

Khomeini Fanatics Provoke Imperialist Threats

Iran Embassy Crisis

NOVEMBER 20—The seizure of the American embassy and staff in Teheran enters its third week with the most dangerous imperialist power in history locked in diplomatic/economic warfare with a priest caste of Shi'ite mullahs who want to return to the seventh-century puritanical desert "paradise" of the Koran. In Iran, the embassy occupation and taking of 62 hostages by well-organized Muslim "students" demanding the extradition of murderous ex-dictator Shah Reza Pahlavi from his New York City hospital bed has revitalized waning popular support for the theocratic regime of Ayatollah Khomeini. From the United States has come a backlash of "national unity." Reacting to a feeling of helplessness, right now many Americans would approve of nuking Qum, the religious capital of Khomeini's Persian-chauvinist Islamic sect. The Iran embassy crisis has even accomplished the feat of temporarily bolstering an image of the desperate Jimmy Carter as a "national leader."

The mullahs claim their action is directed against the U.S. government which granted the shah "medical asylum," and not against the "American people." But that is not the way the American people are viewing it. It is not just the right-wingers organizing flag-waving anti-Iranian demonstrations. The Teheran embassy is denounced not merely as a "nest of spies," which it certainly is, but also as a "den of corruption." Purging "corruption" in Khomeini's Iran includes banning popular music, movies, alcohol, mixed bathing, extra-marital sex, homosexuals and most other aspects of "decadent Judeo-Christian" Western culture—except dollars, marks, the pound sterling, etc. Hearing the fanatical ayatollah calling for a purge of all "America-loving rotten brains" (intellectuals), watching American tourists and American contractors working in Iran dragged out of hotels and offices and thrown in with the hostages, the U.S. population has responded with a wave of national



chauvinism.

The *New York Times* (20 November) reports: "Ayatollah Khomeini has leveled a general charge that the American Embassy was a 'nest of spies.' The White House and State Department have refused to comment directly on that accusation." And for good reason. Under the shah, the U.S. embassy was notorious as a branch office of the CIA, a coequal and

sometimes predominant seat of power with the Niavaran Palace. High CIA officials were posted to Teheran as American ambassadors, including Richard Helms and William Sullivan. We shed no tears for the imperialist diplomats, NSA/CIA agents and Marine lifers captured by the Islamic students. And even while the government was disclaiming any intention of military aggression against Iran and

counseling "calm," the Pentagon has created a 110,000-man "Rapid Deployment Force" standing by for such emergencies. Revolutionaries and the American working class must militantly oppose military action by U.S. imperialism against Iran.

Having made this clear, we must point out that this was hardly the heroic Tet offensive of 1968, which besieged the U.S. embassy in Saigon, nor the 1958 rock-throwing attack on Vice-President Nixon in Caracas—both clearly blows by left-wing forces against U.S. imperialist strongpoints and rulers. The mullahs have not been waging a struggle against imperialism at all—on the contrary, Khomeini's government had most recently been negotiating with Washington for resumption of billions of dollars in military aid to be used against Kurdish rebels, Arab oil workers, Iranian leftists and the Soviet Union. The Teheran embassy seizure and hostage-taking was a *diversion*. It was fundamentally an attempt to refurbish Khomeini's anti-shah credentials in a period of growing disillusionment with, and opposition to, his clerical-reactionary rule.

Internationally, the Khomeinists' action has met with disfavor from governments of almost every stripe. The

Ayatollah Nuttier Than Shah But:

Hands Off Iran!

NOVEMBER 20, 11:30 p.m.—U.S. President Jimmy Carter has now threatened military retaliation against Iran. Today the State Department announced that the aircraft carrier *Midway* and five other warships are standing by in the Arabian Sea, while the carrier *Kitty Hawk* is sailing from the Philippines. Is Washington getting ready to write off the hostages?

The Khomeini-led Muslim fanatics have violated diplomatic prerogatives in a way that not even the Nazis did. But Carter is invoking the felt outrage of the American people in order to get back into the White House over the bodies of tens of thousands of Iranians, whose just desire to take their own country back has been mobilized by a

clerical-medievalist fanatic.

The essential thrust of American policy toward Iran for decades has not just been to plunder the country but an anti-Communist crusade against Russia. The U.S. imperialists started sending machine-gun bullets to the mad mullah Khomeini in order to get the Soviet Union. And as was demonstrated by John Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis, when it comes to taking the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust, the U.S. bourgeoisie is no more rational than the ayatollah of Qum.

Meanwhile Carter is giving this tin-pot "Imam" just the excuse he needs to justify the privation of the Iranian masses for a generation: blame it on the Americans.

The American working class must militantly oppose these war threats. In the event of actual U.S. armed intervention, workers and socialists must stand for military defense of Iran against imperialist attack, while opposing the reactionary mullah rulers, and stand ready to offer revolutionary defensism toward the Soviet degenerated workers state as well.

continued on page 10

Fed Vendetta Against Brooklyn Docks Leader

Who Got Tony Scotto—and Why

After a sensational nine-week trial, Brooklyn dock union leader Anthony Scotto was convicted by an NYC jury of accepting some \$225,000 in illegal payoffs, as well as the ubiquitous charge of income tax evasion. The highly polished general organizer of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) since 1963 and president of the powerful Brooklyn Local 1814 now faces up to 20 years in prison. He also faces being forced out of his elected union posts and being cleaned out by the IRS. Convicted together with Scotto on charges of "labor racketeering" was Anthony Anastasio, executive vice president of Local 1814.

One thing was not in question. Somebody had gotten Tony Scotto and gotten him good. Not without effort. The government hounded him for 20 years, at least since the day in 1957 when he married the daughter of "Tough Tony" Anastasio (previous head of the ILA). Robert B. Fiske, Jr., U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York who prosecuted the case himself, had high praise for this tireless FBI project. And why shouldn't he? According to the *New York Times* (18 January), the FBI admits to having over 100 full-time personnel as waterfront "investigators," many of them devoted exclusively to the Scotto vendetta. During the last two years, for instance, the 25-man FBI Squad 54 has been holed up in the firehouse on Pier A at the foot of Whitehall Street in Lower Manhattan, headquarters for their spying operation on the building across the pier which houses the union offices of Anthony Scotto. "This was only part of what Quentin Ertel, an FBI spokesman, called 'one of the most extensive investigations in the bureau's history'."

So after all the investigations, after bugging everything buggable, after the secret wiretaps, the miles of taped whispers, the years of computerized confidences (not to mention the millions in taxpayers' money spent for the FBI teams, the Justice Department investigators, the high-grade legal staff)—after all this, what do they claim to have on this man? They claim he took about five grand a month in payola. What? No "On the Waterfront" murders? No victims in the East River with concrete boots? Nobody baked to a crisp in a pizza oven? Not even a conspiracy to break a thumb? It is not that Mafia mobsters do not exist—a story popular mainly at Columbus Day Parades—but that this man in his elegantly tailored and perfectly-



Tony Scotto, wife Marion and son.

pressed dark suits is not one of them. Tony Scotto is no violent mobster. So why did the feds get him?

A Question of Character

It is in this sense that the Scotto trial indicted the government and acquitted the union leader in the eyes of millions of observers. The prosecution did not prove the substantive corruption of Scotto, but the deep corruption of the federal government's own long and bitter vendetta against him. Immediately before the public were placed questions of character: Scotto's, and the government's. The contrast was there in the trial week after week. In cross-examination it was Robert Fiske, G-man on the make vs. Scotto the union leader. The government had set upon him and his family with its surveillance and tricks, its pressure and prejudice. Finally, the prosecution trapped one of Scotto's weaker friends, forcing a confession and a betrayal of friendship. They strapped a concealed tape recorder to the thigh of William "Sonny" Montella to get evidence against Scotto. Montella—"friend," federal informer, government fink—is the "hero" of this "On the Waterfront" drama, the guy who

"coulda been a contender, Charlie." He didn't seem like much of a contender for character in the Scotto trial.

It was the tapes that convinced the jury, carefully schooled to judge the narrowest legal issue. Murray Kempton, who has written about the Scotto trial with compassion and intelligence, saw the tapes too within the modern morality drama being played out in Foley Square:

"And yet, curiously, to read the transcript of those tapes was to have the mind haunted not so much by what they may or may not have confessed as by the crying out of the wounds that Anthony Scotto has sustained from this government's harrying of him that began on his wedding day almost 20 years ago."

—*New York Post*, 13 November

The fascination of the media with this third-generation dock worker from Brooklyn's rundown Red Hook district who scrapped his way up in a rough union to be its 45-year-old soft-spoken leader is deserved. The man who married the niece of Albert Anastasia—the "enforcer" of "Murder, Inc."—and went on to lecture at Harvard and become a trustee for the Brooklyn Academy of Music has a lot of friends. The witnesses to Scotto's character included New York State governor Hugh Carey and two

former NYC mayors, John Lindsay and Robert Wagner.

But Scotto was not a mobster collecting "protection" money, nor a Tammany Hall machine boss issuing orders to mayors and governors. He tried hard to be a respectable Democratic Party power broker, and in the main he succeeded. Tony Scotto was not a small man; if he didn't have a good reason not to, he was always ready to do someone a favor. He was popular on the docks, and obviously he held a lot of IOU's from the Democratic Party pols as well.

Politically Tony Scotto is a liberal: a "civil rights activist" in the early '60s, later a prominent labor "dove" on the Vietnam War. As a liberal he has taken up such causes as boycotting Rhodesian chrome, and also calling for a reactionary boycott of grain shipments to Russia during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. He is credited with winning the Guaranteed Annual Wage. At the same time this was obtained by agreeing to the elimination of thousands of longshore jobs through "modernization" contracts.

Scotto wanted social status, political clout, and plenty of money. Like many others these days, he found it hard to live in New York on less than \$100,000 a year. But these are not crimes. He claims he shuffled some money from the stevedoring bosses to the campaigns of liberal Democratic friends; the prosecution claimed he used it for himself. He didn't live particularly high on the hog, but who knows? Or particularly cares? A man who cultivated such fast friends at the top of the political ladder was bound to turn over a few poisonous enemies. Just who they are may never be known. Or, are there more sinister forces, perhaps in the union, who want Scotto out of the way?

Feds Out of the Unions

One thing is clear. The 20-year vendetta against Anthony Scotto was relentlessly carried out not because he was suspected of taking some extra money. All told, the FBI claims Scotto

continued on page 10

French Trotskyists Reply to Thug Attacks

OCI/LCR in Frenzy

We reprint below a column written by the *Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF)*, originally scheduled to appear in the 23 November issue of *Rouge*, newspaper of the *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR)*. LCR leaders Alain Krivine and Lourfon had promised to print the column, but changed their minds when they saw it contained "political characterizations"—i.e., criticisms of the LCR.

