers are going to be the millions of Canadian workers who will be stuck with playboy Pierre or dowdy Clark (with or without their would-be junior partner Broadbent)..." (*Spartacist Canada*, May 1979). According to the RWL the elections show instead the "process" by which, "working people move forward in struggle against the employers and their government" (*Socialist Voice*, 4 June).

The RWL is still searching for the magic lowest-common-denominator program to combine simultaneous capitulation to the English-chauvinist, coalitionist NDP and Quebec nationalism. It did its best in the recent elections with the slogan, "For a Workers Republic of Quebec—For a Unitary Workers Government"! In the elections the RWL stood five candidates in "safe" ridings [election districts]—i.e., where they could not hurt the NDP's chances—and campaigned for a bourgeois parliamentary coalition between

continued on page 11



Castro admires Margaret Trudeau. Playboy Pierre wanted sophistication, glamour—got the "me generation."

UPI

UPI

3

Boycott EEC Elections!

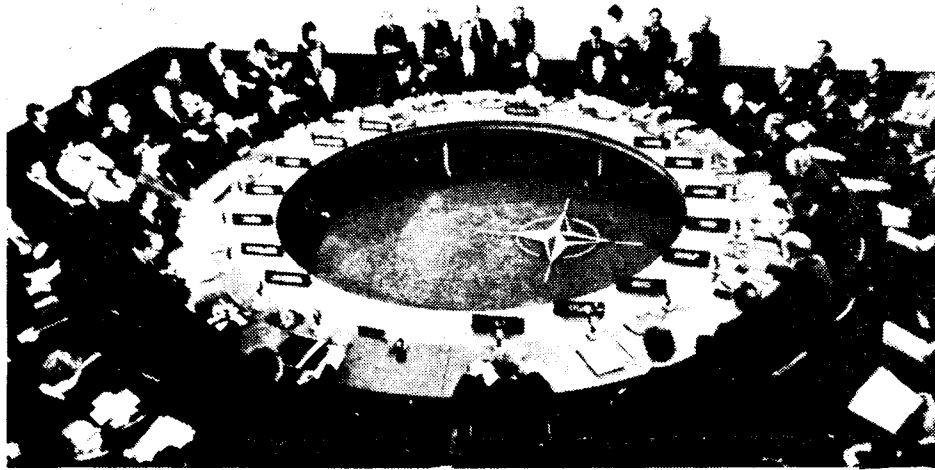
Down with the Common Market of NATO Europe!

The following statement by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), distributed by its European sections—the Spartacist League/Britain, Trozkyistische Liga Deutschlands and Ligue Trozkyiste de France—as well as by the Lega Trozkyista d'Italia, is directed at the upcoming June 10 elections for the phony “parliament” of the European Economic Community (Common Market).

Since its creation more than 20 years ago, the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market is an imperialist alliance ultimately aimed at the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state, the industrial and military powerhouse of the one third of the world where capitalist rule has been overthrown. The first direct elections to the European “parliament” at Strasbourg this June pose the question of the EEC before the working classes of capitalist Europe.

No one is surprised that the parliamentary cretins of the British Labour and French Communist parties are running in the elections even though they are formally opposed to the institutionally capitalist Common Market. But one might think that a self-styled “revolutionary Marxist” international tendency which states that “working people have nothing to hope for and nothing to defend in this capitalist Common Market or its parliament,” would *not* participate in this Euro-imperialist charade. Yet the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel is not only standing candidates for the economic adjunct of NATO, but is making this its big campaign of the season.

The EEC was originally set up in the mid-1950s as part of the American-directed reorganization of West Europe against the Soviet bloc. Washington policymakers were concerned that French opposition to German dominance of Europe could lead to a revival of Paris' traditional alliance with Moscow, as in the 1935 Stalin-Laval pact. The Common Market was and remains



Common Market is anti-Soviet imperialist alliance, the economic adjunct of NATO.

an economic compromise essentially between the French and German ruling classes in the context of their political/military alliance against the USSR.

Ernest Mandel's claim that the Common Market is the embryo of a capitalist United States of Europe, “an intermediate stage between a simple loose confederation of states and a supra-national state” (*Rouge*, 27 April 1979) is utopian-reformist. Rather the EEC is the means whereby West German imperialism helps finance the unity of the “free world.” Direct elections to this utterly impotent body attempt to give a pseudo-democratic façade to an alliance of imperialist nation-states.

Reformist Objections to the Common Market

The West German-imposed free market regime in the EEC restricts certain favored reformist policies, such as subsidizing nationalized industries. Therefore, there has been national-reformist opposition to the Common Market, especially strong in Britain which is also hard hit by its agricultural protectionism. Our principled opposition to the EEC and to its expansion has nothing in common with the social-chauvinism of the British left Labourites or French Stalinists. We do not oppose

the EEC primarily because the Brussels bureaucracy can on paper override the decisions of the national parliaments. Nor are we overly concerned that Common Market regulations restrict this or that form of state intervention in the economy. We are implacably opposed to the EEC above all because it provides economic glue for holding together the Western imperialist alliance against the Soviet Union.

Recognizing that the arrogantly capitalistic Common Market is unpopular among class-conscious workers in France and Britain, the German Social Democrats (SPD) are presenting a left face in these elections. With Willy Brandt heading the SPD list they are running their trade-union officials and a couple of ex-New Leftists, types they would never think of standing for the Bundestag. Furthermore, the SPD is campaigning for a European-wide 35-hour workweek, seeking to present the EEC as a potential agency for labor reformism. The German Social Democrats do not raise the shorter workweek in the Bundestag, much less fight for it on the picket line, but talk about it only in the Strasbourg parliament which has absolutely no power to do anything. By some odd coincidence, the USec is also making the 35-hour workweek one of their main demands in the EEC elections. Perhaps the Mandelites will claim that Helmut Schmidt's party is tailing them!

Against Stalinist Nationalism and Anti-German Chauvinism

The EEC elections have found the Eurocommunists at each other's throats. The French CP, for example, is opposing Spain's entry into the EEC because it will increase competition for France's farmers. Carrillo's Spanish CP, which out of support to its own bourgeois national-chauvinism favors entry, in turn denounces Marchais' party for “parish-pump patriotism” and “cheap electioneering.”

More ominously, the French Stalinists along with the Gaullists are turning the EEC elections into a focus for anti-German chauvinism. The Stalinists and Gaullists have sought to channel popular hostility to Giscard's “free market” remedy, unemployment, by whipping up hysteria against a “boche” (kraut) menace. The French CP's vile slogans feature “No to a German Europe” and “Paris Will Not Become a Suburb of Bonn.”

The old German social democrat August Bebel called anti-semitism “the socialism of fools.” In France today anti-bocheism has become the socialism of fools and opportunists. In reality, German industrial strength is one of the main objective bases for a Socialist United States of Europe. A re-united German workers state will be a most powerful force for the socialist reconstruction of Europe, for overcoming poverty and backwardness in Brittany, the Mezzogiorno [southern Italy], Ireland, Greece, etc.

How USec Legitimizes an Imperialist Alliance

National parliaments represent a historic gain of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions and remain more progressive than alternative forms of bourgeois rule—fascist or military bonapartism. But the European parliament has no progressive content at all; it merely serves to mask the real nature of the EEC as an imperialist alliance. The USec's campaign around the EEC elections is parliamentary cretinism in the service of a public relations gimmick. What if NATO's North Atlantic Council were constituted by direct elections, or the colonialist British Commonwealth set up a pseudo-parliamentary body: would the USec seek representation in these imperialist alliances? We can only assume that they would!

The USec's main slogan in the elections is, “For a Socialist United States of Europe!” To raise this slogan in running for the Strasbourg parliament implies that the Common Market is in some way historically progressive, i.e., provides an objective basis for the socialist unification of Europe. But the Common Market is no more a progressive step toward the socialist unification of Europe than was Nazi Germany's conquest of most of Europe in 1939-44. The USec electoral platform never clearly states that the EEC *cannot* be transformed into a Socialist Europe but must be destroyed.

A Socialist United States of Europe requires smashing the EEC, which is a capitalist alliance not only directed at proletarian revolution in West Europe but also at the bureaucratically deformed expressions of proletarian state power in East Europe. While the USec platform covers itself with one sentence, “for defense of the nationalized property systems against imperialism,” it does *not* relate opposition to the EEC to military defense of the Soviet bloc.

Proof of the unseriousness of the “orthodox” elements in the USec's platform was the alacrity with which the LCR dropped any reference to defending the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism, to its demand for withdrawal from NATO, and to its opposition to the extension of the EEC in order to form a joint slate with the economists of Lutte Ouvrière. The LCR also accepted LO's demand that the joint slate bear no reference to the “Fourth International.” Like LO, the Mandelites focus solely on the Common Market's internal capitalist economic principles, an opposition

continued on page 11



Contingent of the Trozkyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) at May Day march in Frankfurt. Social democrats and trade unions called demonstrations under the slogan “Work for all in a Europe of social progress.” TLD carried slogans: “Boycott the European parliament! No to capitalist Europe! West Germany out of NATO! Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!”

600 Arrested on Long Island

Anti-Nuke Plant-In

SHOREHAM, L.I., June 3—In a demonstration reminiscent of the "flower-power" pacifism of the sixties, more than 600 of 15,000 anti-nuclear demonstrators protesting the construction of a nuclear power generating plant here were "peacefully" arrested on charges of criminal trespass. The Shoreham demonstration was the largest of several weekend protests against nuclear power plants around the world. At least 400 additional arrests were reported in the U.S., and a woman was shot and killed in northern Spain when police clashed with 2,000 demonstrators there.

