WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 256 X 523 16 May 1980

Islamic Thugs on Bloody Rampage

Down with Khomeini's "Holy War" on Left

For the ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini it must have seemed like a gift from allah, a reward for the Shi'ite tradition of martyrdom, and a sure sign that the time to strike down his enemies was ripe at last. First, invaders from the U.S., the "Great Satan," mired in ignominious death in the fiery desert trying to rescue American hostages in Teheran. Then, only days later, his own diplomatic hostages were pulled out of the Iranian embassy in London by British SAS commandos—who stormed the embassy with the same esprit with which they shoot down Provo suspects in Northern Ireland. The irony that this elite unit of *Western imperialism rescued the diplo*matic corps of the "Islamic Revolution" was not lost on the American press. Nor was the contrast missed between the military professionalism of the SAS and the cowardly incompetence of the U.S. multi-service "Blue Light" bungle.

The Iranian government was quick to point to the "differences" between "their" embassy takeovers and "ours." In fact the main difference is that the Iranian embassy in London was seized by gunmen identifying themselves as representatives of Iran's oppressed Arab national minority in the province of Khuzistan. Their demands were just and aimed at Khomeini's Persian chauvinism, Shi'ite bigotry and exploitation of the oil workers: freeing 91 Arab political prisoners (including many strike leaders) and greater political autonomy for Khuzistan. The mullahs' regime on the contrary holds the U.S. embassy in Teheran as an act of state terror.

Kazemi/Stern

Reactionary students, lumpens, terrorize leftists, kill 30 at Teheran University in late April.

These days embassies are seized by those in a state of high moral dudgeon—like Khomeini and his disciples—who believe that their every act is sacred, that they are above "reasons of state." And more commonly, by those who never expect (rightly) to have state power. Marxists do not bow to the norms of "diplomatic immunity"—but they do intend to wield state power for their class, even if necessary for a time to coexist with competing state powers. So we do not look kindly on the fashion of embassy takeovers as political games of terror. In a world in which the taking of embassies seems increasingly to have become a distorted form of political discourse between the desperate, no one should be surprised to find Ayatollah Khomeini and Jimmy Carter at center stage. Such megalomaniacs with the vast resources of state power at their disposal can threaten not only hostages but the future of the planet.

There seems to be a shared desperation between the cynical anti-Soviet fanatic in the White House and the religious fanatic of Qum. Faced with the declining power of U.S. imperialism, Carter threatens and bungles. Faced with a chronically weak state apparatus, Khomeini calls out for national religious martyrdom. After Carter's botched "mission impossible," Khomeini noted that Carter's "foolishness" in some way proved allah was indeed on the side of the ayatollah. He then explained that "Carter still has not realized what sort of nation he is facing.... Our nation is a nation of blood and our school is the school of holy war... Carter must know that a 35-million strong nation has been raised in a school in which martyrdom is considered happiness" (*New York Times*, 26 April).

But in fact Khomeini's holy war is directed at the U.S. only in words. His flailing sword of Islam is unsheathed to "cut short the hands" of the internal enemies of his theocratic rule. He has sent his army troops and *pasdars* (Islamic Guards) into a jihad on three fronts where the unconsolidated Islamic Republic faces its most severe challenges in many months: in border skirmishes with a well-equipped Iraqi army; against Kurdish nationalists resisting Persian chauvinism in turban; and in the universities, the mullah chant of "Death to the Communists" was delivered from the barrel of Islamic guns in the fiercest urban street fighting since the overthrow of the Bakhtiar regime last year.

We have said from the beginning that Khomeini's Islamic army could only be forged in bloody slaughter against the minorities and the left. But there will be blood on both sides. As long as the armed guerrilla fighters can call out a hundred thousand supporters to the streets as they did in their separate marches on May Day, and as long as Kurds and Turkomans and others continue to resist Persian chauvinism with gun in hand in the mountains and villages, mullah rule will remain shaky.

Annihilation for the Kurds

Khomeini's double oppression (national and religious) of Khuzistan Arabs along the Persian Gulf is tempered by

continued on page 4

PAGE 2

Death of a Princess

PAGE 5

Qaddafi's Murder Inc.

The Letter the CP Had to Print

The following letter was published without comment in the 10 May issue of the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, People's World.

NARROW

How narrow-minded and sectarian can the *People's World* get?

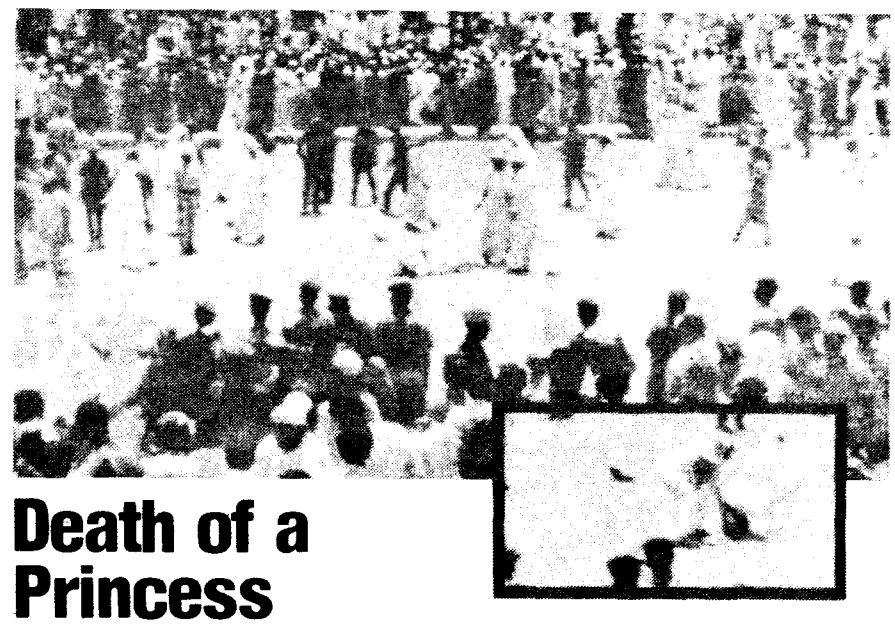
In your current issue you devote most of a column to your version of how and why San Francisco denied a permit for a Nazi rally. I assume your story was accurate as far as it went. There are two things it failed to report, however. One, which emerged very clearly in the discussion between an "anti-Nazi group" (your wording) and top police officials over the permit that was given to that group, was that that group made clear to the police that it would physically prevent the Nazis from meeting, and that that determination was very much a part of the city's decision to bar the Nazis.

The second is the *PW* prefers to know nothing, see nothing, and hear nothing when something happens under leadership it disapproves of. Your readers were not told that there actually was a rally against the Nazis at City Hall on April 19 attended, according to TV, by about a thousand. The attendance was obviously overwhelmingly of workers, not students or middle class people; that it was predominantly non-Jewish, and there was a very large minority of Black and Latino people present; that it was almost entirely of young people. I was there.

Furthermore, it had an exceedingly impressive sponsorship of elected union activists on the unpaid level.

But its organizers were Trotskyists, and that apparently made it a non-event to the *PW*. Such a news policy deserves no respect.

William Mandel
Kensington, California



Death of a Princess Haunts Saudi Monarchy

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) finally showed its highly controversial film, "Death of a Princess," on New York TV May 12 despite heavy pressure from Mobil Oil, the Saudi Arabian government, U.S. senators and even the State Department. Given the heavy sponsorship of PBS (sometimes referred to as the "Petroleum Broadcasting Service") by Mobil, this act of defiance may well be its last, however. Too bad the "docu-drama" on the execution of Princess Misha of the House of Saud and her "commoner lover" was neither dramatic nor managed to document anything in particular.

What nobody had the courage to say is that the Saudi Arabian ruling class (or tribal family, more accurately) practices the most cruel and barbaric oppression of women. According to Islamic tradition, a woman guilty of a sexual offense must be punished by her family. Princess Misha's "crime" was to meet and (according to earlier news stories) secretly marry the cousin of the Saudi ambassador to Lebanon, while studying in Lebanon. For this she was dragged onto a pile of sand in the Jidda marketplace and shot, while her lover was forced to kneel and had his head crudely hacked off with five strokes from a short sword, as the other princesses were made to come out and watch.

None of the opponents of the PBS show (including the Saudi state) deny that this bloody killing took place. Mobil Oil (part owner of the Arabian oil syndicate Aramco) just thought it wasn't "in the best interests of the United States" to mention it. Most outrageous was the protestation of a U.S. senator that showing the killing was like making Charles Manson a symbol of the state of California! But the fate of Princess Misha and her lover was no random attack by some crazed desperado from out of the night—it was the calculated expression of barbaric Islamic "justice" carried out by the Saudi rulers. It was a legitimate symbol of the society that produced it as much as the U.S. government's legal murder of the Rosenbergs was not a random atrocity but a summation of what the witch-hunt was about.

That Western capitalism's diplomats and oil executives bow and scrape before this act of "native culture" is predictable enough in this era of imperialist decay—indeed, it is *imperialism itself which is responsible* for perpetuating such barbarism and backwardness. Still, one recalls the report of a British officer in India in the 19th century, who, upon being informed that *suttee* (wife-burning) was a native custom not to be interfered with, replied: "In my country we too have a native custom. If a man kills his wife, we hang him." Today it is only socialist revolution which can bring justice to the oppressed women of the East, and sweep these barbaric despots and their imperialist sponsors off the face of the earth.

British Steelworkers Tell WSL: We Don't Like Scabs

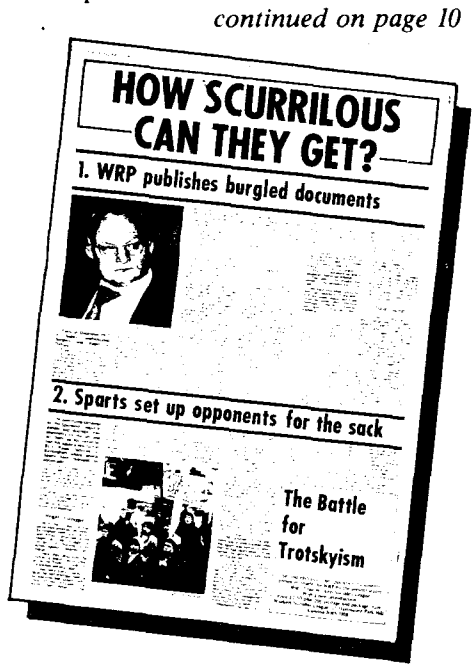
The Spartacist League/Britain's (SL) insistence that "Picket lines mean don't cross!" has won it the respect of striking workers who know that successful strike action means *no scabbing!* The SL has also outraged those fake-left British groups who have massively condoned or even engaged in scabbing, most notably during the recent British steel strike. Particularly stung by the SL's sharp exposure of their cowardly scabbing practices has been the fake-Trotskyist Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Alan Thornett, whose *Socialist Press* (23 April 1980) carried an envenomed polemic against the SL.

Under a general headline of "How scurrilous can they get?" the WSL attempted to amalgamate the SL's principled working-class defense of picket lines with another article charging the Healyites with a broad-daylight break-in and theft of private documents. The WSL was particularly infuriated by the principled action of SL supporters at the Birmingham British Leyland SD1 plant in refusing to cross picket lines set up by striking workers of two other Leyland plants for three days, while WSLers blithely went on through. *Socialist Press* even tried to *defend* this scabby action, proudly upholding one "SD1 militant" who declared that "he had, as an individual, refused to cross the picket line—but had been completely *wrong* to take such a stand." And "the worst of it," according to the WSL, was that the SL supporters weren't even victimized by management for their courageous stand!

The WSL charges the SL with an "ultra-syndicalist fetish over picket lines" and raises the malicious slander that SLers were "hated and despised by workers" during the steel strike. But as the following letter from two South Yorkshire steel workers proves, these WSL slanders don't fool real trade-union militants. They know that the picket line is a *class* line and the Spartacist League stands with those workers who uphold it.

untrue. While many steelworkers did not always agree with their political strategy and views, they were nonetheless respected for their involvement and seriousness, wanting as we all did, the *victory* of the steel strike. As an example the Spartacists were welcomed and

continued on page 10


HOW SCURRILOUS CAN THEY GET?

1. WRP publishes burgled documents

2. Sparts set up opponents for the sack

The Battle for Trotskyism

Sheffield,
S. Yorkshire
5 May 1980

Socialist Press

Dear Editor:

We recently read your article "Sparts set up opponents for the sack" in the *Socialist Press* No. 195 dated April 23, 1980, and would like to correct some of the untruths and lies that you printed about the Spartacist League and their involvement during the steel strike.

The allegations that the Spartacists were despised by steelworkers is totally

Workers League: Maybe They Did, Maybe They Didn't, Maybe They Changed Their Minds

Fraudulent Letter

The February 8 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the fortnightly publication of the Spartacist League, prints a letter allegedly sent to their editor, and purportedly signed by David North, national secretary of the Workers League.

The Workers League does not conduct correspondence with the Spartacist League, which is an organization led by provocateurs and assistants of the late FBI agent and leader of the Socialist Workers Party, Joseph Hansen.

No such letter was sent by David North or any other member of the Workers League.

The printing of this fraudulent letter has been carried out by the leaders of this organization for reasons best known to themselves.