In the most recent issues of *Rouge* and *Informations Ouvrières*, one finds the LCR¹ and the OCI² denouncing each other for violating the democratic rights of the *Ligue Trotskyiste de France*³. Of course, their reciprocal accusations are well-founded. At the November 13 meeting called by the OCI to defend the democratic rights of Trotskyists in Nicaragua against repression by the Sandinista/bourgeois government, the OCI gave a concrete example of its own conception of workers democracy: as soon as a group of 14 LTF supporters started to distrib-

ute leaflets and sell our press, about 50 members of the OCI goon squad immediately intervened to violently drive off the militants, hitting several comrades and tearing up leaflets and newspapers. All those who rose to our defense were also harassed. (These facts from the LTF press release of 13 November rectify the incorrect version of events printed in *Rouge*.)

If the LCR now suddenly finds itself concerned with our democratic rights it is not out of respect for workers democracy, but because the LCR seeks to exploit this incident in its factional confrontations with the OCI and LCF. The sanctimonious protestations in *Rouge* ring hollow since only one month ago a Krivine goon squad forcibly expelled a spokesman for the LTF from an LCR meeting on Nicaragua when he attempted to take the floor to criticize the USec's craven capitulation before the Sandinistas. The USec leaders have offered themselves for the sordid little job they think will warrant them a place

in the Sandinista entourage: international goon squad against left critics of the petty-bourgeois FSLN and the Nicaraguan government.

Why the LTF and Why Now?

All the factions now competing with each other were unified at one point: together they bowed before the mullahs in Iran while the international Spartacist tendency called from the beginning for "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs!" Now, however, in pursuit of his wrecking operation against the rapidly rightward moving centrists Mandel and Krivine, the reformist Lambert (and his lackeys Nemo, Ulysses et al.⁵ along with the reformist-adventurer Moreno) has launched a carefully orchestrated programmatic attack against the USec's total capitulation and liquidation in Nicaragua. The result so far has been splits in the USec and the formation in France of the LCF.

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager) Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt

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

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

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

No. 244 23 November 1979

The Threat Behind Imperialist Tears for Cambodia

ADAPTED FROM
AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST
NOVEMBER 1979

For the past month it has been impossible to pick up a paper or turn on the TV without confronting the agonizing spectacle of skeletal and dying Cambodian refugees struggling over the border to "sanctuary" in Thailand. The starvation is real, but the message—that if only it weren't for obstruction by the bloodthirsty Vietnamese, "free world" leaders like Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter and his tag-along "statesman" [Australian prime minister] Malcolm Fraser would have been able to rush in massive aid long ago—is a vicious lie of genocidal proportions.

Oh, Cambodia used to be such a "lush, gentle land," they cry. And Phnom Penh used to be so "elegant and luxurious," so "civilized" a watering hole—at least for the suave diplomats and mass murderers of imperialism. All this sudden imperialist "humanitarianism" comes from people whose hands are soaked with the blood of the Indochinese peoples. Coming from Rosalynn Carter and her husband (who as governor of Georgia declared a day of celebration for "our boys" in Vietnam, protesting the conviction of My Lai mass murderer Lt. William Calley), this "concern" is cruelly hypocritical. The U.S. didn't care too much about "the survival of the Khmer people" when it rained more bombs on the Cambodians even than it did on the Japanese during World War II.

Although most bourgeois pundits trace the cause of the present starvation back to the murderous horrors of the Pol Pot regime which overthrew the U.S. puppet Lon Nol in 1975, the real beginning is in early 1969, when the U.S. began four years of the most devastating carpet bombing of the Vietnam War. Between 1970 and 1973, the U.S. rained down an average of more than 100 tons of bombs for every man, woman and child in Cambodia, turning heavily populated areas into fields of craters and destroying agricultural dikes and waterworks. Probably a million died in Cambodia during the civil war against Lon Nol, and famine already existed when the U.S. brutally cut off all aid following the fall of its henchman in 1975.

Certainly there's plenty of horror to go around. The Pol Pot regime, ousted by Vietnamese forces this spring, while it overthrew capitalism, was undoubtedly the most brutal, primitive and bizarre Stalinist dictatorship ever to rule a deformed workers state. While it's necessary to critically examine atrocity stories from obviously self-interested sources, the total mass of evidence is



Cambodian refugees head for camps in Thailand, staging areas for imperialist-backed reaction.

Berges/Sygma

convincing. The Vietnamese "boat people" do not claim they've left a land of mass murder and rampant starvation, as do the thousands of Cambodian refugees. Nor do those mainland Chinese fleeing to Hong Kong claim they were forcibly marched hundreds of miles from their homelands, made to work at gunpoint and live in sexually segregated compounds.

Now that they've been thrown out and are looking for allies, even Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge are engaging in a little self-criticism. Former foreign minister Ieng Sary admits that some cadres "did not give medicine to the sick people though there were medicines, some people were made to work hard though they were not in a position to do so.... Some cadres even forbade people to grow maize or sugar cane around their houses as it was considered a sign of individualism. Those who had grown them were not even allowed to eat them" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 22 June). In *Le Monde* (2 June) Sary admits that when the present Heng Samrin government was installed in January, there were "people who went toward... the Vietnamese, attracted by their program."

There is no doubt that the plight of the Cambodian people today is desperate. But the sudden announcement of

"concern" by the United States and its anti-communist allies of the ASEAN alliance (Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia) is nothing but the thinnest cover for a renewed imperialist drive to "save" Cambodia for capitalism—and, they hope, to strike a blow against the Vietnamese deformed workers state. For months now the U.S. and its new ally China have maneuvered to isolate the Hanoi-backed Heng Samrin government, upholding the universally despised Pol Pot regime as the "legitimate" representative of the Cambodians in the United Nations.

Thus it's no accident that UN special sessions on providing food to Cambodia took place only a week before the General Assembly passed a motion November 14, sponsored by the ASEAN nations and heavily lobbied for by Peking, calling on Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. And at an "emergency conference" on Cambodia held at the Riverside Church in New York City on November 17, the main speakers unanimously called for a Geneva-style international conference to restore Cambodia's "national integrity" and "neutrality." Keynote speaker In Tam, former prime minister in a pre-Lon Nol government, pushed for a "third force" under Prince Norodom

Sihanouk. This, of course, is simply a call for capitalist restoration.

Food Is "Not Political"?

Meanwhile, the Pol Pot forces are increasingly desperate and isolated. Rapidly reduced to a small band and driven into the mountainous regions near the Thai border, the remnants of the Khmer Rouge have been kept alive with food and sanctuary in Thailand, including permission to escape Vietnamese forces through Thai territory and re-enter Cambodia at safer points. They have also been allowed to receive arms from their Stalinist Chinese backers across Thai territory (*Financial Review*, [Sydney], 26 October). In February, after promising the U.S. to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," China launched a "punitive" invasion, thus solidifying the U.S./China alliance aimed against the Soviet Union and putting additional military pressure on Vietnam.

Three months ago, the Heng Samrin government of Cambodia urgently appealed to the Red Cross and UN relief agencies for food and vital medical supplies, only to be met with a string of hypocritical "guarantees" and "conditions." Any aid to Phnom Penh had to

continued on page 9



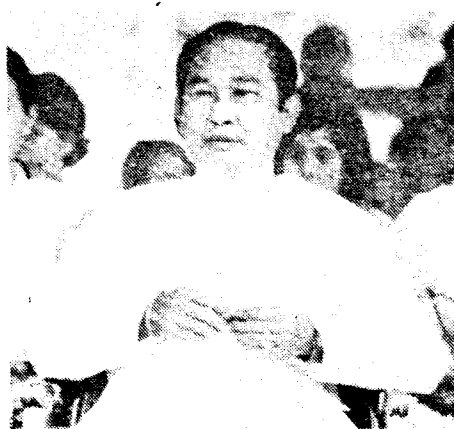
Heng Samrin

Lower/Contact



Pol Pot

Gamma-Liaison



Lon Nol

Burnett/Contact



Prince Norodom Sihanouk

Gamma-Liaison

"No Strike" Reformists Vie for Power

NY Transit Workers Need a Fighting Leadership

After five disastrous years of New York City "austerity"—60,000 municipal jobs lost, real wages slashed and extraordinary suffering for the whole population—the ranks of NYC labor are seething. With the big city union contracts coming up this spring, even Victor Gotbaum, chief milksop of the 1974-76 Big MAC assault on the municipal unions, now says the 100,000 members of his AFSCME District Council 37 are "in pain" over rising inflation. Sanitation workers leaders hope to get more "clout" by joint bargaining of the "uniformed services" (i.e., "uniting" with the strikebreaking cops). And meanwhile a four-way fight is underway for leadership of the powerful Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, representing the city's 35,000 bus and subway workers.

The labor-hating dailies have taken particular note of the Local 100 elections, with mail ballots for local and divisional officers and a new executive board due to be counted on December 5. They fear that "there will certainly be a strike" (*New York Times*, 28 October) when the current contract expires March 31 if TWU Local president John Lawe is defeated. NYC rulers well remember the lesson transit workers taught wonder-boy mayor John Lindsay in 1966, when Local 100 singlehandedly defied court injunctions and arrests, shutting down the financial capital of the United States for 12 days. They have reason to fear—for transit workers have been taking it on the chin and as a *Post* columnist put it: "The troops are restless."

At issue is the need to recover the staggering cuts in real wages lost during the last five years. Traditionally the TWU leadership has had a "go it alone" mentality, but this time they went down

along with everybody else. After an 18 percent drop in real wages from 1974 to 1978, during the last contract it was made even worse with an insulting 6 percent raise in the face of double-digit inflation. Once the second-highest-paid in the U.S., New York bus drivers have now dropped to *sixteenth* place in the country. So with union negotiations approaching, the Metropolitan Transit Authority is threatening a further 20 percent cutback in service (supposedly to save the 50-cent fare) despite the half-billion dollar transportation bond issue just extorted from taxpayers.

At the same time the Emergency Financial Control Board (a state-created panel of bankers with veto power over union contracts) is once again "predicting" layoffs. And since he had such a ball with the last "fiscal crunch," Mayor Ed Koch has already slated a new financial crisis for 1982! What the poor and working people of New York City urgently need is a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, capable of waging a fight to smash the whole EFCB/Carey/Koch austerity program. However, none of the opposition groups in the TWU puts forward such a program to mobilize this key sector of the city workforce, through industrial action and politically, nor even to adequately defend the members' livelihoods from the new capitalist onslaught.

TWU Can Lead the Way

Born during the great unionization drives of the 1930s, the Transport Workers Union was first organized out of the same building as the Communist Party's Trade Union Unity League. It used militant strikes and a historic 1937 power plant occupation to win union recognition from the Rockefeller- and



Transit workers demonstrate against '78 sellout contract. WV Photo

Morgan-owned subway and bus lines. TWU head Mike Quill was one of NYC labor's most colorful leaders: in response to red-baiting in the '30s he replied, "I'd rather be called a red by a rat, than a rat by a red." In 1937 he was first elected to the New York city council on the American Labor Party slate, which endorsed ex-Republican La Guardia for mayor. (The ALP was a bogus "labor party" cooked up by Rooseveltian union tops and the Stalinists to win workers' votes for "progressive" capitalist politicians like FDR.)