At Shoreham, the "official" protesters, who were required to go through civil disobedience training, confined themselves to climbing the fence surrounding the nearly completed facility and planting marigolds before being taken quietly along to the police station. At one point a young woman handed her baby over the fence to the waiting policemen before climbing over herself and being arrested. Another woman, informed by a cop that she would have to get on a stretcher to be carried to the waiting police bus, complied, asking, "I'm not giving you too much help, am I?" "Oh, no," answered the cop, "this is the hardest thing I've done all day."

While, as Marxists, we support the development of technology and oppose demands to shut down all nuclear reactors, nevertheless, we condemn the arrests of anti-nuke protesters. From the point of view of the working class, these back-to-nature, anti-industrial muddleheads have committed no crime.

The rally, called by Sound/Hudson Against Atomic Development (SHAD), was attended not only by the usual assortment of "friends of the earth" but also by such friends of friends as the fake-left Socialist Workers Party



Anti-nuke flukes try to occupy Shoreham reactor.

(SWP), Youth Against War and Fascism and the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists. The SWP has recently distinguished itself by jumping on the anti-nuke bandwagon with appeals to replace nuclear energy with good old American coal. (In other words make U.S. imperialism safe from OPEC oil.) In this patriotic appeal the *Militant* echoes recent coal company newspaper ads and resembles nothing so much as the pro-coal, anti-nuclear power editorials which regularly appeared in the *United Mine Workers Journal* in the 1950s when John L. Lewis was spending union funds to buy into the coal companies.

Their "solution" to the so-called energy crisis is an indicator of the SWP's perennial capitulation to whatever "new

mass movement" happens to be on the move. Because the Spartacist League has relentlessly opposed this treacherous and misleading accommodation, it has been singled out for special attack by the SWP. In "How Left Groups See Nuclear Power" (*Militant*, 1 June), Doug Jenness quotes the Spartacist League's position that "the alternatives [to nuclear energy] under capitalism are just as, if not more, unsafe." And he attacks the SL's conclusion that all technology is hazardous under the profit system and can be made safe only when capitalism is abolished: "But this is where they are dead wrong," says Jenness. Nuclear power, he insists, is intrinsically more hazardous than coal mines, and should not be used even under socialism.

George Novack Comes Not to Praise Trotskyism...

George Novack may have come to praise Trotsky—but he ended up burying him. On a nationwide tour "Celebrating the 100th anniversary of Trotsky's birth," the long-time Socialist Workers Party (SWP) spokesman has been boring bewildered young YSAers and a smattering of assorted leftists across the country. Novack's attempt to present a sanitized summary of "Trotskyism" (expurgating those elements which too obviously expose current SWP practice) is pitiful—real Trotskyists are not fooled and the younger SWPers neither understand nor care. Indeed it will not be much longer that there remain living SWPers who can perform even this feat, and perhaps that's what this sentimental journey is all about.

In Chicago, comrades of the Spartacist League (SL) retrieved authentic Trotskyism from the oblivion of Novack's dreary speech. In a leaflet and sharp interventions from the floor, the SL exposed the yawning gulf which lies between the shameful reformism of the SWP today and its once-revolutionary past. We reprint below excerpts from the Chicago Spartacist League's leaflet.

Federal Troops

1938, GEORGE NOVACK ON THE NATIONAL GUARD: "In order to defend themselves from all quarters, the workers employed and unemployed, cannot rely upon the police, the courts, or the capitalist politicians. They can only depend upon their own organized strength. Just as pickets are needed in every strike to protect the workers against scabs and gunmen, so organized labor needs its own guard for protection against the bosses' guard. Trade unions ought to take the initiative in constructing such workers defense committees" (*The New International*, June 1938).

SWP TODAY: "Instead of federal troops the sectarians propose that there be trade-union defense guards. But why stop there? Why not call for sending in the Red Army.... The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now" (Peter Camejo, *Militant*, 1 November 1974).

Iran and the Mullahs

LENIN: "With regard to the more backward states and nations...it is



George Novack

particularly important to bear in mind: ...the need for a struggle against the clergy and other influential reactionary and medieval elements...the need to combat pan-Islamism and similar trends which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an

Coal mines can certainly be made safer. So can nuclear reactors. But where was the SWP, which now prattles about safer coal mines, during the great strike wave which swept the coalfields last year—a strike wave which turned largely upon the issue of the local right to strike over working conditions? The SWP apologized for the Miller bureaucracy against the striking miners! In "Why Labor Should Fight to Shut Nukes and Use Coal" (also in the 1 June *Militant*), SWPer Nancy Cole credits Arnold Miller and his bureaucratic henchmen with "ushering in a new, inspiring period of democratic union reforms."

The Spartacist League does not make light of the very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors. We acknowledge the inevitability of accidents in the nuclear power industry, as we do in all industries, and call for shutting down dangerous facilities where specific dangers exist. But we do not call for an entire industry to be shut down. If we were to adopt this methodology, we should also be compelled to call for an end to coal mining, which is extremely hazardous and responsible for countless deaths through cave-ins, explosions, black lung and other respiratory diseases and possibly through still other effects due to the accumulation of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

In fact, in the wake of a DC-10 crash which just killed 273 persons, if the SWP were consistent in its capitulation to eco-faddism it would at the very least call for grounding all airplanes. Certainly air travel cannot be made safe under capitalism and cannot even be made completely safe under socialism. If god wanted Doug Jenness to fly he would have given him wings. ■

attempt to strengthen the position of the khans, land-owners, mullahs, etc." ("Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31).

SWP TODAY: "Although Khomeini subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the shah's "modernization" is progressive" (*Militant*, 17 November, 1978).

Disarmament and the Soviet Union

TROTSKY: "Disarmament?—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves" (*Transitional Program*).

SWP TODAY: "Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament.... Naturally it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had

continued on page 10

Trouble in the Oil Fields

Persian Army Attacks Arab Minority

JUNE 4—First it was the women in the streets of Teheran resisting the imposition of the veil. Then it was pitched battles with national minorities—the Kurds and Turkomans—resisting Persian chauvinism. Now the regime of Ayatollah Khomeini and his mullahs faces the most potentially explosive situation of its first hundred days of chaotic and bloody reactionary rule: the Arab minority in the southern province of Khuzistan has taken up the gun. Arab workers in the South are one of the most oppressed sectors of the proletariat, but their strategic position in the refineries and oil fields places them right at the jugular of the Iranian economy.

Dock workers have already shut down one of the country's major ports, Khorramshahr, with a strike now going into its fourth week. Arab nationalists demanding the right to elect their own governor and a larger share of the oil revenues in the city, had occupied civic buildings. But Khomeini, as much as the shah before him, is prepared to exert the capitalist state's bloody repression to maintain labor discipline and control of the vital southern oil. On May 30 the elite "Guardians of the Revolution" stormed the occupied buildings, and fighting raged for three days in Khorramshahr. As the battle spread through the city (clashes were also reported in neighboring Abadan), Khomeini's "Guardians" were reinforced by paratroopers and militiamen brought in from outside the province. Reports on the number dead vary from the "official" toll of 37 dead, 191 wounded to the Arabs' claim that at least 160 have been killed.

The province was placed under military occupation, and ominously, the prosecutor-general threatened that "counter-revolutionaries" involved in the fighting would be treated like the shah's officials—that is, they would be executed. Admiral Ahmad Mahdani, military governor of Khuzistan, whose hardline mission is to bend the Arabs to the will of the "Imam," crowed that he had defeated "masked leftists in the service of international imperialism" (UPI dispatch, 2 June). But the Arab workers knew better. They had been there before and noted bitterly that they had been defeated by "the same soldiers who fought for the shah" (*New York Times*, 31 May).

The revolt by Iran's Arab population may cause some problems for those who believe in the myth of a monolithic "Arab Revolution." Mahdani has accused Iraq and Kuwait of "provoking Iran's Arabs to rebel against the revolutionary government." He further

blames the Iraqi consulate in Khorramshahr for stirring up trouble and even accuses nationalist George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, of engaging in "suspicious activities" during the fighting (UPI, 4 June).

Khomeini has been able to deliver a major blow against the Arab nationalists, who were less well armed than the Kurds. But they have flatly stated that they will not lay down their arms. In any event their most powerful weapon is their ability to choke off Iran's oil production. That is why Khomeini is cutting the teeth of his regular army against these rebels. Even the local ayatollah, Al Shubair Khagani, has threatened a strike of the Arab oil workers.

The oil refinery workers of Abadan have called for a strike if they do not get a 50-100 percent wage increase. Longshoremen at Khorramshahr continue their month-long strike while tens of thousands of unemployed have already engaged in bloody clashes with Khomeini's militia. What the reactionary Muslim rulers fear most of all in this volatile situation is a proletarian uprising *that is not in the hands of Ayatollah Khagani or any other ayatollah*—one that strikes out in the interests of the workers against clerical reaction, a struggle led by the working class which defends the national and cultural rights of the Arabs and the non-Persian population, amounting to three fifths of all Iranians. They fear that the sit-ins will not be at the mosque—as one was on Sunday—but at the refineries.

As scared as the ayatollahs are of independent proletarian action in the oil fields, and as voraciously as they attack the left and worker militants in this area, the Stalinist Tudeh Party, which has strength among the oil workers, remains most loyal to Khomeini. In the U.S. the Communist Party (CP) echoes this grotesque policy by publishing on the front page of the *Daily World* (1 June) a photograph of the mullahs' occupation army in the oil fields with the slanderous caption: Revolutionary guards in camouflage outfits and in plainclothes patrol a street in Khorramshahr on Wednesday after shooting incidents involving CIA/SAVAK gunmen."

Leftists in Danger

Trouble in the oil fields is perhaps the most serious problem facing the mullahs' "Islamic Republic." From the earliest days of their victory they had two tasks which they loudly proclaimed:



Unemployed Iranian oil workers demand jobs.