The "Fraudulent Letter"

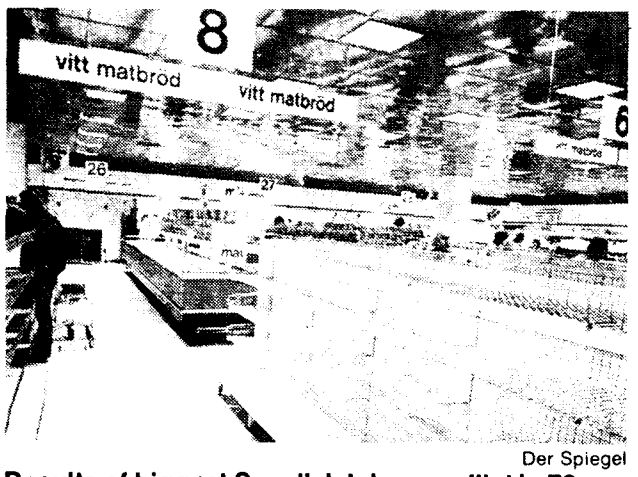
January 25, 1980

This is to inform you that we are breaking ALL connections with the Stalinist and Imperialist Agents inside the Trotskyist movement. The January 18 issue of the Bulletin will be your last.

David North
WL PC

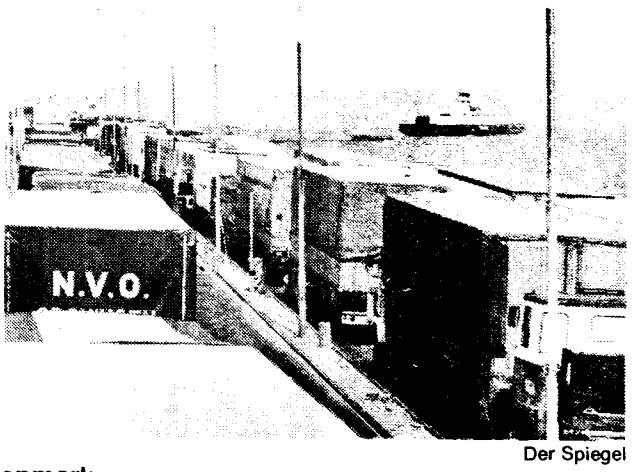
David North

—from the Bulletin, 26 February



Der Spiegel


Sipa Press



Der Spiegel

Results of biggest Swedish labor conflict in 70 years: empty supermarket, empty subway, trucks wait in Denmark.

Social Democrats Sell Out National Strike

Sweden: The "Middle Way" Comes to a Dead End

STOCKHOLM, May 11—One hundred thousand on strike, 700,000 locked out. No television, no radio, no mass transit, no oil deliveries, shortages of bread and gasoline. Also no bingo halls and no toilet paper. In ten days only one plane left the country, when the king flew to Tito's funeral, and he had to get special permission from the air controllers. It was the greatest labor conflict in Sweden in over 70 years, the first general strike situation in an advanced capitalist country since France, May 1968.

But it was sold out—utterly, shamelessly, criminally. The social-democratic bureaucrats ordered the workers back for little more than half of what they had originally demanded, and what they had demanded was just enough to keep pace with the inflation.

This was Sweden, land of the midnight sun and the middle way—labor-management cooperation, cradle-to-grave social security, the highest standard of living in the world. It was the social-democratic Nordic paradise. No more. After being in office from 1932 to 1976, the social democrats were out in the cold. It took them three-and-a-half years to realize it, but they were now in opposition. With the bourgeois government and capitalists on the offensive, the strike was their belated response. And whatever the outcome, bourgeois and labor commentators were agreed on one thing: the "Swedish model" is dead. The class struggle lives.

The unions had demanded an 11 percent wage hike this year. But the capitalists were now determined to increase the rate of exploitation and so refused to budge from an offer of 2 percent. The national strike/lockout began in the last week of April when bargaining in the public sector broke down as the government refused to negotiate until a private sector agreement was reached. The unions ordered an overtime ban and selective strikes. The bosses answered by locking out thousands of workers in locations struck by the state and municipal unions.

The government sector strike/lockout shut down television and radio, hospitals (except for emergencies), subways in Stockholm and trolleys in Göteborg. On May 1 the scenario was replayed on the larger stage of the private sector and it steadily spread. Sweden was cut off from West Europe: on May 5 the last ferry to Denmark was shut down. On May 8 transport workers went out, cutting off deliveries of oil and gasoline. However, roughly three-quarters of the labor force remained more or less at work. What was clearly needed was not creeping economic paralysis, but a political act of working-class solidarity through a *general strike*.

The Swedish working class was more than willing to fight. Across the country, a million people participated in the May Day demonstrations, the largest ever. But the role of the social democracy was to hold down the struggle. The labor federation (LO) guaranteed that there would be no mass picketing, no strike demonstrations. And where they control local governments, the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) took the same anti-labor attitudes as its bourgeois partners. In Göteborg the city council locked out the streetcar workers. Asked if this was a betrayal, one SAP municipal board member responded, "If there is a conflict, we as employers, whether we are social democrats or not, have to play this role coolly and clearly within the framework of the normal means of struggle" (*Aftonbladet*, 7 May)!

Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie was pulling out all the stops to mobilize "the public" against the strike. "Sweden is being turned into a gigantic firebomb!" screamed one newspaper headline, in reference to the mass hoarding of gasoline. In child-worshiping Sweden, where baby carriages have white-walled tires and chrome-plated mud guards, it was the effect on the day-care centers that caused the most furor. Day-care workers refused to prepare lunch for the little ones if the regular cook was absent. With the overtime ban, the centers shut down earlier, leaving children crying outside waiting for their parents.

The workers were not passive in the face of the anti-strike media offensive. When the state TV tried to put on an extra program covering the strike, the union refused to broadcast it because of its slanted pro-boss bias. One of the scare stories circulating was that hospital workers were not permitting cancer patients to be operated on. When a *WV* reporter asked a Finnish nurse about this, she replied, "I don't want to make a comment about this, but people in Sweden are going to have to learn how to die."

Then on Sunday, May 10, LO chief Gunnar Nilsson agreed to accept an arbitration proposal of 6.8 percent (7.3 percent for the government sector), little more than half of what had been claimed was the "absolute minimum" needed to defend the living standard of the average worker. It was the bosses who initially resisted the offer, the Employers Confederation (SAF) proclaiming it was "fighting to keep Swedish capitalism viable internationally." At this point the Fälldin government appealed to the capitalists to accept the proposal "for the sake of labor peace," which the SAF grudgingly did. The result is that the bourgeois government comes out looking like the savior of the nation while taking the heat off the bureaucrats' sellout.

End of the Swedish Model

Everyone asks: how could it happen in Sweden? Behind the picture of Sweden as a social reformer's paradise stands one of the best organized working classes in Europe. If a large majority of Swedish workers believe they can have their way through peaceful pressure, orderly negotiations and friendly government intervention, they still believe in having their way. While SAP leader Olof Palme has the image of a modern reformer à la Willy Brandt, many of the ranks are far to the left of the party tops. When the capitalist class resorted to the tactic of a lockout to drive down wages, they were playing a dangerous game, provoking a powerful, if hitherto peaceable giant.

"The huge conflict serves as final proof that the Swedish model no longer functions," declared SAF managing director Olof Ljunggren. It is not only the bourgeoisie which is proclaiming the era of social-democratic reformism is over. At least the trade-union wing of the social-democratic bureaucracy recognizes the "good old days" of class collaboration will not easily return. "Labor and capital can no longer cooperate in the fine old spirit," laments LO chairman Nilsson.

Sweden's almost unique position as an example of successful social-democratic reformism derived from the *fact that it was not drawn into the two* world wars which drowned the European continent in blood. Officially "neutral," Sweden sold to both sides in both wars. It thus greatly expanded its productive apparatus and accumulated considerable wealth relative to its small population. It was on this basis that the ruling social democrats were able to establish a relatively high level of social services and various income-supporting welfare schemes.

However, by the 1970s Swedish capitalism could no longer afford the large welfare-state overhead plus increases in real wages. The 1974-75 world slump contracted Sweden's export markets, while rising labor costs and high taxes eroded its international competitiveness. When the bourgeois parties took back the reins of government after 44 years of social-democratic rule, the country was already heading for economic disaster.

For a time the bourgeois coalition dared not make any cuts in the national

continued on page 10


AP

Bakery in Stockholm. National strike/lockout led to shortages of bread, gasoline.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager), Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Wyatt

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

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. 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. 256 **16 May 1980**

"Holy War"...

(continued from page 1)

his need for continued oil revenue and a pool of skilled oil workers. Against the historically rebellious Kurds in the barren Zagros Mountains his bloody Great Persian chauvinism knows no bounds—except the instability of trying to build a modern centralized state based on medieval social institutions. The attacks on the Kurdish minority have become so ferocious in recent weeks that even those most servile apologists for the ayatollah, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and their Iranian followers, the HKE, must mildly protest.

An article in the 5 May issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* describes massacres in the hills which recall Deir Yassin or My Lai. To relieve a garrison besieged by Kurdish nationalist Peshmerga guerrillas in the city of Sandanaj, the Teheran government ordered in American-made Phantom jets and helicopter gunships which destroyed local hospitals and many homes. Then the military ordered that the city of 100,000 be completely emptied out so that they could conduct a "mopping up" operation in the style of the Pentagon's "free fire" zones in Vietnam. The second city of Kurdistan, Saqqez, with 40,000 inhabitants, was turned into a ghost town. The watchword of Khomeini's forces is clear: annihilation of the Kurds.

Nonetheless, the SWP/HKE refuse to recognize the right of self-determination for the Kurds or other minorities in Iran. Instead they call for "autonomy," which turns out to mean whatever the Kurdish ayatollah Hosseini says it means. Thus they write:

> "Despite the bitter experiences of the large-scale fighting in Kurdistan last year, the Kurdish leaders have constantly reiterated their determination, and the determination of their people, to defend the Iranian revolution and *the borders of Iran*." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 12 May

Suddenly the borders of Iran, carved out from the defeated Ottoman Empire after World War I by the French and British imperialist victors, must be defended. These frontiers dismembered Kurdistan between five states, subjugating this courageous people with a long history of fighting for its independence. And there is no question from whom the borders of the genocidal butchers of the Kurds must be defended: Iraq.

The SWP has suddenly discovered that Iraq is a "puppet" of U.S. imperialism. Whatever happened to the "Arab Revolution" which the SWP once so loudly vaunted and which always found the Iraqi Ba'athists in its vanguard? (Of course, the Iraqi colonels are no more friends of the Kurds than the Iranian mullahs, and for ten years waged a savage military campaign against them in the name of the "Arab Revolution" just as Khomeini does today in the name of his "Islamic Revolution.") Working people in both Iran and Iraq have no interest in becoming cannon fodder in a border war, but according to the HKE "the absolute majority of Iraqi people" want to "have their share in the sacred struggle of the Iranian people against U.S. imperialism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 April).

Leaving aside the question of how the Shi'ite clergy "sanctified" the Iranian side against the Iraqis, how does the HKE know that an "absolute majority" in Iraq supports Khomeini? Here these pseudo-Trotskyists are shamelessly appealing to the 55 percent of Iraq's population who are Shi'ites against the Ba'athists, who are overwhelmingly Sunni. (Such a blatantly religious appeal is of little use to the predominantly Sunni Kurds.) The HKE statement sinks to even lower levels, appealing to the "Brother *pasdars*"—the hated clerical militia who are the main instruments for Khomeini's annihilation campaign against the Kurds, Arabs, Azerbaijanis...and the left—to train a mass army of *20 million* to fight the U.S./Iraqi menace!

Bloody Purge of the Left on Campuses

While Khomeini was attempting to put down the rebellious Kurds by systematically destroying their villages and towns, he was also conducting a bloody purge of the Iranian left from its campus strongholds. Dozens were killed and hundreds wounded by the assault of Khomeini-loyal students and lumpen gangs recruited by the mosques. The guerrilla left played a key role in the overthrow of the shah, but from the moment of his victory Khomeini has been intent on disarming and disbanding "satanic" radical groups. Despite their continued (if critical) loyalty to his regime, the "imam" is determined to wipe out the "Marxist-Leninist" Fedayeen Khalq (People's Self-Sacrificers) and radical Muslim Mujahedeen Khalq (People's Crusaders). That these organizations still exist in Iran today is due not to the tolerance of the Islamic state but to its weakness. Khomeini intends to consolidate the repressive apparatus of his state power over the dead bodies of Iranian leftists.

Allied with the Kurds, armed and growing in their university recruiting

Islamic "Revolution" Crushes Left on Iranian Campuses

SWP/HKE: The Blood Is On Your Hands!

The following leaflet by the New York Spartacist League was distributed at an SWP forum on Iran May 4.

