

Young Spartacus

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

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

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

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

On August 19 Khomeini delivered his "last warning" to the parties of the Iranian left. One week earlier 50,000 people flooded the streets of Teheran in opposition to Khomeini's new press law which mandates prison sentences for "insulting" Khomeini, his clergy or the Islamic Republic. The anti-government demonstrators were attacked by a screaming mob of 5,000 Islamic thugs armed with clubs, pipes and chains. The next day 200,000 fanatics turned out in a government-staged show of support for the mullahs. Well-organized bands stormed the offices of left-wing parties and by late evening leftists made plans to go underground once again. Khomeini, in a fire and brimstone speech before a rally of the faithful at his religious headquarters in Qom, could only express anger that the sacking of leftist offices hadn't been done last February:

"Had we acted in a revolutionary manner, had we broken all the pens, had we shut down all those corrupt parties, had we set the scaffolds in the main square of each city, we would not have so much trouble today."

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



USec hailed Khomeini's victory. Their line means death for Kurds.

To crush the Kurdish struggle for autonomy from the Persian chauvinist regime in Teheran, Khomeini ordered his "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" (Pasdars) and the ex-shah's regular army and air force to launch a full-scale reign of terror in Iranian Kurdistan. Last March over 400 Kurds were slaughtered in Sanandaj, the provincial capital, and at least 600 Kurds have been massacred in recent fighting. Khomeini sent Ayatollah Khalkhali, popularly known as "Judge Blood," to Kurdistan to insure the mullahs' law and order. To date more than 100 Kurds have been ordered before firing squads on charges of insurrection. While various pseudo-socialists now seek to explain this butchery with the cynical claim that Khomeini has carried out a "self-coup" against his own regime, the attacks on the Kurds, Arabs, Turkmenis, women, workers and the left did not begin yesterday. Where is the "Victory in Iran" for the courageous and able Kurdish partisans, SWP?

"Anti-Imperialist" Khomeini Seeks U.S. Aid

The fake left went wild in February when Khomeini canceled military contracts with the U.S.: it proved his "anti-imperialist" credentials. But Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" was always reserved for such symbols of exploitation and Western "decadence" as alcohol, movies, music and mixed swimming. Under the Islamic Republic Iranian transport planes have been regularly flying into New York's Kennedy airport to pick up military hardware—purchased by the shah.

However, these supplies have been rapidly depleted by Khomeini's bloody

campaigns against national minorities, striking workers and the left. So while Phantom jets were strafing Kurdish villages deputy prime minister Ibrahim Yazdi went to Washington to reopen some of the \$5 billion in canceled military contracts. And the U.S. is only too willing to rearm the "Iranian Revolution." Already 100 of Khomeini's officers are attending U.S. military academies.

While the shah purchased billions of dollars worth of sophisticated weaponry which his troops were unable to master and maintain, Khomeini is interested in buying more practical items. Fancy fighter bombers may be flashy, but machine guns are much more effective when crushing strikes and demonstrations. Additionally, Khomeini has funneled these weapons into Afghanistan where he has linked arms with the CIA in seeking to overthrow the pro-Moscow, nationalist regime of Nur Muhammad Taraki.

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

So much for the "anti-imperialism" of the Khomeini regime. Today its true face is starkly revealed as it relies

increasingly on the shah's army and the Pasdars. It was these same forces that make up the Pasdars who were mobilized with CIA money in 1953 by Ayatollah Kasnak to take to the streets to bring down the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq. On that occasion the mullahs sided with imperialism to reinstate Shah Reza Pahlavi. Now, Khomeini has become a "new shah"—with the complicity of the fake lefts who cheered him on.

USec Covers Up, But the Emperor Has No Clothes

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

In time-honored reformist fashion they are trying to cover their tracks by playing up the threat hanging over the arrested HKSers. The Stalinists used the same ploy in the period after the 1973

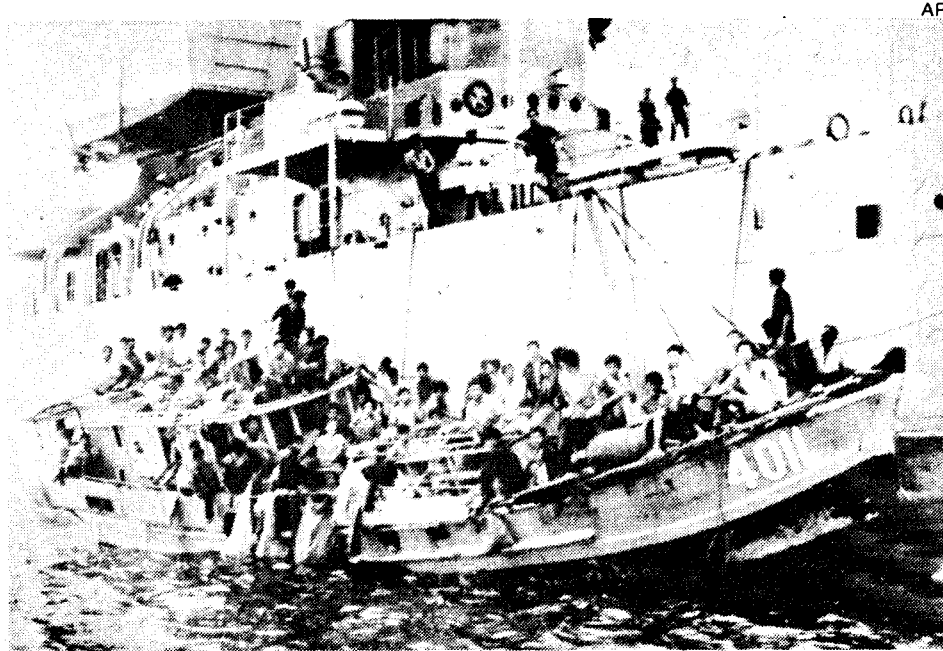
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Imperialist Furor Over "Boat People"

Four and a half years after North Vietnamese and NLF forces defeated U.S. imperialism and smashed capitalist rule in Indochina, former antiwar "doves" have once again taken out big ads in the major bourgeois dailies. But this time it is not the brutal American devastation of Indochina that has caught the attention of Joan Baez & Co. Today the cry is "save the boat people."

Certainly their plight is horrible. By the tens of thousands they are heading out of Vietnam in leaky dinghies and trawlers often only to be drowned when the overcrowded boats capsize. But the outpouring of "humanitarian concern" by the imperialists, the media and their assorted liberal hangers-on reeks with hypocrisy. The U.S. is no more concerned with the true fate of the boat people than are the ASEAN "front line" states who threaten to push them back out to sea, or, in the case of Malaysia, who said they would shoot the refugees on sight.

The U.S. spent years trying to bomb the Vietnamese "back to the Stone Age." Napalm, defoliants and anti-personnel weapons, however, could not prevent the imperialists' historic defeat—and the U.S. ruling class desires revenge. Since full economic and political sanctions are already in force, and with direct military intervention unlikely (other than through perhaps another invasion by China with U.S. complicity to teach Vietnam a "bloody lesson"), the U.S. mass murderers are milking the controversy over the boat people to whip up a vicious propaganda barrage



Pawns in imperialist crusade against Vietnam, USSR.

of anti-Communist furor in the name of "human rights."

Baez' scandalous "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" (*New York Times*, 30 May) accuses Vietnam of "cruelty, violence and oppression," and fabricates allegations of "torture-genocide," charges which even the State Department hasn't made. The liberals have jumped on the reactionary "human rights" bandwagon to express their fundamental loyalty to imperialist "democracy." These "movement" crusaders of the sixties have joined hands with the U.S. government, Kuomintang reactionaries, Zionists and Maoists in

an unholy alliance to shriek indignation against the "new Hitlers" of Vietnam.

There was one Vietnamese government official who professed admiration for "der Führer"—but Marshal Ky resides in California, not Hanoi! Like thousands of professional torturers, war profiteers, pimps and drug traffickers, Ky grabbed his gold and scrambled out in 1975 with the rest of the corrupt scum of the Thieu dictatorship. The real Hitler-lovers were met with open arms by their U.S. masters. Send these war criminals back to Vietnam to be tried by their victims!

The situation today is a bit different.

While there are undoubtedly many particularly odious types among the refugees, the chief criminals unfortunately got out early. That the boat people flounder in the South China Seas underscores their marginality to imperialism. While right-wing thug outfits like the Vietnamese Association of Australia and the U.S.-based "Black April" group may recruit new members, we recognize that opposition to admission of the boat people has come from the likes of the fascist British National Front and the American Nazis who have raised a racist clamor about the "yellow peril."

Who are the Boat People?

It is obvious that there is a strong ethnic component to the exodus from Vietnam as most of the refugees are of Chinese (Hoa) background. The Chinese in Vietnam were not uniformly distributed throughout all social classes. Largely concentrated in the South, particularly in the huge city of Cholon just outside Saigon, the Hoa made up the overwhelming majority of Vietnam's large merchant/trading community. The former businessmen whose shops were expropriated last year and those petty-bourgeois elements whose livelihoods depended on the U.S. military machine have felt an acute drop in their standard of living. Deprived of the opportunity to accumulate their pitiful capital under the centralized, planned economy of Vietnam, they cling to shabby fishing boats to take them to the urban slums of "freedom."