Golestan/Time

destroy the shah's personal torture clique and destroy the left. They have gone ahead on the former with relative ease. Only the "human rights" imperialists have tears for these butchers. And revolutionaries are glad to see them go even if the firing squads are the guns of reaction. But the mullahs have not been able to destroy the left with equal ease. First and foremost the left is armed. Then there have been the bloody battles with national minorities, trouble with the "international image" of Islam and even clique battles among the ayatollahs. This has slowed the consolidation of an effective instrument of mass terror to be used against the left and worker militants.

The miserable left-wing supporters of Khomeini's victory have taken this as a sign that all's right with the ayatollah in Iran. Particularly the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and its fraternal organization in Iran meet every murderous chant of "Death to the Communists" with pollyanna cries of, "Isn't it wonderful how the debate continues in revolutionary Iran." The fact is that the Iranian left is in very great danger. Khomeini has established the basis for a sweeping assault on the left by a series of strongarm attacks on non-Islamic critics by his fanatical followers. These tests of strength serve to intimidate the "loyal opposition" while Khomeini prepares a bloodbath.

A significant indication of the balance of political forces was the competing demonstrations called to protest the U.S. Senate's display of "human rights" tears for the shah's executed torturers. The Fedayeen called their rally for Friday, May 25, hoping they had a deal with the Islamic fundamentalists scheduled to hold their own anti-U.S. rally the day before. On Thursday the Khomeini supporters held their rally at the American Embassy with a few thousand demonstrators. Speaking from his religious retreat in Qum, Khomeini urged his followers to "fight more vigorously than you did the shah" against any who did not accept his strict Islamic rule (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 May). This they did by surrounding the few hundred Tudeh Party Khomeini loyalists who had come to the Muslim rally and by chanting, "Communists are parasites."

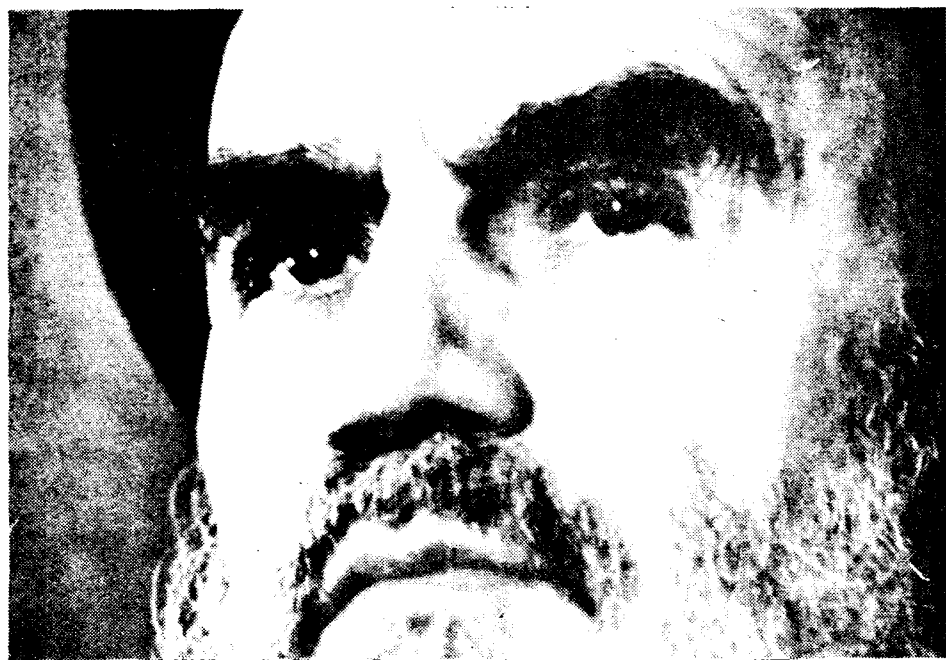
The big confrontation came the next day at the Fedayeen rally. The leftist demonstration, although much larger, was confronted by 12,000 Muslim fundamentalists. By the time the leftists arrived at the U.S. Embassy from

Teheran University, Khomeini supporters had already posted 200 armed gunmen at the embassy walls. Further, Muslim supporters blocked off intersections from the marchers. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (26 May):

"The leftist leaders ordered their followers to turn back and take another route rather than risk a fight. The same outcome followed every other confrontation, with the leftists constantly falling back until they dissolved into a formless mob."

Leftists in Iran do not now face the firing squads of the Islamic "Revolutionary Committees," but they are under the gun. The fake-lefts who yesterday supported Khomeini's revolution have today discovered his reactionary features—a discovery akin to Stalin's pronouncement in 1927 that he had known all along Chiang Kai-shek would turn against the Chinese Communists and butcher them. Those who have supported and continue to support the "anti-imperialist" ayatollah's revolution will become its victims unless they break from this dangerous policy and organize a broad united-front defense based on the social power of the working class. The growing discontent of the oil workers provides the objective basis for this policy. Their months of militant strikes were decisive in bringing down the shah. They fought the shah's torture regime as they now fight the Muslim army of Khomeini for the rights that are still denied them, for equality and economic survival.

Unlike those on the left who bowed to Khomeini, the international Spartacist tendency has warned from the outset that Khomeini's Islamic reaction can only mean suppression of the national minorities, barbaric segregation and oppression of women, and savage suppression of the left and working-class movement. We alone drew the necessary conclusion: the urgent need for independent mobilization of the Iranian proletariat and its allies against the mullahs. For workers revolution against Islamic theocracy! ■



The face of Islamic reaction.

Burnett/Contact

Saturday June 16

**Detroit TV Interview
SYL Speaks on Iran**

At 4:00 pm June 16, on WTVS TV, Channel 56, Detroit Spartacus Youth League spokesmen tell why revolutionary Marxists oppose Khomeini's reactionary "Islamic Republic."

For information call: (313) 868-9095

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with El Salvador's Bloody Dictatorship!

Massacre on the Cathedral Steps

On May 8 300 peaceful demonstrators sat in the afternoon sun in the plaza of the Metropolitan Cathedral of San Salvador, capital of the Central American country of El Salvador. The protesters sang as they demonstrated their solidarity with members of the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR) who had occupied the cathedral and two embassies (French and Costa Rican) in an attempt to bring world bourgeois opinion to bear on the dictatorial regime of General Carlos Humberto Romero and force it to release five imprisoned BPR leaders.

Suddenly, police armed with machine guns appeared and advanced on the crowd. The demonstrators began to retreat toward the cathedral as the cops began firing over their heads. As they reached the cathedral steps the police gunmen lowered their aim. Ricocheting bullets filled the plaza, and the steps of the cathedral ran with blood. "They just mowed us down like chickens," said one of those wounded in the shooting.

During a lull in the police fusillade BPR supporters in the cathedral pulled 11 bodies and 38 wounded men and women inside, but another eight bodies remained on the steps until the next day when the police finally withdrew from the plaza. In all, 23 demonstrators and bystanders were killed in the massacre and 70 were wounded.

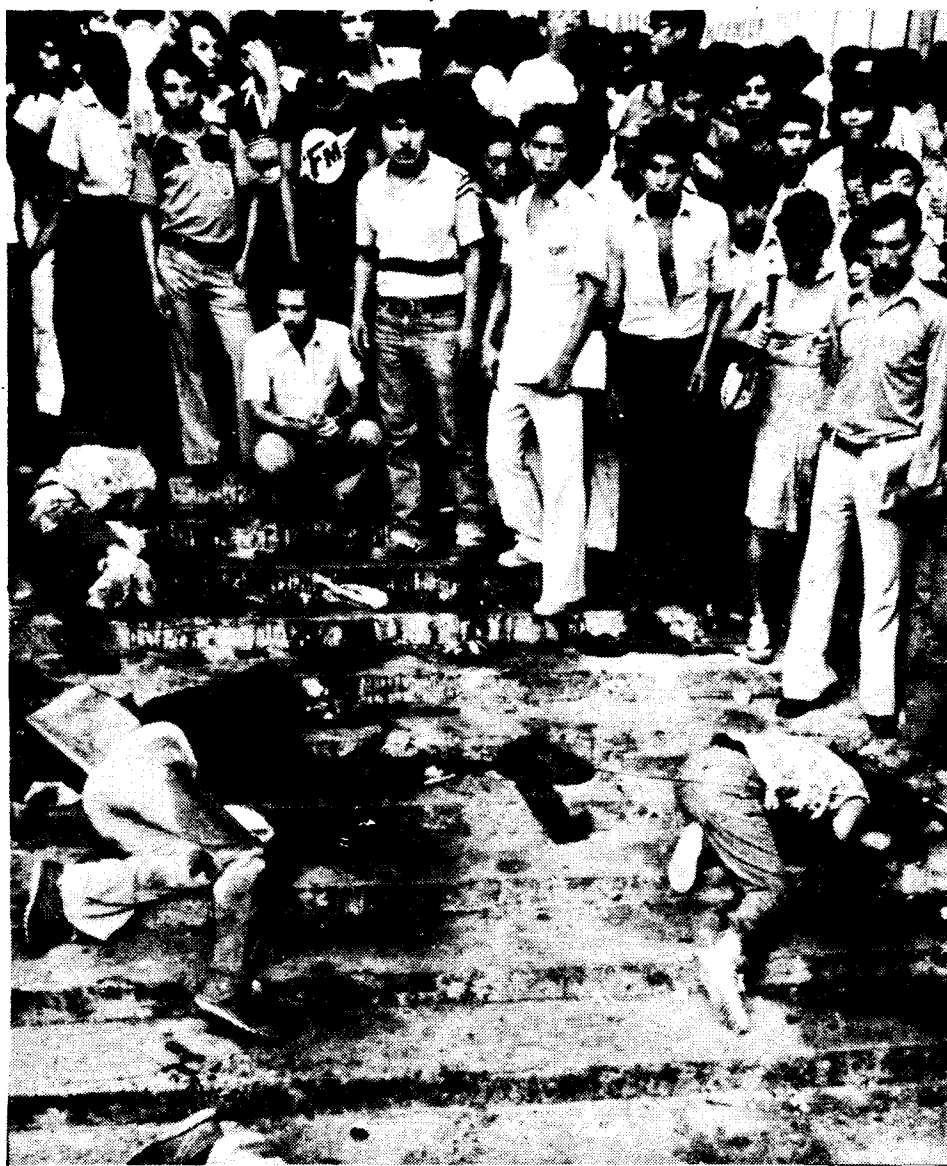
Two days later a carpet of flowers in the red and yellow colors of the BPR covered the bloodstains on the cathedral steps as 20,000 people marched in a funeral procession for the victims. Strikes broke out and BPR militants erected street barricades to halt bus traffic. The government responded to the mass protests by releasing two of the BPR leaders and denying that the remaining three were in custody. Signaling that they would not bow to the generals' repression nor accept the partial release of prisoners, the BPR then moved to occupy the Venezuelan embassy. Once again the military butchers answered peaceful protest with a massacre. On May 22 uniformed school children marched to the Venezuelan embassy to bring food to the occupiers. Even as the students announced their peaceful intent the police

opened fire. Seventeen bodies remained on the ground as the demonstrators fled the murderous gunfire.

