

Australasian

SPARTACIST



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30 CENTS

Smash apartheid—For workers revolution!

Black workers shake South Africa



Club-wielding/South African police drag off militant anti-apartheid demonstrators in Soweto, 1980

Once again black South Africa is rising up against its oppressors. After two months of the largest and most militant anti-apartheid struggles since the student protests of June 1976, black and "coloured" (mixed race) workers and students are marking the fourth anniversary of the Soweto massacre with strikes and demonstrations throughout the country. From the coloured townships of Cape Town to the auto plants of Port Elizabeth, from the sprawling slums around Johannesburg to the Indian Ocean docks of Durban, the victims of the apartheid system are defying heavily armed cops and troops and demanding an end to racist rule.

The South African army and police, who slaughtered more than 600 young protesters four years ago in Soweto, this time shot to death well over 32 persons and wounded 175 between June 16 and

June 20. Those are the government's figures and South African newspapers and hospitals report that the real toll is at least twice as high. Panicked by the upsurge of the oppressed majority, which outnumbers the privileged whites by more than five-to-one, the Pretoria regime has put the regular army on a war alert—something that was not done even in 1976. In an effort to cover up their murderous repression and the extent of the unrest, the apartheid rulers have banned reporters from "trouble spots". But no amount of official censorship can hide the fact that the oppressed masses of South Africa are militantly challenging apartheid rule.

The shadow of Soweto hangs over both the white rulers and the black masses in the current struggles. Black students, who four years ago marched headlong into the automatic weapons fire, today

are more cautious, dissolving their demonstrations when the killer cops and troops arrive. For its part, the government of Prime Minister Pieter Botha is wary of provoking another uprising by randomly mowing down hundreds of schoolchildren. But a distinguishing feature of the current upsurge, one which is crucial to the success of the anti-apartheid battles, is the central role being played by organized black and coloured workers in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Also important has been the vanguard role played by coloured students, who began this spring's actions with a nationwide boycott of schools to protest inferior education. Reports from South Africa agree that many of the young coloured generation are rejecting their traditional status as a relatively privileged intermediate group in apartheid's "separate

development" and are throwing in their lot with the black majority, even to the point of rejecting the label of "coloured" and identifying themselves as "blacks".

The strikes and protests around the coloured students' boycott (see "Black Upsurge in South Africa", *Workers Vanguard* no 258, 13 June) grew in size and intensity after police viciously attacked demonstrators commemorating the June 16 Soweto anniversary. Shotgun-wielding cops wounded at least 20 persons on the 16th in Soweto as black youths defied the government's ban on public gatherings. In Cape Town a one-day "stay at home" general strike was honoured by about three-quarters of the workforce and in the city's textile factories up to 90 percent of the workforce stayed home. In the coloured townships in the Cape Town Flats, cops repeatedly

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Sydney Uni: militant nails feminist lies

In the May issue of *Australasian Spartacist* we carried an article exposing the feminists at Sydney University who had scabbed on a metal workers' strike at John Fairfax and Sons on 8 March, International Women's Day. When the Sydney University Spartacist Club (SC) first raised this issue, the feminists on campus rushed to cover for their scab "sisters", refused to name who else was involved, and outrageously censored an article submitted to the student newspaper *Honi Soit* (see *ASP* no 73, May 1980). Under considerable pressure to preserve the tattered remnants of her "left" reputation, "Marxist" feminist Margaret Kirkby revealed to us the names of some of the scabs: Heather McGillivray, Divna Dokmanovic and Erin Crumblin, in addition to *Honi Soit* managing editor Siobhan Mullany.

But Kirkby is nothing if not anti-Spartacist, so it wasn't a surprise when the 28 April issue of *Honi Soit* carried a letter by her containing a number of snide anti-communist slurs against us. But when the SC then submitted a reply rebutting Kirkby's smears, this too was suppressed with the Director of Student Publications, Carl Heid, a Communist Party (CP) supporter taking responsibility for the censorship. The reason: the letter mentioned CP-supporter Peter Reid's claim that the CP had passed an internal motion condemning the scabs. Later another CP supporter, Mick Segretto, informed the SC that this motion had been rescinded. To crown this, Reid then told us that *both* lines were "factually incorrect" — hence the censorship of the article!

In response to a Spartacist Club demand that the censorship in *Honi Soit* stop, four students wrote letters to the 16 June issue of *Honi Soit*, opposing the censorship and demanding that our

articles be printed. This was followed a week later by another letter (reprinted below) by Spartacist supporter Linda Menzie, nailing the various slanders dredged up against the Spartacist League and exposing just why feminism leads to strikebreaking. Until recently Menzie worked as a clerk at Fairfax, and during the January strike had refused *on principle* to cross PKIU picket lines. In the face of these protests, the *Honi Soit* editorial crew have since backed off from playing the role of political censors — a small victory, but an important one, for those who value both the truth and the program of revolutionary Marxism.

* * *

17 June 1980

The Editors,

I am a supporter of the Spartacist League and a member of the Federated Clerks Union who went out in solidarity with the PKIU during their strike in January 1980 at John Fairfax & Sons. My union (FCU) was not out on strike, but I consider it an important working class principle to honour another union's picket line. Not only that but at Fairfax there are several unions and the craftist divisions run deep. For example, in the recent journalists' strike the AMWSU, FIA, ASE, OPGU, and ATEA came out in support of the journalists' picket, but the PKIU was split over the issue and the FCU, ETU and TWU went to work as usual. It is essential for the victory of any strike at Fairfax that all unions are out. The issue is clear for any working class militant — picket lines are blood lines in the struggle of the working class, likewise one does not work in a struck shop, whether there is a picket line or not! It is clearly scabbing to do so!

I was disgusted by the fact that a number of students, some of whom were

feminists, scabbed during PKIU and metal workers' strikes this year. But it's not only that these people scabbed, some wrote an anonymous letter to *Honi Soit* apologising for the scabbing — without the courage to sign their names to it. The Sydney University feminists helped to cover for the scabs, no one would name them! To condemn scabs without identifying them means nothing. If scabs merely have to apologise for their actions, what is to stop them from doing it again? The working class has a long tradition of "persuading" people not to scab — it's not a matter of arguing with people who walk across picket lines and work for a company that their fellow workers are striking against — it's a matter of keeping them out with mass pickets. Picket lines mean don't cross, and struck shops mean don't work!

It's no accident that the feminists have tried to cover up — most of the scabs were feminists and it's a sore point to have "sisters" exposed as scabs. But because feminist ideology sees "patriarchy" as the main enemy, not class society, it is perfectly consistent with feminism to scab on strikers who are mainly male and do not seem to be fighting for women's issues. However, during the recent AJA strike when picket lines were set up, *all* of the women proofreaders at Fairfax, some of whom are feminists, came out in respect of the picket. As workers they are objectively forced to see the importance of unionism and union principles, the most important of these being, you don't scab.

Unable to rebut the Spartacist Club's expose of the scabbing, some feminist responded, again anonymously in the pages of *Honi Soit* (16 June 1980). A vicious, cowardly unsigned letter charges the Spartacist Club with opposing

women's refuges. This is nothing but slander! The Spartacist Club does *not* oppose women's refuges, but rather calls for state funding to provide such refuges on a wide scale under the control of staff and users. We also demand free quality health care for all, free quality 24 hour child care and socialisation of housework. Such gains for women which undercut the repressive role of the nuclear family can only be guaranteed by a workers revolution to smash capitalism and establish socialism. To ensure this there must be struggle to politicise women around concrete issues for example the scabbing question, to pit them against capitalist society.

Who really fights for women's liberation? There was a cartoon in *Honi Soit* (9 June 1980) depicting "Today's Sparts, tomorrow's Mullahs". This is an outrage! The Spartacist Club has been the only group on campus to oppose Khomeini coming to power in Iran, as nothing but a religious reactionary. We called for "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" and supported the Red Army incursion into Afghanistan. We particularly focused on the position of women in both of these situations. Khomeini's regime means women must wear the oppressive head to toe veil and are treated as nothing more than cattle. The same would be the case if the rebels took power in Afghanistan. Apparently these feminists are not interested in the oppression of women in these countries!

Only the Spartacist Club on this campus has consistently fought for a class-struggle program to end the oppression of women and smash the capitalist state. Join the Spartacist Club!

Linda Menzie

Defend rights of socialist paper sellers!

Drop charges against Brian McGahen!

On 13 December 1979, Communist Party (CPA) supporter Brian McGahen was accosted by four railway cops while selling *Tribune* at his usual spot outside Sydney's Central railway station, dragged protesting away and arrested for allegedly selling *Tribune* on railway property without a licence. In fact *Tribune* has been sold in that spot — off railway property — for some five years. This frame-up is an anti-communist attack on the democratic rights of the entire labour movement. We demand that all charges against Brian McGahen be dropped immediately!

A leaflet defending McGahen issued by

the Socialist Press Defence Committee (SPDC) also mentions harassment of *Socialist* (Socialist Party — SPA) sellers in Bankstown, and the arrest of two people for selling the pro-Qaddafi *Workers News* outside Leichhardt Marketown. The publishers of the latter paper, the "Socialist Labour League", have placed themselves outside the workers movement by acting as political agents of the fanatically Islamic tyrant of capitalist Libya. However, their reported arrest constitutes an attack on democratic rights by the capitalist state, and we call for dropping the charges against them as well.

The SPDC is backed by both the CPA and the SPA, both groups with a history of gangsterism against their opponents within the left (see accompanying letter). Complementing this cowardly bullying is their support for the SPDC's reformist strategy of pathetic pleas "asking" the railway cops' boss, NSW Labor minister for transport Peter Cox, "to direct" them to "withdraw the charge" and leave the left press alone. The way to defend the rights of labour is to mobilise mass action by the workers movement, not crawling to the ALP ministers currently in charge of the bosses' cops and courts. Defend the left and labour press against cop harassment!

Down with CPA thuggery!

The following letter was delivered to the Sydney branch executive of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) prior to its 26 June meeting. To date there has been no reply.

Sydney

25 June, 1980

To the Executive of the Sydney Branch of the CPA

I am protesting to you about the violent behaviour of a member of the CPA. His

name is John Hines and his party number is 2468.

The incident occurred on Saturday morning (approx. 10.20 am), 21 June 1980, on Darling St., Balmain opposite Woolworth's supermarket. Hines was selling *Tribune* and I approached him to swap papers — I sell *Australasian Spartacist* once a month near to where he was selling. He did not want to swap, so I showed him an article we had on the CPA/SPA "unity" and Afghanistan. We had a bit of an argument over our differences. Then he told me to "fuck off"; I replied he couldn't make me go. He threatened to kick me in the balls and did so. I protested that it was a dangerous and stupid thing to do and that it was no way to carry out political struggle; it would be no good for him, the CPA or the left as a whole. As I protested he grabbed at me three times — arguing that violence was a legitimate tactic to use against leftists. He falsely cited the Bolshevik struggle against their opponents within the workers movement.

He took what I said as a personal threat and demanded to know where I lived — I refused to tell him and he replied that he had many non-communist friends from Balmain he could count on. He also stated his name and party number and said that the CPA would support him. I said that it was not a threat and that I could not see the CPA condoning such provocative and dangerous violations of workers democracy. A comrade of mine who was selling across the street and who saw Hines grab me at least once, came over to me and suggested we move away from him. We did so.

We went to our selling spots and everyone I sold to I told what had happened. They did not like it at all. Hines sent a woman who gave me a note with his name and party number on it. A

number of members and supporters of the SPA, when they heard about what had happened, agreed that this sort of action was dangerous to the left. I pointed out to them as I point out to you of the CPA branch executive, that the Spartacist League participated in the defence at the recent Indo-China Solidarity Conference and that if there was violence, it should not be between ourselves but with our groups together defending the movement from the attacks of rightists.

I saw that Brian McGahen was arrested for selling *Tribune* in a public place. The Spartacist League protests the cop harassment of Brian McGahen and will join in protesting cop action against him. But violence within the workers movement, including down at Balmain where I have sold *Australasian Spartacist* for nearly two years, will make us all easy prey for police harassment.

Harry Black, the SPA Sydney organiser, who sells regularly not too far from where I sell, also objected to Hines' behaviour. It was suggested by a member of the SPA that I complain directly to Laurie Aarons. On Tuesday night, 24 June 1980, I went to the CPA office and asked to see a party official. I saw Warwick Neilly and he said that Hines had reported the incident and that if I wanted it checked out by the party that I write a letter stating the facts, and address it to the branch executive who would deal with it on Thursday night, 26 June 1980. I have done so, and would like a written reply. Does the CPA condone Hines' action of physically assaulting me? Does the CPA think violence is a legitimate tactic in the political struggle within the workers movement? We await your reply.