Crazy Carter's bungled imperialist "Mission Impossible" in Iran demonstrates he will do anything to stay in office as he drives toward World War III. The Spartacist League says, "Hands Off Iran!" But unlike the SWP and their cohorts in Iran, the HKE, we do not defend the equally crazy "Imam" Khomeini who also will do anything to consolidate his Persian chauvinist, Shi'ite Islamic theocracy. Khomeini opposes imperialism only when it stands in the way of plunging Iran back into the seventh century. He has no qualms about using American Phantom jets and helicopter gunships to massacre Kurdish rebels in Sanandaj. He offers "unconditional support" to his fellow Islamic clergymen in Afghanistan when they are tools of U.S. imperialism and the CIA. Khomeini and the Afghan mullahs and the U.S. imperialists know that their main enemy is the Soviet Union. It was the October Revolution which broke the reactionary social power of mosque and bazaar as it liberated the Moslem borderlands from imperialist subjugation. We call for unconditional military support to Iran against imperialist attack in order to open the road for the October of the Iranian working masses which will sweep away Khomeini and all the exploiters, capitalist and pre-capitalist.

Kazemi/Stern

Khomeini called for purge of Marxists in university. Leftists aid injured comrade.

During April dozens of leftist students were murdered and hundreds were injured as Khomeini sent his "Islamic Revolution" onto the campuses to "purge" them of "Marxist" influence. At Friday evening prayer services on April 18, the prayer leader at Teheran University called for ridding the campuses pictures of Lenin and hammers and sickles. Within hours Teheran University was stormed by knife, club and gun wielding Islamic thugs, the *Hezbollahi* or "people of the party of god." These are the lumpen gangs recruited and bribed by the mosque with CIA money to bring down bourgeois-nationalist prime minister Mossadegh in 1953 and restore the shah to power. The *Hezbollahi* attacks upon the left, nationalist and secular organizations last August paved the way for Khomeini to ban all political parties and papers, making the universities the last refuge of organized leftwing propaganda. Now Khomeini has determined to completely annihilate such groups as the populist Fedayeen Khalq, the radical Islamic Mujahedeen and the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh. The Fedayeen who barricaded themselves in buildings at Teheran University report that twenty of their comrades were murdered. In provincial universities the Islamic goons were even more vicious. At the university in Shiraz more than 400 were injured.

The SWP/HKE have praised the veil, the symbol of the Islamic enslavement of women, as "progressive" (which is like praising the chains of a black slave as "progressive"); they have denied the right of the oppressed nationalities of Iran to self-determination; they have supported Khomeini's Persian chauvinism to the point of backing Iran in their border war with Iraq; they have hailed as "brothers" the *Pasdars*—"revolutionary guards"—the hated butchers of the workers, leftists, Kurds, Arabs and other minorities. Now they have carried their criminal support to Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" to its logical conclusion: they hail the bloody purge of leftists on the campuses and denounce as "sectarian opposition" those who try to defend their organizations and their very lives from the Shi'ite clergy's stormtroopers.

The SWP—like Carter over his Iranian military escapades—has taken full responsibility for its Iranian cronies' defense of the massacre of leftists. In an article titled "*Why Carter Fears 'Unraveling Authority' in Iran*" (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 May/*Militant*, 9 May), the SWP quotes from an HKE statement published on April 21 at the height of the Islamic goon attacks upon campus leftists:

> "The Tudeh Party, Mujahedeen, Fedayeen, Paykor and other so-called Marxist organizations, which always start from their own narrow, sectarian interests, have essentially opposed this brave action. These forces, under the pretext of defending the 'barricade of freedom' (these organizations think that reaction has taken over the country and that the campuses are the last bastion) have mobilized against the action of the ISOs [Islamic Student Organizations]."

The ISOs were the first to mobilize around Khomeini's demand for the "Islamification" of the universities. *Hezbollahi* merely carried out this demand in a "revolutionary" fashion. Khomeini's governing "Revolutionary Council" then adopted this slogan and closed the universities in order to complete the "Islamification."

This recent betrayal places the HKE far to the right of Tudeh which was so subservient to Khomeini that they have been derisively referred to as "assistant ayatollahs." By this act the HKE is traitor to every principle the labor and socialist movement stand for. As if to compound their crime by showing the spoils as well as the dead bodies, the *Militant* carries in the middle of its article a large photo caption showing the last of the imprisoned HKE members leaving jail and stating that "in Iran, deepening revolutionary ferment has created an atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints." Tell that to the Fedayeen who lost 20 comrades at Teheran University. With the SWP's full approval, the HKE has offered up the lives of Iranian leftists to Islamic reaction to save their own skins. But for the East the 1965 Indonesian coup demonstrated on a massive and catastrophic scale, for those even remotely connected to the left, that opportunism saved nobody's skin including their own. ■

grounds, the left posed an obvious challenge to the clerical reactionaries. The signal for an assault was given by Khomeini himself in a speech read by his son to a mass Islamic New Year's rally on March 21. Three days after he had declared a general amnesty for the shah's SAVAK torturers and military butchers, Khomeini's "message to the nation" was reported in the *New York Times* (22 March):

> "He called for a 'revolution in the universities' to purge them of professors who have 'connections with the East or West,' warned against 'irresponsible intellectuals' and, in a clear reference to the radical guerrillas, said that 'mixing Islam and Marxism' was wrong."

The purpose of this diatribe was hardly abstract. As the 23 April *Washington Post* noted: "[Iranian president] Bani-Sadr defined a cultural revolution that would not only instill Koranic precepts in society but would strengthen his own authority to crack down on labor agitators in Iranian industries, autonomy-seeking minorities and leftist political opposition."

Soon the Islamic fanatics were carrying out Khomeini's instructions for a bloody purge of the left. The mullah-organized thugs who invaded the universities last month killed at least 26 people and wounded many hundreds. But at the Teheran University headquarters of the Fedayeen, the attackers ran into stiff resistance. The intent and authorship of these attacks were obvious to almost everyone. The Mujahedeen refused to join the Fedayeen in defending their offices because "to resist is to fall into the trap aimed at making us appear opposed to the imam Khomeini, when in fact we support him" (*Le Monde*, 22 April). But even they knew who was calling the shots. "Before long our parties will be outlawed," one Mujahedeen member predicted. "It is a return to the days of the Shah" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 4 May). Only the mullah-loving SWP/HKE tried to pass off the murderous anti-left assault as an "anti-imperialist mobilization of the Iranian people" (see accompanying leaflet).

The Iranian people suffered for decades under the blood-soaked American-sponsored shah, and one of Khomeini's main political assets is his reputation as a fire-breathing Yankee hater. In exploiting this sentiment he has even gone so far as to charge that the left are all foreign agents—not for the Russians but for the Americans! Yet the Iranian left has portrayed Khomeini's xenophobic opposition to Western culture (including such "Western" notions as Marxism and democratic rights) as "anti-imperialism." The ayatollah has shrewdly used the embassy seizure to bolster these credentials. Without this anti-American sideshow—and without the complicity of the left in hailing this diversion—Khomeini and his mullahs would be in deep trouble politically.

Compared to the disgusting capitulation to religious obscurantism by such "leftists" as the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party and the HKE, the program and actions of the Fedayeen guerrillas seem positively militant. Founded ten years ago by the merger of groups led by individuals who had broken from Tudeh and the secular wing of the bourgeois-nationalist National Front, the Fedayeen are by far the most subjectively revolutionary current of any size in Iran today. Thus the first demand in their "minimum" program is the destruction of the "dependent capitalist system." With their nationalist program for an "Iranian Revolution," they call only for "complete autonomy" for national minorities (thus treacherously opposing their right to self-determination or secession from the Persian state). Yet the Fedayeen have fought alongside Kurdish and Turkoman rebels against government troops and *pasdars*. They reject the characterization of the USSR as "imperialist" and ascribe Khomeini's anti-communist tirades to "American puppets inside the Iranian government" and to the "Iranian capitalist class" (*Kar*, 3 April).

Nevertheless, the Fedayeen remain committed to a Stalinist-populist strategy of support to the clerical leaders as a component of a "union of all the anti-imperialist forces from progressive national forces and religious forces to communist revolutionaries." While they recognized at the time that the embassy takeover was primarily a diversion whipped up by Khomeini, they see the infamous New Year's speech as a "turn" by the "imam" from his position at "the time when the American spy nest was occupied." And a Fedayeen spokesman told *Le Monde* after the university fighting that his organization still favored "critical support" to the Khomeini government.

It is necessary to build a Trotskyist party in Iran, a party that tells the plain truth that Khomeini's Shi'ite theocracy is every bit as oppressive as the shah's dictatorship. Such a party would no doubt draw many of its cadres from among those who prove able to transcend the left-Stalinist limitations of the Fedayeen. The Fedayeen are fighters, against the shah and—reluctantly—against the attacks of the clerical right. But the HKE has never fought anyone for anything. These are the craven opportunists who, only a few months before the outbreak of mass struggles against the shah, declared that the slogan "Down with the shah" was "ultraleft"! These "peaceful, legal" petty bourgeois, as foreign students in the U.S., learned their politics from the reformist SWP. They didn't learn to tell the truth—but they did learn how to finger rival Iranian student radicals to Houston cops. All this was good practice for their current role in Iran, where a decade from now they will be remembered as the "leftists" who justified the murderous goon attacks on the Fedayeen.

The most significant thing the HKE will ever do is to hideously discredit the name of Trotskyism in Iran. The future cadres of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Iran will have to absorb the lessons that the HKE cannot teach: that Khomeini and the mullahs did not "betray" the revolution but intended from the beginning to build a clerical dictatorship, and that genuine national liberation from imperialism requires a struggle leading the oppressed masses to the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

Qaddafi's Murder Inc.

Last Saturday Omram el-Mehdawi, a former official of the Libyan embassy in West Germany, was shot to death in Bonn. That same day Abdullah Mohammed el-Kazmi, a Libyan who had sought Italian citizenship, was murdered in a Rome cafe. According to the German news agency, Italian police arrested one of el-Kazmi's cousins, who had reportedly arrived from Tripoli two days before "to urge his relative to return to Libya" (DPA, 11 May).

In telling el-Kazmi to go home, the cousin was not expressing a personal opinion. The May 10 slayings were evidently the latest acts in a campaign of intimidation and "liquidation" of dissident Libyan exiles announced by Libya's fanatical dictator, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi.

Four Libyans who initially refused to leave the Libyan embassy here (rebaptized a "people's bureau" last September) after the State Department had ordered them expelled from the country as "would-be assassins" have now been escorted out of the country by the FBI; in a similar move, the British government has expelled four men connected with the Libyan mission as "suspected of having taken part in a campaign of harassment against Libyan exiles" in England (*New York Times*, 13 May).

In a speech last February to his "revolutionary committees," Qaddafi had threatened the "physical elimination" of his enemies abroad. The threat did not get much coverage in the Western press. On April 27 Qaddafi announced to the students at Tripoli's Military College that Libyan emigrés must by June 10 "return to the Jamahiriyah [Congregation] or they are doomed wherever they might be" ([London] *Financial Times*, 2 May). A recent U.S. State Department press office handout prominently displayed a translation of excerpts from the 27 April dispatch from Tripoli: "The commander of the revolution addressed an ultimatum to the remnants of the defunct regime—the regime of exploitation abroad—to ... register their names for their repatriation.... Anyone who returns will be safe, but he who does not return will have only himself to blame."

This warning was front-page news in London because grisly deeds had already underscored the point. On March 21 the body of Libyan businessman Mohammed Salem Riemi was found stuffed in the trunk of an abandoned car in Rome. On April 11 Libyan journalist Mohammed Mustafa Ramadan was killed "while handing out copies of an Arab publication" outside a London mosque. On April 19 another Libyan businessman in Rome, Abdul Geli Aref, was shot to death at a

fashionable cafe. And on April 25 Libyan lawyer Mahmoud Abu Nafa, "probably the most important opponent" of Qaddafi "to have been killed in Western Europe in recent months" was shot to death outside his London office ([London] *Sunday Times*, 27 April).

London press reports also indicate a concerted campaign of terror against the opposition press. According to a story in the London *Guardian*, in early February a bundle of Libyan publications was doused with gasoline and set afire; in April two newspaper stands which sold *Al Sharq al Jadid*, an anti-Qaddafi paper which reported the arrival in London of a Libyan hit squad, were torched (*Guardian*, 12 April).

The *Times* (12 April) quoted "diplomatic sources" as saying that "the campaign to silence Colonel Qaddafi's opponents began last summer in Libya, where the bodies of several political dissidents were found in abandoned cars.... The death teams are said to have moved abroad in February with the assassination of a political exile in Malta." It must be assumed that more political murders of Libyan emigrés have occurred in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco (where most of the estimated 30,000 Libyans living abroad reside) without reaching the Western press.

The Cairo daily *Al Gumhuria* has published a list of names (including former government figures and diplomats representing Libya at the UN, in Austria and the United Arab Emirates) who are allegedly slated for death at the hands of Qaddafi's henchmen (DPA, 11 May). Qaddafi supporters (termed "revolutionary students") have continued to take over Libyan embassies (which are then renamed "people's bureaus") in "15 European and Asian capitals," according to Libyan "students" at Tripoli's mission in Yugoslavia (UPI, 12 May).

So far, no political assassinations of Libyans in this country have been reported. A former CIA "employee" has been arraigned on charges of illegally exporting weapons and explosives to Libya; another ex-CIA man involved in the case is believed to have fled to Libya to avoid prosecution (*New York Times*, 3 May). So after all those stories about how "Carlos" is behind everything from the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" to the Red Brigades and how the Palestinian PFLP has trained every terrorist group from the IRA to the Basque ETA, it seems that Qaddafi's hit squads have an American connection—equipped by (allegedly former) CIA men.