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

A genuinely communist government in Vietnam would want to retain the relatively well-educated and skilled Chinese minority and to use their talents. Moreover, the integration of the Hoa would counter Vietnamese national narrowness and the centuries-old hostility between the Ammanite and Han peoples. The Hanoi bureaucracy (who, with the chauvinist, nationalist logic of all Stalinists, see the Hoa as potential "fifth columnists" should Peking once again invade) might very well be actively discriminating against the Chinese minority. However, it is possible that even under a revolutionary government upholding full rights for the ethnic Chinese, the mass of petty-bourgeois Hoa would still seek to emigrate. There are basically economic, rather than political, factors at work.

What has happened in Vietnam is that a whole social layer has become superfluous—as has been the case in every revolution. Even though the American Revolution was a political and not a social transformation, thousands of penniless Tory refugees fled the country from among the *one-third* of the population loyal to Britain. And the Russian and French Revolutions turned their respective ruling classes into embittered emigrés. So too in Vietnam is the fundamental source of the emigration economic.

As Leninists we uphold the democratic right of individuals in the deformed/degenerated workers states (USSR, China, Eastern Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, North Korea) to

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Drop the Charges, But

No Censorship of "Cruising"!

Cruising, latest project of Hollywood director William Friedkin (*The French Connection*, *The Exorcist*), has been the target of angry demonstrations and sabotage of actors and crew during its on-location shooting in New York City. With the Shachtmanite, neo-New Leftists of the Revolutionary Socialist League taking the lead, gay protesters say *Cruising* (the plot involves a mass murderer of homosexuals set in the "heavy leather, S&M" gay bars of the West Village) is "creepy," "the people in it have no humanity," it is simply a "snuff movie"—and they want to drive it off "their turf." Protesters have been severely beaten and arrested by the New

York cops. We demand that all charges be dropped and protest the beatings—which the corrupt thugs in blue are always happy to hand out to any homosexuals they can catch (a lesson some of the younger protesters, more used to playing softball with the police, have suddenly learned).

But we oppose attempts to censor or stop this movie: whether through calls on NYC's racist Mayor Koch to revoke the film's shooting permit or through "mass action," such attempts are fundamentally anti-democratic and downright dangerous. *Cruising* is a piece of fiction, entertainment; not real life—a distinction which unfortunately much of the left in this country seems unable to comprehend. Admittedly, producer Jerry Weintraub's "moral" justification for this movie is outrageous. After seeing *Cruising*, he says, "Maybe when a young man who is gay gets off the plane from Omaha, he... won't get killed at the Anvil" (*Soho Weekly News*, 2 August). No, maybe he'll just stay home and get queer-baited or even beaten to death by the local punks—the normal expectation of open homosexuals in America. Regardless of what one thinks of the "leather scene," a casual passerby is far safer in the Village than uptown on 42nd Street (or in some of New York's subway stations), because what goes on downtown is essentially consensual sex.

A lot of homosexuals would like to hide the "seamy side" of gay life—the gay activists protesting say they are sick and tired of being portrayed as weirdos, criminals, victims and bizarre freaks in the popular media. They have a point—

but who *isn't* sick of it? The stereotypes of popular culture (of blacks and women too, of everybody in fact—even white heterosexual WASP males occasionally must get tired of John Wayne/Clint Eastwood macho) flow from the social reality of racist, repressive, decaying capitalist society. But as homosexual author John Rechy puts it ("A Case for Cruising," *Village Voice*, 6 August), the answer is not to show "our oppressors how happy they've made us" by embracing the stereotypes of "success" in bourgeois society. One recalls those early sixties Sidney Poitier movies about the impeccably-clad/Harvard neurosurgeon/cognoscenti of Italian movies and French wines "who just happens to be a..." you-know-what (black, in this case. But why not homosexual?)

All those well-meaning liberal "positive images" didn't do anything to stop the pain and horror of racial oppression in this country. Sidney Poitier is not the answer to an America which produced D.W. Griffith's pro-Ku Klux Klan *Birth of a Nation*. Nor will stopping *Cruising* overcome the deep-rooted prejudice against "deviant" sex. The illusion that censoring popular culture (which homosexuals or blacks can't do anyhow) will end oppression must be smashed. The shadows cast on movie screens are not the enemy. The enemy is the social institutions and authorities (from President Jimmy "life is not fair" Carter on down) which perpetuate the real suffering, degradation and exploitation of "deviants," the poor, minorities, the powerless and the working class: capitalist society. ■

Young Spartacus

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The Class-Struggle Road to Chicano Liberation

LOS ANGELES—Approximately 150 people attended what was billed as a "Statewide Conference" of the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA)* held at Cal State L.A. on July 14-15. The deepening recession, increased racist attacks and the bitter strike of the *United Farm Workers union* pose the question point blank to Chicano students: what strategy can win liberation? But instead of seeking a wide-ranging debate the conference organizers let it be known from the very start that this was going to be a tightly controlled affair.

When the *Spartacus Youth League* arrived at the conference 15-20 members of the (pro-"gang of four" Maoist) *Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB)* were engaged in a stand-off with supporters of the (pro-Hua Guofeng Maoist) *Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CP[M-L])* and the *League for Revolutionary Struggle*. The *RCYB* was picketing the *CP[M-L]*-dominated meeting on the steps leading to the conference room. As the *SYL* tried to enter the building to set up a literature table the *CP[M-L]* goon squad barred our way and told us that we would not be allowed to bring our literature inside. As we backed away from a potential physical confrontation that might have led to cop interference with the conference, the goon squad at the door linked arms and went after the *RCYB*. A full-blown fist-fight ensued which was broken up eventually by the police.

While the contending Maoist groups may have come to blows (the usual Stalinist way of "settling" political disputes within the workers movement) neither faction stands for a program of class struggle. All the Maoists fall into step behind *MEChA's* minimalist, reformist program and its petty-bourgeois nationalism. The *SYL* alone sought to bring to the conference the revolutionary alternative: Trotskyism, the program that neither the Maoists nor the *MEChA* leadership could risk confronting.

Reprinted below is an abridged version of the leaflet distributed by the Los Angeles *SYL* to the conference participants.

In the wake of nationwide cutbacks in education Chicano students face increasingly difficult conditions at colleges throughout the country. Minority admissions have been drastically cut and financial aid funds contracted, while tuition and living costs continue to soar. This situation, along with the inadequate training received at impoverished barrio high schools, drives many Chicano youth out of college long before they can complete a degree. And then with or without a diploma there are no jobs for many once out of school.

These cutbacks are not isolated but are part of the attacks on the living standards of the entire working class. While Carter's vicious program of austerity deals its harshest blows on blacks and Latinos it is also aimed at curbing the power and independence of the trade unions—because these organizations, though they are today misled by a conservative pro-capitalist leadership, nevertheless represent the potential instruments for decisive struggle against capitalist austerity and oppression.

Carter and the capitalist class who are responsible for this decaying economic

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

Fight for Open Admissions!

Like many other leftist and minority student organizations, the *SYL* actively campaigned against the racist Bakke

existence in the balance. Fighting off scabs, the cops and the KKK, the combative strikers have proven their own tactics a thousand times more effective than any consumer boycott in keeping scab produce off the market. If these tactics were extended in a California-wide shutdown—aided by the "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) of scab produce by transport workers—the strike could be over and won.

But Cesar Chavez & Co. have deeply undercut the strike by their open class collaboration with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), or "la migra," and their liberal/pacifist scheme for an ineffective boycott of Chiquita bananas. Chavez' May 1st call upon the INS to police the struck fields and

class-struggle caucuses in the trade unions which are politically supported by the *SL/SYL* have consistently fought against deportations and INS harassment. It is scandalous that groups like the *League for Revolutionary Struggle* and the *Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)* and their supporters in the unions have uncritically tailed after Chavez and refuse to oppose his deportation policies simply because Chavez is popular. But *MEChA*, too, is silent on the question! Chavez' dangerous policy must be repudiated!

Chicanos and the National Question

Like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, the *SL/SYL* defends the democratic right of

Kenny Goodman



SYL defends UFW strike, condemns Chavez' support to "la migra." MEChA is silent on deportations.

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

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

Huelga Si, Migra No! Victory to the UFW Strike!

The *UFW* went on strike to smash Carter's wage guidelines; now this class battle has turned into a major test of strength for the union, putting its very

deport undocumented workers has simply provided these government thugs with a green light to step-up harassment and deportation of all undocumented workers. The capitalist government is no friend of the farm workers! And yet Chavez turns time and again to Sacramento to plead for the good auspices of Jerry Brown and the Democratic Party which is tied by a thousand strings to the agribusiness barons and their cops.

On campuses throughout the state the *SYL* has posed the urgent need for student support of the *UFW* strike. Last winter, we conducted a speaking tour featuring an eyewitness account of the fierce picket-line battles near Calexico. On February 28 the *SYL* initiated a united-front demonstration at the University of California at Los Angeles, but in the heat of the class struggle in the Imperial Valley, *MEChA* was too involved in the parochial activities of "La Raza Week" to even send a contingent to the picket line. And at the University of California at Santa Cruz the *SYL* organized contingents in several strike support rallies demonstrating our unconditional support of the strike while strongly denouncing Chavez' bloc with "la migra" against undocumented workers.

The *SL/SYL* alone has a long history of opposing deportation policies, whether they are advocated by racist reactionaries or well-known union bureaucrats like Chavez. Likewise,

self-determination for oppressed nationalities; but also like Lenin's Bolsheviks, we vigorously oppose nationalism. A revolutionary party must be a tribune of the people—of all the oppressed—or it will sink into fighting for the demands of only one oppressed group at the expense of another.