Faternally,
Bret S.
for the Spartacist League

Australasian Spartacist

Australasian
SPARTACIST

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1976: How white students backed Soweto uprising

The current strike wave of black and coloured (mixed race) workers in South Africa takes place on the fourth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprisings. The following recollection of those events contains a first-hand account of the responses of sections of the white community in supporting the anti-apartheid revolt, including the organisation of multi-racial solidarity demonstrations in Johannesburg and Cape Town. At a time when the police force of the apartheid regime was shooting down hundreds of blacks in Soweto, such protests among whites took some courage, albeit that they were politically limited by their underlying liberalism. In 1976 the interviewee was a student at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, but since then has broken from the deadend liberal radicalism he describes in favour of the Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency.

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Question: You were in Johannesburg during the Soweto uprising of 1976. Could you describe some of the background to the events?

Answer: Well, the uprising came in the wake of the defeat of the South African government after its invasion of Angola. And that, together with the overthrow of the Portuguese regime in Mozambique, was responsible for a significant rise in the expectations of the black masses which no doubt helped to spark the Soweto uprising. The uprising initially began around the question of the compulsory use of Afrikaans, but of course it was known by everybody that this was certainly not the key factor and that it was really a massive outpouring against the apartheid regime as a whole. Furthermore, Soweto wasn't the first demonstration either. I know of at least one other massive demonstration in a school in Basuto Que Que in April of the same year, which was of course pretty well blacked out in the South African press.

So the Soweto uprisings were not isolated nor were they confined to Johannesburg itself. In immediate response to these events you had similar demonstrations in most of the major cities throughout South Africa. So you had in Soweto at the time large numbers of black students who came from the rural areas to stay with their parents working in the cities. They took their experiences with them back to the rural areas and so for most of the year you had uprisings, burnings and demonstrations throughout the whole country. You had a sense of the country being ablaze through the last half of 1976.

Q: You were then a student at Witwatersrand University (Wits), which has a history of radicalism. What was the response of the students there?

A: Wits does have a history of some radicalism. For example, at one of our public meetings before the Soweto uprisings we had the usual grouping of security police present. After one of those meetings on the campus, one of the security guards was cornered in the university canteen and severely beaten. Of course, this was subsequent to the essential gutting of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) due to widespread government repression. So the Soweto events came at a time when the radical student movement in South Africa was essentially leaderless.

The response of the students was largely based on white liberal outrage — at South Africa, at apartheid as a whole,

and of course at the extremely violent butchery of blacks by the South African police in Soweto. But this outrage was not simply confined to the radical liberals, but even extended to the more conservative liberals. For example, even the vice chancellor decided to close the university down for a day, partly in order to undercut the possibility of an enforced strike on the campus. But even liberals in positions of power, like the vice chancellor, were sufficiently outraged to respond in that way.

Q: Did the students organise any activities in direct solidarity with the Soweto students?

A: Well, one of the immediate responses was the organising of an essentially spontaneous demonstration by a few hundred white students at Wits on 17

marched back to the campus most of the black workers remained in the city. Coming back across a bridge, across a railway line, the marchers were sealed off by police on the bridge. Some students jumped off, down onto the railway lines and were then attacked by white railway workers. Other marchers got through, but before they got back to the university they were attacked by bikies and no doubt by plainclothes policemen disguised as bikies.

By that stage the demonstration had been effectively destroyed and broken up in somewhat chaotic scenes. The attempts at solidarity by white students didn't go much further than that. During this period we did things like organise the singing of one of the African National Congress anthems, *Nkosi Sikelele*



1976: Cape Town cops shoot at coloured students, whites alike in city centre

June. Of course, under the Riotous Assemblies Act any demonstration of a few hundred people in public is illegal. But at the time the Soweto students were saying and even carrying placards to the effect that "they don't care anymore, they are prepared to die for freedom". In response to that a lot of white students felt, "well, if the blacks are prepared to do that, we should also be prepared to do such a thing". So, largely motivated by liberal outrage, we marched into the centre of Johannesburg, which is linked to the university by a bridge across the Johannesburg railway station. The march began fairly small but as it went through the centre of Johannesburg it collected a large number — and soon became massively outnumbered by — black workers in Johannesburg. So you had this very brief racial solidarity between white students and black workers going through the centre of the city.

Q: What were the marchers' slogans?

A: Well, one of the features of course of the demonstration was that the white students were essentially without any kind of program, without any idea of where to go. The slogans were simply slogans such as "Solidarity with Soweto students" and "Amandla, Soweto" which means "Power to Soweto". In other words, the slogans simply focused on the question of supporting blacks in struggle, but without any idea of how to carry the struggle forward or where to go.

Q: What happened as the marchers proceeded through the centre of Johannesburg?

A: Well, as it proceeded we collected an increasing number of blacks. But as we

I' Afrika on the campus in an attempt to win increasing numbers of students to solidarity with the blacks. Elsewhere, for example in Cape Town, there were white-organised marches in solidarity with Soweto. We did manage to get messages through to the black students, basically saying we would like to support you, in what way can we support you? The reply from the black students was varied. Partly it was a question of, well, if you want to support us, that is fine, but really this is our struggle, we don't have much faith in the capacity of whites to really solidarise with what we are doing.

Q: Nonetheless, even though your demonstration was an expression of liberal outrage at the massive governmental killings of blacks in Soweto, it would seem to indicate that there was some potential for joint actions.

A: Well, it's clear that what was so potentially dangerous in the demonstration was that there were blacks and whites collaborating in the struggle against the apartheid regime. However, what became increasingly clear to me through 1976 was the deadends that liberalism, which simply seeks to reform a system which is unreformable, posed on the one hand; and black nationalism, which in attempting to unite blacks as blacks drives any whites who might be won to their struggle into the opposite camp, posed on the other. This simply sets up the framework for the struggle being a racial one, which of course means a bloodbath. The alternative is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, which seeks to fight along class lines, not racial lines. Which has its

central orientation towards the black working class because of their massive social weight and capacity not simply to get rid of the barbarities of apartheid, but take the struggle forward to socialism. The power of the black working class was illustrated in a small way in the Durban strikes of 1973, and again this year in the wave of strikes in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

Q: Most of the left internationally would say that the white working class of South Africa are a lost cause anyway, because of the vast differences in living standards etc. What do you think of that?

A: Of course, apartheid has made the white working class a labour aristocracy in South Africa, giving them wages of anything up to eight and more times that of black workers. But it's not predetermined the extent to which white workers can be won over to the black working class struggle for state power. It hopefully will be possible to at least neutralise sectors of the whites and maybe even win over splinters of the white working class. But in any case black nationalist struggle certainly cuts off any possibility of that and will drive any whites potentially solidarising with the blacks into the camp of the white ruling class. Whereas it is necessary to fight around a class-struggle program and at least attempt to split the white working class and bring some elements of them over to solidarise with black workers.

You see, South Africa is a police state and this permeates all aspects of life in the country, affecting whites too. You have of course widespread censorship, and many whites have been jailed by the South African government for attempting to solidarise. Even in a trivial sense, TV was only introduced into South Africa very recently, in 1975-76. Which is some indication of how apartheid and the police state, which must go with it, affect even whites.

Q: Finally, in the wake of Mugabe's electoral victory in Rhodesia, the notion that guerrillaism can "succeed" in South Africa is being touted around. What are your comments on that?

A: Well, in the first place Rhodesia is very different from South Africa. In Rhodesia you had a very small white layer, where it was possible to overthrow the white ruling government. South Africa is certainly not the same case, where you have a much more deeply entrenched, larger white population. But it should be noted that even though guerrillaism brought Mugabe to power, the gains for black workers are very much in question as illustrated by the wave of strikes which immediately succeeded the elections. Mugabe certainly remains nothing more than a tool in the hands of international imperialism, and really has solved very little for black workers. Hopefully those lessons will be learnt by the black working class in South Africa. Secondly, in South Africa, where you have a very powerful black working class, guerrilla struggle is meaningless. You have a developed industrial state and it is to the black working class that we must look, both to overthrow the apartheid regime and lead the struggle for socialism. This poses the necessity for a Trotskyist party in South Africa which is going to fight not along nationalist lines, but for a program of permanent revolution, a program of democratic and transitional demands, leading ultimately to the formation of a black-centered workers and peasants government. ■

PKIU must drop charges against Fairfax strikers!

For one militant union in the newspaper industry!

SYDNEY — Militant unity of all newspaper unions is the key to victory against the press barons, and it can only be forged on the basis of fighting principles — picket lines mean don't cross and one out, all out. That is the lesson of the national journalists' strike, which ended in defeat with a settlement falling far short of the original claim of \$50 for work on Visual Display Terminals (VDTs).

The deal finally foisted on reluctant strikers by the AJA federal executive in mass meetings on 11 June, after scabbing by most printers had kept presses rolling for nearly a month, was only a slight improvement over the original \$5 award: a 6 percent allowance, which gave a mere \$6 to the lowest-paid "cadets", and up to \$24.90 only for the highest "A1" grade. The terms were thus a violation of earlier resolutions not to accept anything less than an "across-the-board" money settlement; and they added further insult to the injury by requiring no union bans on scab copy or reprisals against scabs after the strike.

"Either sellout or stay out"

These wretched terms aroused strong opposition in Sydney's highly-charged meeting of over 800, which opened with a foreshadowed motion of no confidence in the national leadership, and a round of applause for a militant who tore up a copy of the proposed agreement and threw the pieces in the direction of federal executive spokesman John Lawrence. Lawrence was then energetically booed and heckled throughout his lame defence of the pact. About 80 members who came to the meeting in a body from the militant picket lines at Fairfax' Broadway plant formed a core of opposition to the deal in the ranks, while the recently elected NSW state branch leadership of the AJA reflected the growing union consciousness among journo's by recommending rejection.

One of the journalists sacked by News Ltd indignantly protested that "we're a union", and the federal executive's proposal to "go back and work with AJA members who are scabbing" meant that pretty soon union members "would be in a minority". A militant sub-editor said the meeting should be held "in the Parramatta River, because that's where we're being sold". He noted that the lowest grades "who have more to do with the machines [VDTs] than I do" were getting the lowest pay rise, and called for "better picket lines" and "either sellout or stay out".

Many speakers noted the importance of the picket lines to the strike, though some cited their weakness as a reason for returning to work. But the potential for strengthening them was shown by the presence of a number of printers, who were received with applause, from among the approximately 100 PKIU members at Fairfax refusing to scab. When the vote came, the division of the house showed a solid majority of about 440 for staying out, to approximately 360 for returning. This rejection, it was then announced, had been swamped by votes in other states to go back.

Although no class-struggle program for victory and unity among "media" unions had been raised, the strike exposed the AJA federal executive and the PKIU branch officials as the worst betrayers of unionism in the two unions. The AJA's sordid history of scabbing on printers — which is how journalists' officials cooperated with the employers to seize VDT operation and destroy the jobs of 400 typesetters at Fairfax alone — was the chief excuse used by PKIU leaders to

break the strike. But the PKIU branch and AJA federal executives, while supposedly on opposite sides of craft hatreds, were in reality each other's biggest allies against the ranks of all newspaper unions. Each used the excuses provided by the other to sabotage any move for solidarity. The entire AJA leadership refused for three weeks to call out the PKIU, at one point explicitly giving out the "explanation" that the strike was for more money for work which was taken from printers in the first place! When "progressive" state AJA secretary Gavin Cantlon and others then sought on 2 June to meet with other newspaper unions to get them to honour pickets, the federal executive opposed the move. But 9 days later, at the journalists' mass meeting, Lawrence tried to blame the defeat which he was foisting on the ranks, on the printers, by saying that the PKIU had agreed to "an 8-point program" of unity, but had "suddenly" backed out and voted to

resigned and walked out with about 100 members, who thereby became the only substantial group of printers to refuse to work any longer during the three-week old national strike. The resignation move, though apparently "militant", was really a concession to strikebreaking, since it left the chapel organisation officially in the hands of the scabs. The executive should have defied the scab "majority", walked out and insisted that the real union was outside, on the picket line.

Members of the three metal unions at Fairfax (AMWSU, ASE and FIA), who had been back to work for about a week following the end of an 11-week strike of their own, came out to a man at Fairfax, and by a majority at News Ltd, in response to the AJA pickets. The PKIU members who came out generally stayed off the AJA picket lines, but the metal workers at Fairfax, who have a traditional solidarity with the PKIU there, mounted a picket of their own to appeal to printers. The potential power of such a move to



"Not all printers cross picket lines", say ex-leaders of Fairfax PKIU chapel to journo's, 5 June. But what happened to solidarity with metal workers?

cross picket lines — picket lines which the federal executive had never wanted, organised or tried to strengthen!