Despite its militancy, Quill's TWU never transcended CP-brand reformism. And with the onset of the Cold War, Quill broke with the Communist Party, conducting a vicious red purge in the union. While routinely breaking wildcat strikes in the '50s, he kept a toughness unknown to the smooth AFL-CIO brand of "labor statesmen." Drugged off to jail during the 1966 strike for ripping up anti-strike court injunctions, Quill declared: "The judge can drop dead in his black robes!" The *continued on page 9*

Steel Workers Demand: Get Keith a Union Lawyer!

USWA Chiefs Threaten to Scuttle Anwar Defense

CHICAGO — Steel workers in the Chicago/northern Indiana area are rallying to stop their International and district union leaders from sabotaging the fight to save the job of Keith Anwar. A member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1010, Anwar was fired by Inland Steel last May for respecting the picket lines of another USWA local at the East Chicago mill. In the last week over 1,500 steel workers have signed petitions demanding that Anwar's grievance not be dropped, that the union immediately provide him with a lawyer and aggressively take all measures necessary to get his job back.

The petition was prompted because USWA International president Lloyd McBride and District 31 director Jim Balanoff have made the case into a factional football, threatening to drop the case through inaction. Although an arbitration date has been set for November 29, both District 31 and International tops have balked at providing Anwar with representation at the hearing. According to Anwar, the International earlier withdrew an attorney assigned to

the case, then sent Jim Balanoff a letter informing him that it was his responsibility either to handle the case himself or obtain outside counsel. Balanoff's response was "no lawyer." Meanwhile Ted Rogus, the union's staff representative formally in charge of the case, has threatened to drop the grievance if no lawyer is secured.

A leaflet dated November 14 issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee asks: "What's all the crap about? McBride and Balanoff seem to think that their factional squabbling and maneuvering before the 1981 [USWA] elections is more important than the defense of the principle that no union member should be forced by the company to cross a picket line. Keith Anwar lost his job fighting for that principle and the union needs a victory in this case so that our strikes don't have picket lines that are like swiss cheese... if this grievance is allowed to die it will be a slap in the face to the entire District membership."

Balanoff's posture is particularly outrageous given the tremendous

amount of support Anwar has received from District 31 steel workers. According to Anwar, "Balanoff could break this logjam in five minutes. The International even agreed in writing to pay the legal expenses of any attorney that Balanoff obtained." The Anwar defense case has been endorsed by Locals 1010 and 65 and by some 400 individual union members. Five hundred District 31 USWA members signed post cards addressed to the union urging a vigorous defense of Anwar, and last month his own Local 1010 sponsored a rally in support of the right to honor picket lines with Anwar as a featured speaker.

The rally was approved by the Rank and File Caucus, which has overwhelming control in Local 1010 and which is closely tied to the "progressive" Balanoff District leadership. Moreover, prosecuting this grievance with "all available resources" is *official District policy*. Last June the District 31 conference unanimously adopted a resolution which went on record to defend all union members victimized by the companies for respecting picket lines

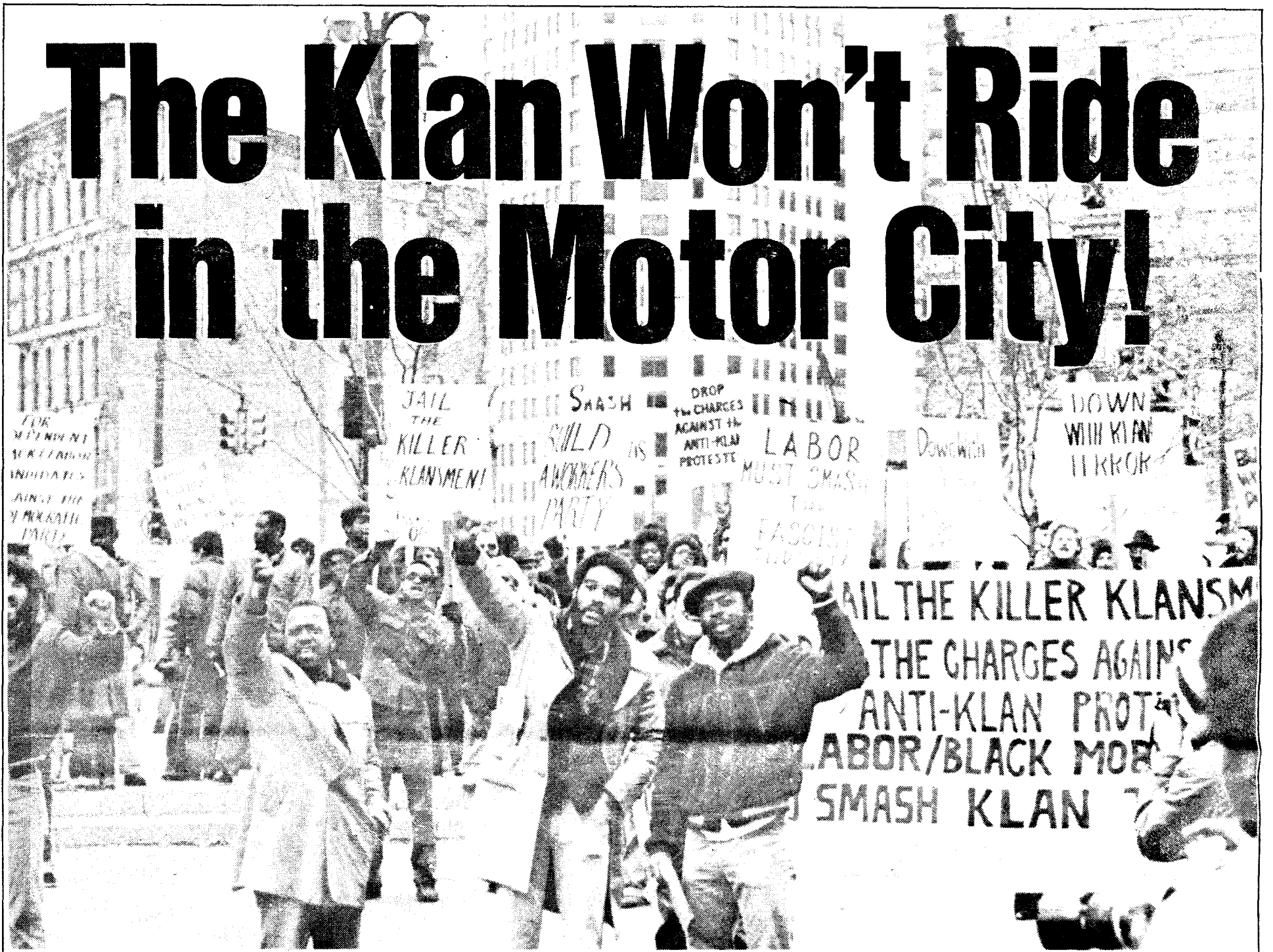
and demanded in particular that Keith Anwar be reinstated with full back pay and seniority.

The leaflet issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee emphasized that during Balanoff's election campaign, "...he talked a lot about 'the right to strike,' but today all we're getting is a lot of hot air. If Balanoff doesn't get behind this case he's going to prove to the District membership that he is a phony. Phonies don't get votes and the Rank and File Caucus should think twice about where their leadership is taking them." Now is the time for steel workers to mobilize to save the Anwar grievance and the right to honor picket lines. Implement the District 31 policy! Get Anwar's job back! ■

Funds and support are needed more than ever. The Keith Anwar Defense Committee can be reached at Box 7914, Chicago, Illinois 60680. Phone: (312) 768-2233.

500 at Detroit Labor/Black Rally Say:

The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!



WV Photo

On Saturday, November 10, in Detroit's Kennedy Square, five hundred trade unionists, ghetto youth, students and socialist militants protested against Ku Klux Klan terror. The demonstration's initial endorsers included two dozen area unionists and black spokesmen, and it was heavily built by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. This was no ordinary middle-class liberal protest but something not seen in years: a labor/black rally to stop the Klan. The crowd was overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black; a hundred or more came, individually and in groups, from Detroit factories, particularly the huge auto plants. Their message: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

One week ago, five anti-Klan demonstrators had been murdered in cold blood, gunned down by the KKK in Greensboro, North Carolina. The killers didn't hide behind white hoods as in their nighttime cross burnings. In broad daylight 30 of them drove in a caravan to a black housing project, followed (escorted) by local police, pulled out their shotguns and rifles and in full view of television cameras began pumping lead into a peaceful march. The victims were long-time civil rights activists and union organizers, and they called themselves communists. The capitalist press and capitalist politicians unanimously termed it a "Klan-leftist shootout," even though not a single KKKer was even scratched. Now they claim that the anti-Klan demonstrators fired first, which—as the millions who saw the news footage on TV know—is a lie.

It was an outrage—spectacular and bloody evidence of the growth of the Klan and other fascist terrorist organizations in recent years. The Greensboro massacre demanded an immediate, powerful response: a mobilization by left, labor and black groups to stop the KKK killers in their tracks. But the official union and black leaders refused to move and even joined in the

slandrous chorus against "extremists," equating the murderers with their victims, while most "socialist" groups sat on their hands. A protest was needed, a labor/black mobilization against the Klan.

There was such a demonstration, on November 10 in Kennedy Square in downtown Detroit. The organizers of the protest had to overcome opposition from the union and black misleaders; they had to face down a ban on anti-Klan marches imposed by the city government. It was a *victory* for all those who deeply want to smash the KKK that this 500-strong labor and black rally took place in the industrial powerhouse of the country. This was a long way from the tens of thousands that were urgently needed. But November 10 showed that *it can be done*. It was a demonstration with a powerful program, which pointed the way

forward to an America free from organized race-hate murder and mass unemployment.

River Rouge Workers Move Against Klan

While the Klan has been staging provocative marches across the South, it also reared its head in Detroit. Racist harassment in suburban Romulus and then an incident at Ford Motor Company's giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn in late September. When two foremen in the trim department donned Klan hoods and paraded through the area, six workers put down their tools and walked off in protest. The line stopped. When the six were threatened with disciplinary action a petition drive was launched, gathering over 1,000 signatures, demanding the firing of the foremen (Beinke and McKulen) and no victimization of the workers. As a result of this massive show of support and press publicity, the union (United Auto Workers Local 600) leadership finally took up the issue and management promised the offenders would be out of Rouge.

But on Friday, November 2, union militants at Rouge discover that the foremen who committed the racist provocation were merely transferred to Ford's Wixom and Wayne Assembly plants. The next day a meeting of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) unit of Local 600 is held. There is anger over the company's trick and the union's failure to block it. A motion is passed: fire the foremen! As the workers leave the meeting they learn over TV and radio of the vicious Klan murder in Greensboro.

On Sunday, Associated Press reports the DAP resolution. The dispatch quotes Frank Hicks, a Rouge skilled tradesman who helped organize the petition drive, calling on the UAW to hold an anti-Klan demonstration: "The workers are really mad. We want

continued on page 6

After the Greensboro massacre: Anti-Klan protester leans over body of fallen comrade.





WV Photo

Klan Won't Ride...