The significant presence of a Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest conquered from Mexico makes the Chicano national question a genuine one where Leninists must raise the demand for the right of self-determination. If the Chicanos in areas where they are a majority desire to become part of the Mexican nation, the *SL/SYL* as internationalists would support that decision. However, most Chicanos do not want to return to present day Mexico because the standard of living is lower. Thus, the demand for a separate Chicano nation has arisen; for a so-called "Aztlan" which never existed except in the minds of the petty-bourgeoisie and the reformists who tail them. A revolutionary workers government would seek to correct the historic injustices which are the legacy of past imperialist aggression against Latin America by transferring a substantial section of the border areas back to Mexico. Furthermore, as advocates of equality between all nations we support making the Southwest into a bilingual cultural area.

But while recognizing the national

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

Ernest Mandel: We Challenge You to a Debate

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

One month later the USec's "fraternal" section in Iran, the HKS, along with all other left and secular organizations, was illegal, its press banned, its leaders in jail. Mandel & Co. have blood on their hands. Their criminal politics have paved the way for Khomeini's slaughter of thousands of Kurds and the executions of leftists. The HKS may pay the ultimate price for class betrayal as their members face death in the shah's torture chambers taken over by the mullahs. All of a sudden the USec is now waging an international campaign to

save the HKSers, but when Kurds were facing firing squads the USec was silent. Today the USec may be singing a new tune, but they will not escape responsibility for their past. Ernest Mandel has much to answer for in the court of the international workers movement.

We reprint below a debate challenge which was distributed at the seminar on July 31. It still stands.

Ernest Mandel, you claim to stand in the tradition of Trotskyism, the struggle for revolutionary Marxism in our epoch. But you share the same relationship to Trotsky as the later Karl Kautsky did to Marx. The "United Secretariat" of which you are a foremost spokesman represents a collection of unprincipled opportunists who have capitulated within their national terrains to the dominant pressures of non-proletarian forces: in Latin America to guerrillaism; in Western Europe to the popular front; in China and Indochina to Stalinism; and in the United States to the imperialist American bourgeoisie. Your supporters in the Socialist Workers Party, who call upon the U.S. army, drenched in the blood of their rapacious counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam, to defend black civil rights in Boston are no different from the British "Labour Party" of Callaghan and Wilson which sent its imperialist troops to the last vestige of British colonialism, North Ireland, under the guise of "defending" civil rights. Your invitation to teach a course on the "Marxist Theory of the Bourgeois State" in Boston is equivalent

to giving Callaghan or Lord Wilson an academic platform in Belfast to lecture on "Socialism and the National Question."

But your opportunism has reached a new low in regard to Iran. In Iran you tailed not the Kerenskys and the Chiang Kai-sheks who at least in some fashion appeared as advocates of the bourgeois revolution, but the forces who openly proclaimed their intention to establish a theocratic state, the Black Hundreds of Iran. You and the "USec" attempted to propagate the lie that democratic freedoms would be honored under the "Islamic Republic," that the "inevitable radicalization" would bring the left to power ("After Khomeini, Us?"). But Khomeini made his intentions perfectly clear. He hated the communists more than the shah. His supporters marched through the streets chanting "Death or the veil!", "Death to the communists!" demanding one nation under Islam.

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

Now Khomeini is wielding his "sword of Islam" against the left, the workers

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

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

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Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Sept. 14-Oct. 19

The latest issue of *Workers Vanguard* launches the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League's annual subscription drive to be held September 14-October 19. Quotas totaling 2,800 points are projected on the basis of last year's highly successful drive. In addition to selling WV subs, the drive will aim at expanding

the subscription bases of *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution* and at expanding bookstore placements. This year's sub drive will also be an important part of the recruitment campaign discussed in *Young Spartacus* No. 73 (May) and will coincide with a heavy schedule of public forums and regional tours.



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

Interview with Iranian Militant

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

YSp: Fareed, tell us something about your personal history.

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

YSp: What led to your arrest?

Fareed: We were a group of five people in the city that I am talking about and there was a person who was a link between the core of the Mojahdeen and our group. He was well known by SAVAK [the shah's murderous secret police] and so he was supposed to escape so that nobody would capture him—he knew everything about the group. But

he was acting stupidly. After he was supposed to run away he went to his brother-in-law's store and was just sitting there. He was captured like a piece of cake. Then he told [SAVAK] about the group and the whole business of the city. When he was captured a friend of mine who was active in this circle was captured too. So I fled to the northern part of Iran for a month and lived there. But after I didn't hear anything from my friends who were still active, I thought maybe the damage was done and I went back to my city.

We were planning to destroy the main strategic parts of the city. I remember that I had a map of the electric generators. But that was just in preparation, we didn't have any forecast of what we were going to do in six months or so. But after a few weeks I was captured too.

YSp: What did you believe you were fighting for at this time?

Fareed: I believed first of all that I was fighting for the god and then for people, poor people.

YSp: Why did you begin to change your mind about Islam?

Fareed: In Persia we have an old philosopher and he has a saying. Someone asked him, "How did you become polite, how did you learn to become polite?" He said: "I learned it from impolite people." Which is very cute because it shows how you can learn from the contradictions of an ideology.

There was, is, a very famous person in the jail. He was the father of Shariati—a well-known intellectual of the reli-

gious people, Muslims, back home. His father was in jail and there were also some Marxists there. They would have arguments with him and he was short in answer. So I would ask him to teach me something so that I could argue [against the Marxists] and win. But he would say things that would not help. That was the first shot.

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

After I came out of jail I went to see Jaafrai personally. I was even more disappointed—he was just a man ruling in a room full of books, but stupid as a donkey. I wanted him to tell me why I should believe in god. He started swearing at the Russian type of government and communism. He said: "I would love to put a tape recorder someplace and let the communists talk with me and then show it to you, and then you could listen and see how weak they are." He didn't give me anything. Then he referred me to another famous

person. After I saw him I decided I wasn't going to be a religious person anymore because in order to be religious I had to believe, not to choose with my knowledge. So that was it.

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

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

YSp: What do you hear from your friends in Iran at the present time?

Fareed: I had a very large telephone bill
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SYL FORUMS

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—Build a Workers Party!**

**Hate Carter,
Hate Capitalism!**

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University of Indiana
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Building
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For information: (312) 427-0003

Boston

Harvard University
Wednesday, September 26
Sever Hall, Room 6
For information: (617) 492-3928

Chicago

Northwestern University
Friday, October 5
Wheadon United Methodist Church
2214 Ridge Road, Sherin Hall
Evanston, Illinois
7:30 PM
For information: (312) 427-0003

University of Chicago

Thursday, October 18
Library, Ida Noyes Hall
7:30 PM
For information: (312) 427-0003

Detroit

Wayne State University
Wednesday, October 10
For information: (313) 868-9095

Irvine

University of California at Irvine
Wednesday, October 3
Room 203 (above bookstore)
7:30 PM
For information: (213) 662-1564

Los Angeles

University of California at Los Angeles
Wednesday, October 17
Room 3564 Ackerman Hall
12 Noon
For information: (213) 662-1564

Pittsburgh

University of Pittsburgh
Thursday, October 11
Room 519 Schenley Hall
7:30 PM
For information: (216) 621-5138

Santa Barbara

University of California at Santa Barbara
Wednesday, October 10
2271 U Cen
7:30 PM
For information: (213) 662-1564

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

**For Workers Revolution
in Iran!**

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Monday, September 24
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Boston

University of Massachusetts/Amherst
Wednesday, September 19
Room 168-170 Campus Center
7:30 PM
For information: (617) 492-3928

East Lansing

Michigan State University
Tuesday, September 25
For information: (313) 868-9095

Madison

University of Wisconsin
Thursday, September 27
Memorial Union
7:30 PM
For information: (312) 427-0003

Oberlin

Oberlin College
Wednesday, September 19
Wilder YM Lounge
7:30 PM
For information: (216) 621-5138

**Cuba, Nicaragua—What
Strategy for Revolution in
Latin America?**

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University of California at Davis
Tuesday, October 2
For information: (415) 835-1535

Santa Cruz

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

Los Angeles

California State/Los Angeles
Wednesday, October 10
Library Basement 554
12 Noon
For information: (213) 662-1564

San Francisco

San Francisco State University
Thursday, October 4
Room B112-113 Student Union
12 Noon
For information: (415) 835-1535

Outrage!

Carter's Delegate

Young Spartacus Interview

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

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

opened calling on the delegates to disinvite Jimmy Carter since I do not believe that the CWA should be used as a platform to further his anti-labor, strike-breaking policies.

Later in the afternoon the Secret Service approached me—this was about an hour before Carter was scheduled to address the convention—and they said they wanted to question me in a back room. I told them that I was not going to be questioned by the Secret Service without a lawyer. A few minutes later as I was walking around the convention floor looking for legal advice, the Secret Service started following me—and all of a sudden four or six of them surrounded me. I said I was not going to go with them for questioning without a lawyer—and then they grabbed me, one on each side, and started dragging me out of the convention.

YSp: This happened right inside the hall?

Jane: Yes, people at the back of the convention hall could see it. It was right on the convention floor and there were a lot of delegates who saw the whole thing happen.

YSp: What happened next?

Jane: Once they got me outside the convention floor they handcuffed me,

Workers Vanguard.

even frisk me, they did not search my purse which was on the convention floor. The only thing I had on me was my pencil and my notebook, which they took and looked at. It was very clear that what they were attempting to do was silence me, intimidate me and intimidate the other delegates.