Playing the same, narrow, craftist game, PKIU branch secretary Athol Cairn and assistant secretary Gordon Cooke spearheaded the motion to cross the journalists' picket lines at Fairfax chapel meetings on the afternoon/evening of 3 June by reportedly saying that the picket lines were a "backdoor" attempt to get support which ought to have been requested "openly". But Cooke and Cairn were present at meetings with the AJA and other unions on 30 May and 3 June, at which journalists' officials announced their intention to set up "selective" pickets, ie, for scabbing journalists only. Cooke and Cairn — according to a leaflet published on 10 June by resigned PKIU chapel executive members Ron Moore, Don Paget, Ian Jolliffe and Eddie Richards — replied that they were against journalists picketing; but they added — correctly! — that if put up, "the pickets should be directed at all groups" in which case the PKIU would "direct its members not to cross picket lines"!

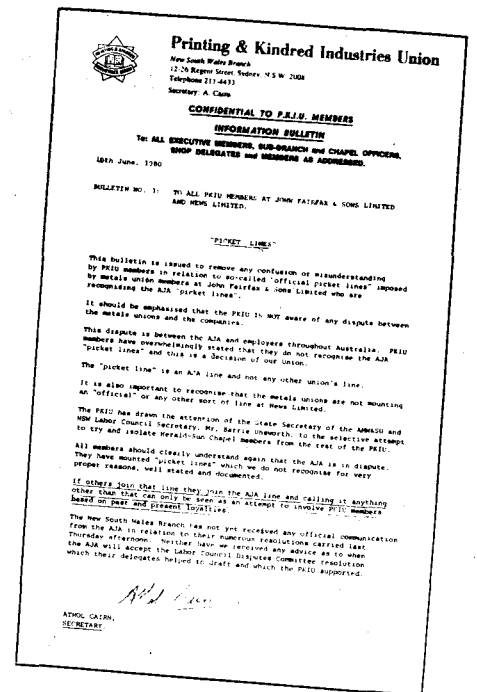
Chapel executive resigns

The 3 June PKIU chapel meetings at Fairfax provoked a split, in which the entire chapel executive, including father Paget and former deputy father Jolliffe,

transform the purely AJA action into a strike of all newspaper workers — what it should have been from the beginning — was indicated the next day, when one older PKIU militant suggested to an AJA picketer that he announce "this is a workers picket" rather than "this is an AJA picket" to workers approaching the gate. By 10 June, Cooke and Cairn had retaliated with a threatening letter, on official PKIU letterhead, which was posted up on a company wall at Fairfax. "The 'picket line' is an AJA line and not any other union's line", said the PKIU officials;

"If others join that line they join an AJA line and calling it anything other than that can only be seen as an attempt to involve PKIU members based on past and present loyalties."

This was a transparent attempt to smear any printer who honoured the picket lines as somehow "disloyal". Cooke and Cairn and company made good the threats the same day by citing Paget and Jolliffe, and two other members of the resigned Fairfax chapel, together with any other PKIU member who refused to cross the AJA picket lines, for failure to abide by a majority decision of the Fairfax chapel. This shameful frame-up must be smashed! Honouring picket lines — any union's picket lines — is a duty; crossing them is the crime. It is the strikebreakers



PKIU secretary Athol Cairn's bulletin tells printers to cross AJA picket lines.

who should be "cited", and scabberding officials should be thrown out of office, and out of the union as well!

Cooke, Cairn and their boss-loving cohorts in the AJA federal executive thrive on the back-stabbing and scabberding of craft-divided "unionism". As the workers lose wages, conditions and jobs by crossing each other's picket lines, their jobs are safe, since they never have to worry about being thrown out of office by militants with a class-struggle program for victory and industrial unity. But what about Paget, Jolliffe and company, or the "progressive" state executive around Cantlon in the AJA? Did they put forward a program that could have won? Do they have such a program? We think not.

It was nice to see Paget and Jolliffe on the right side of a strike this time, since they were on the wrong side of the last one. For 11 weeks ending in May, metal unions at Fairfax were out over a work safety/job demarcation issue while the PKIU worked. Just as in the AJA strike, the printers worked for the defeat of the strike — not just by violating their own traditions of not working with non-union labour, which they did — but simply by the act of producing scab papers. As Paget and Jolliffe put it in their 10 June leaflet, "The only solution" was "for members to reconsider their position, recognise the real enemy and stop producing the boss's strike-breaking newspapers". But Paget and Jolliffe led their chapel into work during the metal unions' strike — not to mention the first three weeks of the AJA strike! Only one member of the PKIU at Fairfax, Ron Rees, stayed out for the entire metal workers' and AJA strikes, and defended that position in the chapel. He was cited before the PKIU branch executive for the same "offence" as Paget, Jolliffe and the others, who went along with Cooke and Cairn at that time in upholding the "charges" against Rees in the branch meeting, and going so far as to support a refusal to defend his job against threatened company victimisation! It was the metal unions' insistence on defending Rees — including a strongly-worded letter of protest to the PKIU against Rees' citation signed by 14 metal unions' shop stewards, delegates and organisers — that got him his job back.

As for the NSW AJA state executive, its action in putting up non-selective pickets — after one day of impotent "selective" picketing — accelerated the strike, and pointed in the right direction. But why did they wait three weeks to make this move? During this period the

bosses' trash rolled off the presses unhindered even by the attempt to pull out printers, metal workers, clerks, etc. The reason given for putting up pickets was simply that Murdoch had imported three scabs from overseas to help out — two American executives and a member of the British National Union of Journalists (NUJ)! Once picketing began, the strike quickly became militant and began to make correctives on earlier scabbing policies of the AJA. A mass meeting resolved to honour other unions' picket lines, though only "when requested".

Yet the very day the journalists returned to work, AJA and PKIU state officials met in Sydney in a "unity" move in which they agreed to "discuss" recognising each other's picket lines when asked, "unless the dispute is against the policies of the non-disputing union or is a demarcation, dispute between the two parties"! Such a policy, endorsed by the "progressive" Cantlon as well as the scabs Cooke and Cairn in a

12 June *Joint Report to Members*, is no better than the worst excesses of craft unionism. Didn't the journalists cross PKIU picket lines a few years ago because it was AJA "policy" to grab the work on the VDTs as opposed to PKIU "policy" to keep it for typesetters?

The PKIU/AJA *Joint Report* agrees on what "constitutes normal work when other unions are on strike", but there is no such thing as "acceptable" strike-breaking. Such an agreement would express the "mutual interest" of scabherding bureaucrats in avoiding the legitimate wrath of the ranks, not the need of all newspaper unions for one militant union.

The metal workers also made the mistake of not putting up pickets during their strike in February-May, on the grounds that if they were put up, the PKIU would come out, force a joint meeting and vote overwhelmingly to go back. But this is a defeatist argument which allowed the majority of printers to

be split from the strikers by Paget and Jolliffe. A week after they went back, the AJA put up real pickets and most PKIUers stayed in anyway. And why not? If they could "produce the bosses' strike-breaking newspapers" while the metal workers were on the street for 11 weeks, they could do the same to the hated journos. All strikes should be organised and enforced by picket lines, and all picket lines should be not just "non-selective", but also made strong and effective *through numbers*, so that they say *don't cross* in no uncertain terms to the scabs, ie all who seek to cross.

Paget, Jolliffe and their supporters paved the way for the open picket-line-crossing of Cooke and Cairn by strike-breaking on the metal workers and first three weeks of the AJA strike; and Cantlon and company of the NSW AJA agree with scabherders to provide loopholes to cross picket lines, thus undermining already the militancy

gained in the journos' strike. None of these "lefts" and "progressives" have a program for workers victory any more than the likes of Gordon Cooke and friends — some of whom, including Cooke, like to consider themselves "progressive" as well. Only *Australasian Spartacist* has provided newspaper workers of all unions with an analysis consistent with honouring all picket lines and all strikes, and this is the only basis upon which real unity, and real victories, can be built. These are the simplest and most basic historic principles of the workers movement, learned over more than a century in countless bloody battles. Yet all wings of trade-union leadership that haven't broken from narrow craftist self-interest and reformism betray them every time. It will take the building of a revolutionary leadership, founded on the genuine Trotskyist program — that of the Spartacist League — to put the workers movement on a class-struggle course. ■

Trotskyists stand for class solidarity

Fake left backs scabbing

at Fairfax

The three strikes at Fairfax newspapers in Sydney this year have posed the danger of established craftist divisions destroying the industrial solidarity necessary to defend this important centre of militant newspaper unionism against a determined company assault. In January a strike by the Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) was joined by metal unions and plumbers in the plant, but electricians, journalists, most transport workers and clerks daily crossed their picket lines. When the company's 80 metal workers went out in March for 11 weeks, however, not even the traditionally militant PKIU came out in solidarity. And when journalists set up picket lines there during their recent national strike, they were crossed by all but about 100 printers.

It doesn't take a communist to know that picket lines mean don't cross and that working in a struck shop is breaking a strike. Yet the Spartacist League (SL) has been the only group on the left to consistently put forward a perspective of class-struggle unity against the bosses at Fairfax. And the only two workers at Fairfax to stand out against the disastrous craftist practice of official union strikebreaking have been Spartacist supporters: Linda Menzie, who in January became the only clerk in living memory to honour a printers' picket line there; and Ron Rees, the one printer to stay out in solidarity with the metal workers throughout their strike. These militants stood by union principles despite prevailing craftist traditions and won, both returning to their jobs with the company unable to victimise them. Trotskyists are the strongest defenders of class solidarity because we have the only program which speaks to the real needs of the entire working class and which can unite all workers in the fight against capitalism — the program of socialist revolution.

In contrast, the reformist fake-left groups have revealed the utter political bankruptcy behind their "socialist" pretensions, by failing to rise even to the level of militant industrial unionism. Last January supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which calls itself "Trotskyist", were not very popular on the PKIU picket lines when they tried to sell an issue of the SWP's paper, *Direct Action*, which contained a prominent photo-reduction of a scab issue of the *Sun*. Then for 9 weeks during the metal workers strike, no trace of that struggle appeared in *Direct Action* — but plenty of quotes from blacked Fairfax papers did.

When *Direct Action* finally got around to mentioning the strike on 7 May — the July 1980

ninth week of the strike! — it was buried in the "News Roundup" column which reported, by-the-way, that "The strikers are also urging a boycott of all Fairfax publications, like the Sydney Morning Herald and the Sun". Readers had only to turn the page to see a prominently displayed, bold-type quotation from a late April edition of ... the *Sydney Morning Herald*! How cynical can they get?

Metal workers who had been readers of the SWP paper were angry at its virtual blackout of their strike. "If you'd been *Direct Action* you would have got a blue from me", one told an *Australasian Spartacist* salesman, and bought a copy of the only paper which not only reported the strike but said "one out, all out" and "printers must come out — Victory to Fairfax metal workers!" The SWP unceremoniously dumped the metal workers because it happened to interfere with something "more important" for these reformists — tailing Don Paget, then father of the PKIU chapel at Fairfax, whom they have been chasing for years. And Paget happened to be helping keep

the printers at work producing the papers the metal workers had black-banned.

It should astound no one who is at all familiar with this tendency that it betrayed the elementary demands of class solidarity so easily. This is an organisation, after all, which thinks nothing of crossing picket lines when it is convenient for them to do so, and even applauded an apprentice who described at the SWP's youth conference, how he had done just that (see "SYA: Scabs Youth Alliance", page 10). We pointed out how Paget in effect relied on "the legal coercion of union apprentices to perform strike-breaking labour" (*ASp* no 73, May 1980) as a cover for the PKIU chapel's policy of keeping the presses running during the strike. But the answer is not to use the bosses' laws as an excuse for scabbing, but to defend striking apprentices against victimisation.

The Cold War socialists of the International Socialists (IS), who also couldn't find any space in their paper for the metal workers' strike, called in the wake of the journalists' strike for a "rank and file

organisation to fight for a policy of no scabbing" (*Battler*, 28 June). But IS members told Rees that his principled stand was in violation of "a democratic decision of the membership" and that he should go back to work, ie the very attack the Athol Cairn-led branch executive launched against Rees when he refused to scab on the metal workers. True to form, the IS then cheered when Paget and company finally refused to cross the journos' picket line. But if the ex-chapel executive hadn't done so, the IS would have had no scruples about white-washing this, either. Some of the militant journalists had a better grasp of the class struggle than the IS, as one incident on the picket line at Fairfax demonstrated. While one of the picketers tried to convince two clerks who had emerged from the building not to go back in, ISer Martin Hirst proposed that "at least you can donate some of your wages to the strike fund". What use is this guilt money if scab labour is keeping the struck enterprise running? In practice, the IS' tailing of "rank-and-file" reformists like Paget means defending craftist strike-breaking.