This vindictive political murder campaign is the clearest possible demonstration that the "Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah" is a brutal capitalist regime run by a madman whose deep affinity for Uganda's Idi Amin is no accident. All of Qaddafi's "socialist," "anti-imperialist" rhetoric cannot conceal the fact that the Libyan "Jamahiriyah" is a regime of capitalist terrorism. Indeed, Qaddafi and his hit squads are eclipsing even the Israelis, whose practices of strafing refugee camps, blowing up blocks of houses in Arab districts and the peremptory expulsion of Arab notables as means of "law enforcement" had previously been perhaps the most shameless example of the exercise of the methods of criminal terrorism backed up by the awesome resources of state power.

As Marxists, working-class revolutionaries engaged in the struggle to make the truth prevail, we believe in consciousness. We detest political assassination, which seeks to wipe out the most conscious political spokesmen of any persuasion who embody the concentrated historical experience of the classes they represent. The "tactic" of assassination is sometimes employed by misguided defenders of the oppressed whose isolated and despairing terrorism only brings forth and legitimatizes the state's vastly more efficient apparatus of repression. And we do not mourn the terminated tsar or duke or sadistic minister. But by rights political assassination belongs to those for whom consciousness is the deadliest enemy, and is the weapon of choice of semi-official rightist terror squads like the Argentine AAA as well as the secret spy agencies. And it is disgusting that the FBI—which physically exterminated the Black Panthers and employed its more subtle "dirty tricks" to drive a Panther sympathizer, expatriate actress Jean Seberg, to suicide—is now made to appear as the champion of Libyan refugees, the defender of their right to life against Qaddafi's vendetta. From the halls of Jimmy Carter to the shores of Tripoli, world socialist revolution must sweep away the madmen for whom human life is worthless and the only ideology is glorification of the ego of the leader.

Round Three: 400,000 Metal Workers Struck

LABOR SHAKES GENERALS' BRAZIL

Parisi/Manchete

Striking metal workers rally at Sao Bernardo church. Even sectors of bourgeoisie sympathized with strikers.

What was potentially the most explosive strike in a decade and a half of military rule in Brazil was broken April 12 as tens of thousands of metal workers in the São Paulo region returned to work. Their leaders are still in jail and 40,000 face loss of their jobs after 41 days on strike against "multinational" giants such as Ford, Chrysler, Volkswagen and Volvo. The battle began April 1 when 400,000 walked out in the most industrialized state in the country demanding a 15 percent wage hike. Seeing the danger to the generals' rule—it was the third round in as many years of mass strikes against the dictatorship—from the beginning the military responded with a heavy hand: helicopters buzzing strike meetings, armored personnel carriers patrolling the streets, strike leaders arrested. And the police repression took its toll: first the outlying sections of the state went back, then one by one the industrial suburbs of São Paulo, finally leaving the metal workers' fortress of São Bernardo isolated.

The threat to the authoritarian regime of João Figueiredo was evident: the fall of Portuguese strongman Caetano in 1975 and the subsequent working-class radicalization in Lisbon are still fresh in everyone's mind. So even before workers downed their tools, divisions arose in the Brazilian ruling class on how to handle this strike. Though metal workers were scheduled to receive only a 1.9 percent increase under government wage policy, the employers offered 5 percent off the bat and a regional labor arbitration board ordered 7 percent. The board also refused to declare the strike illegal. But on April 19 police raided the homes of union leaders and arrested Luis Inacio da Silva, the country's foremost labor leader, as well as 16 others. Two thousand demonstrators gathered to protest the arrest of da Silva, popularly known as "Lula," and were clubbed to the ground by army troops in riot gear.

This brutality did not break the strikers' will—40,000 gathered in the soccer stadium to proclaim that the struggle would go forward: "No one works until Lula is free!" they chanted. On May Day, after a month on strike, thousands of workers defied a government ban to hold a march beginning at São Bernardo's main church. And on May 5, when they again voted to continue the walkout, police violently attacked, leaving 53 strikers wounded. When the stadiums were cordoned off to prevent strike meetings, São Paulo's archbishop Arns announced that the churches would be available for union rallies. Thereupon President Figueiredo charged the *paulista* cardinal with inciting the strike. When the bishops issued a call for a new "social pact," Figueiredo declared the episcopal conference no longer authorized to speak for the Brazilian church. As for business interests, a vice president of Ford Motor Co. told the press that the dispute could be easily settled if the government would only stay out of it.

Gamma

President Joao Figueiredo.

Sympathy for the strike extended far beyond the working class. Brazil's fabled "economic miracle" is clearly over, and the disenchantment has spread to the middle classes and sectors of the bourgeoisie. For more than a decade the military dictatorship maintained itself in power by brutally repressing the workers and guaranteeing superprofits to the capitalists. As economic difficulties deepened, the regime tried to avoid an explosion by a series of political pseudo-reforms and by curbing the feared "*esquadras da muerte*" (death squads). But appeasement hasn't worked. For the last three years the country has erupted again and again in broad strike waves in direct defiance of the government. Brazil's several million-strong proletariat is seething and is likely to produce in the near future a labor revolt of vast proportions which will shake the continent. What it lacks is a revolutionary leadership that can transform the fight to bring down the dictatorship into a struggle against the capitalist order.

"Economic Miracle" Goes Up in Smoke

The present regime originated in the overthrow of President João Goulart on 1 April 1964 and the installation of a U.S.-backed military junta. The "March Revolution" took place with American naval and air force units standing by if needed, and was supported by virtually the entire Brazilian bourgeoisie. It was supposed to save the country from communism, corruption and 81 percent inflation. At first the new regime aimed at dismantling state controls and protectionist legislation inherited from 30 years of populist governments. This was the first application by a Latin American dictatorship of the right-wing economic policies of the "Chicago School" which later became notorious as advisers for Pinochet's program of mass starvation in Chile. Brazilian planning minister Roberto Campos was so pro-American that he was derisively referred to as "Bob Fields." But economic growth in 1964-67 was barely more than in the crisis years under Goulart when businessmen were carrying out an investment boycott.

Then in the next decade Brazil's economy suddenly "took off" at a rate that surpassed that of every other "underdeveloped" capitalist country except those based on oil. From 1968 to 1977 the Brazilian gross national product, adjusted for inflation, grew steadily by 10 percent a year. This was supposed to be the "free world's" sterling success story, confirming imperialist bourgeois economists' theories from CIA Keynesian W.W. Rostow to the generals' monetarist Milton Friedman. But the economics of the Brazil "miracle" were far from untrammeled "free enterprise"—Finance Minister Delfim Neto's policies were more accurately described as military technocratic state control. And the main source of financing for the boom was a massive influx of imperialist investment, increasing by 25 percent *a year* since 1970. Consequently "multinational" corporations not only totally control the auto and pharmaceutical industries but also dominate traditional sectors of Brazilian capital such as textiles, beverages and machinery (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, January 1979).

The fundamental basis of the business boom was superexploitation of a working class prevented from defending itself by the soldiers' bayonets. From 1964 to 1974, real wages fell by 30 percent, a drastic cut in living standards. Today the legal minimum wage purchases only half what it did in 1959; and while the share of income of the poorest 50 percent of the population fell from 18 to 12 percent during 1960-77, the richest 5 percent increased its slice from 28 to 39 percent (*Economist*, 4 August 1979). But the capitalist economy can go only so far through continual immiseration of the working class. The soaring population of the *favelas* (shantytowns) provides a reservoir of cheap labor but not much of an internal market. And even though finance wizard Delfim Neto has now been brought back, inflation in the last 12 months has risen to 83 percent, exceeding the worst year under Goulart. As a result sectors of the Brazilian bourgeoisie are demanding fundamental changes in economic policy, and some would not greatly mind if the metal workers actually win their strike.

Labor Revolt

Driving down real wages after the 1964 coup was accomplished by heavy suppression of the union movement already tied hand-and-foot to the state through the paternalist structure established by Getulio Vargas' *Estado Novo* (New State) in the 1940s. Modeled on Mussolini's "Labor Charter," the vertical syndicates had no right to strike or to collective bargaining; all disputes were submitted to government labor tribunals. As under the similar Peronist regime in Argentina, leftists were ruthlessly purged from the unions and replaced by government henchmen

(*pelegos*). The unions were financed by a compulsory dues checkoff kept in state coffers, and their officers paid directly by the labor ministry; the government had the right to disband any labor organization or remove its leaders without redress. Crowning this corporatist structure was Vargas' Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) to politically tie the workers to the populist regime.

After the initial crackdown following the 1964 coup the military soon had the unions in hand by placing their own *pelegos* in the top spots. The generals also added new legal aids to management, such as the practice of *rotatividade* ("labor turnover") whereby a company could dismiss its entire workforce by pleading economic difficulties and replace it with new labor at lower wages. Leaderless, stripped of all rights and starving, the Brazilian working class managed to survive these early years only by working 60-70 hours a week and sending women and children into the factories. But the rapid industrialization has produced a result that is potentially lethal for the dictatorship: a burgeoning proletariat. And the greatest growth has been in new mass production industries such as auto, where the workforce is not cowed by a long tradition of government tutelage. Thus in the last decade a loose movement has come together known collectively as the *oposição sindical* (OS—trade-union opposition), led by a new layer of militants opposed to the grip of the *pelegos* on the unions.

The OS has been centered on metal workers in the São Paulo regime, particularly the so-called ABC industrial belt (the suburbs of Santo André, São Bernardo and São Caetano), and this combative sector is where the series of powerful strikes has exploded recently. The first wave took place in late 1977, after student protests had broken out in nearly every major Brazilian city earlier in the year (see "Student Struggles Engulf Brazil," *Young Spartacus* No. 56, July/August 1977). The metal workers were demanding a 34 percent wage increase, and by early 1978 tens of thousands were on strike in São Paulo and the ABC, South America's largest industrial center. The government was unable to suppress the auto workers, and as late as August of that year fresh strikes were occurring at a rate of three per day.

Fearing the consequences of a wholesale crackdown against students, strikers and bourgeois liberals, then-president Ernesto Geisel inaugurated a series of paper reforms in his last months in office. But this only whetted the workers' appetites, and when Figueiredo was inaugurated in April 1979 he was immediately faced with a strike by 215,000 metal workers demanding a 70 percent wage increase. The nine-day-old administration called in the police to seize union headquarters so government officials could oust union leaders, particularly Lula, who had gained national prominence as the head of the 1977-78 strikes. However, when the regime reached an "agreement" with its *pelegos*, it was torn up by militant strike leader Bendito Marcílio, president of the Santo André metal workers union. The government did manage to impose a 45-day "cooling-off" period, and on May 12 the government was able to negotiate a "compromise agreement." The metal workers didn't win their wage demands; however, the government announced that Lula and other union leaders were reinstated.

Figueiredo's flunkies crowed that "social peace" had been reestablished in the ABC, but this was only a lull in the biggest strike wave since the 1964 military coup. Two days later 200,000 public employees and teachers in São Paulo state walked off their jobs, and as strikers became increasingly militant, the army and military police retreated to the barracks. In mid-July the government proposed a new wage policy of moderate quarterly wage increases, but the workers didn't buy it. A few days later construction workers in Belo Horizonte voted to strike immediately for a 110 percent wage increase. Under Lula's leadership, the construction workers won a victory August 3 when the labor tribunal doubled the minimum wage even though the strike had been declared illegal. Strikes mushroomed all over Brazil. Truck drivers set up roadblocks in some regions, and on October 16 one hundred people were injured in clashes between security guards and construction workers in the steel center of Volta Redonda.

While the American and European media have played down the recurring strikes in Brazil, the business press is increasingly concerned. *Business Week* (17 March) summarized: "In 1979, Brazilian unions mounted nearly 300 strikes, a fundamental social change in a country where 15 years of government repression of workers and unions had made work stoppages a rarity.... For the first time since the military revolution of 1964, corporations operating in Brazil must learn to live with officially sanctioned collective bargaining—but the resulting strains on Brazil's economy could bring a revival of the repressive measures." And the *Economist* (26 April) asked, "Can They Shut Lula Up?":

> "Power in Brazil still remains firmly centralised in the government's hands. But an attempt to destroy Lula...could backfire. With little or no ideology to back them up, successive army-led governments have relied on economic progress to seduce the middle and working classes. Now, as inflation bites deeper and unemployment grows, a bid to punish a very popular man could work out badly."

"Abertura"—Face-Lift for the Dictatorship

The imperialist press tries to present the unraveling of Brazil's military dictatorship as a plan by the country's rulers to "open" the regime to civilian influence. *Business Week* writes: "In a surprising turnabout, Brazil's leaders are releasing some of the restraints on organized labor as a necessary step in their effort to establish a political democracy [!].... The political liberalization process—called *abertura*—is a concomitant of economic reforms that are being undertaken to make Brazil a modern industrial nation."

Talk of *abertura* by the military dictatorship is nothing but sucker bait for gullible liberals, and hardly qualifies presidents Figueiredo and Geisel as "democracy-leaning officers," as the *Economist* would have it. It has been going on since the late '60s when the government allowed the formation of two "parties," the pro-regime ARENA (National Renovating Alliance) and the kept "opposition" MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement). Meanwhile, under Institutional Act No. 5 decreed in 1968, the president was permitted to suspend Congress at will, issue new laws, dismiss officials and suspend anyone's political rights for ten years. Newspapers were censored and banned; government critics were imprisoned and exiled; leftists were beaten, tortured, murdered. An urban guerrilla movement which arose in the late '60s was broken up by the army using the most brutal terror methods available.