The current mass protests in El Salvador are an outgrowth of several years of discontent and agitation ever since the elections of 1972, in which an opposition military candidate was exiled to Costa Rica after an orgy of ballot stuffing and vote fraud. The vicious repression has led to the creation of several underground guerrilla organizations and to the formation of the BPR coalition. So narrow is the government's base and so fierce is the repression that even the social-democratic Second International has links with the armed underground, and the Catholic hierarchy works closely with the "Marxist" BPR. In turn scores of priests have been assassinated by police and government-sponsored paramilitary rightists.

The unrest in El Salvador is part of an explosive scenario of repression and revolt throughout Central America. In neighboring Nicaragua virtually the entire population is in revolt against the rule of the Somoza dynasty and its mercenary National Guard. At least 4,500 people were killed in last September's attempted insurrection and a new uprising appears to be underway. Amnesty International estimates that repression in Guatemala, to El Salvador's west, has claimed 20,000 lives in the past decade and peasant unrest in Honduras is growing as well. Meanwhile the four neighboring dictatorships have been providing each other with military aid as part of the U.S.-sponsored "Inter-American Defense System."

Little-known El Salvador is itself practically a caricature of a nineteenth-century Latin American oligarchic dictatorship in which a strutting military *caudillo* rules a country where 14 families have traditionally lorded it over a mass of impoverished *peones*. As one Salvadorean priest said, "The peasants live like serfs in Europe 400 years ago." A force of 100,000 hacienda police and informers called ORDEN ("Order") insures that the rule of the landlords and their foremen goes unchallenged. Both the oligarchs and the masses live in the memory of the insurrection of 1932 in which landless peasants, expelled from



Hawkins/Sygma

the coffee plantations during the depression, rose up machete in hand. Some 30,000 peasants (in a country which had at the time a population of only 1 million) were killed in a few weeks of savage repression. Ever since, the peasants and workers have been held in check by the oldest continuous military dictatorship in Latin America.

Though direct U.S. military aid ceased in 1977 the country is so dependent on the United States that, as millionaire landlord Mario Rodriguez said, "One phone call from Washington would do it" (to change the government's policies). The working people of El Salvador must not face the murder-

ous repression of the Romero dictatorship alone. It is the internationalist duty of the American left and all defenders of democratic rights to demand that U.S. government aid to El Salvador be immediately halted. The martyrs who fell on the steps of the San Salvador cathedral will not be forgotten—their deaths are part of the revolutionary indictment of capitalist rule throughout the Americas. It is the Latin American and North American workers—not the "enlightened" bishops or "democratic" imperialists—who will avenge these massacres by wiping out all the Somozas, Romeros and their imperialist masters from the face of the earth. ■

Sandinistas Close In on Butcher Somoza

As we go to press news reports confirm that the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) has launched what it terms the "final offensive" against the rule of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. Sandinista troops have launched major assaults on towns near the Costa Rican border and guerrilla fighters have reportedly captured much of León, Nicaragua's second-largest city. On June 4 the third nationwide general strike in the past year and a half was called in support of the insurrection. As diplomats, businessmen and nuns flee the country, Somoza himself has ventured out of his air-conditioned concrete bunker in the capital city of Managua for the first time in months to go to the "front" with his mercenary commanders. In an attempt to put down a revolt backed by virtually the entire population, Somoza's government has even admitted using "paralyzing gas" (U.S.-supplied nerve gas?) to retake the southern town of Rivas.

The hatred of the Nicaraguan masses for Somoza's brutal rule is so great that again and again they have risen up in defiance of the indiscriminate terror of the National Guard. Thousands have fallen victim to the savage repression of this private army which has maintained a dynastic rule since the U.S. Marines installed the current dictator's father in 1933. As recently as last June Jimmy Carter praised Somoza for "human rights advances," and the Organization of American States "mediating team" set up at Washington's initiative simply tried to defuse the popular opposition with proposals for a "peaceful transition" to rule by some less notorious U.S. puppet. While the U.S. has backed off from its previous 100 percent support to Somoza, the "democratic" colossus to the north has a considerable debt to the tyrant whose country served as a staging ground for both the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the 1954 CIA-sponsored coup which toppled Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz.

Despite its current "human rights" mask Washington is no ally of the long-suffering working people of Central America. Nor do the liberal capitalist rulers of Costa Rica and Venezuela who are backing the FSLN offensive intend to sponsor a genuine social revolution in Nicaragua, that "Somozalandia" where a single family owns not only the government and the army but most of the means of production and commerce as well. While the reactionary press

warns of the danger of "Castro communism" should Somoza fall, the real danger is that the petty-bourgeois FSLN guerrillas will call a halt to the struggle as soon as the hated despot is removed, leaving intact the oppressive system of capitalist social and economic relations.

Down with Somoza! For popular tribunals to try National Guard criminals! No U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan dictatorship! For socialist revolution throughout Central America! ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court
3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York

Monday through Friday:
6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone: (212) 925-5665

Spanish LCR Pays Homage to Catalan Bourgeois Nationalism

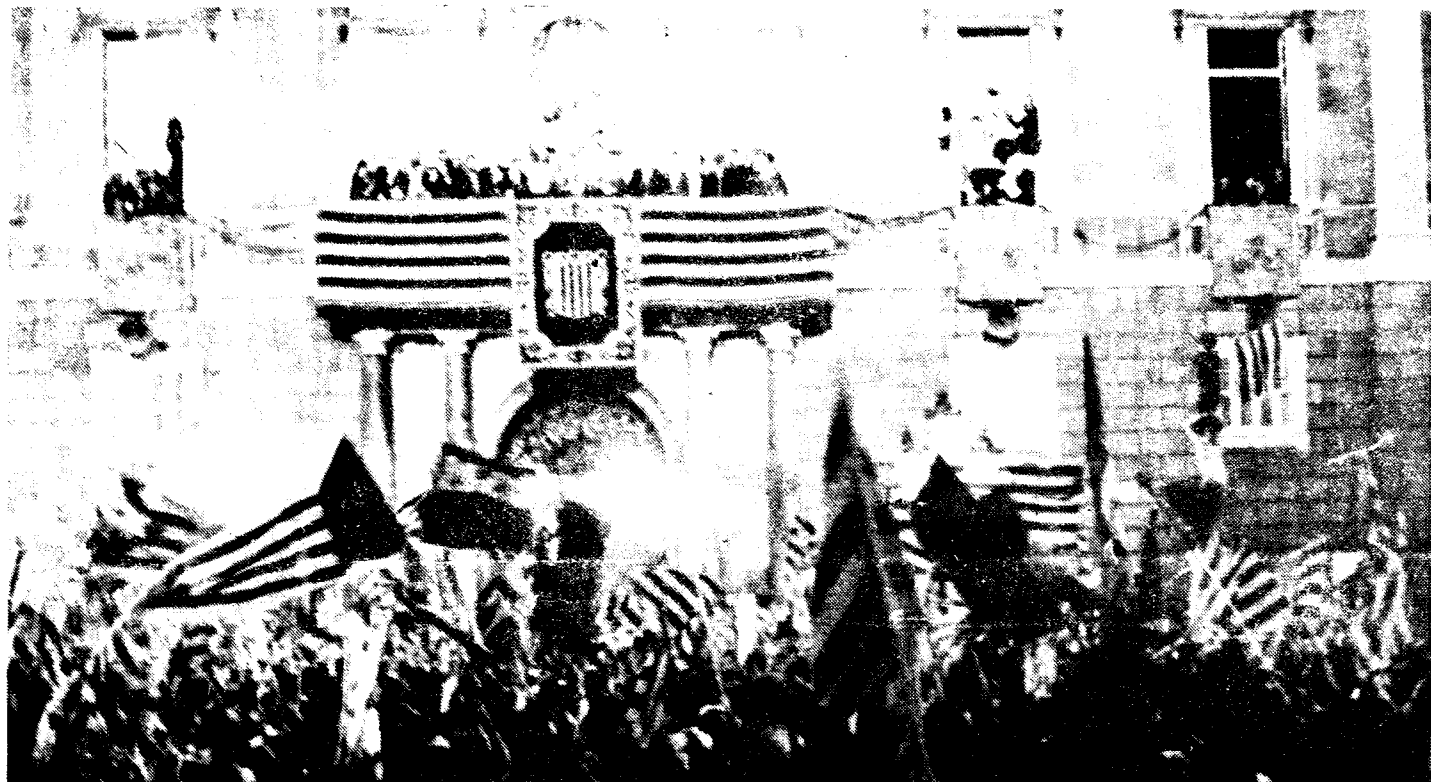
Beneath a sea of fluttering red and yellow striped banners, half a million protesters thronged the streets of Barcelona on September 11, the national "diada" of Catalonia. At the head of the massive demonstration marched the leaders of 23 sponsoring parties and organizations, co-signers of a joint call for "A Statute that Assures Full National Freedom for Catalonia!"