(continued from page 5)

the union to make a powerful statement in defense of the rights of blacks." On Monday a Michigan Klan spokesman threatens to parade in the streets of Detroit—a predominantly black city and union stronghold, with 300,000 auto workers. Mayor Coleman Young makes light of it, saying he'll watch the Klan parade on television. Later, on Tuesday, Young announces that both pro- and anti-Klan marches will be prohibited.

Finally, on Wednesday morning the Local 600 executive board meets and rejects the demand for a Saturday demonstration. Instead the bureaucracy under President Mike Rinaldi says it will write to Jimmy Carter and the U.S. attorney general with an "even-handed" protest against all violence against Americans of any creed or color! This abdication is virtually an invitation for the KKK to stage its race-hate march, on Friday or some time in the future. If the union tops won't do something, somebody else had better.

Blackout and Fear

By 1 a.m. Thursday morning, some two dozen people, seven of them Rouge workers, have endorsed a leaflet for an anti-Klan demonstration. The pictures tell the story: "This... or this." Rouge workers drive out KKK-hooded foremen in Detroit... or Klan murders and cop beatings in Greensboro. "Mayor Coleman Young," the leaflet reads, "said we who oppose the Klan have no more rights than the KKK killers, that

we should not show our faces on fear of arrest. We say no to Coleman Young... and Coleman Young better think about it." The demands: Down with Klan Terror! For the Right of Southern Black Armed Self-Defense! For Factory Seizures Against Layoffs! Oust the Bosses' Tools in the Labor Movement! For Independent Black and Labor Candidates Against the Democratic Party! Build a Workers Party! RALLY AT KENNEDY SQUARE! BE THERE!

The leaflet is rolling off the presses by noon, with an initial press run of 35,000.

Telegrams Protesting Demonstration Ban Sent to Mayor Young By:

David Scribner, Attorney, NY
William Kunstler, Attorney, NY
Drs. Roy and Miriam John, NY
James Brown, Entertainer
Gerald Lefcourt, Attorney, NY
Ben Levy, Attorney, Houston
Alexander Erlich, School of International Affairs, Columbia University
Walter Collins, Civil Rights Activist, New Orleans
Sanford Katz, Attorney, NY
Partisan Defense Committee
Conrad Lynn, Attorney, NY
Peter Young, Attorney, LA
Rob Reiner, Actor
Affiliation listed for identification purposes only

inflammatory. Blackout. On Thursday evening reports coming in from leafletting of the day shift at the auto plants indicate Young's threat has gotten around. Workers are sympathetic to a demonstration against the Klan, but they don't want to get arrested.

Showdown

As the flyers go out across the city the outrage over Greensboro, opposition to the KKK marching in Detroit and anger at Mayor Young are apparent. Bus drivers are placing bundles at their coin boxes for their passengers, newspaper vendors hand them out with the evening paper, and auto workers are taking them into the plants, reams at a time, to paste them up by lockers and water coolers.

We confront the mayor on his turf. A press conference is scheduled for Young's office at 1 p.m. There the rally organizers are met by mayoral aide James Graham who says the ban stands: any demonstrators will be arrested. Hicks answers for the protesters: "You arrest hundreds of black and white workers in Kennedy Square for demonstrating against KKK murders and your political career is finished in this city." As we walk out, under the TV lights of all the Detroit media, we make our response: "We Will March!" WWJ News reports at 3 p.m. that a "Saturday showdown is shaping up" between Mayor Young and anti-Klan protesters. We have beaten the press blackout: the major channels carry reports on the confrontation on their 6 o'clock news. But can we beat the mayor's ban?

At 4 p.m. a press release goes out, the second today: "The protesters announced they are urgently requesting federal observers at their demonstration.... They are also seeking a preliminary injunction from federal court to

restrain city officials from denying them their right to peacefully assemble." Meanwhile the mayor passes the buck to the city council; we arrive five minutes before adjournment. After a weaselly speech by phony radical Ken Cockrel the council throws the hot potato into the police department's lap.

At the same time the organizers are meeting with federal judge John Feiken, the city's corporation counsel and a representative of the deputy police commissioner. The mayor's lawyer says that although the ban stands, and no permit will be issued, no arrests will be made. The judge asks, what is the point of a permit? No answer. Well, do the demonstrators have a de facto permit? A pause, and the police spokesman answers, "yes." The mayor has backed down. But he has still managed to scare many hundreds, perhaps thousands away from the rally. With only a few hours left, it will be impossible to let most people know that the ban has been lifted. Evening and morning newspapers refuse to take an ad. One 11 o'clock late news reports the developments, but now it's: "...a communist organization is going to hold an anti-KKK rally...." First blackout, now red-baiting.

Detroit is a Labor/Black Fight Klan Terror



Detroit: Black and white labor militants oust KKK-hooded foremen from River Rouge.

The Klan said they're turning up in Kennedy Square to celebrate their Greensboro, North Carolina killings! We're going to Kennedy Square to oppose Klan terror and murder! Mayor Coleman Young said we who oppose the Klan have no more rights than the KKK killers, that we should not show our faces on fear of arrest. We say no to Coleman Young and Coleman Young better think about it. The Klan-Nazi race killers must be stopped while we still can. Make Coleman Young back down. He wasn't elected by George Wallace. He was elected by a cracker Jimmy Carter but by black votes. This town is filled with hard working, mainly black auto workers.

Down with Klan Terror! • For the Right of Southern Black Seizures Against Layoffs! • Oust the Bosses' Tools in the Labor Movement! • Black and Labor Candidates Against the Democratic Party!

Rally Kennedy Square, Detroit Saturday, November 10, 1:00 p.m.

Labor, Blacks and Communists Rally Against the Klan

Despite all the "dirty tricks" thrown in their path by a liberal black Democratic city administration, the protesters have managed to reach Detroit-area workers and blacks. Altogether 85,000 leaflets have been passed out at plant gates, bus stops, supermarkets, black neighborhoods; 20,000 were taken into River Rouge alone. And on Saturday several hundred responded. In the crowd were a couple dozen Rouge workers, a group from Cadillac, others from Chrysler's Lynch Road, Mack Avenue Stamping, Dodge Truck and Dodge Main. Steel workers from Great Lakes and Jones and Laughlin. A forge worker told a TV videotape interviewer he came because the Klan had slashed his tires in the company parking lot; an older black worker told how the Klan had drawn and quartered his uncle.

The militant black auto workers and youth who gathered in Kennedy Square kept up spirited chanting throughout the 90-minute rally. This was a hardcore demonstration of people who were not stopped by the mayor's threats, and the 367 copies of *Workers Vanguard* sold are an indication of the seriousness of the participants. The presence of a contingent from Bob Avakian's sectarian Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, who stood at the edge with a misspelled banner, testifies to the rally's impact on the Detroit left.

One speaker, Mark Laughton, a *WT* reporter, gives an on-the-spot report from Greensboro. It was not the foolish attempt by the Workers Viewpoint Organization there to take on the Klan directly with a small group that got them killed, he points out. The reason they were shot is because they said they were communists, labor organizers and for the rights of blacks. And that includes just about everyone at this rally.

November 10 in Detroit was not as big as what was needed—far from it. The Anti-Defamation League estimates that Klan membership is up to 10,000 now and growing. The failure of UAW leaders to endorse and build the rally was a betrayal of their members. And Mayor Young showed where he stands by attempting to ban the rally. But 500 protesters at the labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square point to the real answer to Klan terror: mobilizing the social power of the unions and black masses in militant class struggle against the racist, capitalist system and its murderous night-riding thugs. As the demonstrators repeatedly chanted: "Smash the Klan, this is the hour—Labor and blacks have the power!" ■

For more information call: Ann Arbor (313) 994-8051 Berkeley/Oakland (415) 835-1535	Boston (617) 492-3928	Detroit (313) 868-9095 (313) 867-1812	New York (212) 925-5665
	Chicago (312) 427-0003	Los Angeles (213) 662-1564	San Francisco (415) 863-6963
	Cleveland (216) 621-5138		Toronto (416) 593-4138

Subscribe to **WORKERS VANGUARD**

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- 24 issues—\$3.00 Introductory offer (6 issues)—\$1.00
 New Renewal

Name _____ Phone _____ 244

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10001

"Smash the Klan, this is the hour, Labor and blacks have got the power!"

Frank Hicks UAW Local 600

I'm a member of UAW Local 600, Ford Rouge, the largest local in the UAW. It's good to see people turned out here today, especially with weather like this. We want to show the whole country that the Klan won't ride in the Motor City. I want to especially thank some of the brothers and sisters I can see here from Ford River Rouge that fought with us to drive out the two Klan-hooded foremen three weeks ago. We ran them the hell out of that plant. We want to run the Klan the hell out of Detroit and the hell out of the country.

The Klan murdered people in Greensboro, North Carolina and then they say they're coming here to Detroit. That's a damned provocation. And we wanted to protest. Mayor Coleman Young said "no." But brothers and sisters, yesterday we backed the mayor down and that's why we're out here today. We won.

The mayor said we would be arrested if we demonstrated here today, and we said if you do that, you're going to pay. We're auto workers. We're phone workers. We're Teamsters. We're militants in unions throughout this city. We're the working people who make this town run. We told the mayor that if he arrested five hundred, two hundred, a thousand who wanted to rally against the Klan in this city, then go ahead. But he could kiss off ever being elected again in this city.

Why aren't there 20,000, 30,000 auto workers, phone workers, Teamsters out at this rally? How come these racist scum in the Klan can even think about showing up in a town that's a black and labor city? A town that belongs to us? I'll tell you why. It's the union officials who sat on their ass rather than mobilize against the Klan terror in Detroit. They're not labor leaders. They're bureaucrats. Lots of guys out here from the plant have other names for them too. The only thing Local 600 did was send a letter to Washington, to Lester Maddox's running mate.