Proposals for extensive "liberalization" really only began with the student and labor agitation of 1977-78. In June 1978 Geisel announced a reform package including abolition of Institutional Act No. 5, of the death penalty, life imprisonment and political banishment. As he was preparing to leave office the next March Geisel declared an end to political imprisonment, torture, censorship and the president's absolute power over Congress and the courts. (Of course, he could still do all of the above by simply declaring a state of emergency.) His successor Figueiredo was the former chief of the secret service who had engineered the notorious death squads. One of Figueiredo's more famous sayings was that "I prefer the smell of horses to the smell of the people." But by Brazilian army standards he qualified as a "dove." In addition to treating the 1979 strike wave gingerly, Figueiredo declared a general amnesty for political exiles (hoping that this might disrupt the loose opposition coalition around the MDB). All but 200 political prisoners were released and 5,000 exiles were expected to return.

The amnesty ploy didn't work. The battle horses of 15 years ago awakened little enthusiasm in the Brazilian masses, and certainly they were of no use in derailing the strike movements. Former PTB leader Leonel Brizola, the millionaire rancher and populist governor of Rio Grande do Sul state who had distributed arms to the population to quell an army uprising against Goulart in 1961, arrived in September virtually unnoticed. While Brizola hinted at conciliation with the government, another populist leader, Miguel Arraes (former governor of Pernambuco), had made a name as a critic of the regime and drew a crowd of 60,000 on his return. However, he called on the opposition to remain united around the MDB at a time when even the middle classes were fed up with phony oppositionists who had played by the junta's rules, doing nothing to threaten the generals' rule even though they had *twice* won its fraudulent elections. There was an aura of expectation around the return of the Communist Party (PCB) leader, 81-year-old Luiz Carlos Prestes, but the Moscow-line PCB called for maintaining the "unity of the MDB"—the regime's safety valve!

Moura/Gamma-Liaison

Strike leader "Lula" calls for "party of the workers."

The Labor Party Movement

Meanwhile, the Communist Party is in the process of splitting. After PCB leaders returned from Europe, a "Eurocommunist" wing led by José Salles (who had been exiled in France) took command and on several occasions publicly disavowed statements to the press by general secretary Prestes, finally declaring he was no longer authorized to speak for the party. Salles gained notoriety by calling for a "constituent assembly with João [Figueiredo]"—going along with the government's plans for yet another phony legislative cover to military rule. But with the Brazilian working class ever more directly challenging the regime, Prestes responded at the beginning of April in a "Letter to the Communists" declaring PCB policy "out of touch with the realities of the workers and people's movement today" (*O Trabalho*, 8-14 April). Prestes denounced the present party leadership as opportunist, careerist and unprincipled.

The present situation in Brazil recalls similar moments in the decomposition phase of bonapartist regimes from Portugal to Peru. The local CP works out a modus vivendi with the dictatorship (as in Batista's Cuba) and as it comes apart the Stalinists find themselves outflanked on the left by sizable sectors of the workers movement. In Peru this led to a split in the party in 1978 as CP labor leaders sought to break from the Morales Bermúdez junta and its increasingly hated austerity policies. In Portugal during the last years of the Caetano/Salazar regime the CP worked only in the vertical syndicates, so that it was bypassed in 1974-75 by the combative "workers commissions" which had sprung up in the Lisbon industrial belt. In Brazil also the PCB has refused to work outside the corporatist unions, and in the mass metal workers strikes they have sided with pro-government *pelegos* against the dominant *oposicão sindical*.

Meanwhile the strike movement has been accompanied by a burgeoning movement to form a labor party, the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) led by Lula and other OS activists. In launching the PT last January, José Ibrahim, leader of the 1978 metal workers strike, said that it would be "a party of the workers, not a party for the workers." With the Stalinists still trying to tie the workers to the carcass of the MDB (now called the "PMDB") and the heirs of the Vargas tradition vainly trying to resuscitate their phony "Brazilian Labor Party," the apparently enthusiastic response to the labor party movement among the combative unions indicates a welcome break from decades of corporatist populism. But what is the political orientation of the new PT? Does it put forward a program capable of mobilizing the working class to successfully wage the revolutionary struggles facing it? What is its policy toward the dictatorship?

The new party's inaugural manifesto talks only of "a more profound democracy," "social and economic equality," and a "free multiparty regime." It doesn't even call for "Down with the dictatorship"! The document concludes, "The PT intends to arrive in the government and at the head of the state in order to carry out a democratic policy" (*Movimiento*, 14-20 January). At best this is a right-wing brand of social democracy, a rather insipid brew especially for Brazilian conditions. It expresses the fact that the mass strike movement and the nascent PT are led by a group of syndicalist militants with limited political perspectives. (As recently as last June at a meeting of opposition forces Lula had opposed the formation of a workers party.) Their views approximate the Russian "Economists" at the turn of the century, who only wanted to "lend the economic struggle a political character."

But despite the reformist perspectives of the PT leaders, in the context of the present working-class turmoil in Brazil a broad labor party movement could escape their control and assume explosive proportions. Already, some of the bureaucrats originally associated with the PT project have been pushed out. (On the other hand, a number of former MDB legislators have hitched their carts to the rising PT star.) What, then,

continued on page 8

McBride/Sadlowski:

Rush to Surrender in Steel

CHICAGO—Even as thousands of steel workers across the country were being dumped on the scrap heap by the companies, the leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) rushed to sign a new three-year giveaway agreement with the steel companies via the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) begun in 1974. The servile USWA officials feel helpless in the face of the bosses' offensive, so they try to cling to the ENA straitjacket by giving up even more. And the ranks are supposed to follow silently since, in the highly bureaucratic USWA structure, the membership as a whole does not even get to vote on the contract.

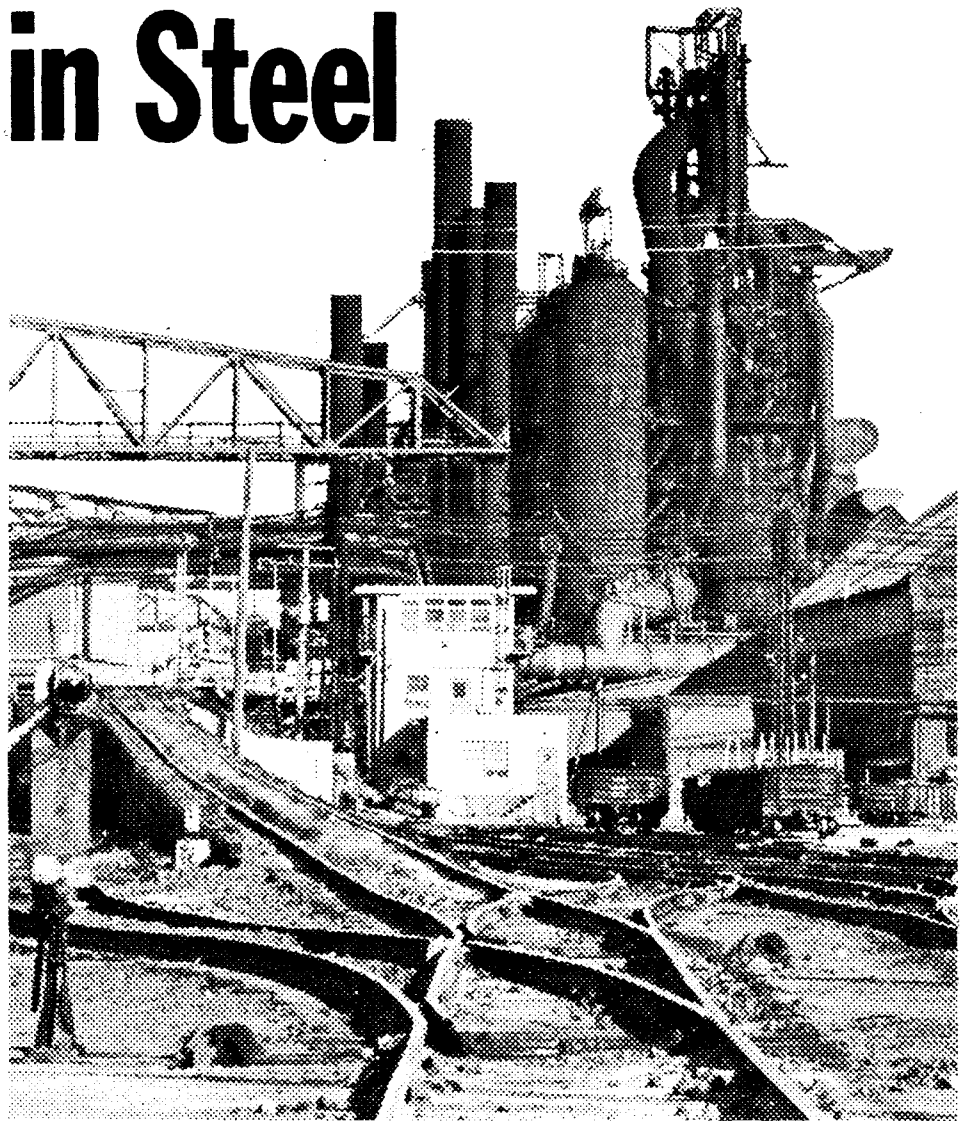
The new pact, which goes into effect August 1 and covers 290,000 workers in the "big nine" companies, is even worse than the two previously negotiated under the ENA. To begin with, USWA leaders accepted an insulting average 2.5 percent annual wage hike, which is *less* than the 3 percent "guaranteed" under the ENA agreement! In a period of double-digit inflation, the union leaders abandoned any attempt to improve the cost-of-living (COLA) formula, though Teamsters and rubber workers managed to win some improvements. And adding insult to injury, the improvement in pensions was paid not by the companies, but by the *workers*, who surrendered their May COLA increase to pay for it!

But the burning issue remains jobs. Skilled journeymen with 20 years seniority are now being laid off, whole cities such as Youngstown are being turned into ghost towns as the steel companies try to prop up their sagging profit margins by closing down or cutting back production at older plants. In Chicago at U.S. Steel's Southworks plant, 1,500 out of a 7,000 workforce are on layoff, while half the workforce at the U.S. Steel Gary works have been axed. Since 1977 at least 50,000 steel jobs have been eliminated through plant closures alone. But outrageously, the union's paper demand for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, to spread the available work, simply disappeared during the negotiations.

Laid-off steel workers have only a few months of pitiful payments from the industry's supplemental unemployment benefits and perhaps from the TRA (Trade Re-adjustment Act) funds—depending on the political whims of Jimmy Carter. But working people do not want to live on subsistence handouts, they want jobs! The steel companies' mad rush for profits—allowing the steel mills to go to rot rather than reinvest in steel—means destroying thousands of workers' lives.

To begin with, steel workers must demand 100 percent unlimited unemployment pay (financed by the company or government) with a full cost-of-living escalator, free job retraining and all expenses paid for relocation. In elementary self-defense, the USWA must prepare for an industry-wide strike to stop the layoffs and smash ENA, demanding 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. And a leadership fighting to win must be prepared to challenge the bosses' sacred property rights in order to defend the workers' livelihoods by occupying steel mills threatened with mass layoffs or closings. Such sit-down strikes would set the stage for a labor offensive to win jobs for all.

This is clearly not the strategy of USWA president Lloyd McBride & Co., who have chained the union to the bosses via the no-strike ENA. Ironically, it is the steel companies who are now balking at renewing the agreement because even the paltry 3 percent is considered too "expensive" (!) in light of the more efficient foreign steel companies who operate with newer plants. Instead of a labor offensive, McBride & Co. repeat the bosses' complaints against foreign imports, a disgusting attempt to pit American steel workers against foreign workers (German, Japanese, etc.). Yet the steel companies' calls for trade war eventually lead to shooting wars in which workers will give their lives to defend the companies' profits.



WV Photo

U.S. Steel Southworks plant in Chicago.

Fake-Dissidents Push McBride Sellout

The so-called "dissident" wing of the USWA bureaucracy, headed by Ed Sadlowski and District 31 director Jim Balanoff, have pretty much settled into the establishment through this contract non-struggle. Whereas in 1977 the Sadlowski/Balanoff forces gave lip service to opposing the deal, this time around Balanoff led the pack in voting for McBride's sellout, resulting in an overwhelming 333-to-42 ratification vote at the Basic Steel Industry Conference. Balanoff even openly praised the pact: "[The pact]...answers our most glaring, immediate needs. It's not a bad contract, better than I anticipated" (*Hammond Times*, 16 April). Try to sell that one down at the unemployment lines in Chicago, Gary or Youngstown, Jim.

One of the two or three local presidents to vote against the recent sellout was Alice Peurala, head of Local 65 in Chicago and a longtime Sadlowski supporter. But two Local 65 militants, Ellen Bulman and Damon Lewis, pointed out in an April 22 leaflet:

> "In the local negotiations she [Peurala] has talked about a strike, but has made it clear that it will *only* be over local issues, *only* with the permission of the International, *only* within the boundaries of the ENA, in other words, *only* to lose."

The leaflet urged an industry-wide steel strike to smash the ENA and reopen the national contract. Nearby at Inland Steel (Local 1010), militants also called for a national strike and denounced the USWA leadership's flag-waving protectionism. They wrote: "For example, our union should have gone all out to support the British steel strike."