A careful observer could identify a wide spectrum of Catalan politics: stolid bourgeois republicans, respectable Socialists, well-behaved (Euro-)Communists. There, too, were the leaders of the trade unions and the Workers Commissions, side by side with Maoists, syndicalists and Catalan "independentistas." And, right up there with the rest, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR), shouting in unison with the rest, "Volem l'Estatut" (We Want a Statute [of Catalan autonomy]).

To top it off, beside them marched local leaders of the Unió del Centro Democràtic (UCD)—the present ruling party in Madrid. As the neo-Francoist party of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez and the Juan Carlos "reform" monarchy, the UCD is centrally responsible for suppressing the national rights of the Catalans! The LCR sought to excuse its scandalous participation in this all-inclusive popular front by shifting the blame onto the Eurocommunists: "Unfortunately, the limitations and vacillations imposed mainly by the PSUC and the enormous ambiguity in the content of the call permitted the bourgeois parties to join it" (*Combate*, 7 September). But this handwringing did not stop these pseudo-Trotskyist opportunists from signing the joint call with six bourgeois parties.

How does one explain this spectacle—a united march of everyone from the bourgeois opposition to the "far left," joining with the party of Franco's hand-picked successors ... all demanding "l'Estatut"?

During the bitter years of the Francoist dictatorship, as trade unions, leftist parties and bourgeois opponents alike were brutally suppressed, the old traditions of Castilian-dominated bureaucratic centralism were revived to crush provincial centers of rebellion. The Catalan and Basque languages were outlawed and their regional governments driven into exile. While these repressive measures humiliated the entrepreneurial industrialists and finan-



Red and yellow Catalan flags in front of the Generalitat in Barcelona. On the balcony the popular front of Euro-communists, social democrats and bourgeois nationalists. In the plaza pseudo-Trotskyist LCR tails along.

ciers of Barcelona and Bilbao, they were centrally aimed at the highly combative, class-conscious proletariat of the northern industrial regions.

With the death of "El Caudillo" and the advent of Suárez' plans to introduce a semi-bonapartist "strong state," the edifice of Francoist repression began to crack, jolted by militant strikes and popular upheavals. Throughout Spain there were tremendous outpourings of nationalist and regionalist sentiment, on a scale unmatched in postwar Europe (except perhaps for Ireland). This nationalist ferment centered in two regions, both heavily industrialized and traditional hotbeds of revolutionary agitation, the Basque region and Catalonia. On the first legal "diada"—the Catalan national festival—last year over one million demonstrators took to the streets demanding an end to the rigidly centralist straitjacket imposed by Madrid.

The same was true elsewhere. Demands for Galician autonomy were raised. Hundreds of thousands marched in Andalusia for the cause of regional autonomy. In the Canary Islands an independence movement was active. Often they were not sure which nationalism applied: Valencians debate whether they are Catalans or a separate

nationality, and the province of Navarra has been on the verge of explosion between Basque nationalists, Aragonese regionalists and Castilian-speaking immigrants. But the level of nationalist/regionalist sentiment is so high today that not even the liberal bourgeois press speaks of a Spanish nation—it and the entire left refer only to a Spanish state.

The shock waves quickly reached Madrid, where a series of token gestures were undertaken in an effort to deflect the discontent. Prime Minister Suárez invited Tarradellas, president of the Generalitat—the "autonomous" Catalan parliament formed during the Second Republic of the 1930s—to return from his 38-year exile. Through private agreement with the king, he was reinstated as president of a "decaffeinated" Generalitat. The fiction of Catalan autonomy was completed with Tarradella's appointment of representatives from the various parliamentary parties to the regional body and its Consell Executiu. In fact, aside from changing all the plaques from "Provincial Delegation" to "Generalitat," Catalonia was no more autonomous or self-governing than before.

As a virtually powerless body, the Generalitat's primary function has been to contain anti-government sentiment in a region where the mass workers parties, the Socialist PSC-PSOE and Communist PSUC, together received from 60 to 80 percent of the vote in the June 1977 elections to the monarchist Cortes in Madrid. The Euroreformists of the PSUC (affiliated to the Spanish Communist Party) have hailed Tarradellas' appointed Consell as the first "historic compromise" government in southern Europe, the fulfillment of their class-collaborationist fantasies. They hope that by demonstrating their best behavior in this "pre-autonomy" sandbox they can move up to participation in a "Government of National Concentration"—Carrillo's formula for a grown-up popular front.

The "Estatut," the statute of autonomy sought by the signers of the joint "crida" (call) for September 11, is nothing more than the revival of the 1932 statute which granted the regional government of Catalonia various degrees of sovereign powers. The precise

content of the statute is to be arrived at through backroom negotiations with Suárez, who will in turn plead the case before the Francoist generals whom he must placate. The culmination of this process was enshrined in the new Suárez constitution, approved by referendum last December, which instituted an elected Generalitat with sovereign powers over ... the schools. To put the real content of the slogan for autonomy into perspective, it should be recalled that the original statute of '32 was a not very extensive federal arrangement that granted powers substantially less than those ceded to the states in the American constitution.

Marxists defend the democratic right of national self-determination for the Catalan and Basque nationalities. But we do not advocate regionalization and federation as the answer to the suppression of these national rights. The question of national rights ultimately comes down to the question of who has the guns—the question of the army and state power. This was made brutally clear in the 1937 Barcelona May Days when the proletarian masses of Catalonia rose up heroically to defend their conquests—notably workers control—against the repression and sabotage of the Catalan bourgeoisie, then led by Generalitat president Companys, and its Stalinist allies. Faced with barricades throughout Barcelona, assault guards were called in from the Republican government in Valencia ... and that was the end of the fraudulent "autonomy" of the 1932 Estatut.

In the 1930s the Catalan proletariat was betrayed, not only by the social-democratic and Stalinist hatchetmen of the bourgeois Republic, but also by the anarchist CNT and centrist POUM, who joined the Popular Front with Companys just when the working class most needed independent class leadership to direct the proletarian seizure of power and the consolidation of a workers republic. Today, in imitation of these historic betrayals, the latter-day centrists of the "Trotskyist" LCR, affiliated with the United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), march arm-in-arm with Catalan bourgeois nationalists and even the neo-Francoist UCD.



Robert Capra

Workers fight Republican Assault Guards during Barcelona May Days, 1937. When proletariat rose up Catalan "autonomy" vanished. Marxists support right of self-determination.

chanting their slogans and signing their joint "cridas" with perfect equanimity.

Atypically, the opportunists of the LCR were at first a bit slow to pick up on the full import of Catalan nationalism as the latest left-wing fad, since they were busy capitulating to Basque nationalism in fusing with the once-guerrillist ETA-VI. Rushing to make up for lost time, in the last year they have stumbled all over themselves in their feverish pursuit of a "militant" formula for tailing after Companys' heirs. Last April the "Catalan National Committee" of the LCR called for an "Estatut made and approved in Catalunya" and a "democratic, sovereign Generalitat at the service of the workers." Not a word about the right of self-determination. As to the class content of the government, it explained that by "workers self-government" it meant "a government of the parties which have the trust of the majority of our people, a Consell Executiu of the PSC [Catalan Socialist Party], the PSOE and the PSUC" (*Demà*, 24 May 1978). In other words, a bourgeois regional government, led by reformists. And how do these supposed revolutionary Trotskyists justify their call for a capitalist government of a pseudo-autonomous regional parliament which would still leave fundamental power in the hands of the army and central state apparatus inherited from Francoism?

"For the majority of the workers and the people *Generalitat* is synonymous with self-government. The workers with a minimum of national consciousness are beginning to mistrust Tarradellas, some are against the present Generalitat, but they are not against any Generalitat, they just want a better Generalitat. This compels us to use in our agitation and propaganda the term Generalitat as a synonym for self-government and to propose another content."

—[LCR] *Informe de Pedagogia*, No. 20 (1978)

The naked anti-Marxism of such a position caused some embarrassment among these purported Trotskyists, however, leading them to withdraw the slogan of a "democratic, sovereign Generalitat" and seek more subtle formulations. But the LCR leadership has encountered difficulties in blending the once-considerable political differences between the components of their recently fused organization. Previously, the pro-Mandel LCR had called for a (bourgeois) federal republic in Spain while the pro-SWP Liga Comunista (LC) took a more nationalist line, calling for separate constituent assemblies for each nationality. Ever ready to compromise on questions of mere program, the leadership of the merged LCR now calls for *both* slogans at the same time:

"The appropriate framework for the organization of the exercise of self-determination, based on the proposals of the various currents, especially the *independentistas*, would be National Constituent Assemblies, in which we would put forward the proposal for federation, for a union of the peoples in the framework of a federal republic."

—[LCR] *Congreso* (6 July 1978)

In reality, and in Marxist tradition as well, the right of self-determination is in no way "exercised" through proposals for regional autonomy, local self-government and similar decentralizing measures. The latter can be democratic demands against the oppression exercised by a rigidly bureaucratic centralist



Catalan nationalists call for statute of autonomy.

regime on areas with particular social conditions or national composition. They can also be a smokescreen for reactionary mobilizations, such as the opposition to integration in the American South during the late 1950s around the slogan of "states' rights." And above all, they can be easily revoked by the central power which controls the armed forces, as seen in the demise of Catalan autonomy in 1937.

Lenin was quite categorical. His 1916 theses on "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" state: "The right of nations to self-determination implies exclusively the right to independence in the political sense, the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation." And in his earlier article, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914), he writes:

"How was 'self-determination' understood by the delegates to the Second Congress [of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party]...?"

"The following three extracts from the Minutes provide the answer: 'Martynov is of the opinion that the term 'self-determination' should not be given a broad interpretation; it merely means the right of a nation to establish itself as a separate polity, not regional self-government'...."