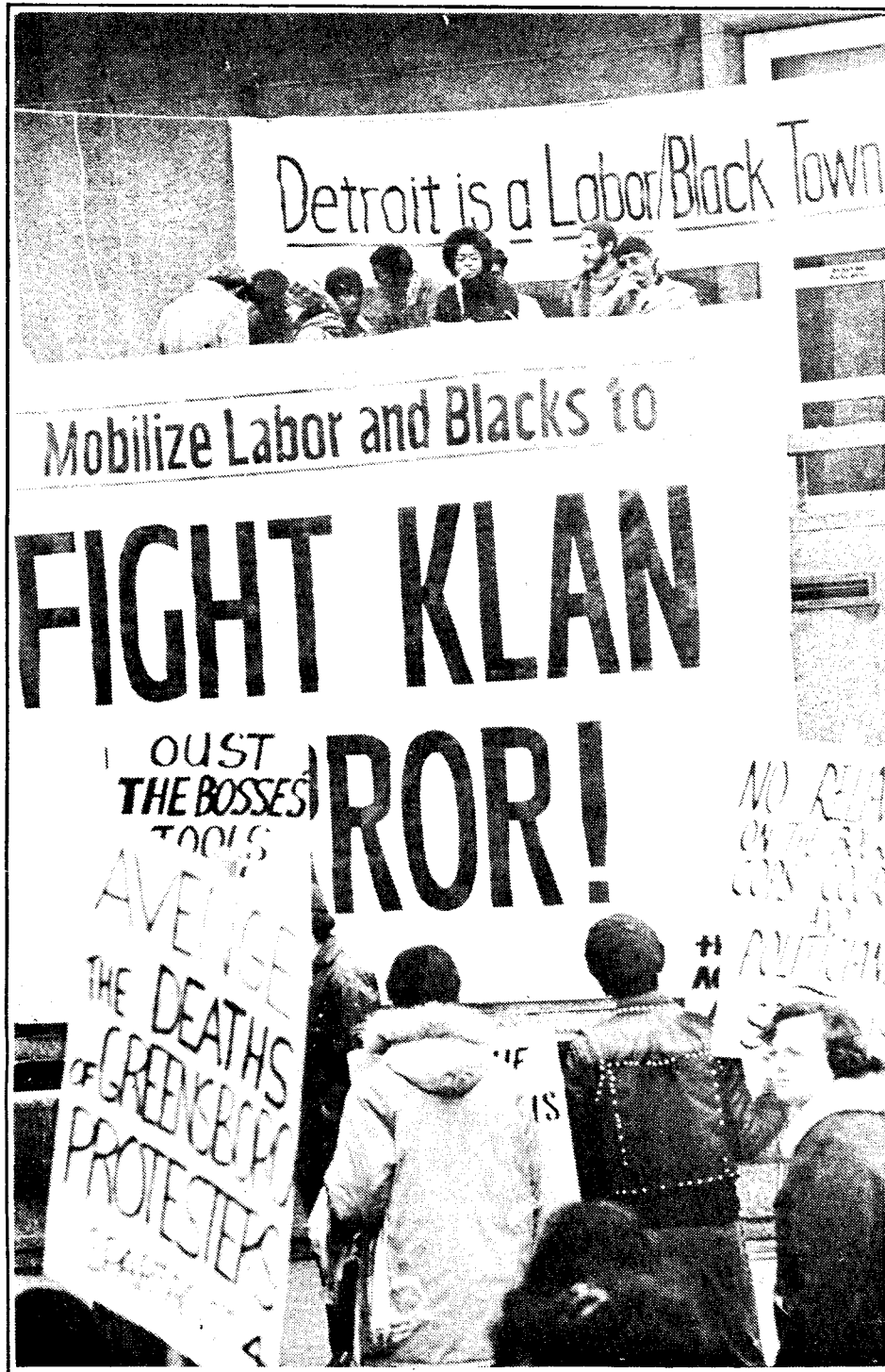
Some liberals have told me, "Well, the fascists, they have under the constitution the right to free speech." This is a giant lie. They're not a discussion club—they're terrorists out to murder us. Klansmen don't speak, they act in the night. These same liberals—the ones who think these killers have free speech—will also tell you that you



Frank Hicks

WV Photo

We present here excerpted speeches given at the Labor/Black Rally on November 10 in Detroit's Kennedy Square.



WV Photo

should rely on the government to protect your rights. But that's where the run-around starts. It's like the police in Greensboro, who told the demonstrators they couldn't interfere with the Klansmen's so-called rights, because the Klan hadn't broken any laws. The Klan hadn't broken any laws until five brothers and sisters lay dead in the street. After you're murdered the government will defend your civil rights. Thanks a lot, we don't need it.

It's important that people in Detroit speak out in the defense of people in the South who arm themselves against Klan terror. **They have the right to arm themselves against Klan terror.** Ted Kennedy says gun control will stop crime. We don't want gun control. Some say that if guns are outlawed only outlaws will have guns. That's not true. What happens is that the Klan will still have guns. **Down with gun controls, that leave guns in the hands of the KKK killers!**

Then there are some people in the left and labor movement who think that a handful of individuals can substitute themselves for the labor movement. That a handful of people can take the place of militant struggles against the fascists on the part of auto workers and others. They usually end up in some type of confrontation where the leftists are outnumbered by the police, and not a blow is struck against the fascists. We must organize workers in this country

against this kind of racist terror. There is no substitute for the labor movement mobilizing by the tens of thousands to stop the Klan.

Why hasn't the official labor leadership done it? Because they've been in bed with the bosses for so long. Who told us to vote for Coleman Young, who wanted to stop this rally? Everybody here hates Carter. Everybody here hates the oil bosses. But who was the first person to back Jimmy Carter? It was Leonard Woodcock, our so-called leader. He got his. He's an ambassador in China. We want ours.

So who's going to be next? Ted Kennedy? Is Kennedy going to give us jobs? Is Kennedy going to make Ford and GM take the losses? Hell no! He's going to give us more of the same we've been getting from Carter, from that racist millionaire peanut boss. Even Kennedy says he agrees with Carter on nine out of ten issues.

Brothers and sisters, it's up to us. What happened at Rouge, what happened today is just a taste of what we can do. We need a class-struggle leadership that will use the power we have as workers, the power we used to drive 'em out of Rouge, the power we will use to drive 'em out of Detroit. Not only to crush the Klan and the Nazis, but to forge a workers party, to build a workers government that'll do away with the bosses' racist system once and for all. I thanks for coming out, brothers. ■

Don Alexander Spartacist League

I'm Don Alexander, and I'm on the executive committee of the Spartacist League here in Detroit. The Spartacist League has worked to build this rally because we know, like the brothers from Rouge and Chrysler said, it takes the power of labor to smash the KKK killers once and for all. Maybe you know the Spartacist League. We're Marxists, Trotskyists. That means we are for working-class revolution. It seems pretty simple to us. The Klan shoots down black and labor organizers in the South, and we respond here in Detroit the way any Marxists would—like they did in the '30s, when they got 50,000 people to Madison Square Garden to deal with the fascists. It seems pretty simple. But who else does it?

It's like Topaz said about Iran. You don't have to be a socialist to see what Khomeini is all about. All you have to do is to be a woman—or a drinker. But the Spartacist League was alone when we said, "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" All the other leftists were chasing after that religious fanatic. So it ought to be ABC. We say the bosses' political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, can't defend the working people. We need a workers party. Pretty simple, but it sounds like heresy in this town where people tell us to vote for "progressive" Democrats like Coleman Young, Ken Cockrel and the rest.

You know what Coleman Young is—the awful example of what selling your black political soul to the Democratic Party means. You sort of go morally and politically blind. After a while you can't tell the difference between the guys in white sheets and the guys on the other side. Of course, Coleman Young, he'll tell you that he's on the workers' side. **Do not believe this. It is a lie.** Coleman Young broke the sanitation workers strike right here in Detroit two years ago. So we're sick of this crap.

There ought to be candidates coming out of the ghettos of this city, out of Livernois, out of Dequindre, the Near Eastside—candidates who run against the Democratic Party. There ought to be candidates for whom black people and working people can vote for a change. A slate of labor/black candidates who say what's in the interests of working people, of black people, who

continued on page 7



Don Alexander

WV Photo

TWU...

(continued from page 4)

TWU's founder had a heart attack in prison and died two weeks later, but lived long enough to see the transit workers victorious in that strike.

The union's leadership has always been tightly controlled by an Irish clique. At one time this reflected the TWU's ethnic composition. While the huge subway tunnels had been built by an earlier wave of Italian immigrants, by the Depression years subway workers were mostly Irish, and many of their leaders former combatants in the Irish Republican Army. As late as 1965 less than a third of NYC transit workers were black. But with the 1966 strike victory and the 20-year-service pension won in the following contract (lost in 1973), thousands of old-timers left the industry. Today almost half of Local 100's members are black and Latin, together constituting a strong majority in the key motormen's division.

After Quill's death, his lieutenants tried to hold on. They still hold occasional city hall labor rallies, rambling on about the old days in the IRA, while setting themselves up in comfortable sinecures. Atop what remains essentially a one-city base, TWU leaders have erected a bureaucratic superstructure worthy of a genuine national union. When Matthew Guinan retired as International president this year, Lawe became an International vice president, insurance against losing the Local election.

Out-Bureaucrats Rely on Capitalist State

Balanced precariously on a narrow base, the TWU bureaucracy is brittle and isolated from the membership. In particular, its ethnic exclusiveness and loss of some 5,000 TWU jobs over the past five years have not helped its popularity. Yet none of the three different opposition slates running in the current elections presents a program to mobilize the TWU in militant class struggle against the capitalists and their politicians. None so much as calls for a strike to win an adequate contract. And all of these fake-oppositionists are united in the treacherous policy of dragging the union into the bosses'

courts.

The most active opposition to Guinan/Lawe over the past several years has been the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, headed by Henry Lewis. Concerned Transit harks back to the Transit Rank and File group of black nationalist Joe Carnegie. Rank and File was allied with Jim Haughton's Harlem Fightback, a group then active in recruiting black workers to go along with Nixon's "Philadelphia Plan" to break the white construction unions' hiring halls. Carnegie also popularized the poisonous policy of appealing to capitalist courts, even calling in 1972 for the union's decertification on the basis of the New York state Taylor Law forbidding the TWU (and all government employees) to strike!

While his speeches are full of demagoguery and tough talk, Lewis' real program is reliance on the capitalist state, as demonstrated in the case of the 1978 contract. At one critical juncture, speaking before a 1,000-strong rally against the contract outside union headquarters on April 11, Lewis declared emphatically, "We are not in any way, shape or form calling for a strike." When Lawe tried to intimidate wavering members into voting up the rotten settlement by printing ballots labeled "I accept" or "I reject and vote to strike," Lewis joined with George McDonald to bring the union into court... on the grounds it was trying to force the membership into a strike. When the court realized that the TWU ranks, despite intimidation tactics, had gone ahead and voted to strike, the judge had the ballots destroyed and the vote thrown out. (TWU leaders made sure the next balloting went their way by adding MABSTOA and private-line bus drivers' votes to the election count.)

Another opposition is the McDonald slate. With his base in the Cars and Shops department at the sprawling Coney Island subway yards, George McDonald appeals mainly to conservative craftsmen and white workers. Big on suing the union, he is presently campaigning to raise money for bullet-proof vests for transit police—the same cops who may be escorting scabs through TWU picket lines come April. McDonald brags of his government "top secret" clearance,

while a candidate for vice president on his slate lists as a qualification that he was "an agent of the U.S. government for ten years." TWU militants should demand to know which government agencies McDonald and his cronies are tied to. The CIA? FBI? Informers and "government agents" do not belong in labor organizations and should be driven out. While McDonald demands bullet-proof vests for transit cops, class-struggle militants demand cops out of the unions!

The sentiment for a unified opposition slate has been skillfully manipulated by Arnold Cherry, a black shop steward at the 207th Street subway yards. Cherry has fused seven parochial, craft-centered opposition groups into one big (equally parochial) Unity Slate. Among them are revenue collectors who in 1978 brought a decertification suit against the union. His shopping list of "progressive" demands—more union democracy, a pay raise—earned Cherry the endorsement of the Communist Party, for which he has been hysterically red-baited by Lawe. Unity also claims the support of executive board member Ed Winn, from surface maintenance, who is 100 percent endorsed by the provocateur Workers League. Seeing the isolation of Guinan/Lawe, the Unity Slate has pulled together a well-integrated coalition of whites, blacks and Latins. But what program did these people offer in 1974-76 when the city labor bureaucrats tied the union movement to the tracks in front of the Big MAC express? As we go to press, the Unity Slate has again gone to court against the union, this time to hold up the balloting.