In reality neither the IS nor the SWP are any better than the more brazen reformists like the pro-Moscow Socialist Party (SPA). The *Socialist* (18 June) sighed after the journalists' strike had split the PKIU chapel at Fairfax that "if the journalists and printers had worked together from the beginning ... major gains for both could have been the end result". But this is only a cover for the scandalous activities of supporters of the SPA's politics like Gordon Cooke, the assistant secretary of the NSW branch of the PKIU, who was busy both helping herd printers across the AJA picket lines and threatening any PKIUers who honoured them. Likewise his main contribution to the metal workers' dispute was to support a campaign against the only printer at Fairfax who was out in solidarity with them.

The trade-union movement in Australia and internationally was built through class struggle, not through class collaboration, walking through picket lines or working in struck shops. The basic lessons of the struggles of the past are well known and just as well expressed: one out, all out; an injury to one is an injury to all; picket lines mean don't cross. But if you want to defend the unions and the best fighting traditions of the working class as part of the struggle for workers power, then there is a place for you with the Spartacist League — with genuine revolutionaries, not scabs and their apologists. ■

Martin Mulligan
"Twenty-seven-year-old **Herald** **Glerac**
diplomatic symbol of the deter **ating re**
and West."

This is how the *Sydney Morning Herald* described the extraordinary treatment given to the East German dancer **H** **Spec**
sch — who stayed **Pea**

Yellow "socialists" and black papers: Direct Action (7 May) says Sydney Morning Herald blacked by metal workers, quotes it three pages later.

Eleven unemployed arrested in Adelaide



Newly released photos: Jane Margolis being dragged off CWA convention floor by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service, 16 July 1979.

On 16 July 1979, in Detroit's Cobo Hall, the United States Secret Service, private police of US president Jimmy Carter, walked onto the floor of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) national convention and seized an elected CWA delegate and union official, Jane Margolis. As other delegates looked on in stunned disbelief, the burly federal agents grabbed Margolis by the arm and dragged her, vigorously protesting, out of the hall (see accompanying photographs).

The reason: Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak that afternoon. A well-known labour oppositionist, Margolis had been elected to convention delegate on the platform, "Not a dime, not a vote to the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans". Carter's agents wanted to make sure the voice of militant unionism would not be heard.

When Margolis was dragged off the floor, CWA president Glenn Watts told the delegates to pay no attention to the disruption. The floor microphones were turned off so no one could protest. Out of view of the delegates, Margolis was manhandled, interrogated, threatened with being held incommunicado for days on the basis of "reports" from unidentified "sources" for suspicion of "threatening the life of the president". She was deprived of legal counsel, which she repeatedly requested. White House officials at first even went so far as to deny that anyone had been seized at all!

But now Margolis and her supporters

Carter's Secret Service apologises to Jane Margolis wins against US government

in the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) have won an important battle on behalf of the CWA and the rights of all labour. In a press conference at the CWA national convention in Los Angeles, 17 June, UCASSH revealed that the US Secret Service had made a formal written apology for seizing Margolis, an elected steward and executive board member of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco). The

government also forked out \$3500 to prove in hard cash that it "regrets" the incident. In a dramatic expression of labour solidarity, Margolis announced that since the attack was directed at the whole union and turned back by the determined action of hundreds of phone workers and trade unionists around the country, she was endorsing the cheque and handing it over to the CWA Defence Fund.

What happened in Detroit last July was a naked assertion that the government has the prerogative to disrupt the business of a duly constituted union convention. Jimmy Carter's Secret Service was using police powers for political censorship, thereby seriously disrupting convention proceedings. Perhaps they thought Jane Margolis and her union brothers and sisters would just take it without complaint. The Secret

Interview with Jane Margolis

We print below extracts from an interview with Jane Margolis. The full text of the original interview can be found in Workers Vanguard (WV, paper of the Spartacist League/US) no 259, 27 June 1980.

WV: Jane, could you tell us something about the settlement of your suit against the Secret Service?

Margolis: It was a terrific victory for the rights of labour — for the right of unions to assemble and meet without fear of government intimidation, harassment and intervention....

They had accused me of being a threat to the life of the president, a charge that could put you in jail for the rest of your life. It also was an attempt to discredit me as a unionist. But it was ludicrous to begin with. Never did the Secret Service search me. All they did was take my notebook which had my prepared question for Jimmy Carter.

Just to give you an idea of how absurd it was, only a few months after the incident at the CWA convention, while the Secret Service said the case was still being investigated, who do you think put in Vice President Walter Mondale's phones in his presidential suite at the Hilton Hotel while he visited San Francisco? Me! And not a word of opposition from the Secret Service. Because they were only interested in silencing my political views....

WV: Could you tell us how you went about fighting this attack?

Margolis: Our key to winning this case was mobilizing active support and publicity in the labor movement. Many outraged union members sent telegrams and made phone calls to the White House. Apparently there was a press secretary there who was handling the "Margolis case" calls. After getting a good lawyer, Charles Garry, and filing the lawsuit in November, within our union we formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) which did the publicity and fundraising for the case. Within a couple of months we raised over \$14,000 and gathered a wide number of union endorsers....

WV: Could you tell us how you see the significance of the suit that you brought against the government?

Margolis: Every day this strikebreaking government intervenes on behalf of an employer against a union. But union-busting comes in all different kinds of packages.... A lot of people don't understand the nature of the government. They want to appeal to the pro-business courts to help them in union elections, and so on. Well, this is what you get. My case was supported by such a wide range of unionists and persons interested in civil liberties because they understood the significance: if we did not win, their convention and union could be next.

WV: What kind of support did you get from outside the union?

Margolis: Some very prominent individuals who are concerned about civil liberties endorsed the case: Daniel Berrigan, who was active in the antiwar movement; Noam Chomsky. I was very excited when Crystal Lee Sutton, the real Norma Rae, endorsed my lawsuit when I was attending a benefit on her behalf in Los Angeles. Also, individuals that were victims of government repression in the '50s, two members of the Hollywood Ten, Alvah Bessie and Lester Cole, endorsed, as did a number of legal organizations, including the National Lawyers Guild. The American Civil Liberties Union in southern California voted to file a "friend of the court" brief in my behalf.

WV: What about the left?

Margolis: From the very start, a few hours after the incident, when a good friend of mine, James Robertson, the national chairman of the Spartacist League, called up the White House demanding my release, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee did everything to push this case to a victorious conclusion.... They took an active stand against union-busting. But I can't say the same for the rest of the left. Most were noticeably silent. If it was left to the Communist Party and *People's World*, you would never have known that Jimmy Carter was using the Secret Service to silence political oppositionists

in the trade unions. The Socialist Workers Party also was silent on the issue, but very active in physically excluding me from one of their public forums when I wanted to make a three-minute announcement building for the April 19 rally against the Nazis in San Francisco.

WV: In addition to being an elected official of the CWA, you are also a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA. Would you tell us what the MAC is fighting for at this convention?

Margolis: Our union is facing a tremendous battle against Ma Bell [the US phone company] as our contract expires in August. And the company has already begun gearing up. In San Francisco, numerous union reps have been fired in blatant frame-ups. And since November, when I filed my lawsuit against the Secret Service, PT&T has been trying to fire me. The Militant Action Caucus is calling for a national strike against Ma Bell to protect jobs. A shorter work week with no loss in pay, an unlimited cost-of-living escalator, an end to job pressures should all be the primary focus on the agenda of this convention. Instead, Watts will try to turn this convention into a rally for Jimmy Carter....

Carter, Kennedy or Reagan — they're all a disaster for working people. All three are defending the interests of big



Jon P Fishback photos

union militant

Service, as its name says, likes to work in secret. It doesn't like noise, but Margolis yelled "foul" loud and clear.

Who was legitimate here? Jane Margolis was where she belonged, as a seated, elected delegate in the CWA's national gathering; Jimmy Carter was only an invited guest, and his Secret Service invaded the floor of the convention acting as a law unto itself. She is a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the main opposition group in the union, which has been tested in nine years of principled struggle for labour's cause. Margolis insisted on her right, and duty to those who elected her to represent them, to defend the interests of working people against the strikebreaking Democratic Party. She wanted to explain that this strikebreaker had no right to use the CWA as a platform, that politically he was telling the American people they must sacrifice for the companies. But she was stopped by the president's private cops.

From free speech to the right to strike, it takes a hard fight to defend democratic freedoms from the ruling class. And unlike any other civil liberties case in recent memory, this victory was won by a union-based campaign from start to finish. Immediately after the Secret Service assault, 700 workers from

business, attempting to get us into a war against the Soviet Union and cutting social services, telling unions that we're the problem while our members lose jobs, minority unemployment rises to 14 percent and the climate is created that brings out the KKK [Ku Klux Klan] and the Nazis. That's why we in the Militant Action Caucus for the last nine years have been calling for a workers party. There is a solution to the anarchy of plants closing, of people being put out of work. We need a workers party that will fight for a workers government, will expropriate industry, establishing an economy that is run for social need, not profit.

WV: Anything else you'd like to say?

Margolis: I want to thank everyone who supported this case. We in the Militant Action Caucus are fighting to win.... I do believe that you can "win against city hall" — if you are willing to take a stand, organize the labor movement, and know who your friends are. My friends are other unionists, persons truly concerned about democratic rights and socialists. If I had relied on "my" senators and assemblymen and a "more Democratic Congress", as the labor bureaucracy is always telling us to do, I never would have received a letter of apology and the CWA Defense Fund would never have seen the \$3500. And if we can win against the government, we can win against Ma Bell! ■

Margolis' San Francisco local petitioned the White House:

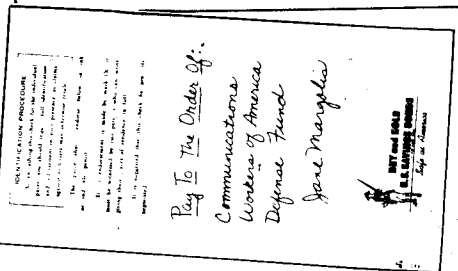
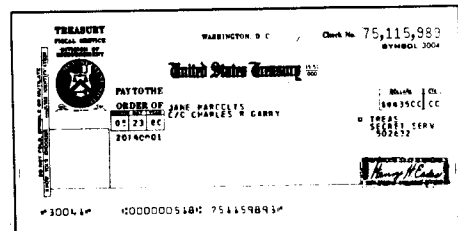
"We the undersigned strongly protest the forcible removal of our delegate Jane Margolis from the convention floor ... preventing her making critical remarks about Carter's anti-labor policies. This was in clear violation of her democratic rights as a duly elected delegate. We from CWA Local 9410 demand an apology from the White House to delegate Margolis and the union as a whole."

Represented by noted attorney Charles Garry, Jane Margolis sued the Secret Service for invasion of privacy, assault and battery, false arrest and violation of her constitutional rights. Outraged unionists formed UCASSH and began to pound the government for stonewalling, gathering support for their case from coast to coast. 49 CWA stewards endorsed the case, along with CWA Locals 9201 and 1150. Hundreds of endorsements were generated from local unions, well-known civil libertarians, other frame-up victims.

Socialists joined the fight early on. James Robertson, national chairman of the Spartacist League/US (SL) and a close personal friend of Margolis, immediately phoned the White House to demand that Jane be released and an official apology made. Told by a White House staffer, you can't talk to me like that or I'll hang up, Robertson told him to stop stonewalling and reminded him of what happened to Richard Nixon. SL supporters and friends played an energetic role in backing UCASSH, particularly in fundraising, and a staff counsel of the Partisan Defense Committee joined the legal team headed by Garry to fight the case in the courts.

But the case encountered one obstacle — many CWA bureaucrats from union president Glenn Watts to leaders of Margolis' own local stood passively on the sidelines or actively tried to sabotage

"Since the rights of the entire union were attacked, I am turning the entire cheque from the Secret Service over to the CWA Defense Fund."
— Margolis

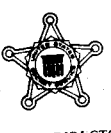


this defence of their union's independence from government control. For Watts and company are so tied to Carter that they are blinded to the threat to the whole union posed by the invasion of the CWA convention and seizure of Jane Margolis.

Seldom do the government's snoops say they're sorry. The Secret Service was forced to issue a formal apology and award a cash settlement not least because it didn't have a leg to stand on legally. At first it denied any arrest had been made, and the official letter from Secret Service Deputy Director refers to "alleged false arrest". But then it tries to explain the "regrettable misunderstanding" as a comedy of errors resulting

from "our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested". Never mind, says the letter, "it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances". So the government now admits Margolis was arrested even though she had "not violated any law".

The government of course denies "any political motivation" to the seizure. But why was Margolis singled out from among the 2900 unionists present? Clearly because she was a leading oppositionist who had spoken as a delegate at the CWA's 1978 convention against union support for "strike-breakers, anti-labor politicians, Jimmy
continued on page 9

 DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

JUN 6 1980

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Ms. Jane Margolis
475 Alvarado Street, #3
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

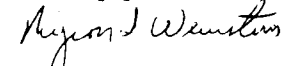
The Secret Service's involvement in this misunderstanding, which is obviously regrettable, arose from our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested. It was his belief that he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest. At the same time, the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law. In any event, it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances.