But these militants have been the only oppositionists calling for strike action. Where are all the fake-militants in USWA District 31 hiding? The newspapers of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP), while making mild criticisms of the new pact, cannot give an honest account because they are trying to cover for so-called dissidents like Jim Balanoff and Local 1010's Bill Andrews, who voted for the deal. And the CP and SWP supporters inside the union, along with the rest of the fake-left, have been totally silent for the same reason. As the Sadlowski/Balanoff forces have settled into the bureaucracy, their opportunist followers have sunk into silence and paralysis.

But steel workers cannot remain paralyzed. The capitalist program for reviving the American steel industry today means brutal job-slashing and racist violence at home and a virulent anti-Soviet crusade abroad, possibly triggering a nuclear war. These are the policies of the capitalist Democratic Party to which both the McBride and Balanoff/Sadlowski wings of the USWA bureaucracy swear allegiance. The central position of steel workers in an industrial economy gives them the strategic power to challenge the bosses' anti-working class plans. But to do so they need a leadership that is not afraid to lead the necessary militant strike action that can stop the bosses cold. Such leadership will not come from the McBrides and Balanoffs, but only from a class-struggle opposition that fights for a workers party and a workers government. ■

Brazil...

(continued from page 7)

should be the attitude of proletarian revolutionaries toward such a contradictory labor party movement? The Stalinists, of course, from the pro-Moscow PCB to the pro-Albanian PCdoB and various smaller groups, have simply turned a cold shoulder, since their goal is some kind of popular-front alliance with capitalist forces.

Among ostensible Trotskyists, who claim to stand for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie, the response has been varied. The Convergência Socialista, a group associated internationally with Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction, appears more interested in tailing after the populist holdovers. When Miguel Arraes landed in Recife, they were there with a banner reading, "The People Are With Arraes"—this for the man who led the repression against the radical peasant leagues of 1963-64 (remember Julião?)! The Organização Socialista Internacionalista (OSI), tied internationally to Pierre Lambert's French OCI, is promoting a left-social-democratic policy of pressuring the Lula/Ibrahim leadership of the PT. During the metal workers strike they simply called on the PT to "assume its place" in the leadership.

But the core of the OSI's policy is its call for "Down with the dictatorship! For a constituent assembly!" Not once in recent issues of the paper *O Trabalho*, close to the OSI, do they call for a workers and peasants government. Their program is unambiguously stagist: bourgeois democracy now—it's too early for socialism. This places the OSI only marginally to the left of the PT leadership itself and certainly doesn't prepare the militant sectors of the Brazilian working class for the tasks ahead. A genuine Trotskyist leadership would have called from the very beginning of the metal workers' struggle for concretely preparing a general strike; the OSI raised this only after four weeks, and then in the vaguest terms. And while calling for a revolutionary constituent assembly as *part* of their program for sweeping away the murderous dictatorship, Bolsheviks would warn that unless a *workers and peasants government* is established, resting not on bourgeois parliamentarianism but organs of proletarian power, what faces Brazilian workers is the prospect of "democratic counterrevolution."

The cycle of militant strikes and the labor party movement point to an early demise for the generals' rule. Compared to other recent upsurges in marginal sectors of Latin America (Nicaragua, El Salvador), the coming battle in Brazil will be labor-centered—in a country of 120 million, with the largest industrial proletariat in the backward capitalist countries. The revolutionary possibilities are manifest and the need for a Trotskyist party to lead the struggle could not be clearer. This will be built not by watering down the communist program to the syndicalist/social-democratic consciousness of the present leaders, but by fighting for the full Transitional Program and for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Ultralefts Attack SL on Iran, Afghanistan

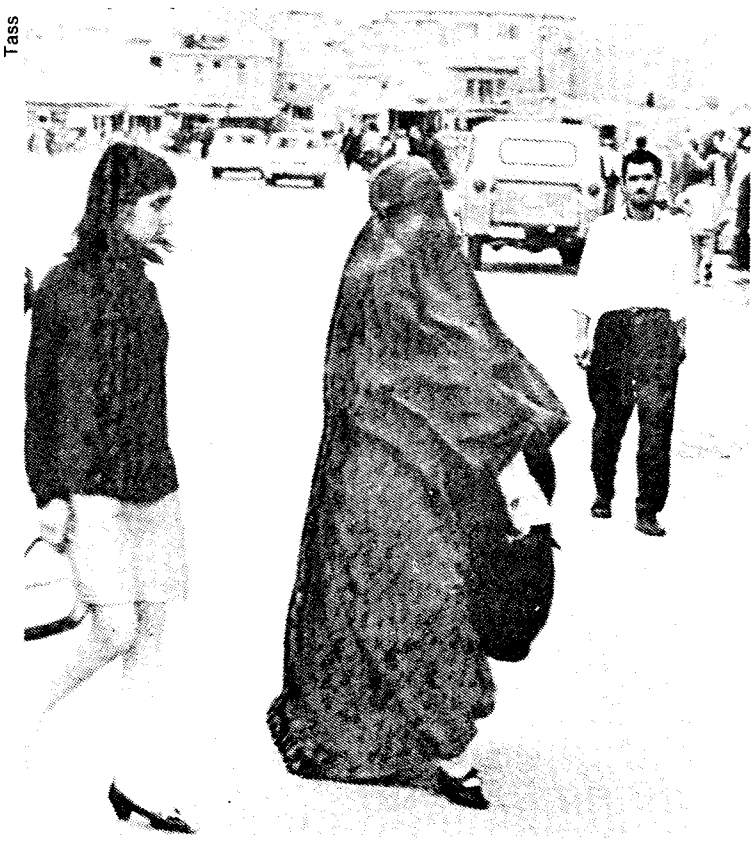
Ever since Iran and Afghanistan moved to the center stage of world politics, two Spartacist slogans have polarized the left: "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs" and "Hail Red Army—Extend Social Gains of October to Afghan Peoples." This should have been ABC for any would-be Marxist—opposing a clerical-reactionary movement whose programmatic document is the *Koran*, and reaffirming the historic gains for the international working class of the Russian Revolution. But most of the left found a way to capitulate to the *popular* Khomeini forces while fudging on the *unpopular* question of unconditional defense of the USSR.

Recently a couple of the minuscule sects in the international left have directed their fire against the Spartacist League on Iran and Afghanistan. One group attacked the SL ostensibly from the left, claiming our opposition to Khomeini was hollow and that we were soft on Soviet "imperialism." This polemic came in a leaflet entitled "Spartacist League on Iran: Permanent Counterrevolution" written by the "International Communist Current." The ICC is a holdover from a New Left strain which used to call itself "council communists." Its heroes are the Dutch ultra-left syndicalists of the 1920s, Pannekoek and Gorter, and it holds that trade unions are "tools of the bourgeoisie." Despite the gulf which separates these dilettantes from Bolshevism, however, the ICC gives the SL high marks for "uncanny foresight" in refusing to support the mullahs:

> "Now that the chickens are coming home to roost for those Trotskyists who supported Khomeini coming to power, the 'pure' Trotskyists of the Spartacist League are running around the leftist chicken coop crowing 'we told you so'."

Still, the ICC claims to have discovered our fatal flaw. The SL exposes its "true counter-revolutionary colours," you see, when it puts forward "The Trotskyist theory and practice of mobilising the working class into a military bloc with a faction of the bourgeoisie ('whilst maintaining its political independence,' mind you)...." Oh, indeed! Here we have a genuinely ultra-left current, for whom it matters little (or not at all) whether U.S. imperialism launches a military attack on Iran, or Khomeini resumes his war against the Kurds. Presumably the U.S., Khomeini and the Kurdish nationalists all represent bourgeois forces, so who cares? To the ICC, the SL's call for the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities is simply "a neat attempt to divide up the class into capitalist categories...."

The "International Communist Current" says democratic rights aren't worth defending because they're just a bourgeois trick. On the question of the legal equality of women, for instance, they ask accusingly: "And do the Spartacists, like the other raisers of this kind of demand, have *all* women in mind? Bourgeois as well as proletarian?" For the ICC it is better that the women of the Muslim world should continue to be imprisoned in the veil, bought and sold like draft animals, than that a few bourgeois women should benefit too. Thus, these intransigent "communists" refuse to support fundamental rights that have been an integral part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution since 1789. And these aren't the only gains that they will not defend. For them the collectivized property forms and centralized planned economy established by the October Revolution are irrelevant—according to the ICC, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan shows that the USSR "is *capitalist* and *imperialist* like all the rest" (*Internationalism*, March-April 1980).



Tass

Kabul street scene. "ICC" denies liberation of women is key to socialist revolution in the East.

The ICC polemic concludes by returning to its barnyard imagery: "The little red rooster of the SL can crow all it likes to warn its fellow leftists to wake up and move a bit quicker to head off the class; but when the proletarian dawn breaks, the working class will make a meal of them all." We can only reply that if the leadership of the working class were in the hands of people who believe it doesn't matter whether women are enslaved, whether the U.S. threatens to militarily impose imperialist subjugation on Iran, whether the unions are subjected to control of the capitalist state, and whether the Soviet Union is menaced by a counterrevolutionary holocaust, then there will be no proletarian dawn. As Trotsky wrote:

> "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones."
>
> —"Letter to the Workers of the USSR," 23 April 1940

Moreover, as against all manner of syndicalism (really a species of economism), we maintain that the goal of the socialist revolution is the *abolition of class society* and with it of *all* forms of social oppression.

Marcyites Disoriented

Just about all the other attacks on the Spartacist League over Iran/Afghanistan come from the right. For the ICC all our talk of proletarian opposition to Khomeini was rendered moot because in February 1979, as the shah's regime was in its death throes, the Spartacist League proclaimed that in an actual civil war, "Marxists would have militarily supported the popular forces rallied by the mullahs against an intact officer caste..." ("Mullahs Win," *WV* No. 225, 16 February). For the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), on the other hand, this is just about the only thing the SL did right on Iran—and it is vitiated because of our "ineffective" slogan, "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs."

The RCL-I is a Stalinoid group in New Haven which claims to stand for the unadulterated theory of "Global Class War" as first put forward by ex-Trotskyist Sam Marcy. This Cold War impressionist schema—which holds that the class struggle can be summed up by the division of the world into two camps, Soviet and imperialist—has always been an excuse for tailing Kremlin foreign policy. (The RCL-I sometimes gets carried away with the "GCW," and among its "anti-imperialist" slogans calls for U.S. forces "Out of Hawaii! Out of Alaska!" To be turned over to whom, pray tell?)

In a 20 January letter to the SL they refer to us as "one of the more serious nominally Trotskyist tendencies in existence" and note that "While we criticize the S.L., we do so with the hope of resolving the differences between us." Thus five pages of its February 1980 *Internationalist Worker* are devoted to polemicizing with the Spartacist League. In the same issue they protest the attempted murder of one of our German comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands last winter by Afghan rightists and their Maoist cohorts.

The RCL-I also takes pains to give the SL its due. The March 1979 *Internationalist Worker* wrote:

> "To its credit, the Spartacist League did not *ignore* the issue of the clergy's leadership, or give that leadership *support* as did the likes of the [pro-Moscow] CPUSA, the [Peking-loyal] CP(M-L) or [Sam Marcy's] WWP."

The problem was, they say, our slogan was too hard on the mullahs—the masses wouldn't understand. The RCL-I counterposed its slogan, "Down with the Shah! Land to the Peasants—All Factories to the Workers!" But these demands do not confront the central question of the mullahs' leadership: Khomeini & Co. in power cannot and will not give either land to peasants, or factories to workers, or even democratic rights to national minorities and women. The Spartacist League alone pointed out from the very beginning that the ayatollahs' "Islamic Republic" would be a clerical/reactionary dictatorship. It's not just a slogan: while the RCL-I tried to duck the central question of leadership, in fact it supported (critically, mind you) the mullahs' revolution, arguing that "the Shah's downfall greatly weakened (although it did not break) Iran's ties to world imperialism."

On Afghanistan, the RCL-I flinched at "Hail Red Army!" Marxists should *critically* support Soviet intervention, they say. Rather than forthrightly backing the Soviet army against CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries, the RCL-I writes that "regional and global reaction have been *politically* strengthened and *emboldened*, however temporarily, by the Soviet intervention." This indicates considerable disorientation on the part of "global class warriors" whose claim to fame is their support for the Kremlin's brutal crushing of the nascent workers political revolution against Stalinism in Hungary in 1956. (You'd hardly know it from the RCL-I, though, which buries this central position in a footnote.) And this is one of the few instances where the Soviet bureaucracy has actually militarily supported a progressive cause instead of providing arms to phony "anti-imperialist" despots or selling out revolutionary struggles in the name of détente!

Behind the RCL-I's "critical" support for Soviet intervention in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan is a policy of tailing whatever the Stalinist bureaucracies do, with a figleaf of criticism. This is further confirmed in their response to a letter from a self-described Spartacist League supporter where the RCL-I objects to our position on Peking's invasion of Vietnam ("China Get Out!"). To begin with, the Sino-Soviet split simply doesn't fit into their Marcyite "two camps" schema. In particular, they can't explain or even comprehend how the attempt by China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, to "teach a bloody lesson" to Vietnam, another deformed workers state, could be carried out with the complicity of U.S. imperialism.