A Fighting TWU Program to Lead New York Labor

The union must first and foremost prepare now for a big strike in April to recoup wages lost over the past half decade. Not just the 30 percent increase, which each of the opposition slates and Lawe himself promise but which none has a strategy to win. TWU members also need a 100 percent cost-of-living allowance to protect against inflation. Instead of slashing jobs (and adding cops), there must be a massive employment program to make up for the crippling attrition rate. As a result of the

TA's vicious speed-up and productivity drive, coupled with virtual elimination of basic maintenance programs, the system has fallen into phenomenal decay, endangering the lives of both workers and passengers.

Transit workers must build public support for their struggle by using their muscle to stop the MTA's outrageous proposals for new service cuts. The TWU should simply announce that if any attempt is made to implement these cuts it will shut the system down; likewise if any of the capitalist politicians or the MTA so much as mentions the words "75 cent fare." TWU has been on record for years for a free fare—so let's see some action! In opposing a strike last time around, the TWU leadership said the union could not stand alone. There is a grain of truth in this (although as every NYC mayor knows, transit workers have the power to shut the city down tight). The answer is not to do nothing, but to demand that other city unions join with the TWU in an offensive against the "austerity" program that lines the bankers' pockets while robbing workers' paychecks.

It could have been done in 1974-76, when everyone—city workers facing layoffs and wage cuts, CUNY students who had seen tuition imposed, middle-class residents of Co-op City facing astronomical rent hikes, ghetto residents watching fire stations and hospitals close down—was itching to fight the monstrous cuts. They needed above all a militant leadership, but the Lawes, Shankers and Gotbaums saw their role as propping up the Democratic Party while the mayor went begging to Washington.

The offensive must be waged not only through strike action but politically. Arrogant "Mayatollah" Koch (when he's not on radio broadcasting the names of "johns" picked up with prostitutes on Minnesota Strip, or declaring "fascism has arrived" after demonstrators hit him with raw eggs) still has to go to the polls. The TWU should lead the way by fighting for a union candidate against the Democrats and Republicans. There must be a fight within the union to oust the pro-Democratic Party bureaucracy and build a workers party, to lead the struggle for a workers government. ■

Cambodia...

(continued from page 3)

be distributed to people under Pol Pot's control as well, despite the civil war conditions and obvious predominance of the Hanoi-backed regime. According to one report, UN troops would be required to distribute the aid, and Australia volunteered to be part of the "peacekeeping force" (*Asiaweek*, 26 October). Naturally, Phnom Penh rejected this blackmail. No red tape has held up aid going into Thailand, however. Food supplies available across the border have turned a refugee trickle—little more than a few Chinese advisors of Pol Pot turned up in Thailand in the few months immediately after the Vietnamese takeover—into a flood.

Recent U.S. actions clearly serve to bolster Pol Pot, who controls enough of the distribution to funnel aid into Cambodia, where his guerrilla fighters get preference. But food is only the beginning. More than half a dozen rightist groups led by former officials and generals of the Sihanouk and Lon Nol regimes, and probably supplied and backed by the CIA via Thailand, are now operating alongside the Khmer Rouge inside Cambodia against their common enemy. One of these, the "Khmer Serika," is called the "paras" by Vietnamese, apparently because of their crisp new camouflage uniforms. Thailand itself is getting rush shipments and top priority on U.S. military aid, including latest model M48 tanks and sophisticated TOW anti-tank missile systems, with plenty of American

advisors for training.

Against this background, Jimmy Carter's call for prayers for the Cambodians, and statements that the "aid" issue is "beyond politics... a matter of simple and humanitarian concern" coming from White House officials ring hollow indeed. Although more aid is now being flown into Phnom Penh by Western agencies for appearances' sake, the latest U.S. ploy is to demand the Heng Samrin government's approval for a "land bridge" of aid from Thailand, which would only strengthen the already existing links to the various rightist bands operating in border areas.

The Threat Behind Imperialist Tears for Cambodia

But what is it all for? Surely the U.S. has no desire to restore the former Pol Pot regime, despite the latter's valiant effort to beat the U.S.' own record for brutality in Southeast Asia. The Khmer Rouge gang, however, is now out of power and former president Khieu Samphan called in September for a "front of national unity" against Vietnam, stating "the past is no obstacle" (*New York Times*, 3 September). If this program could be realized, it would lead to a social counterrevolution in Cambodia—and, not incidentally, to the slaughter of the weak Khmer Rouge forces after "victory," since only imperialist-armed forces could defeat the powerful Vietnamese army, and their program for exploiting the Cambodian population does not have room in it for Pol Pot's xenophobic peasant collectivism.

With a reported 180,000 Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, neither the Pol Pot nor the Sihanouk "options" appear to have much chance. But none of them would exist at all were it not for the Thai/imperialist aid and comfort. Vietnam is hungry and devastated by war, pressed militarily in the north by China and internationally isolated except for its alliance with the Soviet Union. But the counterrevolutionary Brezhnev bureaucracy refused to honor its treaty with Vietnam during the Chinese invasion in February, opting instead for the illusion of "détente" with imperialism. And the longer the imperialists and their Thai and Chinese allies can keep an anti-Vietnamese option open in Cambodia, thus forcing the Vietnamese army to remain, the greater chance they have of making the national question work against the Vietnamese Stalinists.

When the Heng Samrin puppet regime was installed by the Vietnamese army, after a lengthy and vicious border war, the international Spartacist tendency refused to support either side in what was then essentially a war between qualitatively equivalent Stalinist regimes. We warned that the continuing occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese army would ultimately "increase the poison of national chauvinism among both peoples..." (*WF* No. 223, 19 January). We did not, however, call for withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, pointing out that "history will decide" whether the Cambodian people might not actually prefer the Hanoi-installed regime to the unspeakable atrocities and starvation under Pol Pot. Today, almost a year later, it appears

that Heng Samrin's government is, at least for now, preferred by the Cambodian people. And it is increasingly obvious that the active alternative to the Vietnamese army is capitalist counterrevolution.

Should an imperialist-backed alliance launch a military assault against the Phnom Penh regime, Marxists would be duty-bound to call for military victory to the Vietnamese army. Not because of any political confidence in the Hanoi Stalinists, who would like to make Cambodia into an economic satellite and rice basket in order to build up Vietnamese industry. The destruction of the Cambodian economy, first by imperialist bombing and then by peasant Stalinism run amok, points to the crying need for an international socialist order. Those who are moved by the sight of starving children in Cambodia must not be taken in by Carter's "humanitarian" plots. Reformist schemes which rely on imperialist handouts and "aid" as the solution for every backward country—the current gimmick of the Socialist Workers Party from "Nicargagua" to Cambodia, are ultimately reactionary traps.

The answer to famine and misery in Asia is working-class revolution throughout the capitalist world, and particularly in the imperialist centers, in order to rationally redistribute the productive resources of mankind; and political revolution by the Indochinese workers (together with the proletariat of all the degenerated/deformed workers states) against their Stalinist misrulers, to undercut the poisonous nationalisms which still wrack the area. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

USSR (which no doubt figures its Teheran embassy could be next) voted in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the seizure. Even radical-bonapartist "Third World" regimes—which are usually eager to thumb their noses at Yankee imperialism, and whose "socialist" rhetoric is proportional to the savage tyranny generated by an aspiring capitalist class struggling to consolidate itself under conditions of extreme economic backwardness—have been noticeably reticent. Diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies are seldom violated even by nations at war, though every diplomatic office conducts its share of spying and intelligence gathering. These diplomatic rules of the game are necessary to maintain international relations between nation-states, until the nation-state itself has disappeared in a socialist world.

In order to undercut the international disapproval which greeted the Teheran embassy occupation, Khomeini has agreed to release women and black hostages who are not suspected of being spies. This he explains as an expression of Islam's "regard" for women and the oppression of racial minorities in the U.S. Nonsense! Islam's "regard" for women is expressed in the *chador*, the head-to-toe veil which is the symbol of their enslavement and imprisonment within the home. Islam has also given institutional support to the slave trade, and to this day black chattel slavery exists in Islamic countries on the Arabian peninsula. And Khomeini's "regard" for Iran's ethnic, national and religious minorities is demonstrated by his savage persecution of the Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, Turkish-speaking nationalities and minor religions (notably the Ba'hai).

Chauvinist Backlash in the U.S.

The thousands demonstrating daily in front of the occupied American embassy in Teheran in support of the ayatollah were echoed by Iranian students in the U.S. But marchers carrying Khomeini icons in the streets of Washington, D.C. and Houston, Texas soon discovered that they were not in Teheran or Abadan under the mullahs' rule. In Houston a November 7 Iranian student march calling for extradition of the shah was followed the next day by 1,500 angry demonstrators at the Iranian consulate, chanting "Take Your Oil and Shove It," burning Iranian flags, waving Old Glory and signs reading, "Camel Jockeys Go Home." Outside Reno, Nevada the owner of Mustang Ranch, a local brothel, posted a sign announcing that no more Iranian students would be admitted until the hostages are released. He was fed up, he said, with the hypocrisy of the students who support Khomeini's puritanical policies yet patronize his establishment.

Carter answered the demands of the protesters on November 10 by ordering the attorney general to begin a chauvinist round-up and reregistration of Iranian students, in order to deport those who do not meet stringent visa requirements. Unprecedented immigra-

tion regulations were directed against the estimated 50,000-100,000 Iranian students in the U.S., the largest body of foreign students in the country. While students who hailed the ayatollah should have no complaints about returning to join the "Islamic Revolution," such expulsion orders would also be applied against those who opposed both the shah and Khomeini. If deported they would face "revolutionary tribunals" no less sinister than the shah's vicious SAVAK. On the other hand, one can be sure that the papers of the more than 270 Iranians studying in U.S. military academies will be found to be in order.

We oppose these draconian reregistration/deportation orders above all because of the history of such acts of victimization and the precedent it would set. The American heritage of using discriminatory immigration/citizenship laws against radicals goes back to the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798. In this century we have seen the 1919-20 Palmer Raids in which thousands of foreign-born communists, socialists and anarchists were expelled from the country in response to the Bolshevik Revolution; and the McCarran-Walter Act (sponsored by liberals such as Hubert Humphrey) passed at the height of the Cold War setting up concentration camps to intern communists in times of "national emergency." Carter's measure recalls in particular the rounding-up of Japanese-Americans and Japanese nationals during World War II when 160,000 were held in West Coast prison camps. Such racist measures as Carter's decree lay the basis, for example, for an internal passport system, and must be opposed by all those concerned to defend democratic rights.