It should be noted that there is no indication whatsoever that there was any political motivation to these actions.

Following your initial removal from the floor of the convention, the law enforcement personnel on the scene began questioning why, in fact, you had been removed. As soon as it became apparent that you had not violated any law, but rather that an error in judgment had been made, you were released.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

Myron I. Weinstein
Deputy Director

LaTrobe Uni elections Hate Carter, Khomeini, scabs — vote Spartacist!

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the LaTrobe University Spartacist Club for the Student Representative Council (SRC) elections held at the beginning of July.

This week elections are being held for a new SRC and for delegates to AUS. The Spartacist Club is standing three comrades — Frank Sortino, Jenny Stein and Alex Trapeznik. We stand on our 7-year record at this campus, as opponents of the class-biased education system, on our vigorous strike-support work over the years, as internationalists. We live in a time when economic depression and the threat of a "born-again" nut in the White House hitting the nuclear button to prove he's "decisive" are the signposts of our future. Against our reformist and parochial opponents our program of social revolution to overthrow this rotting capitalist system makes us the only realists, the only ones with a program that gives humanity a road forward.

"The Iranian Revolution"?

As Carter showed with his lunatic muffed rescue attempt, Iran is a trip wire for World War III. With the mullahs' genocidal war against the Kurds, the reimposition of the veil and vicious enforcement of Islamic "moral codes" — whippings and executions for women and gays — a holy war against leftists, most of the left here would like to forget their earlier support to Khomeini. The likes of the Socialist Left (eg, Murphy/Stradijot) now spend their time worrying about how to protect the butcher shah from "revolutionary vengeance". We were alone on the left in the period leading up to and after the shah's downfall in our stance that *the workers must rule Iran*. We warned that unless the

mullah-led mass movement was split along class lines what would come to power would be clerical reaction.

But outrageously this month the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), supported on campus by John ("VC Scott's 'close comrade-in-arms'") Hall and Bob Lewis, are touring one of their Iranian co-thinkers, Fatima Fallahi — talking on the "Iranian revolution"! This is obscene. Students should read carefully the fact sheet we are distributing on Fallahi and the Iranian HKE. These Khomeini-lovers equate the mullahs in power with a "revolution". They say the veil is a "symbol of liberation". (And the weals from the whippings?) These are the people who dropped their paper position of self-determination for the Kurds for "autonomy" as soon as the mullahs spilled blood to protect their sacred national boundaries. For daring to even raise a protest against the war on the Kurds, 14 HKE members, including Fallahi, were imprisoned. They [the last of these] were released seven days before the recent Islamic purge ("cultural revolution") carried out on Iranian campuses by Khomeini fanatics that left their leftist targets (the Fedayeen, Tudeh, Mujahedin) with over a score dead and hundreds injured — actions the HKE immediately hailed! Their alibi? These leftists were "sectarian" for not joining this clerical witchhunt — against themselves! Make no mistake, these Khomeini-lovers have blood on their hands. Their name is dirt in Iran.

We call on every student who stands with the women, national minorities, gays, the workers and left of Iran; any student who, like us, is against the attempts of the religious bigot who runs Iran to wipe out the things that make life worth living — politics, sex, music

and alcohol — [to] join us in giving this apologist for Islamic reaction the reception she deserves when she hits LaTrobe 16 July!

Victory to Red Army in Afghanistan!

We are Trotskyists. We make it clear: we defend the Soviet Union. We hate the bureaucratic strangulation that chokes off the initiative, development and international revolutionary potential of the first and most powerful workers state — including its Red Army. Against the mad-dog imperialist war-mongers who threaten to plunge us into World War III we will defend it to the last. In Afghanistan there is a war between the twentieth century and feudal barbarism. The two competing social systems of our age have taken their appropriate sides on the barricades.

We say "Victory to the Red Army", "Smash Islamic reaction" and "Defend the Soviet Union". Capitulating to bourgeois hysteria the rest of the left (like the Socialist Left, Communist Party, International Socialists) scream "Soviet aggression", "Reds out". There is no neutrality in the class war. Remember the 16 April general meeting on Afghanistan? Don Chipp's offside, Ian Farrow, was able to move an amendment to Socialist Laffer Paul Norton's motion, to, in Farrow's words, "cut the waffle and bullshit" and leave what was central — and what both agreed on — the imperialists' call for Soviet withdrawal.

Afghanistan was the first shooting war ignited specifically by the question of women's liberation. What stands between a rebel victory and certain return to barbaric enslavement for women is the Red Army. For our part we are for

women's liberation everywhere. The feminists at International Women's Day thought Afghanistan was irrelevant.

Picket lines mean don't cross

Whether it is on Afghanistan or a trade union strike the reformist left ultimately scab. On the one-day general strike in 1979 over the WA jailings of metal unionists we said the university was black. The Socialist Left thought it a joke and went about "business as usual". At Sydney University (SU) our comrades carried out an aggressive exposure campaign against SU feminists who scabbed on a Fairfax newspaper strike. Feminism, which rejects as alien a hard class perspective, demonstrated its class-collaborationist logic.

Even in defending union principle — that a struck shop is just that: *struck, black*; that *one out means all out*; that picket lines mean don't cross — the Spartacist League stands alone. The rest of the left is mired in craftist and bureaucratic betrayal. Through our strike-support work we seek to win students concretely to the workers side in the class struggle, to build a communist youth movement, and to support the development of a revolutionary opposition in the unions.

Join the Spartacist League

The left today is in massive disarray. Our opponents, whether "left" or right, care about "getting elected" and little beyond the confines of their SRC/AUS parliamentary playpen. Even on "student" issues they are worthless. We are the only ones who ever fought for open admissions. Or a living student wage (not their pathetic 20 per cent above poverty).

It is just flatly true that if you hate mullahs and cops, defend the Soviet Union, won't cross picket lines and want to be an organised leftist the Spartacist League is the only game in town. If you agree on the cutting class issues of the day, then join with us. With Carter/Brzezinski playing brinkmanship in the war rooms, with supposed leftists kowtowing to religious patriarchy, our program of communist revolution is really the only sane, decent and realistic alternative.

FOR SRC/AUS: VOTE ONLY SORTINO, STEIN AND TRAPEZNIK!

South Africa...

continued from page 1

charged groups of protesters with billy clubs and tear gas.

The following day angry coloured youths burned and looted white stores, set up street barricades blocking the roads leading to the airport and stoned white motorists. The cops, enraged because one protester managed to knife a cop to death in self-defense, broke out their automatic rifles and loaded their shotguns with deadly buckshot. Police Commissioner Mike Geldenhuys gave the OK to "shoot to kill", urging his men to show "no mercy" to protesters. Two planeloads of riot cops were rushed in to reinforce the locals.

Stone throwing and street barricade fighting spread to Soweto, Durban and Port Elizabeth. Then, on June 20, the wave of protests reached a new level as 10,000 workers joined the struggle. Port Elizabeth's Ford, GM and Volkswagen assembly plants, the Goodyear Tire factory and a dozen other plants were shut down solid by strikes for higher pay and an end to racist discrimination. At Volkswagen, the United Auto and Rubber Workers, one of the few recognized black unions, demanded an 80 percent raise.

As black workers waited at the gates, management gave its answer: lockout. Cops fired shotguns and teargas into crowds of strikers. Goodyear workers responded by stoning white homes in the industrial town of Uitenhage. The government, recognizing that the black auto workers are the muscle of the anti-apartheid upsurge, called in the regular army to occupy the plants. A reporter who slipped through police lines reported that the Volkswagen plant, ringed by

Hippo armoured cars, had been turned into an armed camp.

South African Prime Minister Botha assumed office last year promising to reform various of the minor forms of apartheid restrictions. But the bloody police terror unleashed against the unarmed street protesters and strikers is the clearest possible evidence that Botha, like his predecessors, is committed to preserving white minority rule at any cost. And just to prove it he launched the biggest South African foreign military operation since World War II this month. Thousands of troops poured over the border from South Africa's Namibian colony to strike South West African People's Organisation refugee camps in Angola.

Even before this spring's protest/strike wave, Botha, under pressure from the "verkrampste" ("narrow") wing of his ruling National Party, had backed off from such sub-tokenist "reforms" as integrated white-coloured high school rugby matches. In this way he duplicated the history of his predecessor, JB Vorster, who also started off by promising to reduce "petty apartheid", until it threatened to break up the unity of the Afrikaner *laager*. Botha, the leader of the so-called "verligte" ("enlightened") wing of the National Party, is now trying to give the appearance of flexibility by advocating an appointive "president's council" which, while having no real power, would include coloured, Indian and even Chinese representatives — but no blacks.

The "verkrampste" racists are holding out against any weakening of apartheid, fearing that it would be the beginning of the end of their caste privileges and minority rule. The "verligte" white supremacists maintain that it is necessary to promote a privileged black stratum in

urban South Africa having a material stake in the status quo. However, the fate of the oppressive apartheid regime will not be determined by the maneuvering and pseudo-reforms of white ruling-class politicians, but in the struggles of the black masses against the massive police-state apparatus designed to keep them "in their place". The black working class now flexing its muscles occupies a key spot in the South African economy. Out in the desolate bantustan "homelands" the black majority's numbers don't necessarily mean strength. But in the heart of South Africa's gold-fueled and growing economy, black labor is vital.

The growing reliance on black skilled and semi-skilled labor is the Achilles heel of apartheid. "Separate development" is

contradicted by the need of the white capitalists to have the black proletariat in the urban centers. As Botha told a heckler who dismissed the need for more black housing by shouting "Send them to the homelands": "My friend, if they were all there, who would bring you your coffee in the morning?" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1980). And who would bring the gold, the diamonds, the automobiles, the textiles and all the other goods and services provided by black labor? The fact is, by bringing more and more black workers into the urban labor force, apartheid capitalism digs its own grave.

Black workers to power!

Recognition that the black proletariat has the power to smash apartheid is the



SPARTACIST LEAGUE
PUBLIC MEETINGS

For the rebirth
of the
Fourth International!

Speaker: Joe Vincent founding member of SL/US

Sydney:
7.30 pm
Friday, 25 July.
Ground Bar,
Trade Union Club,
111 Foveaux Street,
Surry Hills, NSW.

Melbourne:
7.30 pm
Tuesday, 29 July.
Plumbers Hall,
52 Victoria Street,
Carlton, Vic.

key to a revolutionary program to liberate the oppressed South African masses. South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of the continent. But unlike those of virtually every other African state before independence from direct colonial rule, the black South African masses do not face a thin layer of colonial bureaucrats and expatriate settlers. Instead, they must defeat a powerful capitalist class at the head of an entrenched, quite large and well-armed white racial caste. Proportionately the white minority in South Africa is five times as large as its Rhodesian counterpart. And if they must go under, the country's rulers are quite prepared to unleash a fiery holocaust in the process.

To open the door to the South African socialist revolution the black masses must break through the present apartheid shackles and win a degree of freedom needed to mount organized, mass social struggles. Key to this is fighting for the legalization of independent black trade unions, abolition of the hated pass laws and bantustan system and an end to all racist job privileges and the contract labor system.

A South African revolutionary movement would, of course, strive for the unity in struggle of the black masses with the coloured and Indian populations. But what of the four-and-a-half million whites? They constitute an enormously privileged caste, not a nation for which one can advance the right of self-determination, ie, the right to their own separate state. At the same time, as against some black nationalists and their left apologists, communists recognize the right of South Africa's whites to exist. Furthermore, their skills would be of tremendous value to a revolutionary regime. A black-centered workers and peasants government would grant to that portion of the white population which chose to remain the same democratic rights as those of South Africa's other peoples. And it cannot be ruled out in advance that for some white workers, appeals to class unity could overcome racist solidarity.

In the present anti-apartheid struggles, as black workers take to the streets along with the students, the need for a proletarian perspective is clearly posed. Petty-bourgeois nationalists of the African National Congress (ANC) and other exile and underground nationalist organizations offer no effective strategy to defeat apartheid. "We can't fight a bush war", admits ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki, "Look at a map. It is all developed" (*New York Times*, 20 June). The would-be Kenyattas and Nyereres of South Africa seek to subordinate the workers' struggles to their own petty-bourgeois ambitions. They also appeal to US imperialism to pressure the apartheid rulers for reform. Their model for post-apartheid South Africa is based on the experience of anti-working-class middlemen for imperialism like Mozambique's Samora Machel (who still sends contract labor to South Africa's mines) and Zimbabwe's strikebreaking Robert Mugabe.