"The reader will see that at the Second Congress of the Party, which adopted the programme, it was unanimously understood that self-determination meant 'only' the right to secession."

In other words, by identifying an Estatut (i.e., a measure similar to the 1932 statute of autonomy) with self-

determination, the LCR is capitulating to the timid nationalism of the Catalan bourgeoisie. This is particularly dangerous in Spain where Barcelona workers in the 1930's thought they were protected by the Estatut and largely limited their struggles to Catalonia. By joining in the cry "Volem l'Estatut" and

at the hand of the Francoist state apparatus, were the most developed regions in the country, containing the core of Spanish industry. Were they to separate, the two largest, best organized, most combative sectors of the proletariat would be subtracted, greatly weakening the workers movement in the rest of Spain and representing a considerable *defeat* for the European proletarian revolution. Yet this is the direction in which the LCR wishes to go in chasing after radical petty-bourgeois nationalism in the Basque region and the more moderate (and massive) bourgeois/reformist-led autonomy movement in Catalonia.

In contrast, Trotsky wrote at the very beginning of the Spanish revolution in 1931:

"The separatist tendencies present the revolution with the democratic task of *national self-determination*. These tendencies were accentuated, to all appearances, during the period of the [Primo de Rivera] dictatorship. But while the 'separatism' of the Catalan bourgeoisie is only a pawn in its play with the Madrid government against the Catalan and Spanish people, the separatism of the workers and peasants is only the shell of their social rebellion. One must distinguish very rigidly between these two forms of separatism. Precisely, however, in order to draw the line between the nationally oppressed workers and peasants and their bourgeoisie, the proletarian vanguard must take the boldest and most sincere position on the question of national self-determination. The workers will fully and completely defend the *right* of the Catalans and Basques to organize their state life independently in the event that the majority of these nationalities express themselves for complete separation. But this does not, of course, mean that the advanced workers will push the Catalans and Basques on the road of secession. On the contrary, the economic unity of the country with extensive autonomy of national districts, would represent great advantages for the workers and peasants from the viewpoint of economy and culture."

—"The Revolution in Spain,"

January 1931

After almost four decades in the straitjacket of bonapartist, centralist dictatorship, this remains true today. While supporting demands for decentralization of certain state functions to allow wide latitude for regional autonomy, and unreservedly defending the right of self-determination of the different nationalities; proletarian revolutionists in Spain would at this point seek above all to focus on struggles to mobilize the entire proletariat against the Suárez/Juan Carlos "strong state" regime inherited from Francoism.

The international Spartacist tendency has consistently called for the recognition of the right of self-determination for the Catalans and Basques, and for a soviet federation of Iberian workers republics, in the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe. The key element is the construction of an authentic Trotskyist party in Spain, built in the fight against Pabloist liquidationism and for the re forging of the Fourth International. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

Box 1377, GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001
(212) 925-2426

Ann Arbor

c/o SYL, Room 4102
Michigan Union
University of Mich.
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109
(313) 663-9012

Berkeley/Oakland

Box 23372
Oakland, Ca. 94623
(415) 835-1535

Boston

Box 188
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, Mass. 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, Ill. 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland

Box 6765
Cleveland, Ohio 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

P.O. Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 868-9095

Houston

Box 26474
Houston, Texas 77207

Los Angeles

Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, Ca. 90026
(213) 662-1564

New York

Box 444, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013
(212) 925-5665

San Diego

P.O. Box 142
Chula Vista, Ca. 92010

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, Ca. 94101
(415) 863-6963

Santa Cruz

c/o SYL
Box 2842
Santa Cruz, Ca. 95063

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ont.
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver

Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.
(604) 733-8848

Winnipeg

Box 3952, Station B
Winnipeg, Man.
(204) 589-7214

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

24 issues—\$3
Introductory offer (6 issues) \$1
International rates: 24 issues—\$12 airmail/
\$3 seamail
6 introductory issues—\$3 airmail

—includes *Spartacist*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____ 233

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001

Change of Address

Please attach the address portion of the mailing wrapper when writing about service or change of address.
Thank you.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Province _____
Zip/Postcode _____
Apt. No. _____
Date effective _____

Hate Carter...

(continued from page 1)

For example, Merrill Lynch Economics' chief forecaster ventures:

"This expansion has had it. The odds are tipping toward the recession already having started. We think there's about a 55 percent chance of a recession beginning before midyear."
—*Business Week*, 4 June

This time around, recession will fall particularly hard on working people. Despite four years of recovery from the 1974-75 worldwide depression, the U.S. unemployment rate still remains one-fifth higher than it was in 1973. The recovery scarcely existed for blacks who suffer 12 percent unemployment and an incredible 36 percent jobless rate among black youth (*Monthly Labor Review*, April 1979). Moreover, because wage earners largely carried the post-1975 expansion by going ever deeper into debt, mass unemployment in the next period would cause particular hardship. By the end of last year, for every dollar in the annual after-tax income, the average consumer owed 96 cents, mainly for mortgages and auto loans. If hit by long layoffs, hundreds of thousands of working-class families will face mortgage foreclosures, auto repossessions and bankruptcy.

During the past year of raging inflation the real take-home pay of the average worker has already been cut 4.5 percent. Yet the centerpiece of Carter's "anti-inflation" policies has been to cut them even further with his attempts to impose 7 percent wage guidelines. Luckily, this has not been too successful. Already half-way into the '79 bargaining year, his guidelines are in tatters. The government anti-inflation people led by Alfred Kahn went through an elaborate song and dance, allowing for "old money" and various other exceptions, in order to claim that the Teamster contract increase of roughly 30 percent in three years actually fell under the guidelines.

Since then the IAM United Airlines mechanics won raises of 30 percent over three years, and even the poor sisters of the labor movement, the ILGWU settled last week for 25 percent. To top it off, a May 31 court decision by federal district judge Barrington D. Parker ruled that Carter's attempts to enforce "voluntary" wage guidelines through denying government contracts was illegal. "For practical purposes, the decision served as the final nail in the coffin," said UAW chief Doug Fraser (*New York Times*, 1 June).

Billy and Bert

The spectre of "Peanutgate" continues to hang over Jimmy Carter's head just as it has for the past 20 months since investigations into Lance's shady banking deals led to his resignation as head of the Office of Management and Budget in September 1977. As expected, nothing in the May 24 indictment mentions Lance's notorious loans of almost \$7 million to the Carter family warehouse, many of them negotiated during the 1976 presidential campaign. But the bones of this old skeleton continue to rattle in the Carter closet. If anyone gets to Bert or Billy and either decides to talk, it could be curtains for Carter.

What is Peanutgate? While bits and pieces have been trickling into the press for some time, a recently published exposé by *Los Angeles Times* reporter Peter Peckarsky ties together the myriad threads of the undoubtedly illegal and possibly felonious dealings which may have put Jimmy Carter in the White House. In Peckarsky's account, reprinted in the 13 May *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, he shows how funds had been improperly transferred from the family business to the Carter presidential campaign. This was apparently in flagrant violation of the 1975 Federal Election Campaign Law which limits individual contributions to a presidential campaign to \$1,000 and forbids

direct corporate contributions altogether.

According to Peckarsky, some \$1 million in loans made in 1975 and 1976 by the National Bank of Georgia to the Carter Warehouse for warehouse construction and for purchasing a peanut sheller made little or no business sense. For one thing, the Carters, heavily involved in the campaign, were not expanding their business. The peanuts

which the bourgeoisie has always felt are ridiculous, passed only because they felt they had to do something in the wake of Watergate. But presidents are not supposed to openly break laws, even such patently ineffectual ones.

The American bourgeoisie has enjoyed the picture of the presidential candidate as "self-made man," like Richard Nixon or Jimmy Carter appearing before the American public with



Where's Billy?

in the Carter warehouse were supposed to represent collateral on the bank loans, and as the shelled peanuts were sold—i.e., as the collateral on hand diminished—Carter Warehouse was obliged to make payments on the loan. But they didn't.

Instead, Billy Carter, who controlled the warehouse during the campaign, transferred some \$500,000 from the warehouse accounts at the National Bank of Georgia to his own account, then withdrew the money about one month before the April 1976 Pennsylvania Democratic Party primary. At the same time, Carter's campaign advertising agency, Gerald Rafshoon Advertising, Inc., supposedly gave the Carter campaign a highly unusual line of credit running in the vicinity of \$600,000. Pennsylvania was the make-or-break primary for Carter, writes Peckarsky. Morris Udall and Henry Jackson spent all they had there and lost. It was in Pennsylvania that Carter virtually wrapped up the election.

What actually happened? Nobody's talking, especially Billy (perhaps for the first time) who took the Fifth Amendment at a grand jury investigation ordered by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Comptroller of the Currency last fall. During the heat of the new investigation, the president's brother was scheduled to appear on a February 11 CBS "Face the Nation" program, which was abruptly cancelled the day before when Rafshoon's secretary vigorously protested. Then there are Billy's convenient disappearances: his February hospitalization for bronchitis and a seven-week alcoholism treatment in a California military facility which began March 6. "Coincidentally or otherwise," Peckarsky writes, "this gave Billy Carter a convenient excuse for avoiding federal investigators as the three-year statute of limitations on criminal violations of federal election law during the 1976 primaries ran out."

Peanutgate is not Teapot Dome or Watergate. Jimmy Carter did not bug or burgle his bourgeois opponents. The accusations are that he lied about the collateral in the Carter warehouse and instead of paying back his loans on time put the money into his campaign. In doing so, of course, the Carters broke the campaign financing laws, laws

their rags-to-riches stories in "the land of opportunity." But there is no honest American self-made millionaire with enough ambition and ruthlessness to be the chief of the most terrible imperialist power in the world and whose personal books can withstand a simple, careful audit. So today the ruling circles are looking around their smoke-filled rooms for a candidate with *old* money, a candidate who let his father, or preferably his grandfather, do his stealing for him.