Carter also upstaged the Khomeini regime's threat to cut off petroleum exports to the U.S. by ordering a ban on November 12 on Iranian oil (which supplies about 4 percent of American consumption). The order was hailed by the oil monopolies, who see it as another excuse to raise gasoline prices. However, Carter's next measure of economic warfare against the Persian "Islamic Republic" was not so well received in the business world. When the Iranian government threatened to withdraw its investments and deposits from U.S. banks—currently estimated at \$8 billion—Carter on November 14 froze these assets. The idea that not only banks in New York but also their branches in Europe and Iran should answer only to American law is certainly an expression of imperialist arrogance. And since most payments on the international oil market are made in dollars and to U.S.-owned banks, the move threatened to disrupt the petroleum market and fuel the move out of dollars. As the already battered dollar plunged relative to other currencies and gold rose, the capitalist press began making comparisons with Paul Erdman's fictionalized account of an Iranian-sparked crisis which plunges the capitalist world into economic ruin, aptly titled *The Crash of '79*.

The Shah's "Friend at Chase Manhattan"

One of the reasons given by the Iranian government for threatening to withdraw its funds from American-owned banks was the role of the Rockefeller family, and their "in-house intellectual," former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, in pressuring the U.S. to permit the shah to enter the country. The shah certainly has a "friend at Chase Manhattan," namely its chairman David Rockefeller, who together with Kissinger has consistently enunciated the position that America must stand by its despots through thick and thin. Rockefeller also has some financial interests involved, as the banker for a large chunk of the shah's estimated \$15-20 billion fortune. For eight months the Carter administration resisted the

Rockefeller entreaties because they knew admitting the shah to the U.S. would set off another explosion in Iran, where the U.S. was attempting to re-establish its sphere of influence. But in late October Secretary of State Vance finally gave in and acceded on the grounds of "human rights."

In threatening show trials of the American embassy staff for spy activities, the Khomeini regime points to another of the shah's long-time friends: the CIA. It was the Central Intelligence Agency which saved the Peacock Throne for Reza Pahlavi after he had been displaced by the bourgeois nationalist Mohammad Mossadeq in 1953. A swashbuckling account of that exploit by the central CIA operative involved, Kermit Roosevelt (grandson of President Teddy), was recently published and then precipitously withdrawn from the market and destroyed by the publisher (McGraw-Hill). *Workers Vanguard* managed to obtain a copy of the book, entitled *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran*, before it was recalled, allegedly for "production mistakes." The press is now floating the story that the book was pulled because of objections from the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, whose name is used as a cover for MI-6. More likely, however, it was deemed impolitic at this point to print such a braggart account of how the CIA made and unmade Iranian governments:

"The meeting in [CIA director Allen] Dulles' office, which was attended by other leaders of the American government, ended with the firm decision. The author was given the go-ahead to mastermind the overthrow of Mossadeq and return the Shah to the Peacock Throne."

The U.S. backed shah Reza Pahlavi for the same reason the British had backed his father: as the best hope to create a strong, centralized Persian anti-communist regime on the Soviet Union's southern flank. This same concern led the Carter administration to seek an understanding with Khomeini, despite Washington's earlier unconditional backing of the shah. After the embassy takeover, the *New York Times* (9 November) editorially complained about Khomeini's ingratitude:

"He knows that Washington tried to appease him by discouraging the Shah from settling here in the first place. The Ayatollah also knows that the Carter Administration gave him military aid to crush various rebels and encouraged American business to help rebuild his economy."

But what the *Times* finds so hard to understand is that Jimmy Carter, who talks as if his every act is ordained by god, is a "born again" phony, while the ayatollah actually believes in what he says, and acts on it.

By granting the shah "medical asylum," Carter gave Khomeini the pretext to channel the mounting discontent with his clerical tyranny into fury against the distant ex-dictator. It is U.S. imperialism which created Khomeini, by helping the shah crush the labor movement and the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party and thereby leaving the mullahs an open field as the main organized opposition to the bloody autocrat. The shah's attempts at modernization alienated all sections of society from him, especially the clergy who opposed his half-hearted reforms for *going too far*. As for the deposed monarch, we are in favor of the shah getting his just deserts, with as unfair a trial as possible, and oppose any attempt to grant him asylum in the U.S. or elsewhere. But the tyrant-in-power is no less guilty of crimes against the Iranian working people and oppressed than his predecessor.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is an 80-year-old religious fanatic convinced that he will soon be greeted by a special delegation from Allah, and ready to take everyone with him in a fiery twilight of the gods. He is determined to impose a theocratic "Islamic Republic" which is closer to Jonestown, Guyana than Calvin's Geneva; and if the Iranians are

not ready, they deserve to perish. To Carter's threats he responds: "We are a nation of 35 million and many of these people are looking forward to martyrdom.... After they have all been martyred, then they can do what they want with Iran." This apocalyptic vision and program offers no future to the Iranian masses. It is only through proletarian revolution, led by an Iranian Trotskyist party, that the oppressed can break the chains of imperialism and Islamic obscurantism and emancipate themselves from the shahs and ayatollahs forever. ■

Who Got Tony Scotto...

(continued from page 2)

got \$200,000. But at the barest minimum the government had to have spent well over *twenty* times that amount *every year* to nail Tony. The government big boys can hardly slide around on the amount of palm grease they are talking about in the Scotto case. No, they have gone after Scotto for what he has that is decent. And they have targeted him as the head of a union the government has been gunning for now for 30 years.

Using the mob as an excuse, the government invaded the union in an attempt to break it. In the early 1950s, the East Coast dock workers fought the attempt by the government and Meany to replace their union with an AFL affiliate. They staged massive strikes and work stoppages. And they were not taken in by the lie that all the government wanted to do was fight corruption on the docks.

Since 1975, the federal government has launched a massive new probe of "waterfront corruption." Some two dozen ILA officials have been indicted on racketeering charges, while more than 350 subpoenas for union and shipping company officials and their records have been issued. Three more ILA locals are scheduled to go on trial soon. "The goal isn't just to get a couple of convictions," said one Justice Department official in 1978. "The goal is the clean up the union and to change the way business is done on the docks" (*New York Times*, 9 June).

The government is now trying to remove Tony Scotto as part of its campaign "to keep tainted labor leaders off the docks" (*New York Times*, 20 November). In this drive the government has at its disposal a rather complete arsenal of legal weapons forged in the 1950s to fight other "tainted" leaders—the "reds" and militants in the unions. These laws, like the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts, are aimed at weakening the entire union movement.

Liberals and their left hangers-on have pushed for the government to enter on the "progressive" side of union affairs. What dangerous betrayal! The government always casts itself as some shining knight crusading against brass-knuckle justice, "mob rule" or racism.

Detroit Spartacist League Forum

Detroit Is A Labor/Black Town FIGHT KLAN TERROR!

Speaker: **Don Alexander**

Detroit
Spartacist League
Executive Committee

Guest speaker: **Frank Hicks**

UAW Local 600

Sunday, December 2 7:00 p.m.
Central United Methodist Church
23 East Adams at Woodward
4th Floor Lounge

Donation: \$1.00
For information call: (313) 868-9095

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York

Mon.-Fri.: 6:30-9:00 p.m. Sat.: 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway, Room 522
New York, New York Phone: (212) 925-5665

But as with their vendetta against Teamsters' leader Jimmy Hoffa, it was really the union they were going for. Behind the government's attack on Hoffa was its appetite to weaken the IBT's master freight contract. Even its move against the Mine Workers' murderous leader, Tony Boyle, was an attempt to control the explosive UMWA. Indeed, a clear attempt to use the Scotto case to bust the union was seen today when the waterfront commission announced that if Tony Scotto does not resign his union post, they will disallow the dues checkoff for the ILA (*New York Times*, 20 November).

Labor militants would oppose Scotto's reformist policies within the union, fighting in particular against his loyal political link to the Democratic Party. But we demand: Let the union take care of its own. In the National Maritime Union (NMU), for example, the Curran/Wall bureaucracy is surely as personally venal as they come; but the class-struggle Militant-Solidarity Caucus has correctly and steadfastly defended the union against the numerous court suits brought by liberal opportunists. Tony Scotto was elected to his ILA posts and the union members ought to militantly defend him against the government's attempt to drive him out.

Between the government and Scotto we stand against the government in principle. For Murray Kempton the question is a fairly simple moral matter. "At bottom," he writes, "he is a good man." For us the matter is more political, more complex. It is doubtless true that Tony Scotto has been a lot of things besides a family man and a concerned citizen. Tony Scotto is a pro-capitalist labor bureaucrat, better than many, and a Democratic Party bigwig. He is no thug in a cashmere suit. What class-struggle militants have against Scotto is what we have against the Reuthers, the Gotbaums and the rest.

Meanwhile, as far as we're concerned, Tony Scotto doesn't belong in jail on this bum rap. ■

OCI/LCR in Frenzy...

(continued from page 2)

As the weeks go by, the LCI becomes increasingly heterogeneous. Some militants now in the LCI split with the USec over Nicaragua and could, under the pressure of events, seek to generalize their leftist impulses into a consistent

program. This would present a problem for Lambert and Nemo, for in that direction lies the Trotskyist program of the LTF, which has over the years systematically demonstrated a coherent revolutionary programmatic alternative to both the USec and the OCRFI.

But political struggle is anathema to Lambert. So he seeks to cover his left flank in the only way he knows how—physical intimidation, violence and vicious slander. Lambert should watch out, for ours is a revolutionary program which has already found partial and contradictory echoes among leftist members of the LCI. The attack against the LTF is also a message to leftists in the LCI: in Lambert's organization there is no room for political oppositionists. Lambert himself brags that there hasn't been a faction fight in the OCI since 1953 (*Rouge*, 25 May 1979)! The way they dealt with the bureaucrat [Charles] Berg⁶ and the dubious [Michel] Varga⁷ is the concrete proof of this.

Do you hate Mandel, do you hate Lambert, do you want to fight on the basis of the Transitional Program against the union bureaucrats and the reformist leaders of the mass workers parties, fight for the workers to take power? Do you agree with the iSt program on Nicaragua and Iran? THEN

YOU BETTER THINK TWICE, AND THEN THINK AGAIN before making the decision to stay with these bands of cynical and worn-out revisionists, either in the LCR or, by joining the LCI, ending up in the OCI.

For the rebirth of the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism! Join the Ligue Trotskyiste de France! 19 November 1979

¹Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire of Alain Krivine, French section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec).

²Organisation Communiste Internationaliste of Pierre Lambert, the core of the Lambertist OCRFI (Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International).

³LTF—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt).

⁴Ligue Communiste Internationaliste—the organization set up by French supporters of the pro-OCI Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency and Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction after their expulsion/walkout from the LCR congress on November 1.

⁵French leaders of the LTT.

⁶OCI ex-youth leader purged earlier this year.

⁷Hungarian OCI leader who in the late 1950s appealed to the U.S. State Department for funds. Purged in 1972 for political differences with Lambert, Varga was suddenly discovered by the OCI to be a longtime "CIA agent" (and later "KGB agent" as well).

Margolis...

(continued from page 12)

lican parties, and why we need a workers party."