So while Marxists call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies, the RCL-I calls on the bureaucracies to get back together: the February 1980 *Internationalist Worker* calls for "Immediate Negotiation of the Political Differences Between the PRC [China] and the USSR." These "anti-revisionist" Marcyites want to wash their hands of all conflicts among the degenerated and deformed workers states. *Except*, of course, when the working class is beginning to stir and demand that the bureaucratic shackles be smashed—in which case the RCL-I supports the Stalinists' bloody repression! Thus, both in their own ways, the ultra-left "council communists" of the ICC and the unreconstructed "global class warriors" of the RCL-I reject the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, the only road to genuine emancipation of the oppressed masses of the East. ■

Sweden...

(continued from page 3)

and municipal government sector, which employs nearly a quarter of the country's labor force. It started out with a budget deficit of $750 million, but despite the highest tax rates in the world, after three-and-a-half years the deficit was up to $11 billion, financed through heavy borrowing in the international money market. Swedish capitalism was going bankrupt trying to hold up a structure built up under exceptionally favorable international conditions that no longer existed.

When the bourgeois coalition was re-elected last fall, it panicked over the condition of the economy. Under the slogan, "Sweden has lived beyond its means," it took an ax to the national budget. The cuts go across the board and deep into all the areas of social-democratic reformism built up over the years—the subsidy for children, day-care centers, sick-leave pay, the cost-of-living adjustment on old-age pensions, etc.

In the 1938 Saltsjöbaden Agreement the social-democratic government set up a system of centralized national bargaining between the Federation of Labor and the Employers Confederation. A single LO-SAF agreement establishes the basic wage and benefit increases for almost all Swedish workers from Kiruna iron miners to Stockholm bricklayers to Göteborg dockers. As a result of this system, long held up as a model for labor peace, official strikes were unheard of and even wildcats were rare.

However, with inflation running over 10 percent for the past three years, the workers were feeling the squeeze. The social-democratic bureaucracy, in shock at being out of government office, didn't do anything because it didn't know what to do. The union chiefs complained bitterly that it was all the fault of the bourgeois government, ignoring that they themselves had signed the contracts which reduced the living standard of Swedish workers by at least 15 percent in the past period. When the workers responded with wildcat strikes concentrated in the government sector, the bureaucrats denounced these as "illegal" and effectively broke most of them.

The national wage contract expired last November. Yet nothing happened for six months. Why? In part because the bosses' position was that there was no room for any wage hikes—period. But mainly because everyone was occupied with the atomic power referendum held March 23. Ecology faddism and anti-nuke hysteria are predictably strong in this country known for its moralizing petty-bourgeois radicals and cult of nature. With the brouhaha over atomic power out of the way, the class struggle heated up in earnest.

Fake-Lefts Tail Social Democracy

A leaflet distributed on May Day by Swedish supporters of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) called for turning the lockout into a general strike and also warned of a sellout by the social-democratic bureaucracy:

> "A general strike is on everyone's lips. To turn the lockout into a general strike and lead it to victory would be an enormous step forward. But the workers movement has enormous obstacles to cross, and not the least is its own social-democratic leaders, who time and again have betrayed and broken strikes in order to eat the crumbs served at the bourgeoisie's table.
> "During the 44 years the social democracy was in power, it built up an arsenal of reactionary laws directed at the workers.... And the social democrats are prepared to betray this strike.... Palme has made the offer to be savior of the nation by being willing to take over governmental power together with sections of the bourgeois class. Palme and Nilsson agree with the bourgeoisie that it is the working class who must pay for this crisis. The only difference between the bourgeoisie and the reformists is how much the working class should pay."

But when the arbitration offer was made, there was not even a peep of protest from the so-called far left, never mind an attempt to mobilize the workers against the sellout. In fact, thousands of these fake-lefts were celebrating bicycle day and the yearly kite party!

It is scarcely surprising that the left, including self-styled Trotskyists, was out flying a kite while the social-democratic bureaucracy was selling out the greatest labor struggle in decades. The Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF—Communist Workers Party), Swedish section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, limited its response to the crisis to at best militant trade unionism. At the May Day rally its main slogan was a vague call for a "united strike front against the bosses and the bourgeois government."

The smaller ostensibly Trotskyist groups were agitating for the social democrats to return to power. The former Bolshevik Faction of the KAF, which takes its lead from the Argentine political adventurer Nahuel Moreno, calls for an LO/SAP government, while the *Offensiv* group, inspired by sclerotic British reformist Ted Grant, demands "social democracy to power on a socialist program." In contrast, the Spartacist Stockholm leaflet called, "For a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. For a workers government that expropriates the capitalist class."

The Swedish lockout/national strike did not take place in splendid national isolation. The fact that the third largest center of Swedish-owned industry—São Paulo, Brazil where Volvo cars, Scania trucks and Ericsson telephones are produced—had been on strike for the past month influenced the consciousness of Swedish workers. Within Sweden, there was the vital role of foreign workers, notably the large number of Finns who are the backbone of a number of key industries and could have been the heavy batallions of a general strike. And the anti-labor, anti-communist climate comes in the context of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet drive, which threatens to trigger off a nuclear World War III over Iran and Afghanistan.

The Swedish social-democratic bureaucracy had acquired an undeserved reputation abroad for "leftism" by Olof Palme's criticism of the U.S. over Vietnam. But its defense of Swedish capitalism was not limited to labor/employer cooperation in the economic field. The SAP has systematically built up one of the most powerful military machines in northern Europe, with its front line a string of fortified islands on the Baltic Coast. Though Sweden is not formally a member of NATO, there's no question where its missiles and fighter planes are pointed—against Russia. And now that the U.S. is calling its allies to order, Swedish social democracy has predictably lined up with the imperialist camp. The SAP executive issued a statement last January to the effect that:

> "The international climate has been further weakened by the Soviet Union's military invasion in Afghanistan. The invasion and involvement in other countries' affairs are to be rejected and condemned."

Likewise, Sweden's significant Eurocommunist Left Party (VPK) declared, on national television to boot, "we think the Soviet troops should be withdrawn." And at the May Day rally the Maoists had as their *main* slogan, "Soviets Out of Afghanistan"!

Limiting themselves to economist demands and/or "social democracy to power," the KAF and other fake-Trotskyists ducked the question of defense of the USSR against imperialism, a question which in Sweden today is neither abstract nor distant. It was left to the supporters of the iSt to address the May Day rallies with the call for "Victory to the Red Army" and for "Extending Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples."

The understanding pervades all social classes that the old Sweden, the Sweden of the "model" welfare state, of peaceful, institutionalized cooperation between labor and capital, is dead. The monumental betrayal in the national strike/lockout must shake many workers out of their reformist certitudes and produce a bitter distrust of the social-democratic bureaucracy. We are thus moving into more favorable conditions for the development of a revolutionary (Trotskyist) vanguard party.

Any notion of a socialist revolution *limited* to this one part of the Scandinavian peninsula with its eight million people is a utopian pipe dream, and Sweden's politically sophisticated working class knows it. However, with its highly class-conscious and organized proletariat, *Sweden could be the spark* for socialist revolution in West Germany, the industrial core of imperialist Europe, or even for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet bloc. It is to this perspective which Swedish revolutionaries must dedicate themselves, a perspective made far more tangible by the present outbreak of class war. ■

Steel Letter...

(continued from page 2)

invited to the B.L. [British Leyland] Cowley flying picket during the steel strike because they committed themselves to supporting the victory of our strike. This we would ask of any organisation in the labour movement, we needed all the support possible. Equally many steelworkers, ourselves included, found what they had to say was always something to think about, interesting and we at least benefited by discussing with them.

As far as we can tell, a lot of your arguments centre around the Spartacists attacking people who cross picket lines. As far as we are concerned after our 13 week strike, where a lot of strikebreaking/scabbing took place, like Hadfields.... Sheerness etc., we don't like people who cross picket lines either.

We hope that in future that if you wish to treat yourselves more seriously you should address yourselves to a more truthful account of events.

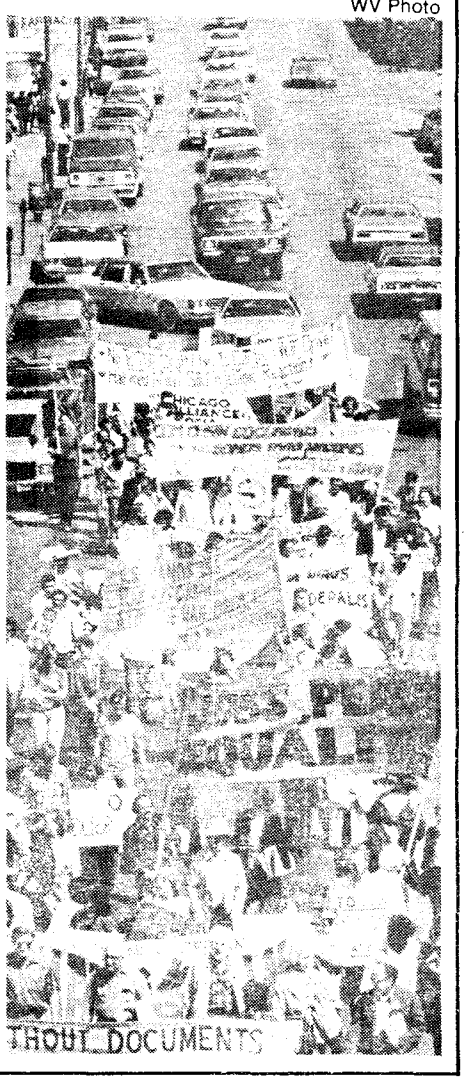
Waiting for the publication of our letter in the next publication of your paper.

Yours fraternally,
K.J. Hall (Stainless Wks., Sheffield)
M. Hart (Shop Steward T&G Stainless Works)

cc: Spartacist League

Chicago May Day

WV Photo

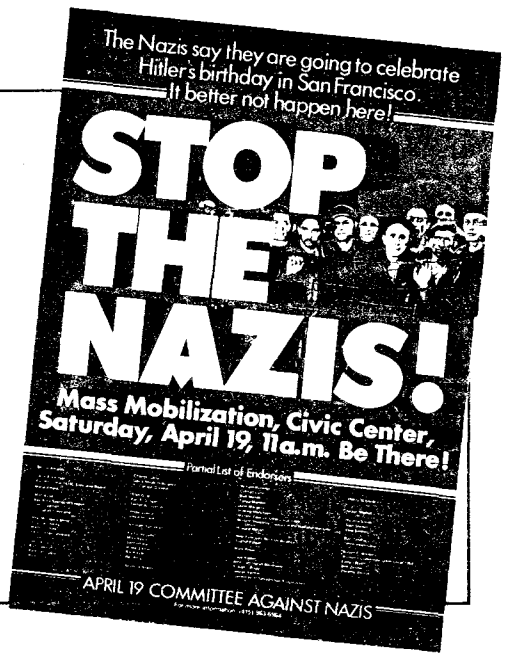


CHICAGO—"No to Carter's War Drive, Hail Red Army!" read the banner of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent at the Communist Party's May Day demonstration here. In the face of Carter's escalating anti-Soviet war drive and an approaching depression, the CP did its best to "celebrate" this traditionally militant workers holiday with an impotent hat-in-hand stroll for "peace, détente and jobs." The 40-strong Spartacist contingent, in contrast, demanded "Not Détente but Workers Revolution," and also carried signs calling for "Down with Klan Terror!", "No to Layoffs—30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay" and "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Workers."

Participating in the march was a large delegation from the Grain Millers Local 6 in Clinton, Iowa where workers on strike for ten months against Clinton Corn Processing, a subsidiary of the giant Standard Brands, have been repeatedly beaten on the picket lines by police and attacked in their homes by night-riding company thugs. The SL's request for a rally speaker was refused and our contingent forced to the end of the march. But, at the day's end, when Spartacist supporters took up "The Internationale," many of the aging CP cadre at first looked on uncomfortably, finally raising their fists in reluctant solidarity.

$$$ For ANCAN

The April 19 Committee Against Nazis worked hard to teach the fascist creeps a lesson they'll never forget. 130,000 leaflets and 5,000 posters were distributed in the trade unions, in poor, Jewish and minority communities, in workplaces, bars, taxicabs, on campuses. Sound equipment, chartered buses and telephone calls cost money, too. ANCAN has bills totaling several thousand dollars—show your support for this powerful anti-Nazi mobilization with donations of $10, $25, $50—whatever you can. Contributors will receive the ANCAN "STOP THE NAZIS!" poster. Send check or money order to: ANCAN, c/o P.O. Box 6571, San Francisco, CA 94101.



Zimbabwe-Rhodesia...

(continued from page 12)

Smith's laws that this "radical" appealed to. Mugabe's designated minister of labor, ZANU "left" Kumbirai Kangai, called upon Smith's industrial legislation in an attempt to end the strike wave. "There is a laid down procedure for the airing of workers' grievances," insisted Kangai—the laid-down procedures being that strikes are effectively illegal. Kangai made a tour of strike-hit plants to lecture the workers on the responsibilities of "liberation": "Discipline at work must remain part and parcel of the freedom we have attained" ([London] *Times*, 22 March)! And in case anyone didn't get the message, Mugabe was more blunt—he described the strikes as "nothing short of criminal," adding that "the primary function of any government is to ensure the permanence of peace through the maintenance of law and order" (*Time*, 28 April).