If South Africa's oppressed non-white masses are to achieve full victory over the white racist regime they must look elsewhere for leadership. A key task in South Africa is therefore the construction of a Trotskyist party armed with a program for workers revolution through smashing apartheid. South Africa, a regional imperialist power, is the key to socialist revolution throughout the entire economically extremely backward region. The South African working class therefore bears a historic responsibility beyond even its own liberation from the chains of apartheid slavery. It can become the vanguard of social revolution for a whole continent. With the country's vast mineral resources and industrial power harnessed for social emancipation instead of apartheid profits, a black-centered workers and peasants republic in South Africa would be the real beginning of the African socialist revolution.

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*
no 259, 27 June 1980

No layoffs! 30 for 40!

Occupy GMH Pagewood!

SYDNEY, 6 July — "It just hit us like a bomb going off", said one worker. "The foreman called us in and gave us the envelope" — and that was that. For the letter inside contained the news that General Motors Holden (GMH), Australian subsidiary of the giant US car manufacturer, is to close its Pagewood plant in Sydney on 29 August. Over 1200 workers are to be thrown on the dole or given the "opportunity" of going to a GMH plant interstate, courtesy of a company-provided economy class air ticket. Some 5000 others face retrenchment at component makers and dealerships throughout NSW.

The bosses' rationale was predictably the need to "restructure" their operation in Australia. But the workers at Pagewood have made it clear that they don't want to be the helpless victims of capitalist "restructuring". The day after the announcement picket lines were thrown up to prevent cars from moving out of the factory, and a mass meeting at the plant called on the ACTU to launch a national strike throughout the car industry.

The workers at Pagewood want to fight — they have nothing left to lose. And they can beat back this arrogant attempt by GMH to throw them on the scrapheap by *seizing the plant now!* Take GMH's machinery, unsold cars and millions of dollars worth of property and hold them as ransom for jobs! And back up a Pagewood occupation with an all-out national strike by the entire Vehicle Builders Union (VBU) and the other car unions to win a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Spread the work around — thirty hours work for forty hours pay! Create jobs for all! A nationwide strike must also demand unlimited unemployment benefits at full pay and fully paid job training under union control to win those currently out of a job to the workers' side.

At the moment Pagewood is front-page news. A militant fight for jobs through a factory occupation would be a beacon to all workers and have a galvanising effect far beyond the car industry itself. Right now the metal trades' unions are conducting a "campaign" for a 35-hour week. Here is the chance to make that campaign real, instead of playing around with the utterly useless "tactic" of knocking off five hours early once a month. A plant occupation at Pagewood could be the springboard for a nationwide offensive of the working class against the recession and Fraser's relentless austerity drive.

Margolis...

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Carter who brought the Taft-Hartley [anti-union law] against the miners strike.... It was the idea that militant labour opposition to the Democratic Party might be voiced that panicked Carter's private police. Margolis was politically gagged.

The legal complaint filed by her attorneys began, "This is no ordinary lawsuit". Unlike many would-be oppositionists who routinely drag the unions into the bosses' courts, Margolis asserted labour's right to decide its course free from government interference. And the suit pointed out how this fight goes a long way back, citing the important Minneapolis Teamster trial of 1941 as an example of how the capitalist state witchhunts militant unionists and socialists like Jane Margolis. The preface to the legal complaint concluded:

"Thus the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service challenges in principle the government's interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade union movement."

The seizure of an Australian-based plant of the international conglomerate General Motors could strike a blow for workers internationally. Instead of calling for ever-higher tariffs and reactionary import controls which merely mean foreign workers losing jobs, the union leaders should be fighting to organise the super-exploited workers of Asia and Latin America. A plant occupation would pose directly the possibility of solidarity action by car workers in these countries, as well as in the US, where there have been several plant closings by GM and other companies, and Japan. It could be the first step in a concerted international struggle against layoffs by the motor giants and their "world car" rationalisation plans.

Instead of fighting for such a militant, class-struggle program, the leaders of the car unions have been appealing to anti-US Aussie nationalism for a "massive response against the foreign-owned multinational". Even this proposed "massive response" is pitifully inadequate, however. While the NSW Labor Council endorsed a national strike call, ACTU chief Bob Hawke, immediately backed by state Labor Council secretary Barrie Unsworth, said no, and called for "calm" and "reasonable" negotiations. As a way of letting off steam, the bureaucracy is currently calling for an impotent consumer boycott and has banned GMH vehicles from other states getting to dealers in NSW. But this "strategy" of keeping GMH cars out of NSW only divides the GMH workers, pitting those in Victoria and SA against their brothers in NSW.

Everywhere the sellout bureaucrats go, the lambs of the reformist left are sure to follow after, too. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is also calling on "our" Labor Government to do something, preferably nationalise Pagewood. But this assembly plant is an utterly antiquated, forty-year old factory which GMH never reinvested in substantially, but instead allowed the plant to run down over the years. Now it produces the staggeringly low figure of 120 Holden Commodores a day, a production speed which the most modern plants in Japan almost achieve per hour (even most Leyland plants in Britain manage 40 cars an hour) (*Financial Review*, 3 July)! Pagewood survived for so long only because it had a guaranteed home market, secured by a steep protectionist wall which gave the Australian car industry an astounding 80

per cent of the domestic market, and kept prices astronomically high.

GMH knows the plant is a loser and wants to get out. Calls for its nationalisation can thus only mean the propping up of an industrial cripple — at the expense of the taxpaying worker. Nor would it mean saving jobs. On the contrary, the experience of British Leyland and the successive nationalisation schemes of British Labour governments show that state takeovers of loser plants mean more layoffs, greater speed-ups and savage wage-cutting. And look at what happened at the State dockyards in Newcastle: wasn't it "Nifty Neville Wran" himself who sacked dockyard workers there wholesale as an "economic measure"?

Yet this is what the SWP wants — first Wran should "nationalise" Pagewood, then Hayden can do the same to the rest of the company, when he gets elected! In this gross subservience to reformism, they are echoed by supporters of the Socialist Leadership Group/Keep Left paper in the ALP. Led by the bookshop entrepreneur Bob Gould, they too are calling on Wran to use "his legal powers of resumption" to make Pagewood a state enterprise. (The Gouldites are such wet noodles that they don't even call for a factory seizure to back up this social-democratic cretinism, but just urge "consideration" of the "tactic of sit-in".) Behind this nationalisation plea though is the viciously chauvinist argument that Pagewood "must be kept going as a State Government enterprise, in order to supply the 40% of the Australian car market which is in NSW" (*Pagewood News* no 3, emphasis added). In short, produce a white Australian car for white Australian socialists.

Instead of preaching reliance on the capitalist Wran government — don't forget, despite its "Labor" title, it's theirs, not ours — class-struggle unionists must wage a fight for an immediate seizure of Pagewood as part of a generalised struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Not social-democratic nationalisation schemes, but 30 for 40! Hawke, Unsworth and the rest have shown though that they are not going to fight for anything remotely approaching such a program. The crisis facing car workers shows once again the need for a revolutionary leadership of the working class to carry the fight against bankrupt capitalism through to a victorious conclusion. ■

The Secret Service's formal apology and cash settlement shows that Margolis was a victim of official persecution reminiscent of Nixon's COINTELPRO. Of course, it is only one step forward. The same letter of apology vows that the political police will do it again and again ("the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur"), all in the name of protecting the imperial president. But Margolis' victory will give pause to these witchhunters before they try such a stunt again. Finally it will not be through legal suits but on the picket lines and in the class struggle that this fight must be won. The only real protection the working class has against victimisation by the capitalist state is a militant, vigilant labour movement politically mobilised against the big business politicians and government.

But this time, Margolis, UCASSH, MAC and their supporters took on the White House... and won. That means a lot in a union which has been pushed around for years by the hated phone monopoly: here is a program to put the CWA on its feet. To Jane Margolis, to the phone workers who threw their full strength and thousands of valuable hours

into the cause, to the hundreds of trade unionists and socialists who supported them, to the contributors who donated thousands of dollars to back these fighters against the government, CONGRATULATIONS ON A VICTORY WELL WON!

— adapted from *Workers Vanguard*
no 259, 27 June 1980

Correction

The introduction to the letter from Sheffield steel workers reprinted in the last issue of our paper (see "British steel workers tell Thorne: We don't like scabs", *ASp* no 74, June 1980) mistakenly referred to two "militants" who crossed picket lines at British Leyland Rover as supporters of the Workers Socialist League. The two whose scabbing was defended in the WSL newspaper (in a polemic against the Spartacist League) are supporters of the International Marxist Group. Also, the militant who refused to cross the picket line at the SD1 plant at Rover's was incorrectly referred to by the WSL as an SL supporter.

SYA: Scabs Youth Alliance

MELBOURNE — For the revisionist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) it was inevitably an "exciting and inspirational event" (*Direct Action*, 2 July). But for at least 3 of the handful of non-member participants at the 10th national conference of the SWP's youth operation, the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA), held in Melbourne over the 14-16 June "Queen's Birthday" weekend, the "event" was just the opposite. "What really astonished me the most was the apolitical atmosphere", one disgusted observer told *Australasian Spartacist* afterwards. "When I was approached, the first two questions I was asked were 'What's your name, where are you from and how did you find out about the conference?' And from there it just dwindled away". Having expected at least some political discussion at the conference, these three young comrades came away wiser only about how wretchedly "low key and reformist" the SYA/SWP is.

For from beginning to end, the SYAers present shunned political discussion in favour of raves about Castro, Nicaragua and their "industrial turn" — even to the point of applauding a scab aircraft apprentice. Nothing it seemed could stimulate political debate: "We bought a copy of *WV* [*Workers Vanguard*] from the Spartacists and *Women and Revolution* [women's journal of the Spartacist League/US], and it seemed to us that they [the SYA] avoided us like the plague while we were reading it. We were sitting there at morning tea with the 'SWP/HKE: The blood is on your hands' article and no-one came and said anything", recalled another participant. "You'd think that if they had a politics that opposed the Spartacists, that they would take the opportunity to come up and discuss the articles with you".

But no, not the SYA. Even the sole semi-oppositional contribution to the pre-conference discussion bulletins wasn't discussed in open session. "He would have been killed, I reckon. They got rid of all their dissenters and controversy before the conference — he must be buried somewhere", was one comment on the whereabouts of "Peter O of the Adelaide Branch", author of the semi-oppositional document "What is the function of a political resolution?" (*SYA Internal Discussion Bulletin* [IDB] vol 11, no 3). With tales of how the Perth office was painted being substituted for political debate, it was hardly surprising then that the attendance dropped by a dramatic fifty per cent after the first day high of 170. Nor, when it came to the census report, that of 14 non-members present, 7 "voiced interest" in joining this abysmal outfit and 7 said "maybe", whereas none had joined in Brisbane for the previous 18 months! And this is the organisation which, having changed its name to Resistance in closed session, is now going to go out and conquer Australia's working class youth! Truly, if Marx were alive today to see this bunch he would be obliged to repeat his statement of a century ago: "I have sown dragons and reaped fleas".

"Poor little scabs"?

But the incident which best captured the quality of the conference was when an apprentice from Melbourne's Government Aircraft Factory mounted the podium to relate how he had scabbed on the recent strike there. One observer, himself an industrial worker and trade unionist, told *ASP* what happened:

"This bloke gets up there and says he's an apprentice [and how] it's really bad for apprentices, you know, because 'the bosses exploit us and the unions don't have anything to do with us, they don't want to involve us in the union movement at all', which was true. Then he said, 'in the recent strike, we had to go down and work the machines ... and the conditions were really terrible because the cleaners were on strike or something and the bins were all overflowing, and you put your sandwiches down for lunch and little creatures would crawl on them' — the poor thing. 'There was a real feeling

amongst us apprentices with the strikers. We were really aware of what was going on ... So we took up this strike fund and we got \$26 between the 26 of us. That's a dollar each', he said, 'and apprentices don't get paid very much so when they give away money, they don't give it away to something they don't believe in'. But when he went out to the picket line at lunchtime to see what the blokes were doing, 'they treated us like strike-breakers!'

And when he got off the podium he got the greatest round of applause of anybody! It was so ironical. They completely ignored the fact that this is supposed to be a revolutionary Trotskyist ... he's just crossed a picket line and he's scabbed and he's putting all the onus on the union to approach him for him not to work ... They totally didn't care about the fact that he'd been a scab. I was astonished. He was so upset about his fucking sandwiches...."

The thunderous applause was no aberration, though, but is the official line of the SWP/SYA for apprentices (see IDB vol 11, no 5). This is what this yellow socialist organisation stands for: strike-breaking and cheering on scabs.

Sandinistas: "greatest thing since sliced bread"?