YSp: So in effect, you were being held in this back room incommunicado?

Jane: Right. I asked to have a lawyer, I told them that I would not submit to questioning without a lawyer and I also asked to make a telephone call which they also denied me.

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

Jane: No, no reason at all.

YSp: How did you get released?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jane: Carter's policies are not popular with the American working class. It is well known that he used Taft-Hartley against the miners strike in 1978, and he threatened to use it against our own possible strike in 1977. All of us workers are having to live under wage freezes and price inflation. He has the lowest rating of any president—lower than Nixon—and what we had here was the possibility of a lot of visible discontent with the Carter administration. So the Watts bureaucracy and the Carter administration and the Secret Service goons were going to do anything they could to avoid any political criticism



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

Young Spartacus spoke with Jane Margolis in mid-August:

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

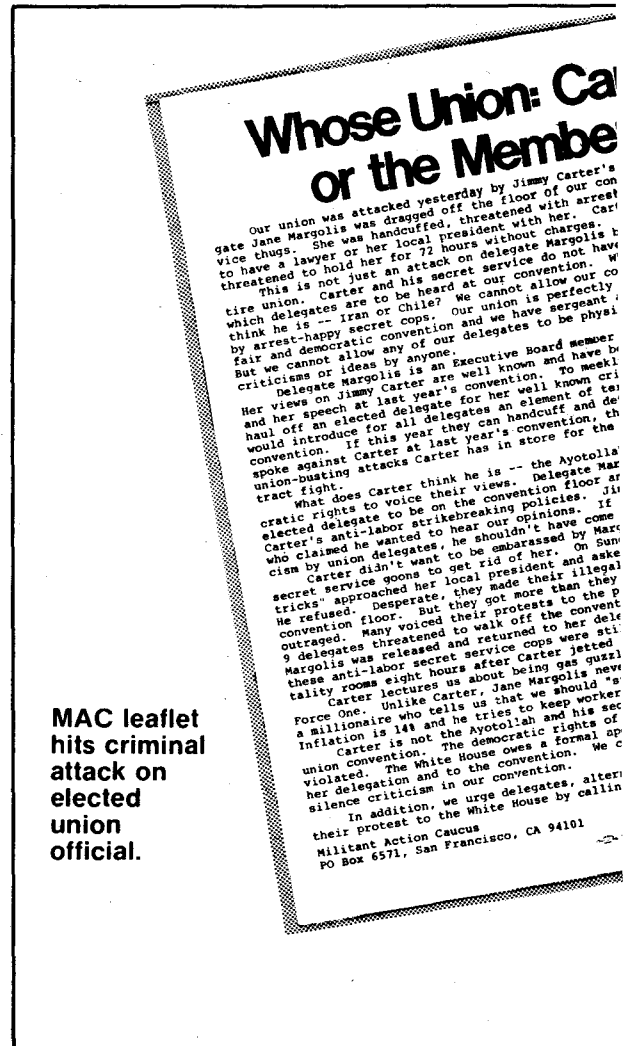
Jane: I'm an elected executive board member from the San Francisco Local 9410 and this is the second year that I have been elected to go the national convention of the CWA. This year the [CWA international president Glenn] Watts bureaucracy invited Jimmy Carter to speak on the first day of the convention. I had planned on making a motion as soon as the convention

told me I was under arrest and took me into a back room.

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

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

Now this charge was just totally absurd, it was ludicrous. They didn't



MAC leaflet hits criminal attack on elected union official.

coming from the floor of the convention.

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

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

Jane: No, and this was no accident. I was released from the back room about 40 minutes before President Carter was scheduled to address the convention. Delegates were being told the procedure that would be used to ask him questions: it was going to be the first 20 delegates that got in line. I ran to a microphone and I was delegate number 16—my name was listed as one of the 20 delegates who would be able to ask President Carter a question. But when the president was done with delegate number 12, after only 55 minutes, he cut off all questioning.

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

Outrage...

(continued from page 7)

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

For CWA Convention Delegates ELECT

- JANE MARGOLIS**
 - '78 Convention Delegate
 - Exec. Board Member
- PAUL COSTAN**
 - Steward
 - 5 Years in Plant Dept.
- DIANA COLEMAN**
 - 6 Years in Plant Dept.



Paul Costan Jane Margolis Diana Coleman

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

Vote MAC Slate Only!

we can bring a halt to communications. But the union leadership that we have now defends the profits of the phone company, defends the interests of the phone company and will do anything to keep the membership controlled, to not use class-struggle tactics that are needed to bring victory to the phone workers. We must get this union off its knees: we need a new leadership in this union, a leadership that will fight instead of kowtowing to the company.

The company has tried to silence us. They have attempted to keep MAC literature outside of the company's buildings and they have fired a number of our members. In 1975 I was framed up and fired for 16 months. The union, though, was successful in winning my job back. We had built a defense committee, mobilized large union meetings, circulated petitions—we led a

campaign to get my job back. And I was rehired in 1976.

YSp: It's very unusual for someone to beat Ma Bell; do you know of any other cases like yours?

Jane: They are very, very rare. Most people when they get fired from the phone company decide not to come back—the working conditions are extremely oppressive and the union is weak. Many people give up and they seek work elsewhere. But we are not going to give up. We have seen that the members, in watching us over the last eight years, believe in our determination to stay and fight. They have seen that what we have predicted over the years has come true in terms of the company's attempts to automate our jobs away, to break the back of the union. They see that we are the people that have the strategy to rebuild the CWA into a strong, militant union. Our eight years of fighting it out against the company, having to fight for our existence to stay in the union, has begun to pay off—the rank-and-file membership around the country are being able to see that it's possible to win against Ma Bell.

YSp: You've been successful in a number of other battles for the rights of the union membership.

Jane: Yes. For example a number of years ago some local union leaders put forth an amendment to the CWA constitution that would have allowed the union leadership to bring up on charges and discipline anyone who brought the union into "disrepute" by saying "untruths." It was really an attempt to purge the union of any militants, of any dissidents. They used some of MAC's literature where we had said that the union leadership collaborates with the company and that they have sold us out in several strikes as examples of so-called "untruths." They wanted to be able to kick us out of the union.

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

YSp: What other kinds of issues has MAC been involved in?

Jane: We see that the unions can be a powerful force in fighting for the working class and for all the oppressed. A couple of years ago there was an incredible racist police action organized

"Not One More Cent for Kneeling to the Phone Company"

reprinted from Daily Proceedings and Reports, 40th Annual Convention of the CWA, 13 June 1978

DELEGATE JANE S. MARGOLIS (Local 9410): I am speaking against the Phillips amendment. I am opposed to any dues increase. I would be for a dues increase if we had seen action to defend our members.

The main reason we are in this bind today in our union is the loss of jobs. Everyone knows that a hundred thousand jobs have been lost in the last four years.

I'd be for a dues increase if we had had a national strike which would have won real job security for our members, which would have stopped the company offensive to reduce the work force.

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

But I know where the money will go. It will go to more of the same. Layoffs have not been opposed under this leadership. There has been an increase of firings. We have not been able to stop absence control. And money is going into supporting strike-breakers, anti-labor politicians, Jimmy Carter who brought the Taft-Hartley against the miners' strike, who were fighting for the right to strike and for health care. (Applause)

Money is going into anti-labor politicians who threatened to use the troops against the upcoming mail strike. And Jimmy Carter actually threatened to use the Taft-Hartley against a national phone strike.

So I am for money to build a strong, militant union, but not one more cent for inaction and kneeling to the Phone Company. (Applause and "Boos")

by the then-mayor of San Francisco, Joe Alioto. He proposed that all blacks carry around South Africa-type ID cards, and under Operation Zebra blacks were stopped, frisked, searched and arrested on the streets at will. We fought for our local to hold a labor demonstration against Operation Zebra. We want to get other locals in the CWA, and other unions also, to see the necessity of forming labor/black defense guards against the Klan and Nazi attacks that have been increasing in the last few years. It is crucial that the union movement participate in, organize and lead movements against the racist mobilization that's been occurring.

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

YSp: There have been other oppositional groupings in the CWA, but they have come and gone. Why is that the case?

Jane: There was an organization called the United Action Caucus, for example, that was around for a couple of years. They had a very bad political track record. In New York, for instance, they supported Ed Dempsey as an "alternative" to the incumbent local leadership. He is now the New York Local 1101 president and he has reduced the number of local meetings to twice a year, he has stopped any attempts to elect shop stewards and he has attempted to decertify any steward in political opposition to him. The United Action Caucus (like Final Warning which was a caucus supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party) had a policy of supporting whoever they thought was a "lesser evil" candidate. But none of these people ran on a political program of opposition to the sell-out policies of the International leadership. These groupings were not able to stand up to the pressure of the International and were not able to see through the various "oppositionists" who were really no different than the people they replaced.

YSp: In addition to the campaign against what happened to you at this year's convention, what else will MAC be involved in?

Jane: We want to continue our fight for the local right to strike, for a national strike when our contract expires in August 1980, for the election of shop stewards, for 24-hour company-provided child care. We want to stop the reform school conditions in the phone company. We will continue our campaign to break all union ties with the reactionary CIA-backed AIFLD [American Institute for Free Labor Development]. Most importantly we will continue to attempt to break the labor movement and the CWA from backing the Democratic Party and to fight instead for the formation of a workers party independent from the bosses' political parties.