After two weeks the strike wave appeared to have dissipated substantially—in no small part because of ruthless company victimizations encouraged by the incoming government. At Dalny Mines 1,500 workers were threatened with dismissal if they did not return to work immediately; another 900 strikers at the Bata Shoe Company received a similar warning. Within a week more than 750 strikers had been dismissed. But the government's attempts to quell the unrest did not last very long. Recently 4,000 out of 5,700 miners at the largest coal mine in the country have gone out, demanding that the minimum wage be raised from $3 to $24 per day (*New York Times*, 9 May). Unlike the previous strikes, which involved largely secondary industry, these workers have the power to throttle the economy by disruption of coal supplies to rail, electric power and tobacco curing, a major source of foreign exchange.

Beyond the restlessness of the black workers looms the key question of land redistribution. The 6,000 white commercial farmers control 46 percent of the land, leaving the remainder to the 7 *million* blacks. Needless to say the Europeans chose the best land, that most amenable to large-scale cultivation. To the black subsistence farmers, and to the one million rural blacks displaced by the war who have no land at all Mugabe has given his answer: he appointed Denis Norman, president of the (white) Rhodesian Farmers Union, as minister of agriculture, thus putting all on notice that the large white holdings are to be left untouched.

Mugabe lost no time in reassuring domestic (i.e., white) capital and potential foreign investors that his brand of "Marxism" was no threat:

> "We recognize that the economic structure is based on capitalism and that whatever ideas we have we must build on that. We are not going to interfere with private property whether it be the mining sector or the industrial sector. The modifications can only take place in a gradual way."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 March

Mugabe's determination to protect private property and preserve "law and order" is most graphically shown in his keeping on General Peter Walls, former head of the Rhodesian security forces, to oversee the "integration" of the guerrilla forces into the Rhodesian Army—i.e., their disarmament and dispersal—thus maintaining a central pillar of the white colonial settler order. This is a mortal threat to the thousands of militants who have taken up arms against this regime.

In every respect the "Marxist" Mugabe has demonstrated in no uncertain terms that he is a loyal lackey for imperialism—from his "good neighbor" policy toward South Africa to the recent strikebreaking. With remarkable rapidity, Mugabe has wiped away the veneer of "radicalism" with which petty-bourgeois black nationalists cover their role as representatives of the exploiters of African labor. Diplomatically, he has indicated quite clearly his desire to maintain close relations with the imperialists: East European representatives were not even invited to the independence ceremonies, a sharp rebuff to the Soviet Union (which backed his rival, Nkomo, during the war) and the U.S. was the *first* country to open an embassy after independence.

Yet, despite all of this, Mugabe has not lacked for leftist cheerleaders. The fake-Trotskyist British International Marxist Group (IMG) proclaimed "VICTORY!" (*Socialist Challenge*, 6 March). Next to a centerfold collage of Mugabe quotes was a resumé reminiscent of a high school yearbook—among Mugabe's qualifications is that he likes the music of Pat Boone and Bing Crosby (like "White Christmas"?)! The IMG accepts his two-stage (or rather, three-stage) schema in which dismantling the racialist regime (not to mention "socialism") is postponed for a later time. They sagely counsel: "At some point [!] the sacking of General Walls, a purging of the top civil servants, and the removal of the white capitalist ministers will be necessary" (*Socialist Challenge*, 27 March). Their counterparts in the American SWP were no better, declaring the elections a "Black Victory." But these reformists are only doing what comes naturally—after enthusing over Islamic reaction in Iran, and fresh from acting as fingermen against the left for the petty-bourgeois Nicaraguan FSLN, the fake-Trotskyists' uncritical support to Mugabe is no surprise.

Despite all of Mugabe's attempts to placate the white settler regime, the situation in Zimbabwe is far from settled. The election returns demonstrated a dramatic split along tribal lines, indicating the danger of inter-tribal bloodletting. Thousands of black guerrillas are not likely to sit idly by as they are "integrated" into or demobilized out of a new (white-controlled) army, and millions of blacks expect some kind of material benefit from their "victory"—specifically land redistribution. Yet any attempts by Mugabe to placate the black masses, either in the question of land or the "Africanization" of the civil service, could easily touch off a bloody attempt by the white settlers to save their privileges. In the event of a white military coup, Marxists would of course militarily support the black nationalists, even under a traitor like Mugabe.

Despite Mugabe's undoubtedly sincere pledges to respect the economic structure of Rhodesia, the ZANU electoral victory could soon lead to the unraveling of white supremacy. But with the economic and military pillars of the white colonial-settler state still intact, the sequel will be far from peaceful. The only hope for the Zimbabwean African masses lies on the road of permanent revolution, through a revolutionary upsurge centered on the 5-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa which would sweep away not only that bastion of apartheid terror but the neo-colonialist remnants of imperialist domination throughout southern Africa. To be sure an isolated workers state in Zimbabwe with an unchallenged apartheid regime next door could not maintain itself for more than the short term. But a black workers revolution which began in Zimbabwe, led by a Trotskyist party, would almost certainly detonate a mass upsurge by the powerful South African proletariat.

Land to the Tillers! Down with General Walls—Smash White Supremacist Rule! For Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa! ■

Greensboro...

(continued from page 12)

the cops were in on it as well. For his part, the district attorney was quoted as saying that although the residents of Greensboro were "embarrassed" over the killings, and "perhaps an even larger part of the community thinks the communists got what one recent letter to the editor called 'about what they deserved'" (*Greensboro Daily News*, 9 December).

"Justice" North Carolina-style has long been synonymous with racist repression. This is the home of "the kissing case," the attacks on black radical Robert F. Williams and more recently the racist frame-ups of the Wilmington Ten and Charlotte Three. This is the "right-to-work" state where only 7 percent of labor is organized, where the union-busting J.P. Stevens textile company flourishes, where just last week in the Republican primary for state attorney general a member of the American Nazi Party took 43 percent of the vote—some 56,000 votes! If the CWP militants are sent to North Carolina's racist jails, they will likely face death at the hands of the guards and racist inmates.

Particularly threatened by the frame-up are blacks living in the South facing a new onslaught of political and economic repression. More and more frequently when blacks begin to organize even for the most minimal democratic rights, they find the streets blocked by white-sheeted thugs armed to kill. But the growing fascist terror is by no means limited to the South. The entire capitalist media led by the influential *New York Times* called the Greensboro massacre a "shootout" between two "equally violent" fringe groups. April 26 in Kokomo, Indiana was just the most recent Northern example of the cops coming out to protect the Nazis and the KKK while beating up and arresting the anti-Klan demonstrators. Indeed, a protected environment for the growth of these fascist groups is being created at the highest levels of government: the alarming growth of the Klan and the Nazis is part of Carter/Brzezinski's jingoistic anti-Soviet war drive.

For Mass Defense of the Greensboro Six

It is the elementary duty not only of socialists, but of all who would take up the fight against fascistic race-terror to come to the defense of the Greensboro Six. Mass demonstrations are needed mobilizing the black population and the labor movement to demand, "Drop the Charges Against the Greensboro Six! Jail the Klan Greensboro Murderers!" All who agree with such slogans should join together in united-front action, each organization flying its own banner.

But against the fascists the CWP tragically continues to oscillate between adventurist substitutionalism and cringing appeals to the bourgeoisie—in both phases with self-defeating sectarianism. Bourgeois repression, whether in white hoods, brown shirts or blue uniforms, will not be stopped by small groups of communists chanting "Death to the Klan," or by relying on capitalist politicians. In San Francisco during the recent struggle to build the April 19 mass anti-Nazi rally, the CWP appealed to Mayor Feinstein to ban the fascists, then went off to hold its own, smaller "non-confrontationist" demonstration. But at the last moment they finally sent Nelson Johnson to speak at the rally.

Mobilize labor, blacks, minorities and all those who hate the Nazis and the KKK: this is the strategy needed to defend the Greensboro Six. This was the model initiated by the Spartacist League and class-struggle union militants in Detroit last December 10—one week after the killings—when 500 people, mainly blacks and auto workers, came out to demand that charges be dropped against the CWP and the murderers jailed. This stopped the fascists from celebrating their hideous Greensboro massacre in the Motor City. Again in San Francisco on April 19, it was the SL and class-struggle unionists who mobilized 1,200 people representing 22 unions who prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday and again demanded the charges against the CWP supporters be dropped.

All who would stop the budding American fascist movement in its tracks must understand the importance of this defense case. Certainly the Nazis do. On April 19, when unionists and the left stopped the Nazis in San Francisco, the Klan and the Nazis met in Benson, North Carolina, not far from Greensboro, to demand the charges against the *murderers* be dropped. The lines are drawn. The stakes are high. For labor/black mobilizations to smash the Nazis and the KKK! Hands off the Greensboro Six! Jail the murdering Klan/Nazis!

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the Greensboro Justice Fund. *Workers Vanguard* urges others to aid in this struggle. Checks may be sent to Greensboro Justice Fund, P.O. Box 2861, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10017. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mugabe-Imperialism's New Black Friend

Strikes Hit Zimbabwe-Rhodesia

ADAPTED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN
APRIL 1980

Campbell/Sygma

Muzorewa/Smith go, but white-officered army remains.

Reininger/Contact

Black masses' new master, Robert Mugabe.

In sweeping Robert Mugabe's ZANU (PF) slate to an unexpected landslide victory, the nearly 3 million blacks who went to the polls in Rhodesia at the end of February demonstrated their hatred for white supremacist rule. When the results were announced, Salisbury factories and offices emptied out as black workers took the day off to celebrate. In the black townships the streets overflowed with exultant spontaneous demonstrations. Young black men and women cheered, danced, flapped elbows for the cock (the ZANU symbol) and gave the clenched-fist salutes. Across the border in South Africa as well there was dancing in the streets of the black townships, an indication of the anti-apartheid conflagration a black uprising in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia could spark.

But even before being officially installed as prime minister, Mugabe has moved quickly and dramatically to shatter the misplaced hope that his "new Zimbabwe" will offer the black masses any solace from exploitation and oppression. Less than two weeks after the election, the country was hit by a wave of black workers' strikes—the first significant upsurge of strike action in five years. Within days the walkouts and slowdowns spread to nearly 30 plants and mines in the country's five main centers, involving more than 10,000 workers. The reported demands of the strikers have varied widely—wage increases, refunds of contributions to pension funds which are rumored to be facing "nationalization," shorter working hours and even "removal of certain members of their firms' staff" (*Economist*, 29 March).

The imperialist press fretted about a "crisis of expectations." And whatever the demands and the origins of the particular strikes, it is clear that after decades of brutal colonialist and white-supremacist subjugation, after the charade of "black majority rule" imposed by Ian Smith's black front man, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the black workers and peasants want far more than vague promises for the future. One of the demands raised in the strikes has been for implementation of the minimum wage of R$75 (about US$95) per month mooted by the Muzorewa regime last year—right now the average wage for the black workers in manufacturing industry is R$60 (about US$71) per month, one-tenth that of whites.

Mugabe responded by denouncing the strikes as a "disturbing trend" and "quite unexcusable." As even the *Economist* (29 March) noted, "It could have been Ian Smith talking." Indeed, it was not just Ian Smith's language but Ian

continued on page 11

Klan/Nazi Murderers Walk the Streets

Defend the Greensboro Six!

In one of the most ominous acts of capitalist class "justice" in recent memory, the state of North Carolina is organizing a legal lynching for the anti-Klan demonstrators who managed to survive the KKK/Nazis' bloody massacre at Greensboro last November 3. On May 2, a grand jury indicted six supporters and friends of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) on charges of felony rioting—charging that the CWP is responsible for the murder of its own comrades! Today, the murderers are on the streets planning their next attack while the victims face jail.

This act of official racism is staggering in its implications. Everyone knows who the Greensboro murderers are. Millions witnessed the bloody act on TV as five CWP leaders were systematically gunned down by Klan bullets. This is the way the Klan wanted it—a massacre in broad daylight with plenty of coverage. They wanted to show that they could kill proclaimed communists, blacks and labor organizers who would dare to demonstrate against KKK/Nazi terror—kill them and get away with it. Now with the indictments against the victims, the state of North Carolina has issued a legal license for the fascists' declaration of open season on blacks, leftists and all who take up the fight against the fascist scum.

Scheduled for arraignment on May 19 are CWP leader Nelson Johnson, Rand Mandella, Lacie Russell, Alan Blitz, Dorothy Blitz and Percy Simms, a black community activist. Lesser charges leveled earlier against three of the CWP supporters have now been dropped in favor of the new "felony rioting" charge. This is a DA's delight, as there is no need to show intent but only result, that is, the dead bodies.

With the state's "even-handed justice" for the murderers and their victims, all but one of the 14 KKK assassins initially arrested were freed on bail almost immediately. One of these night-riding terrorists has already been caught burning a cross in Lincolnton, North Carolina. Although the state has dropped the charge of "conspiracy to murder," it was a conspiracy which, according to the CWP, included as many as 34 KKK and Nazis. And evidence continues to pile up indicating

continued on page 11

Greensboro Daily News

Nelson Johnson, right, survived November 3 massacre. Now charged with "felony rioting," held responsible for own comrades' deaths.