Scabbing at home and tailing counter-revolutionary trade union bureaucrats also goes well with the organisation's current international fad: embracing holus-bolus Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the Castroite bureaucracy in Cuba (with a view to winning "the Castroist (Cuban) leadership, the FSLN, and other revolutionists" to "the Fourth International", no less [IDB vol 11, no 3]). "They're particularly jubilant about Nicaragua at the moment ...", we were told. "They think the Sandinistas are the greatest thing since sliced bread, you know, they reckon the Sandinistas are going to teach Castro how to treat homosexuals, they reckon the Sandinistas are going to do everything, but they never mention the fact that they still have capitalism there, that the government still consists of a fair element of what was there before — no mention of that. No mention of the jailing of leftists in Nicaragua, no mention of the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade — there was hardly any mention about seeking economic aid from America...."

Instead, the SWP tops showed a World Council of Churches' film on Nicaragua featuring interviews with people who assured their listeners, "we're not communists, we're not communists". And when one naive innocent enquired "Has socialism actually been achieved in Nicaragua?", the SYA leadership replied, "No, but it's all on the way", citing as "proof" the fact that two representatives of the bourgeoisie had recently resigned from the junta. But as the comrade who told us this also noted, the speaker neglected to mention that the Sandinistas had "stuck two more in their place that were twice as bad as the ones that went".

This adulation of the Sandinistas and Castro (right now the SYA is gearing up to produce badges of Fidel himself) dominated the bulk of the proceedings. Of the "four colonial revolutions" that allegedly took place last year — Iran, Afghanistan, Kampuchea (sic) and Nicaragua — and which are meant to "inspire the SYA in Australia to greater action in the future", only Nicaragua was mentioned, doubtless because the others posed too many thorny political problems. But the group's affection for the Cuban *lider maximo* knows no bounds, prompting the comment of one observer that "they're like a Castro cult".

"... Castro is the best thing possible for Cuba", was how another participant described the SYA's view of "Commandante Fidel"; he "and his regime are pushing the country towards socialism ... it's Castro that's looking after the women and Castro's that's looking after the blacks". Of course, the SYA does admit their hero has made

mistakes like that "little bit of bother" (!) he got into in Ethiopia. Other "mistakes" reported were that "perhaps it was a bit unfortunate that he gave Allende a sub-machine gun [as a parting present] just before he left Chile. Perhaps it was a bit silly that he met with a Brazilian general ...", and so on *ad nauseam*. But it doesn't really matter, anyway, because for the SYA Castro's "learning all the time" (for 20 years now!). Besides, "he gets out and does things for the revolution" instead of sitting around theorising and procrastinating like the SYA/SWP. True enough; Castro has done more good for the world's oppressed than the miserable SYA, but as the representative of a bureaucratically degenerated workers state he has also carried out counterrevolutionary crimes against the working class, for instance in Eritrea. But for the SYA his role in supporting the genocidal Mengistu regime was just "a bit of bad luck ... next time he might do better"! In short, their entire orientation to Castro is the hope, as one observer noted, "that if they persevere with their solidarising campaign, well then one day he might take notice of them"! Sure, and pigs will fly too.

Resistance: shedding "our hard communist image"?

With such a track record of scabbing, cheering (from a safe distance, of course) petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillas and idolising Stalinist bureaucrats, it was no surprise that the SYA also decided to change its name to the catch-all Resistance, "probably to get the bloody word socialist out of their name". In keeping with the whole tenor of the weekend, the motivation behind the change was thoroughly reformist: the organisation must shed its "hard communist image" (its what?) "it will be more popular"; "in selling *Resistance* they're not going to say it's a socialist paper, but it's a working-class paper for the youth/young people". An indication of how dreadful this rag threatens to be can be got from one comrade's report that "there were also some comments that *DA* [*Direct Action*] is a bit too heavy to read for people who read *Resistance*; they can't really hack the style and the rhetoric ... *Resistance* is going to be somewhat more simple and in more laymen's terms". We can't hack *DA*'s

"style" either, but that's because it reads like a "progressive" version of the *Women's Weekly*, not because it is too political. But a "layman's version"? The mind boggles.

Yet despite the rah-rah go-ahead enthusiasm of *Direct Action*'s report of the SYA conference, it is clear that the group is a lifeless, stultifying, apolitical organisation whose leadership has ensured that "the time of the whole tendency has been consumed with the sub drive, letter boxing and so on", as SYA leader Leesa Wheelahan proudly reported (IDB vol 11, no 2). As for rapid growth and recruitment, the projected new members panel at the conference had to be cancelled! "And do you know what they said? The most piss-weak excuse in the world — they reckon their parents won't let them come out today! How young are they — two or something?" (What price age-of-consent laws now, SWP?) The truth is, as another participant put it, "they kept on saying they were enthusiastic and optimistic, but they didn't seem particularly enthusiastic or optimistic to me".

But retreating from political reality (exemplified in one delegate's relieved sigh: "Thank god we haven't got any Sparts in Newcastle"), get-rich-quick schemes "appealing to secondary school students ... on the basis of anti-uranium and save the whale", and Healyite-style football-and-disco recruitment operations will not build a genuine Trotskyist youth organisation in Australia. Young militants who want to fight capitalism could only be repelled by the SYA/Resistance farce — as were the three participants who walked straight out of the conference towards membership in the Spartacist League. They know that with us they will be joining the only genuinely Trotskyist organisation in the country — one which despises scabs, not applauds them; which fights for political revolution to oust the bureaucratic caste which rules in Havana and for social revolution in Nicaragua; and which will talk about Iran and Afghanistan, because it has a record to be proud of on these questions. But we leave the final word with one of the comrades who endured the conference to the last. When asked what he now thought of them as an alternative he simply replied, "Join the SYA? It's the last thing in the world I'd do". ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETINGS

Down with Khomeini's "Holy War" against the left!

Sydney:

Friday, 11 July,
Ground Floor Bar,
Trade Union Club,
111 Foveaux Street,
Surry Hills. 7.30 pm

Melbourne:

Tuesday, 15 July,
Plumbers Hall,
52 Victoria Street,
Carlton. 7.30 pm

LaTrobe Uni

1 pm.
Tuesday, 15 July,
Committee Room,
LaTrobe Uni.

PROTEST AGAINST FATIMA FALLAHI — APOLOGIST FOR ISLAMIC REACTION!

17 July, 7 pm
Dental Theatre
Grattan Street,
Parkville, Vic.
(phone: 62 5135 for more information)

SWP/HKE...

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of national liberation" (*Direct Action*, 17 January 1980).

As for the other claims made as proof of Fallahi's "militancy", they are nothing but lies. When Admiral Mahdani, who was leading the slaughter of hundreds of Khuzistan Arabs in June 1979, declared that "our fist will smash the heads of all those who try to separate any part of Iran", Fallahi's group — then known as the HKS — rushed to repudiate its former paper support for the Arabs' and Kurds' democratic right to self-determination ie to form a separate state. The truth is that the HKE have never fought anyone for anything. Their constant grovelling and political covering for Khomeini means the only significant thing they will ever do is to hideously discredit the name of Trotskyism in Iran. But the international Spartacist tendency — which alone on the left warned the Iranian masses that life under Khomeini would be no better than life under the shah, and which called instead for "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" — intends that the SWP/HKE will not get away with their grotesque perversion of the program of world socialist revolution. You won't hear the truth about Iran from the SWP, and they don't want anyone else telling the truth either. But Fallahi, the HKE and the SWP must answer for their betrayals. And they have plenty to answer for.

SWP/HKE: The blood is on your hands

During April dozens of leftist students were murdered and hundreds injured when Khomeini sent his Islamic shock troops rampaging through Iran's universities to "purge" them of "Marxist influence". This "Islamic cultural revolution" was spearheaded by Khomeini-loyal students and lumpen gangs recruited and organised by the mosques as the *Hezbollahi* ("people of the party of god"). In 1953, the mullahs, backed by the CIA, had mobilised similar lumpen elements to topple the bourgeois nationalist regime of Mossadeq and replace his rule with that of the shah. This time the assault was aimed at the guerilla left who had played a key role in overthrowing the Pahlavi dictatorship. But for the mullahs the only good leftist is a dead one.

Yet disgustingly the response of the mullah-loving SWP/HKE was to hail the murderous anti-left "Islamification" of the campuses as an "anti-imperialist mobilisation". At the height of the fighting, the HKE issued a statement on 21 April (reprinted in the *Militant*, 9 May) which cheered on the Islamic thugs and attacked the leftists who had defended themselves.

Seven days earlier, Fallahi had been released from prison along with the last of the HKE members, jailed with her last year. The *Militant* carried in the middle of its article a large photo caption showing them 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 saw 20 comrades murdered 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.

The shameless prostration of Fallahi and company before the reactionary rule of the mullahs resulted in a split last year in what was then the one official Iranian section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). Those now forming the HKE had been openly cam-

paigning for a seat alongside Koranic authorities in the "Assembly of Experts" which wrote the new Islamic, theocratic constitution. Another section of the group, which kept the name HKS, couldn't stomach endorsing this body, especially at a time when their own members were sitting on death row in Khomeini's jails, and wanted to abstain in the "elections".

Now the HKE and HKS find themselves literally on opposite sides of the barricades in Iran. The 2 June issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries a translation of a 19 April HKS article attacking the "club-and-knife-wielding thugs [who] launched savage attacks on all the universities" in an attempt "to destroy the revolutionary and anti-capitalist forces". But the HKS also cheered on the mullahs as they rode to power at the start of 1979. Now they want to pull back from the logic of their own criminal tailism.

Not so the HKE. It seized on the Teheran embassy takeover last November as a means to reingratiate themselves with the mullahs. Not satisfied to cheer for "solidarity with the anti-imperialist students following the Imam's line", they started actively encouraging the oppressed to put their trust in god and imam. Thus when 12 leaders of Iran's Turkoman minority were found murdered, the HKE knew who to turn to for an "authoritative" investigation: naturally, those who order mass murders of Arabs and Kurds! "It will only be possible to form an independent commission of inquiry with real credibility if it has the support of the president [Bani-Sadr] and the Revolutionary Council", they said (*Intercontinental Press*, 7 April 1980).

HKE: Consistent "peaceful legalism" ... in Khomeini's Iran

The leaders of the HKE are putting into operation the wretchedly reformist politics they learned from the US SWP. As the Sattar League, they devoted their energies to building a "Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran" (CAIFI), whose main work consisted in appealing to "liberals" like former US Attorney General Ramsay Clark. In 1976, when Maoist-Stalinist opponents reportedly attacked CAIFI supporters in Houston, Texas, the response of CAIFI spokesman Mohammad Falsafi was to threaten to finger these students to the cops, thus setting them up for possible deportation back to the tender mercies of the shah's SAVAK butchers. What they learned from the US SWP was not Trotskyism, but crawling on their bellies before the class enemy.

Even when Fallahi and 15 of her own comrades in the then HKS were jailed and tortured by the mullahs during a May/June 1979 crackdown on Arab unrest in Khuzistan, the SWP's "international defence campaign" consisted of bowing in obeisance to Khomeini, not fighting him. In Sydney the SWP walked right off its own picket because a Spartacist League contingent called for workers revolution against Khomeini. And when SL supporters succeeded in having a motion demanding freedom for the jailed HKS and Fedayeen militants debated on Australian campuses, the SWP worked to defeat it! Now Fallahi is out of jail, the result of repeated assurances to Khomeini that they "do not fight against religion" and "are completely opposed to violence" — except when it is aimed against Khomeini's opponents.

For a Trotskyist Party in Iran!

The future cadres of a revolutionary Leninist party in Iran will have to absorb the lessons that the HKE cannot teach: that Khomeini stood from the very beginning for Great Persian chauvinism and a reactionary Islamic fundamentalism which would necessarily seek to crush the left, the national minorities, the women and working class of Iran. But only the Spartacist tendency told this truth in advance and drew the necessary conclusions. To end Khomeini's national oppression of minorities in Iran; to free women from feudal backwardness; to secure genuine liberation for the country from imperialist domination — this

requires the smashing of Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" and its replacement by a genuine workers and peasants government. Trotskyism alone stands for this program, the only program to achieve even human decency in Iran. But this is not what the SWP/HKE stand for. They are for mullah-lovers who defend all the reactionary filth represented by the veil and the mosque. The Spartacist League is for those who want the truth, and a program for world socialist revolution. So if you hate Khomeini and the mullahs, then you ought to hate the SWP/HKE — and look to the Spartacist tendency as the authentic embodiment of revolutionary Trotskyism today. Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran! ■

Fallahi...

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4. Recently, four women in Iran were given 25 lashes each for wearing bathing suits — a graphic illustration of what life under Khomeini means for women. Yet the SWP paper *Direct Action* said in its 17 January 1980 issue that "Women are freer than ever before" in Iran, and that the head-to-toe *chador* (veil) women must wear is a "symbol of national liberation". *Direct Action* calls you a "women's rights activist". Is being whipped or stoned to death for adultery another "gain" of the "Islamic Revolution"? Do you still claim the veil is a "symbol of liberation"?