We want a union that will be able to fight the phone company, but the present leadership is in the hip pocket of the company and of the bosses' politicians. We are contacting delegates all around the country in our fight to build a national oppositional caucus, to spread the Militant Action Caucus so we can get rid of the current sell-out leadership and build a strong, militant CWA. ■

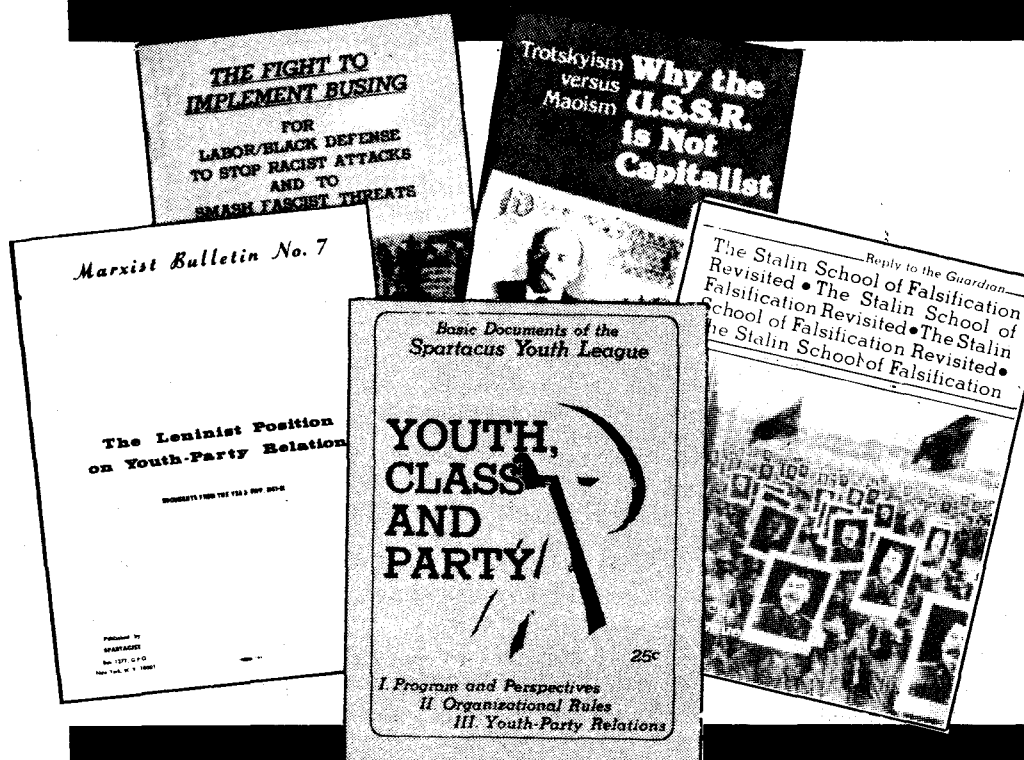
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Iranian Militant...

(continued from page 5)

last time because I have been talking with friends back home. They are saying that things are out of hand: there is Khomeini, there are Islamic committees, Bazargan and Yazdi and everyone is playing his own song and nobody knows who the ruler is. My friend told me about one incident—he was an eyewitness—for example. They beat an army sergeant and the next day they executed him. But the day after word came from the capitol: he was sentenced to two years and two months in prison. So I could go on and on with examples but this is the situation back home.

YSp: Is it true that the Islamic komitehs have been used to break strikes and attack the workers?

Fareed: Yes. They have used the power given to them because they are not responsible to anyone. Every time a leftist movement goes on or a workers movement wants to do something they just rush in and beat them up—it happened again about ten days ago actually—and sometimes it ends up in shooting. They do it every opportunity they get.

YSp: What specific example do you know of from ten days ago?

Fareed: Khomeini closed down one of the comparatively militant newspapers and then he closed four others. He issued an order that every newspaper which writes anything against the government will be closed down. So people started demonstrations against the government and against this order. The Islamic groups came in and started saying "Allah Akbar" which means "god is the greatest." And so there was a collision and shooting and a number of [leftists] were beaten up and some were wounded. This was just ten days ago.

YSp: We've heard that there's been a split in the Fedayeen group. Do you know anything about that?

Fareed: This is not a new thing, it happened four months ago. It has reached an explosion point over the constituent assembly [Assembly of Experts]. The leader of this split is Ashraf Dehghani. She is very well

known, she has been one of the Fedayeen leaders for years. She has been in jail, but she successfully escaped.

She was being very critical of the Fedayeen for implicitly supporting the government. When several of their comrades were captured by a komiteh they would appeal to the government to release them. Ashraf was from the beginning critical of this, saying that they shouldn't recognize the government by appealing to it. And when the constituent assembly started she said the Fedayeen not only must not support the government, but has to attack the government's position because the only thing they have been doing is capturing their comrades—doing nothing in the country except terror and executions. Nobody knows what's going to happen the next day. So this is the cause of the split.

YSp: What about the status of women in Iran?

Fareed: In Islam women are treated as inferior. There are tons and tons of stories told in the Koran which explicitly put the women inferior to men. Islamic rule can't differ from their orders, from their holy books. So the women are suffering.

I know that in some cities in the south women who didn't want to wear the veil were beaten up. I know some of them personally. Some women wear the veil from fear of being beaten up, from fear of being pointed out by everybody on the street, especially the komiteh men. They don't have the freedom to choose. When they say to the public or if they say to Khomeini's representatives that we want the freedom to wear or not wear the veil, the only alternative Khomeini thinks of is to go nude. So Khomeini goes on TV and says women who don't want to wear the veil want to go out nude and we don't allow this in an Islamic Republic. Which is a very dirty thing to say about women.

YSp: Press reports last week quoted the secretary of the Kurdish Democratic Party as equating the Khomeini regime with the shah's and the secretary added that "the only difference is that during the Pahlavi regime they did not kill innocent people so ruthlessly." What do you think of such comparisons?

Fareed: Khomeini under his turban is killing and executing and putting the

label of the Islamic Republic on it and people are so confused that they can't decide who to turn against. The shah's face was known to everybody, people knew the enemy in the shah. Some people still have some faith in Khomeini and this is much worse. I have discussions with people and they ask me if Khomeini is good and I say he is terrible. They say, "Do you like the shah?" and I say, "No, it's the problem of bad and worse. I don't like any of them." So we should make clear that we are not talking for the shah and against Khomeini.

I know that the Turkoman people, the Arabs in the south, the Kurds are against Khomeini. They had wanted just a cultural independence, not to be humiliated by Persian chauvinism. And people revolted against the shah and the government not only because of the political oppression he enforced but also because of the economic backwardness of the country. But nothing has changed. The political oppression is going from bad to worse and the economic situation is just awful from the things I hear from my friends who are active.

YSp: How would you characterize your politics at the present time?

Fareed: I am inclined towards Trotskyism. When they were trying to get rid of the shah he was being replaced by mullahs. I was furious just seeing all these so-called leftist groups following Khomeini and the mullahs. I was looking for some group which would raise slogans against the mullahs. And sure enough it was there—the Spartacist League, which raised the slogan "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" It was the first true militant slogan I had heard. So this is why I got in contact with the SL and have been following their line.

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

Fareed: The first task would be to build a party in Iran. You need a true Trotskyist line. I believe that the two-stage revolution theory which is the prevailing theory among the left in Iran just gives the bourgeoisie the opportunity to adapt the workers to the situation, not to give the worker the opportunity to raise the class slogans which should have been raised from the beginning.

I would demand not nominal, but real equality in terms of women's rights. The right to choose any profession they want, to wear whatever they want, to have free relations, sexual or other, with whomever they want and to have the right to get a divorce because they don't have it in Islam. In Islam the men have the right to divorce women, not the women to divorce men. And women should have the right to practice their political beliefs like men do.

I wouldn't want to be sentimental. Sometimes when I am sleeping and thinking about what should be done I just picture all the mullahs being lined up. But I am also considering all those wasted bullets. The mullahs could have their own religious beliefs as an idea, but they have to work. I would force the ayatollahs, an ayatollah is a high mullah, to work on the farms or to live in the ghettos. Now they don't work at all, they are fed by the people. They go and say prayers and they are paid by the workers and the middle classes. So I wouldn't allow them not to work and just sit there. I would exile them from the holy cities to some deserts and some camps to work and to know what the workers feel. After that I would ask them, "How do you preach now? What do you think about being a thief? What do you think about being a 'sinner'?"

YSp: A short time ago a leftist Iranian in this country who had participated in the disruption of one of the SYL forums on Iran, a person who had supported Khomeini at that time, told us that he had been wrong and that we had been right about Khomeini all along. Many Iranian militants are now having doubts about their strategy of tailing the mullahs. What would you say to these people?

Fareed: I would remind them of the amount of indignation they had toward the slogan "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" The leftist groups would just go crazy. Leftist groups who just don't want to sit and be passive and stick to their own line and be prejudiced against other lines—they know that the situation today has proven the fact that we had the true line from the start.

If you are a scientific thinker, if you are a Marxist, you don't just follow history, you predict it to a great extent. You have a line and you can predict pretty much what is going to happen. Also you can evaluate your line when a special important event occurs. Iran is a very good example of the necessity of maintaining one scientific line from the beginning and not hopping from one line to another, not giving in to your thoughts of the moment. When you were raising this slogan they were against you fully. Now they are starting to believe it more and more. I have some letters from friends back home that say they are supporters of that line and have started raising "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" So I would say this would be a good experience for any Marxist—to know the difference between a hard line, the correct principled line, and a shaky line which follows history, not predicts it. ■

Boat People...