So all eyes are on Kennedy, who waits in the wings in case a financial scandal—or something else—capsizes Carter's leaky ship before 1980. Of course, Kennedy has his own problems as a moral sanitizer. Although he is too rich to bother to embezzle, a lot of people still want to know what really happened with Mary Jo Kopechne that night in Chappaquidick. For his part, Kennedy would prefer to run in 1984 when he is a shoo-in rather than risk splitting the party badly now.

But if Kennedy does get in, despite his liberal campaign promises so dear to the hearts of the "black elected officials" and the labor fakers, he will prove that he, like the rest of the capitalist politicians, is no friend of the workers, minorities or the poor. With all of Kennedy's hearings on nuclear power or Henry Jackson's investigations into the oil companies, none of them can call for expropriation of the energy trusts—because they own them! And compared to the butchery of Vietnam, the Bay of Pigs, Santo Domingo or Attica—the real crimes of the bourgeoisie—Carter's machinations are small potatoes.

Capitalist political scandals can lead to real crises for the ruling class. But so long as there is no working-class alternative to the twin parties of capital, the effects are contained within the confines of bourgeois politics and quickly dissipated. Watergate led only to the imperialist hypocrisy of Carter. Labor militants must fight to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucratic union misleaders and build a workers party to fight for a workers government. Without this they are faced with the perennial "choice" between a Peanutgate swindler or Camelot's "knight errant" of Chappaquidick. ■

Novack...

(continued from page 5)

proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to one half capability, one fourth capability, and so on" (Joseph Hansen, *Militant*, June 24, 1937).

Nazis

1939, SOCIALIST APPEAL: "The wailing and weeping about the Nazis' rights can safely be left to the prissy Liberals and phoney Democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action" (March 3, 1939).

SWP TODAY: "An effective struggle against reactionary ideas and violence cannot be carried out if one begins by placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fascists... Because of the importance of democratic rights of the oppressed, the denial of this right to racists and fascists can only backfire" (*International Socialist Review*, August 1975).

Trade Union Democracy and the State

TROTSKY: "The primary slogan for the struggle is: complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy. The second slogan is: trade union democracy. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state" (*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*).

SWP TODAY: "But not by the sectarians' logic. According to their rule book the trade union struggle must proceed in two distinct stages. First comes the fight for trade union independence. Then, and only then, are workers allowed to fight for democracy in their unions... The precondition for union democracy according to *WV* is the fight for independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state" (*Militant*, June 23, 1978).

Klan...

(continued from page 2)

official, has vowed that the protesters will march again June 9: "We may not make it past Church Street, but the record must show that we tried to exercise our constitutional rights." This appeal to the state could turn out tragically to be more prophetic than Cottonreader, with his liberal pacifistic illusions, believes. Mistaken notions that the cops will protect the protesters should have been shattered by the near-bloodbath of May 26. Only an independent, *mass* mobilization of blacks, the left and the labor movement can protect these courageous marchers. If the United League, for example, which claims some 60,000 members in Mississippi, mobilized in force in Decatur, the Klan wouldn't dare open fire! The KKK *can* be defeated. What is more dangerous in the long run is that the black protests have remained largely isolated—and disarmed politically and physically by liberal and pacifist illusions.

Smash the Klan! For the right of self-defense! Free Tommy Lee Hines! Drop the charges against Curtis Lee Robinson and the other SCLC demonstrators! ■

SUBSCRIBE
YOUNG SPARTACUS
monthly paper of the
Spartacus Youth League
\$2/9 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacus Youth
Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street P.O.,
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Save Dodge Main...

(continued from page 12)

Chrysler's most dilapidated, outmoded and inefficient physical facilities. Unlike the equally old Jefferson Avenue plant which was modernized a year ago to the tune of \$17 million, Chrysler has not put a cent into Dodge Main except what was needed for model changes. So it is Dodge Main workers who have been chosen as the first to be sacrificed.

The 2,000 Dodge Main workers who packed their local hall on June 3 for their regularly scheduled union meeting were in no mood to listen to any of Chrysler's con talk about rehiring opportunities. They came prepared to fight for their jobs. The main union banner read, "No Dodge Main—No Hamtramck—No Bacon and Eggs. Keep Hamtramck Assembly Open." Interspersed throughout the crowd were other homemade signs such as "Save our Bread and Butter" and "Keep our Family Together."

But the UAW bureaucracy had no intention of permitting discussion of any militant alternative to its gutless do-nothing policies. After being herded into a high school stadium, the Local 3 members sat through a rock band performance, then heard local Democratic Party politicians and International union reps promise that they would be able to persuade Chrysler to keep the plant open. At even the slightest hint of militancy the crowd roared, but the only action which the International proposed was that union members write their Congressmen to demand Chrysler keep the plant open.

After an hour, and without any discussion, the bureaucrats disbanded the rally, sending everybody home. Nevertheless hundreds of dissatisfied union members hung around the union

hall, waiting for something to happen. When UAW Local 3 president John Smith came through the crowd announcing no more meetings, a number of workers surrounded him yelling, "What do you mean, no more meetings? That was nothing but a pep rally! Where's our meeting?" Another worker shouted, "You're supposed to be leading all these people here! What the hell are you going to do?" Unable to answer, Smith just skulked off and left the scene altogether.

From the very announcement of the Dodge Main closing, the UAW bureaucracy's policy has been surrender without a fight. Local president Smith told *WV*, "We don't want to make no threats." Then at a UAW press conference Marc Stepp praised Iacocca, supposedly in contrast to "poor labor relations officials" at Chrysler, and promised solemnly that he did not plan to "punish" Chrysler with job actions in other plants. Stepp even hinted that the union might accept a "mothballing" of Dodge Main, by which a skeleton crew of workers would maintain its physical plant.

While the brunt of the Hamtramck layoffs falls on black workers, Stepp, the UAW's only black International vice president, shamelessly defended Chrysler's "right" to dispose of Dodge Main as it sees fit: "If indeed they close the plant, well, they own the plant, not the union and not the workers," he told reporters. But it is precisely the UAW bureaucracy's bootlicking subordination to the capitalist order that stands as the main obstacle to Chrysler workers maintaining their jobs! Rather than accepting Chrysler's "right" to fire as it sees fit, UAW members must demand militant actions, including the sit-down strike. In a situation where the company is likely willing to take a strike as a convenient means to wear down oversized inventories, the response of the UAW must be

Defend Keith Anwar!

CHICAGO—Inland Steel has fired militant Keith Anwar for honoring the picket lines of striking United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8180. Anwar, an apprentice millwright and Local 1010 member, has been honoring the lines since Local 8180 was locked out May 1. On May 18 he was fired.

A leaflet defending Anwar distributed to Inland steel workers June 5 points out:

"This is the second time in a year Inland has victimized Anwar for his trade union solidarity. Last summer he honored the picket lines of Bricklayers Local 6 and successfully defeated a company attempt to discipline him. Anwar participated in mass picketing by the bricklayers which led to a shutdown of construction work at Inland and victory for the strike.... "Our union power has already been straight-jacketed by the ENA [the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement"]. Now Inland wants to strip the USWA of every class-struggle weapon, and drive serious fighters like Anwar from the plant. The steel barons want to push

steel workers around like they did during the non-union era. This firing threatens the right to strike, to set up and defend picket lines—ultimately the union itself. And how can our union leaders really defend the membership when they respect no-strike pledges instead of picket lines? "The fight to reverse this firing urgently requires the support of rank-and-file steel workers. Statements supporting Anwar have been made by leaders of Local 8180 and Bricklayers Local 6. But it is Local 1010 backed by the District which has the power to defeat the company...."

While continuing the fight through the union grievance procedure, Anwar has also filed suit with the National Labor Relations Board against Inland. To help defray legal expenses, a defense fund has been established. The Partisan Defense Committee has made a donation to the Keith Anwar Defense Fund and *WV* urges members and supporters of the labor movement to do the same. Contributions should be sent to: Keith Anwar Defense Fund, Box 7914, Chicago, Illinois 60680. ■

effective and coordinated *plant occupations* where there are mass layoffs. Not one job must be sacrificed to Chrysler's profit-gouging greed! If Chrysler says it cannot afford to operate its plants, then militants must demand that they be expropriated without compensation!

Thousands of Chrysler workers recognize that Dodge Main may signal their fate as well. The first upsurge of militancy by auto workers at even a single factory would threaten to spread like wildfire through the Chrysler plants, heavily concentrated in Detroit, breaking the stranglehold of the UAW bureaucracy and setting the stage for a

powerful industrywide fight for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to provide jobs for all. The historic weapon of the sit-down strike, through which the UAW was built over 40 years ago, must be reclaimed by auto workers today in order to salvage their jobs and working conditions from decaying American capitalism.

For unlimited unemployment benefits! For the unlimited right of recall for laid-off workers! For government takeover and financing of bankrupt SUB funds! For factory occupations to reverse plant shutdowns and halt mass layoffs! ■

Canadian Election...

(continued from page 3)

the NDP and imaginary "independent" candidates of the Quebec labor bureaucracy.

Like the NDP, the RWL dropped all demands for nationalization (with or without compensation) and omitted any demands for Canada to get out of NATO or NORAD. The RWL also dropped its demand for withdrawal of Canadian troops from the Near East, where under UN auspices they serve as border guards for Zionist expansionism. The RWL has even dropped paying lip-service to the Trotskyist position of military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states from imperialist attack or domestic counterrevolution which was contained in its previous electoral statements. Instead it restricted itself to supporting "the struggle of workers in the Soviet Union,

Eastern Europe and China for basic democratic rights to organize" (*Socialist Voice*, 21 May). This statement could have been made by George Meany or any Cold War social democrat from Max Shachtman to Willy Brandt. The RWL is a political maggot which has attached itself to the stinking corpse of Canadian social democracy; as such its campaign no more deserves the support of workers than does that of its host.