5. In January 1978, leaders of what was to become the HKE publicly denounced Maoist students in the US for raising "very ultimatic and ultraleft demands ... for instance, that all should unite on slogans like 'Down with the Shah'" (*Militant*, paper of the US SWP, 13 January 1978). Only the *iSt* said "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" before Khomeini came to power. Do you still say "Down with the shah" was "ultra-left" just as you say our revolutionary opposition to the present reactionary regime is so?

6. You are heralded as a fighter for the rights of Arab workers. Why then did the HKE drop its support for the right of Arab self-determination last summer, during the slaughter of Arabs in the Khuzistan area? Why are you against the rights of all Iran's nationally oppressed minorities, including the Kurds, to separate from the existing Persian chauvinist state and establish their own states if they wish?

7. When the US embassy in Teheran was seized last November, the HKE rushed to acclaim the "Students following the Imam's line" as "anti-imperialists". The Spartacist League said the occupation was a diversion to channel the Iranian masses' attention away from the mullahs' repressive rule. At the same time we said "US hands off Iran!" Why doesn't the HKE point out that genuine national liberation can come only through proletarian revolution? If Trotsky scorned the term "anti-imperialist" as applied to Chiang Kai-shek — who at least stood for unbinding the feet of Chinese women — by what token do you apply this term to Muslim fanatics who stand for the feudal enslavement of women?

8. Currently, Iran and Iraq are engaged in border clashes. The working people of both countries have no interest in becoming cannon fodder in a chauvinist conflict. Why then has the HKE come out for Iran and against Iraq in the current fighting? What happened to the "Arab Revolution" which the SWP used to loudly vaunt and which always found the Iraqi Ba'athist colonels in its vanguard?

9. Since coming to power, Khomeini has sought every means to stabilise his rule at the expense of the left, the working class, women and the national minorities. Now he wants an army of 20 million the better to carry on his bloody work. Why then does the HKE support this project? When you were in jail last year, the leaders of your organisation wrote a letter to Iran's chief prosecutor, Ayatollah Ghodosi, assuring him that your group was "completely opposed to violence". Do you still hold this position? Or is it just that you are for violence when it is used against Khomeini's opponents, such as the leftist students he had purged?

10. Khomeini has time and again declared his support for the reactionary Islamic rebel bands fighting the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The Spartacist League said "Hail Red Army!" when the USSR intervened last December. The SWP too defended the Soviet incursion, but pretended that this was perfectly compatible with its support to Khomeini next door in Iran. Does the HKE stand with Khomeini in calling for Soviet troops out, as did the British International Marxist Group? Do you support Khomeini's arming of the Islamic rebels, while supporting his religious-fanatic murderers at home?

The SWP and HKE have not only betrayed Marxism, and disarmed anyone who would follow them in Iran in the face of Khomeini's thugs and jailers; they have also put the blood of Iranian leftists on their hands. The spectacle of Fatima Fallahi speaking to left audiences in Australia behind a veil of exclusion to keep out the truth is nauseating!

The international Spartacist tendency alone told the truth on Iran from the beginning, and has a program to rid the world of its oppressors, from crazed imperialist butchers like Carter to reactionary obscurantist murderers like Khomeini. We intend to continue telling the truth on Iran, and to protest the lies of Fallahi, in two activities counterposed to the fraudulent SWP/HKE "forums". On 11 July at Sydney's Trade Union Club, those interested in hearing more about the questions Fallahi won't be answering in her exclusive meeting in the same building can attend a Spartacist League public meeting on Iran. Spartacist forums are genuinely open to the public. In Melbourne on 17 July, picket Fallahi! SWP/HKE: the blood is on your hands! Defend the Iranian left, and all victims of reactionary Islamic repression! Down with Khomeini's "holy war" against Kurds, other national minorities and women!

If you think a "public" meeting means exclusion, that Islamic murderers are leading a "revolution" in Iran, or that lies are the truth, you'll love Fallahi, and want to join the SWP. But if the truth matters to you, protest Fallahi with us, examine our revolutionary program, and join the Spartacist League! ■

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Apologist for Khomeini tours Australia

SWP/HKE cheer as Iranian leftists die

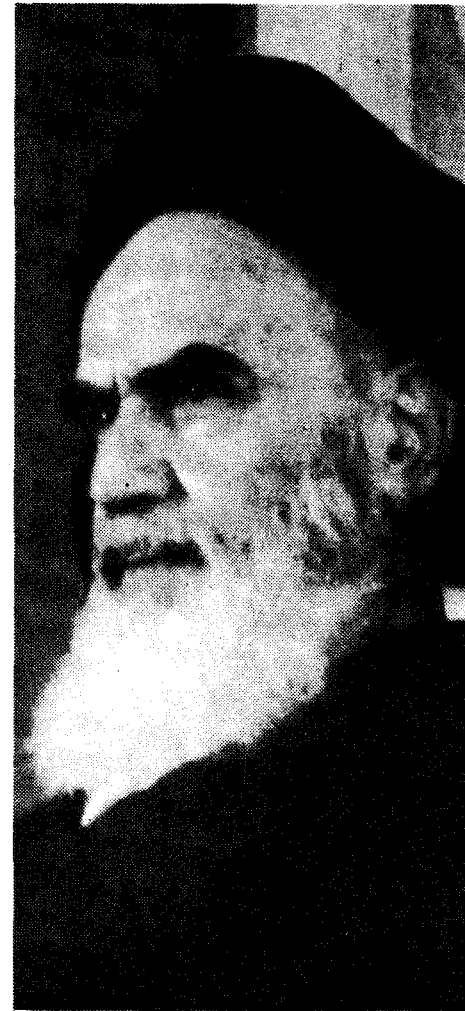
The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is currently staging a national tour by one Fatima Fallahi, a leader of the HKE ("Revolutionary Workers Party"), the SWP's Iranian co-thinkers. Fallahi is to speak on the "current situation" in Iran, focusing particularly on the "gains (!) made by the Iranian working people since the overthrow of the shah" and the "problems (!) that workers and national minorities are facing today". To build the tour, the SWP's *Direct Action* (11 June) has been touting Fallahi as a woman "socialist" recently released from jail after being sentenced reportedly "for supporting the democratic rights of Iran's

Arab minority", a valiant "anti-shah and women's rights activist".

What a disgusting fraud! The SWP will undoubtedly try to stop the Spartacist League from telling the truth about Fallahi by once again trampling on workers democracy and excluding us from these "public" meetings. But the HKE's sordid political record cannot be concealed. "Anti-shah"? Just one year before the butcher Pahlavi fled Iran, the leaders of the HKE were publicly *denouncing* Iranian Maoist students in the United States for raising "very ultimatic and ultraleft demands ... like

"Down with the Shah" (*Militant*, paper of the US SWP, 13 January 1978)! As for "women's rights", Fallahi's organisation and the SWP *actually defend* the *chador*, the Iranian veil symbolising the feudal enslavement of women. Every month since Khomeini's rise to power, women have been stoned and assaulted for such "crimes" as adultery, prostitution or even going out without the stifling head-to-toe *chador*. Yet the SWP still has the gall to proclaim that in this "Islamic Republic", "Women are freer than ever before" and that the veil remains a "symbol

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Ten questions Fatima Fallahi can't answer

Fatima Fallahi of the HKE — the Iranian co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) — is touring Australia to speak on the subject of Khomeini's Islamic "revolution". The Spartacist League prints here some questions for Fallahi — questions about this so-called "revolution" which wages Persian-chauvinist war on Iran's national minorities, enslaves women in segregation and the veil, and sends gangs of religious-fanatic murderers onto campuses to kill leftists — and questions about the complicity of the HKE in these atrocities through its continued support for mullahs' rule. Any representative of a *real* revolution would need to have no fear

of such questions, but not so Fatima Fallahi: she needs to be protected from them. Instead of seeking the widest possible audience in the left and workers movement to tell the story of this "revolution", Fallahi speaks at meetings from which *all supporters of the Spartacist League are systematically excluded!* Such privatised "forums" benefit only the counterrevolutionary regime Fallahi supports.

The SWP excludes Spartacist supporters from all its public meetings on years-old spurious charges of "disruption" (read: posing embarrassing political questions). But *this* speaker, an apologist for mullahs' terror in Iran, does not

have the courage to face our questions because to do so would expose her as a supporter of Khomeini's rampaging gangs of murderers, and thus partly responsible for their crimes. Fatima Fallahi: we say *the blood of Khomeini's victims is on your hands!* That is why you hide behind a *veil of exclusion!*

Fallahi's "public" meetings are a fraud to mask the betrayals of the HKE in Iran; we think this will be clear to anyone who makes the effort to study the facts. We ask all those who have been interested in what Fallahi has to say to examine the *questions Fatima Fallahi cannot answer.*

☆ ☆ ☆

1. In April of this year lumpen gangs and Khomeini-loyal students organised by the mullahs went on a rampage through Iran's campuses to eradicate all traces of "Marxist influence" on them. Dozens of leftists were killed; hundreds more injured. Yet the HKE — as opposed to **all other Iranian left groups** — hailed these bloody purges as "a revolutionary action", and disgustingly cited the "resistance of the leaders of the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen" for sparking off the killings of **their own members!** In what way was this murderous onslaught, or your party's vile defence of it, "revolutionary"?

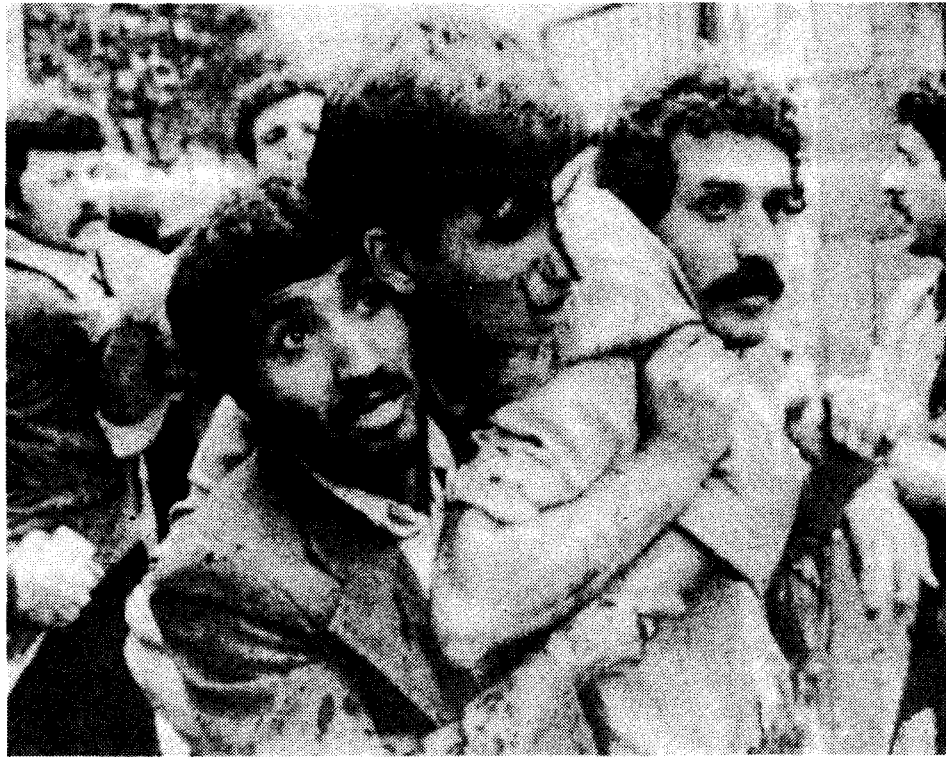
2. When you were jailed, Fatima Fallahi, the international Spartacist tendency demonstrated for your release, despite the sectarian splitting tactics of your SWP "comrades". Why don't you now perform the elementary duty of any would-be socialist and help **defend** the Iranian left from right-wing attacks? You fail to perform this duty because your party **supports** this sinister government **against** the left. How is it that your release comes just at the same time as your party's support for the seizure of the Iranian campuses by Islamic thugs — something the US SWP's *Militant* (9 May) made much of by running a photobox on your release as a companion to its translation of the HKE's statement on the campus events? Just a coincidence? We think not.

3. In Iran there is another group, the HKS, which the leaders of the HKE were members of until late last year. Both the HKS and the HKE are recognised as "sections" by the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), to which the SWP also belongs. Yet the HKS has **opposed** the campus takeovers. Does the HKE support the mullahs' attacks on your former comrades of the HKS? What is the USec position on the takeovers? Which of its "Iranian sections" does the USec think is right?

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Intercontinental Press



HKE treachery rewarded, April 1980: Fallahi freed from prison (left) as campus leftists face Islamic terror (right).