But in attacking Jane Margolis and seeking to intimidate, isolate and gag her, Carter's agents were attacking the CWA and the entire trade-union movement. The methods the government employed against her are the same methods which it employs against labor generally. Of course, the top layer of the trade-union bureaucracy, which collaborates with the capitalist politicians in quashing labor militancy, will seek to deny this. But as the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition to which Margolis belongs, explained in a leaflet issued at the CWA convention: "If this year they can handcuff and detain the only delegate who spoke against Carter at last year's convention, then it's clear what kind of union-busting attacks Carter has in store for the whole union in our 1980 contract fight."

When Jane Margolis was dragged off the floor of the CWA convention, this incident received wide publicity. Some 100 members of her local responded immediately with telegrams demanding a public apology by Carter to Margolis and the CWA, and later 600 local members signed petitions of protest. A Los Angeles CWA local passed a motion condemning the Secret Service attack. And from as far away as Australia telegrams were sent by the South Coast Labor Council and the Newcastle branch of the Waterside Workers Federation protesting the illegal seizure of union official Jane Margolis by the U.S. Secret Service.

The announcement of Margolis' suit was covered by all three major Bay Area dailies, local radio and TV as well as the *Detroit News*. A Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment,

composed of CWA members who intend to seek publicity and support for the lawsuit, has already been formed. All those who seek to preserve democratic rights, and especially the rights of labor, should rally to the support of the Committee. ■

Send donations in support of this campaign to:

Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment
P.O. Box 12324
San Francisco, CA 94112

Lawsuit...

(continued from page 12)

can people, especially working people. President Carter and his aides used the platform of the CWA convention in an attempt to demonstrate labor support for these anti-labor policies at the precise time when his popularity had plunged to its lowest ebb in nationwide polls. Although the Minneapolis Labor Trial was vastly greater in scale and consequence than the present case, the government's actions against the Minneapolis labor militants and socialists did not differ in essence from the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service: both occurrences involved wielding the power of the state to identify, isolate, delaminate, damage, and suppress sources of militant political opposition within the trade unions. The Carter administration had generated an atmosphere of pre-election crisis and desperation in which a verbal expression of political opposition to the President at the CWA convention could not be tolerated.

Historically, civil liberties and the rights of labor have been thrown to the winds of expediency by the United States government in its drive to control and pacify the labor movement. Groups perceived as threatening immediate or long-range government policies have come under repeated and concerted assault by the state. The Smith Act prosecutions of 1941, for instance, were used as the legal precedent for the sweeping prosecutions of the Communist Party in the late 1940's and early 1950's. From the mass trials of the Industrial Workers of the World during the first World War to the "non-Communist" affidavit requirements of

the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, the government has swept aside the rights of labor in the interests of the employing class. But the rights of labor are the cornerstone of democratic rights generally, as the hideous experience of fascism has demonstrated most dramatically.

Today, many in and out of government claim that the air has been cleared of the stench of witchhunting and political secret police operations against political opponents and dissidents. The Smith Act sedition law, it is claimed, has been rendered "moot" and the "non-Communist" affidavits effectively discarded. Even Francis Biddle, who, as Acting Attorney General prosecuted the original Smith Act trial, regrets his actions upon reflection in what he calls "the cooler breath of the passing years":

"I doubted whether any speech or writing should be made criminal. I thought that this provision might be declared unconstitutional under the First Amendment of the Constitution, which protected freedom of utterance. And, with some reluctance, I authorized a prosecution so that the law would be tested at the threshold, and taken to the Supreme Court, where it would I hoped and believed, be knocked out. ... but to my surprise the Supreme Court refused to review it. The Victory for the government became a defeat for me. ... I have since come to regret that I authorized the prosecution."

—F. Biddle, *In Brief Authority* (1962), p. 151-52

With the Watergate exposure and consequent Congressional investigations, there have been repeated claims that no longer are the government's police agencies used as weapons for the political advantage of the president or

governing party. Further, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has proposed an end to the "widespread abuses of the past." Even Vice-President Mondale has promised prohibitions against covert harassment of individuals and groups "privately regarded by law enforcement officers as improper, such as the past COINTELPRO effort of the FBI" (*New York Times*, August 9, 1977). The government assures the public that this program of illegal government harassment and disruption of leftist, civil rights and anti-war organizations has ceased. But the harassment of Jane Margolis and the disruption of the legitimate activities of the CWA point clearly to the fact that the government has not given up its methods. To head off a future upsurge of workers, the government could launch a new COINTELPRO, this time aimed straight at the heart of the labor movement.

Thus the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service challenges in principle the government's interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade-union movement. Her "crime" in the eyes of the Secret Service is the defense of her union against the policies of Jimmy Carter. But Jane Margolis belonged at the CWA convention and she had a right and a duty to those who elected her to express before her union brothers and sisters her views that, "This man Jimmy Carter does not belong at our union meeting." Jane Margolis does not deny her political opposition to the policies of the present government; she does deny the government's right to gag her. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001
(212) 925-2426

Ann Arbor

c/o SYL, Room 4102
Michigan Union
University of Mich
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
(313) 994-8051

Berkeley/Oakland

Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623
(415) 835-1535

Boston

Box 188
MIT Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

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

Cleveland

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

Detroit

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

Houston

Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles

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

New York

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

San Diego

P.O. Box 142
Chula Vista, CA 92010

San Francisco

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

Santa Cruz

c/o SYL
Box 2842
Santa Cruz, CA 95063

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

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

Vancouver

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

Winnipeg

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

Spartacist League Forum

Stop Government Harassment of Union Militant!

Guest

Speaker: **Jane Margolis**
Executive Board
CWA Local 9410

Friday, December 7, 7:30 P.M.
Auditorium U.C. Extension
55 Laguna, San Francisco, CA
For more information: 863-6963

San Francisco

WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Militant Sues Over Criminal Assault

Jane Margolis vs. Carter's Secret Service

SAN FRANCISCO—Jane Margolis, an executive board member of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, announced in a press conference on November 14—held at the offices of her attorney, Charles Garry—the filing of an unprecedented lawsuit against the U.S. Secret Service. As her complaint asserts, the case “challenges *in principle* the government’s interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade-union movement.”

Addressing reporters from the *Oakland Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, local radio and press services, and *Workers Vanguard*, Margolis declared that she was suing Secret Service agents for damages in excess of one million dollars. At the CWA convention held in Detroit last July federal agents invaded the union proceedings to prevent her from speaking against the anti-labor policies of President Jimmy Carter, who was scheduled to address that body. Carter’s personal police dragged Jane from the convention floor, manhandled and handcuffed her, deprived her of legal counsel and threatened to arrest and imprison her.

“The Secret Service was not acting to protect the life of the president but rather they were acting as political agents of Jimmy Carter,” Margolis told reporters. “This is government intervention in the labor movement, an attack on freedom of speech and it is an attempt to make it look like the labor movement was 100 percent behind

Jimmy Carter.”

Despite constant reassurances by successive administrations that “excessive” state repression is a thing of the past, the stench of Watergate and COINTELPRO continues to hang in the air. Responding to the question of a reporter who asked if Jane was charging the Carter administration with “dirty tricks,” Charles Garry emphasized that the attack on Margolis was hardly an aberration: “You see, the Carter administration is not the only one that resorts to this kind of conduct. Carter is just

following suit of the kind of things that other administrations have done over a period of years....”

But the importance of the Margolis case rests in the fact that the agencies of state repression directed their blows at the labor movement. While the government had admitted that “in the past” it harassed and infiltrated socialist organizations and civil rights groups, it has always asserted that the trade unions were out of bounds for its dirty tricks. As the preface to the complaint establishes, however, the history of the labor

movement is replete with one attempt after another by the government to suppress workers’ militancy.

Only a few weeks after the CWA convention, the Secret Service mobilized to prevent members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) from confronting Jimmy Carter over his energy policies. Subsequently the union filed a complaint with the Secret Service, which claims to be conducting an investigation of the matter. The Margolis suit strikes directly at the need to repel such continued attempts by the government to manipulate and subvert the trade unions.

The federal police directed their brazen and criminal acts at Jane Margolis precisely because she is a well-known union militant with a long record of opposing the subordination of her union to the dictates of the government and the capitalist parties. As she explained to reporters, her intentions to speak against Carter’s policies at the convention were “known and expected, since at last year’s convention I had spoken against his use of the Taft-Hartley law in an attempt to break the miners strike and about his threats to use Taft-Hartley against a national phone strike. In my campaign literature... I had talked about how we must smash Carter’s wage freeze and that the workers should not have any confidence in what I consider to be the anti-labor, strikebreaking Democratic and Repub-

continued on page 11

CWA convention, July 1979: Secret Service thugs drag Jane Margolis off convention floor as fellow union members protest.



“No Ordinary Lawsuit”

Reprinted below is the preliminary statement to the Jane Margolis legal complaint.

This is no ordinary lawsuit. At its heart, the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service poses a significant question concerning the independence of the labor movement from coercive state control: do trade-union members have the right to hold views and advocate programs within the trade unions which are perceived by the executive government and its police agencies as opposing government policy or as politically embarrassing to high government officials?

The facts of this case are without precedent in the history of the organized labor movement in America. Never before have federal police agents disrupted a national convention of a major trade union to forcibly remove an elected delegate by dragging her from her legitimate post on the convention floor and manhandling

her before her fellow delegates as if she were a dangerous common criminal. Deprived of counsel, which she repeatedly requested, Jane Margolis was detained, manacled, interrogated, and threatened with arrest and imprisonment during the proceedings of a national union convention to which she had been elected to represent thousands of local members of the Communications Workers of America [hereinafter “CWA”]. All of this was done in preparation for President Carter’s speech at the CWA convention, where it was announced that he would respond to delegates’ questions and statements.

Although the particular events are unprecedented, Jane Margolis’ case has shaping historical antecedents in which the immediate political aims of the executive government have been

imposed upon labor by force. Governmental invasion into the union movement on behalf of employers has become routine; the spectacular intervention of the state at moments of sharp labor struggle through the use of troops, police, court injunctions and imprisonment is well documented. But this case concerns a special form of governmental intervention, intended to control the political climate of the trade unions in order to achieve specific ends. This case concerns governmental intervention designed to influence and predetermine the outcome of deliberations of the unions, to secure political advantage for particular government programs, and to stage a show of political support for government officials, in the present case for the President.

The most far-reaching case in

modern United States history exemplifying this type of governmental intervention into the labor movement was the Minneapolis Labor Trial prosecutions of 1941. The Minneapolis Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO was a successfully organized stronghold of militant, independent trade unionism, and it stood virtually alone in the labor movement in its left-wing opposition to the war. On the eve of World War II, President Roosevelt was anxious to quell the resistance among the ranks of the workers to entry into a “foreign war.” As a result the government charged 29 people with “seditious conspiracy” under the Smith Act of 1940, sentencing 18 and imprisoning 17 leaders of Local 544-CIO and national and local leaders of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party for their socialist opposition to the war.

While the Jane Margolis case does not occur in the context of a president attempting to mobilize the unions for world war, it does occur in the context of a president attempting to mobilize support for policies which will impose hardship and austerity on the Ameri-

continued on page 11