(continued from page 2)

immigrate/emigrate except where the exercise of that right would represent a direct threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have no confidence that the Stalinist bureaucracies (including Vietnam's) will safeguard the rights of national/racial minorities and we are against all forms of bureaucratic favor-

itism and discrimination. Nevertheless a total or partial ban on emigration could be necessary under circumstances of acute economic difficulties or military mobilization.

For example, the bloc between Zionists and anti-Soviet American reactionaries maintains that the "head tax" restriction on Russian-Jewish emigration to Israel is a manifestation of bureaucratic anti-Semitism pure and simple. Although the ethnic oppression

of Jews in the USSR is real, the restriction on emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union is also a reflection—distorted through the stranglehold of the bureaucracy—of a legitimate concern: the need to preserve the resources expended on the education of potential emigrants and to prevent the drain of trained professionals and intellectuals.

Usually the big hue and cry is precisely that the USSR and its allies are preventing emigration, but the imperialist "concern" over the boat people is raised, ironically, because Hanoi is not preventing the mass exodus. Of course there was no big campaign when last May alone some 48,000 illegal immigrants entered Hong Kong from the U.S.' new ally China. And the victims of right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina, for example, did not find the U.S. government extending a helping hand to them.

While the Joan Baez liberals line up with spokesmen for the mass murderers of imperialism, Trotskyists unconditionally defend Vietnam and all the degenerated and deformed workers states from imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution—the expropriation of the capitalists and the centralized, planned economies (even though bureaucratically deformed) represent a historic social gain. Only victorious socialist revolution throughout the capitalist world—and political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracies from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi—can end both the pressures of decaying imperialism and the narrow nationalist policies of the Stalinists. ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

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Ann Arbor: SYL, Box 89, Room 4102 Michigan Union, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, or call (313) 663-9012

Bay Area: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 863-6963

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

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Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 925-5665

San Diego: SYL, Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92012

Santa Cruz: SYL, Box 2842, Santa Cruz, CA 95063, or call (408) 462-3769

Trotskyist League of Canada

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

Pinochet coup in Chile, trying to focus protests on freeing imprisoned Communist leader Corvalán. The iSt, which defended Corvalán, also pointed out that the Chilean CP's call for confidence in the "constitutional" officer corps and their support to the Allende Popular Front paved the way for bloody counterrevolution. Again today we point the finger of guilt. The HKS' present plight was prepared by their own criminal policy. *The HKS members are not just martyrs—they are sacrificial victims of the USec's support for Khomeini.* USec, SWP, HKS—Ernest Mandel, Jack Barnes and the rest: you have committed a crime for which you will be held responsible. You must live with it because your comrades may die for it.

Smacked in the face by the reality of the events in Iran the USec is now desperately trying to shift its line—hoping that nobody will notice. From out of the blue *Socialist Challenge* (30 August), newspaper of the British International Marxist Group, proclaims in bold letters across its back page, "White Terror in Iran," and announces "Khomeini has become the Shah of Iran." The IMG carefully neglects to inform us how this reactionary regime came to replace Khomeini's "progressive" rule which it applauded only yesterday. Similarly *Rouge* (24-30 August), published by the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, makes up a story about Khomeini's "coup de force." Against himself?

For its part the U.S. Socialist Workers Party is also moving (albeit much more slowly and partially) to dissociate itself from the bloody ayatollah. In the *Militant* (7 September) they write:

"Khomeini's moves against the Iranian working people...lead him toward subordination to U.S. imperialism, in spite of the anti-imperialist posture he has tried to adopt up to now."

But it was the SWP which was the foremost con man on the American left for Khomeini's "anti-imperialist posture." Less than one year ago the SWP was hailing Khomeini as "progressive":

"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 and the Shah's 'modernization' is progressive."
—*Militant*, 17 November 1978

The SWP is so ensconced in its cocoon

of bourgeois-democratic illusions that it doesn't understand that Khomeini's religious ideology is his political program: i.e., an Islamic fundamentalist theocracy based on Great Persian chauvinism and the moral codes of desert bedouins.

When the iSt told the truth about what the victory of Islamic reaction would mean and raised the slogan "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" the SWP claimed that we were "blinded by sectarianism" and "chauvinist"—this from an outfit which in February 1978 denounced the slogan "Down with the Shah" as being "ultra-

right of self-determination. When members of the guerrillaist Fedayeen were being arrested for their protection of women's demonstrations against the veil and for their active military assistance to the Kurds, the HKS didn't demand an international campaign in their defense. And when the shadowy Forghan Fighters assassinated Ayatollah Motehary in late April and the streets were filled with massive anti-communist demonstrations the HKS rushed into print to "deplore the assassination...and express our sorrow" at the death of this leading member of Khomeini's inner circle.

Reza/Sipa-Black Star



Teheran leftists defend themselves from Islamic thugs. HKS whines it's "opposed to violence."

left" and condemned the call to smash the shah's dictatorship as being mere "wishful thinking"! The real chauvinists were those who refused to do their internationalist duty and warn the Iranian toiling masses that Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" would prove no more progressive than the shah's "White Revolution." In fact, for many sections of the oppressed the rule of the mullahs has already been *more* repressive.

HKS—The Chickens Come Home to Roost

When the Kurds picked up their weapons and entered battle and the going got hot, the HKS unceremoniously ditched the demand for the Kurdish

At every critical juncture, on every crucial issue, the HKS has tried to present its credentials as a loyal social-democratic opposition to the dictatorship of the mullahs. From hailing Khomeini's "victory" to their friendly TV debate with one of the mullahs' mouthpieces to their parliamentary cretinist "Bill of Rights for Workers and Toilers" the HKS has steadfastly refused to take a stand directly against Khomeini and his Islamic Republic. The constant refrain of the HKS has been "No, no, no, we're not like some other groups—we're ever so peaceful. We're no threat to you." And indeed they're not. Even after the arrest of their own comrades by one of Khomeini's komitets the HKS ran in the "election" for the "Assembly of Experts" which was bound by the April "referendum" which put the official seal on Khomeini's Islamic Republic. While many political parties of secular groups and minorities, including all the Arab parties, boycotted the elections, the HKS presented the ludicrous spectacle of self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" campaigning next to mullahs who were arguing whether this or that clause of Khomeini's draft constitution was consistent with the Koran.

Many left parties and individuals, even some of the most cravenly reformist, have courageously stood their ground and fought back in the face of savage repression and imminent death. Surrounded by Franco's forces in 1937 the Spanish Communist Party—which murdered its left-wing opponents and strangled the Spanish revolution—went into battle rather than flee or capitulate without a fight. Another example, following the victory of clerical-fascism the Austrian social-democrats organized an effective underground resistance. But the conduct of the HKS is not even on a par with these betrayers of proletarian revolution.

After the abortive 1905 revolution in Russia had been crushed, Leon Trotsky, president of the St. Petersburg Soviet, stood trial with 51 others on charges

that they were "preparing an armed uprising" against the existing "form of government." Facing almost certain imprisonment and possible execution, Trotsky concluded his defense:

"The power that accuses us invites you, gentlemen of the court, to recognize that the Soviet of Workers' Deputies armed the workers for the direct struggle against the existing 'form of government.' If I were categorically asked—Is that true? I would answer—Yes! Yes, I agree to accept this charge, but on one condition...."

"[I]f I am told that the pogroms, the murders, the incendiary fires, rapes—if I am told that everything which took place in Tver, Rostov, Kursk, Sedlez—if I am told that Kishinev, Odessa, Bialystok, constitute the form of the Russian empire, then I will acknowledge together with the prosecution that during October and November we armed immediately and directly against the form of government of the Russian empire."

—Leon Trotsky Speaks (1972)

Is this the attitude of the HKS when under attack? Not a chance.

The 17 September *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* reprints an open letter from two HKSers currently sentenced to life imprisonment. To the charge of "anti-Islamic activities" the HKSers whine: "Socialists do not fight against religion. We don't think the fight in Iran is between the Marxists and the Muslims.... [S]ocialists are for freedom of religion." Accused of "encouraging armed struggle against the central government" the HKS spits on the murdered Kurdish fighters with their answer: "Socialists struggle peacefully through educational activities around a revolutionary program of action."

Let there be no mistake. The HKS proudly and unabashedly states to the world that they will not fight against Khomeini. The same *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* reprints without comment an article published on 6 September in the Iranian bourgeois daily *Ettela'at*:

"The HKS is not an armed organization and never has been, nor are its members armed. Moreover, they are completely opposed to violence...."

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

Translation: "We didn't sabotage the oil pipelines, maybe the Arab workers did. We don't engage in 'anti-Islamic activities' like some other groups. We don't encourage 'armed struggle against the central government' like the Kurds. Maybe they're guilty...but we're not." That's the disgusting cry of the HKS' innocence.

We Will Not Forget Your Betrayals!

Last fall as the mullah-led opposition gained force, the iSt warned that the Islamic clerics were as reactionary as the butcher shah. But when we said "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" the USec/SWP replied that this was imperialist propaganda, that we were apologists for the shah. In February when we said "Mullahs Win" the SWP proclaimed "Victory in Iran" and denounced the iSt position as "counter-revolutionary." We said "Your comrades may die. But you support Khomeini," and the fake-Trotskyists physically expelled us from "private" picket lines defending the HKS, refusing to march with anyone who doesn't swear fealty to the "imam." You bowed to Khomeini and while you are kneeling the executioner comes along and is about to cut off your heads. So now you want sympathy for your plight.