Alone among would-be socialist organizations in Canada, the Trotskyist League fought for a Leninist policy of working-class independence and support for Quebec's right of self-determination. As the TL wrote in the May 1979 *Spartacist Canada*: "In these elections no candidates deserve even critical support from revolutionaries. The working class needs a new leadership which will lead it forward in the struggle for socialist revolution. No Vote to the NDP! For a Workers Party that Fights for a Workers Government!" ■

EEC Elections...

(continued from page 4)

similar to that of many left social democrats.

OCRFI's Social-Democratic Third Campism

While the USec's EEC election platform contains one sentence on Soviet defensism, its main rival, the French-centered Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) led by Pierre Lambert, does not even have this figleaf of Trotskyist orthodoxy. Although the Lambertist Organizing Committee is boycotting the EEC elections, its motivation for doing so places it *to the right* of the Mandelites on the question.

The OCRFI opposes the Common Market mainly because it perpetuates the post-1945 "division of Europe," (centrally of Germany)—i.e., does not extend into the Soviet bloc. In fact, the imperialist bourgeoisies of the EEC very much want to overcome the Cold War division of Europe by overthrowing the proletarian state power and collectivized property of the Soviet bloc. The OCRFI equates the West European imperialist ruling classes with the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy as *joint* violators of national self-determination for the peoples of Europe. It explicitly equates as enemies of the European working classes NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Such an equation is blatant abandonment of the Trotskyist principle of defense of the USSR against imperialism.

Lambert & Co. come out against the division of Germany with the following slogans: "Unconditional unity of Germany!" "Withdrawal of all occupation troops, East and West!" "Down with the Berlin Wall!" "Freedom of expression, communication, assembly, for organizations in all of Germany!" In concrete realities these slogans amount to a call

for social counterrevolution in East Germany, for its conquest by the West German imperialist state! Such slogans could well have been raised by Konrad Adenauer in the 1950s and are today raised by a wing of the ruling Social Democrats.

Defend the Gains of October! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

The outbreak of imperialist world war in 1914 signaled that the forces of production had outgrown capitalist property relations and the nation-state system, and so required the international socialist reconstruction of society as the only alternative to a barbaric orgy of destruction. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was the first great step toward the Socialist United States of Europe. However, the delay of socialist revolutions in West Europe laid the basis for the bureaucratic degeneration of Soviet Russia (Stalinism). Committed to conciliating imperialism in the name of "socialism in one country," the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is an enemy of proletarian revolution in the West. And now the Mandelites tail the Stalinist reformists while the Lambertists chase after their social-democratic cousins.

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is dedicated to the struggle to reforge the Fourth International against the revisionist opportunism of the Mandels and Lamberts. Today the iSt is unique in upholding the Trotskyist principle of unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism, as part of a program for anti-capitalist socialist revolution in West Europe and proletarian political revolution against Stalinism in East Europe. Genuine unity of Europe will not come through chimerical "reform" of the bosses' Common Market or the pipe-dream of "détente" with imperialism, but only through revolutionary action of the workers, East and West! ■

Women & Revolution

New York Spartacist League Class Series



The formation of an "Islamic Republic" in Iran, pledged to subjugate women through a return to 7th Century Koranic law and the imposition of the veil, has focused renewed worldwide attention on the question of women's oppression. The Spartacist League, a revolutionary socialist organization, is sponsoring a bi-weekly class series to explore the sources of and solutions to the historic exploitation and special oppression of over half the world's population.

- Marxism and Women's Rights (June 12)
- The Russian Revolution and Working Women (June 26)
- The Revolution Betrayed: The Rise of Stalinism (July 10)
- Organizing Against Special Oppression: A Working-Class Program for Victory (July 24)

TIME: 7:30 p.m. PLACE: New York University, Meyer Hall of Physics (Rm. 122), 4 Washington Place (two blocks east of Washington Square Park). For readings and more info., call 925-5665. Sponsored by NYU Friends of the Spartacus Youth League.

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Sit-Down Strikes to Fight Mass Layoffs

Save Dodge Main!

DETROIT—On May 29 the Chrysler Corporation, the largest employer in the Detroit area, announced its latest move to prop up sagging profits: the 70-year-old Dodge Main assembly plant in Hamtramck, Michigan will be closed down for good next summer. Of the 5,000 mainly black and Arab assembly workers now employed—half the total of four years ago—1,000 will be sacked this July and the rest a year later.

While Chrysler officials are hoping to save up to \$50 million from the shutdown of Dodge Main, the picture is a lot grimmer for the Hamtramck workers. Stunned by the announcement (the company didn't even bother to inform the union of the plant closing until an hour before it was announced to the public), thousands of Hamtramck workers—many with 15 years seniority and more—will have to look for new jobs. And hundreds of these know they will never find them. The large number of Arab workers, at one point as much as a quarter of the workforce at Dodge Main, will find it particularly difficult to get work due to discrimination.

"Assurances" by company president Lee Iacocca that most of the Hamtramck workers will be placed in other Detroit-area Chrysler plants are recognized as pure bunk by the Dodge Main workers. Chrysler claims that it will be adding another 1,800 jobs to Jefferson Avenue Assembly when it consolidates its operations next year. To begin with this would mean jobs for only a fraction of the Hamtramck workforce, and for these (mainly older) workers it means starting at the *bottom* of the seniority ladder, with the hardest, dirtiest jobs. Moreover, it assumes that the corporation's financial prospects will brighten in the future, something that no Chrysler



Rally at Dodge Main June 3: Workers want action, UAW tops say, "Write your Congressman."

WV Photo

employee has any reason to expect. Iacocca's assertion that the remaining Hamtramck workers will fill jobs opened up by "normal attrition" at other plants is downright insulting to the intelligence of Dodge workers.

The fact is, the U.S. economy has begun its tailspin. The official unemployment rate in Detroit stands at over 8 percent. Not only Chrysler but the other auto giants have begun to lay off. This week Ford announced a two-week shutdown of three assembly plants,

idling 7,100 workers. But for Chrysler workers the situation is even bleaker. Some 13,000 Chrysler workers are already out of a job, 6,000 in the Detroit area. Far from there being openings for new hiring, thousands of Chrysler workers at Dodge Truck in Warren, Michigan and St. Louis, at Lyons Trim, at Trenton Engine—and 1,200 others at Hamtramck who were given the axe last winter—are on the street, most of them laid off "indefinitely."

The Chrysler bosses, whose share of the American market has slipped from 17 percent in 1970 to 11 percent today, are preparing new permanent firings and plant closings to shore up their ailing profits. Iacocca, formerly top dog at Ford, said as much in an interview just before the Hamtramck plant closing was announced: "You'll see a lot of action in the next six months. We are planning to cut costs, obviously" (*Detroit News*, 30 May).

The Hamtramck workers are under no illusion that they will face an easy time once they are thrown into the street. The United Auto Workers (UAW) Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funds, designed to provide protection to unemployed auto workers for short-term layoffs, are practically depleted at Chrysler. UAW Chrysler division head Marc Stepp announced recently that the balance had slipped from \$38 million in March to a paltry \$14.5 million today. For laid-off Chrysler workers this means:

- Under the contract, all workers with under one year seniority receive *no* SUB benefits.
- In June, Chrysler SUB benefits will be reduced 20 percent for all workers with under 20 years seniority.
- Even with benefits paid out at a reduced level, the SUB fund is projected to run dry in August, leaving only workers with top seniority eligible to

receive still further reduced benefits from a second fund until it, too, is drained.

• The state of Michigan has thus far refused to extend the benefit period for its measly unemployment insurance from 26 to 52 weeks. Meanwhile Governor Milliken has proposed a whopping \$85 million cutback in social and welfare services and benefits.

"No Dodge Main— No Hamtramck— No Bacon and Eggs"

Dodge Main was one of the centers of black militancy in Detroit in the late 1960s. In 1968 the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) organized a highly effective boycott of two nearby bars that refused to hire blacks, and when do-nothing union officials sat on their hands, led a wildcat strike protesting company firings and discrimination. Shortly thereafter Chrysler began to hire Arab workers in large numbers, in an attempt to break up the increasing solidarity of the largely black workforce. The company was in fact partially successful in inflaming tensions between Arab workers—economically desperate and vulnerable to deportation, and therefore initially less militant on the shop floor—and black workers responsive to a militant but nationalist ideology, largely indifferent to the interests of Arab as well as white workers.

However, the succession of layoffs that have gutted Dodge Main in recent years must serve as a sharp reminder of the need for all auto workers—black, white and Arab—to stand together to defend their jobs. The huge eight-story Dodge Main complex was once one of the largest auto plants in the country, and even today it houses two complete assembly lines. But it is also one of

continued on page 11

WV a Hot Item in Detroit

When Chrysler announced the complete shutdown of Dodge Main last week, the 5,000 workers there were stunned. They turned at first to their union leaders, but at the June 3 rally of Dodge Main workers, all UAW Chrysler Division head Marc Stepp could offer was, "Write your congressman." Yet someone did have answers. Throughout the week at plant gates across the city Chrysler workers eagerly snatched up copies of our last issue with its back-page headline demanding, "UAW Must Call Sit-Down Strikes!"

Some 176 copies of *WV* No. 232 have been sold to Dodge Main workers, 118 at the Sunday union rally alone. Sales at Warren Truck, Lynch Road and Jefferson Assembly brought total sales to Chrysler workers to more than 225. "We need to shut down all the plants here and nationwide," one worker told *WV*. "The companies wouldn't know what hit them." Other left newspapers are being distributed at the plants report-



WV Photo

Chrysler workers couldn't agree more.

ing the shutdown at Dodge Main, but *WV* is the only paper which tells the truth from the standpoint of the workers and has the program to take the class struggle forward to victory.