All those concerned for democratic rights must demand freedom for imprisoned Kurdish partisans, Arab oil workers, HKS members and other leftists, and all victims of Khomeini's reactionary terror. But the working class must never forget those fake-lefts,

Unconditional Military Defense of Cuba!

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

The Senate blow-up over Washington's "discovery" of a 2,000/3,000-strong Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba is the biggest outburst of manufactured imperialist hysteria since Lyndon Johnson's Gulf of Tonkin red herring greased the skids for full-scale U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Yahoo senators introduce resolutions about enforcing the Monroe Doctrine with a big stick. Others call for a return to the days when Kennedy "stood eyeball to eyeball" with the Russkies in the Cuban missile crisis, "and they blinked first." Do something about those Russian troops "or else," the State Department blustered (not very convincingly) to Havana.

Besides, who do they think they're kidding? Who is it that has a genuine foreign military base on Cuban soil? The Americans, of course, at Guantánamo Bay. How would the Pentagon like having Russian warships anchored at

Norfolk, Virginia, just a stone's throw from Washington? Blustering about "Russian aggression" coming from the people who launched the Bay of Pigs invasion and spun endless bizarre plots to assassinate Castro is the height of imperialist arrogance. Irritated by the presence of the Cuban deformed workers state, the sabre-rattling senators want to turn the Caribbean back into an "American lake."

Ultimately, reconquest of all the degenerated/deformed workers states, most crucially the USSR, is the goal of all sections of the American bourgeoisie. In the face of the renewed Cold War bombast coming out of Washington, we insist that Cuba has the right and duty to take all necessary measures—including Soviet troops, planes, missiles and anything else it can get its hands on—to defend itself against bloodthirsty U.S. imperialism. U.S. out of Guantánamo! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism! Down with SALT! ■

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

Even Stalin criticized Chiang Kai-shek after he slaughtered the Communists in the 1927 Shanghai massacre. The USec's sudden discovery that Khomeini is not so progressive after all outdoes Stalin himself in hypocrisy. Chiang Kai-shek claimed to be a revolutionary nationalist and friend of the Russian Revolution when he was courting Stalin's support. But Khomeini stated from the very beginning that he was a reactionary Islamic fundamentalist and Great Persian chauvinist who sought to crush the "satanic communists." The criminal opportunism of the USec over Iran cannot be buried beneath its present (still half-hearted) criticisms and cries for international solidarity for its own supporters in Iran who are as much victims of its own wretched line as they are of capitalist terror. As *Workers Vanguard* (14 September) proclaims: "The rebirth of the Fourth International depends upon burning this betrayal and its consequences into the collective memory of the Marxist movement." ■

Mandel...

(continued from page 4)

militants is a "counterrevolutionary line [which] would seriously jeopardize their defense providing ammunition for the frame-up against them." As a pretext for excluding revolutionists the USec has thrown up a smokescreen of slanders proclaiming "The SL openly states that Iran was better off under the butcher Shah." But you know perfectly well that the Spartacist tendency has vigorously opposed both the shah and Khomeini. It was your comrades in the SWP who opposed the slogan "Down with the Shah" as "ultraleft" (see the *Militant*, 13 January 1978)! This smear technique is a flimsy cover for your own groveling capitulation to Khomeini and the mullahs who now wield state power in Iran. The grotesque spectacle of your supporters chanting "Allah Akbar" [God is Great] in the streets (like Brian Grogan, national secretary of the International Marxist Group) and bemoaning the killing of the reactionary Ayatollah Motahari is no doubt meant to curry favor with the fanatical "imam" and his supporters. But for Khomeini, Marxists are the enemy of god: the only good one is a dead one.

It is easy to sing praises for Khomeini from the classroom. But it is the Iranian masses and your own comrades in Iran who will pay the price. We challenge you to debate a representative of the iSt on "What Strategy for Workers Revolution in Iran?" We were the only ones to tell the truth about Iran and demand

"Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! Workers to Power!" Every piece of news out of Iran daily proves the iSt was 100 percent correct. Will you dispute this on a public platform? ■

Hate Carter...

(continued from page 12)

system where a barrel of oil will be deliberately withheld if it doesn't turn a good enough profit. It will take a workers government that expropriates the financiers, the industrialists and the oil barons to put an end to the irrationalities of capitalism and institute a centralized, planned economy under the democratic control of the working people. A workers government is the only answer that makes sense as workers are being thrown out into the streets in the midst of the worst inflation since 1946.

The working class needs its own political party to lead the fight. And class-struggle militants within the trade-union movement will find heightened interest in their calls for labor to break from the parties of big business and to oust the labor traitors from power in their unions. In the hands of a powerful and resolute labor movement, sectors of the middle class could be attracted to the prospect of a future worth living. Unlike Jimmy Carter & Co., a workers government could deliver the gas.

It is the crisis of leadership of the proletariat, for decades betrayed by the Stalinists and the Social Democrats, which has forestalled the workers revolution. This crisis will be resolved by the leadership of Trotskyist parties around the world, armed not only with a vision of the socialist future—a qualitatively higher level of material and cultural life—but with a program for putting the working class in power.

Jimmy Carter and all the other bourgeois pessimists will be surprised to discover the working class and its allies not only "believing" in the possibility of future progress, but also willing to fight for that future until they win. ■

MEChA...

(continued from page 3)

character of the Chicano question, our primary approach to Chicanos is as intensely-exploited workers whose interests are bound up with the working class as a whole. Cultural nationalists try to discover a romantic purity in segregated barrio life and advocate "community control." But no area of forced segregation where people are compelled to endure a low standard of living can lay the basis for liberation. Chicano nationalists only lend credence to the illusion that the state can be reformed in favor of the oppressed. An example of this is the Texas-based La Raza Unida Party (in reality a pressure group on the Democratic Party), which tells Chicanos that if only enough Chicano judges and sheriffs are elected in Crystal City, Chicanos will "control" their own destiny. The Democratic Party and "lesser evil" electoral strategies have saddled the working class and the oppressed for too long! Instead, the Chicano proletariat as a significant part of the labor movement must fight for such demands as: to organize the unorganized; for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to create jobs for all; for the union hiring hall with jobs dispatched on a first-come, first-served basis; for union-run minority recruitment and upgrading programs; for 24-hour child-care paid for by the company. The working class has enormous social power, but that power can only be channeled in a revolutionary direction if the current pro-capitalist and racist labor bureaucracy is ousted and replaced by a class-struggle leadership which above all stands for the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state, courts, cops and bourgeois parties. Break with all the Democrats—Kennedy, Carter and Brown! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

If the miserable conditions of exploitation and special oppression under

capitalism are finally to be challenged, a revolutionary Trotskyist party is needed—one modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which victoriously led the October 1917 workers revolution in Russia. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League is the nucleus of such a party. The road forward for Chicano militants who want to make a revolution and bring down the capitalist state is within the SL/SYL as communist leaders of the entire working class.

SYL Wins Chicano Militants to a Class-Struggle Strategy

Following a series of hard political discussions with former members of the Santa Cruz MEChA chapter, the SYL won the left wing over to Trotskyism in the past year. What these young militants saw in the SYL was a campus-based communist organization which, nonetheless, does not view students as a revolutionary social group. While students may often be more open to revolutionary ideas than the rest of society, they do not have the social power necessary to transform it. Initially attracted by our bold, hard-hitting approach to the great miners' strike of 1978 and by our opposition to nationalism in favor of a working-class struggle against special oppression, these ex-MEChA members were won over to the SL/SYL's program after a series of heated debates between our organization and the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance, whose craven capitulation to petty-bourgeois movements only served to disgust these Chicano militants (see *Young Spartacus* No. 73, May 1979). We strongly urge all Chicano militants to carefully examine the program of the SL/SYL as these comrades did.

The fight for a communist future cannot be put off. It demands the boldness and enthusiasm of youth dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers government. Join the SYL! ■

300 Hear SYL at Columbia

NEW YORK—An audience of 300 attended an SYL-sponsored showing of the film "Columbia Revolt" on September 1 at Columbia University. After the movie, a documentary on the 1968 Columbia student strike, an SYLer gave a short talk that led to 90 minutes of lively discussion. One of the most hotly contested issues concerned the SYL's call for working class mobilizations to stop fascist/racist attacks and our opposition to "free speech for fascists." Several students argued that "a free exchange of ideas" was necessary and they were worried about "civil liberties." In response an auto worker who supports the views of the SYL said the following:

I'm one of those laid-off Chrysler workers from Detroit you might have read about in the newspapers. And I consider myself and the brothers and sisters I work with to be living testimony to the anarchy of this system. People with 20 years in those plants, their lives in those plants, are thrown out on the street, and that's how the system works. There's something I want to say to you as students, because you're not going to be students forever. When you get out of here you're going to have to sell whatever you can do with your head or hands to someone else. And that means that you're going to find that there are two basic classes in society, and you're going to have to fight for one or the other.

There was something that happened

in France in 1968 which had a tremendous impact on students in this country. Out of the spark of the student uprising you had ten million workers in the streets yelling "Down with de Gaulle! Down with the Government!"—people calling for a general strike. Those ten million French workers in the streets dwarfed the student movement, and it became clear to people that that's where the power was. A year ago you had the miners in this country on strike—a hundred and ten days. And I'll tell you, they struck a chord in the people I work with like nothing that ever happened before. They recognized that the attack on the miners was an attack on the entire working class, and they wanted to fight. In my union, the UAW, I fought for a political strike. I said that the UAW should go out on strike and fight with the miners—let's get rid of this slave-labor Taft-Hartley law and let's show what real class solidarity is.

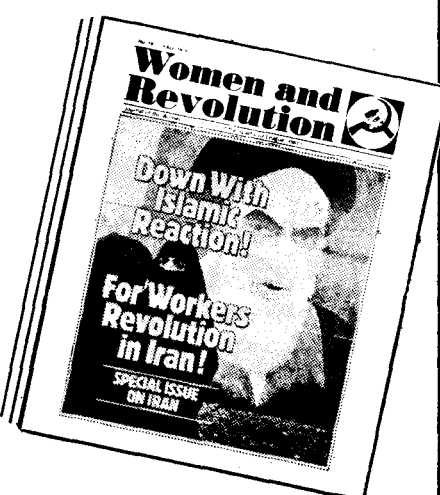
There is something else which I hope will cut through some of the bullshit here about the nature of ideas. Sometimes you're going to find that there are certain things worth fighting for, and when you decide that you're also going to find that there are some people who are going to fight against you. It's not just an academic question, it's not just a question of ideas. So if you go out on strike and the company wants to bring scabs through the picket lines, and the cops are there and they're trying to bring the scabs through, what are you going to do? Are you going to say that I'm

interfering with the democratic right of this guy to cross the picket line? In the thirties they broke those guys' legs. I like that.

In Detroit the Nazis tried to set up a bookstore. The Nazis are not a debating club, they're not an academic discussion club. What the Nazis want is to blow up busloads of black schoolchildren. So I want you to put yourself in the situation where you might be able to stop these people from doing that—you know they're going to do it. And would you stop them? In Detroit, a mostly black, working-class town, you have these people who want to commit genocide and crush the trade-union movement. So what do you do? In my union I fought for the union to go trash that bookstore, for the UAW, which has 100,000 members in Detroit, to say that there is no room for Nazis.

What about free speech? Well, I'll tell you. When the Nazis get the chance, I won't have the chance to say anything. And you know where the civil libertarians ended up in Nazi Germany—in the camps. Better that they would have fought and won when they had the chance. And that's the point. It's not an academic question. Groups like the Nazis and the Klan are not discussion clubs. It's not their democratic right to blow up a busload of black schoolchildren. So I think you people ought to realize that there's going to be times in your life when you're going to have to fight. Think about which side you're on. And fight to win. ■

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Young Spartacus

Dump the "Republicrats"—Build a Workers Party!

Hate Carter, Hate Capitalism!

The last decade hasn't exactly been a sterling one for the U.S. ruling class. Johnson quit, Agnew got caught with his hand in the till, Nixon skipped out before he could be thrown out and Vietnam handed the U.S. a stunning defeat. How could Americans not be cynical about the government? So Jimmy "the smiling wonder" Carter ran for President as an outsider, unsullied by the corrupt Washington mire, promising to restore the faith of the American people. What a flop.

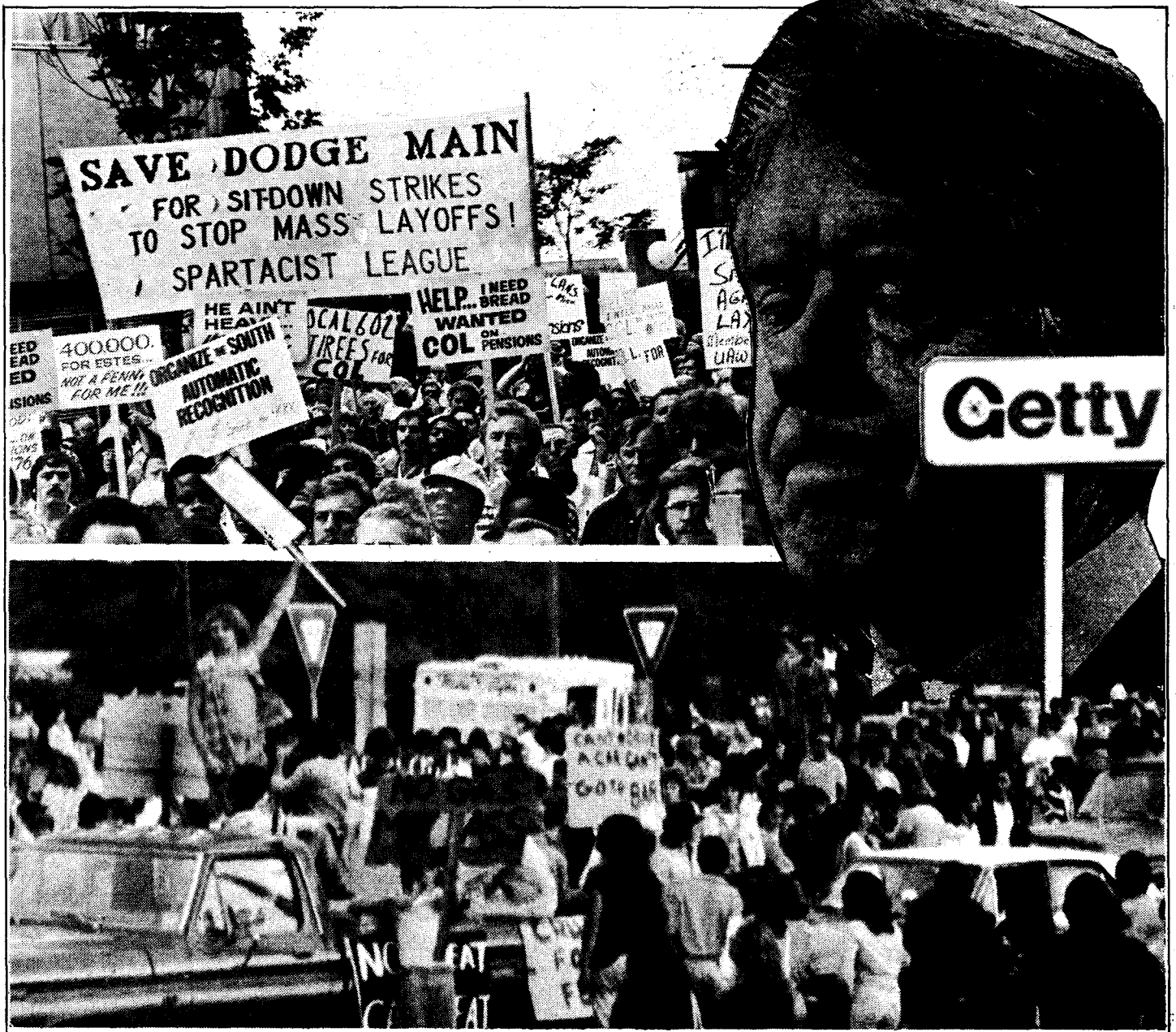
Three years into his term of office it's obvious why Carter almost lost the election to the man whose most noticeable talent was his ability to bang his head into doors and to trip over lines in the sidewalk. In the midst of widespread social and political discontent Carter's popularity has sunk almost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

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

No wonder deep political gloom reigns among the capitalists and their politicians. They have seen more certain signs of U.S. capitalism's morbidity than the irrationality of gas lines, inflation and recession. U.S. imperialism has slid from global top dog to one of a number of dangerously competing imperialist forces.

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

Let Carter sell it to the laid-off auto workers at Dodge Main. Let him try to tell them the layoffs are the result of their own "self-indulgence," a matter of loss of faith. Let him tell the American motorist to walk along the highways which cost billions of dollars, that knit together an America designed to suit Big Oil and auto industrialists. Let him go to the gas lines in his jet plane and



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

helicopter to tell Americans that they are "guzzlers" and that the oil cartel and Chrysler need government subsidies. Let him tell those who will freeze this winter for lack of fuel or the money to pay for it they should pray for heat.

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

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

**Break with the Democrats!
Build a Workers Party!**

It is against this background of fear of criticism that Carter's Secret Service agents came onto the floor of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention in Detroit July 16

and criminally seized militant union official Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the convention. She was going to say to her brothers and sisters that this man should not be allowed to use the CWA convention as a platform for his strikebreaking policies. For her intention to make this simple statement of working-class sense and solidarity, she received brutal treatment from Carter's goons. Trampling over the rights of the union and its elected delegates, the Carter "team" was not going to stand for a voice of class-struggle militancy.

But the unfortunate fact is that Carter's government crisis is not prompted by such proletarian class opposition. As in Nixon's Watergate crisis, the bourgeoisie is again cursed with a weak and isolated government but blessed with a wretched class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy. The labor fakers understand their job is to prevent a governmental crisis from becoming a full-scale social and political crisis. As with Watergate they are prepared again to help the bourgeois parties ride out their present troubles without significant loss of support. In this regard their main task is to keep working-class discontent within the bounds of the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats. Fed up with Carter? Well then, they ask increasingly

disaffected ranks, how about Kennedy?

Kennedy, however, is no less anti-labor than Carter. If he can redeem his reputation, sunk in the waters of Chappaquiddick, he would merely be more effective, more professional, in leading his party in an assault on the workers, blacks and poor. Although Kennedy likes to pose as a 1970s-style "New Deal" progressive, he wants to impose wage controls and his oil program is hardly different than what there is now. Kennedy also backs the new FBI "charter" which legalizes much of what these hit-men have been doing undercover. California's weirdly sinister governor Jerry Brown is no answer either. He prescribes nothing other than more layoffs and cutbacks in social services under the slogan "small is beautiful."

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

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

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