

Kennedy, Carter:

Not a Dime's Worth of Difference!

From about the time of Robert Kennedy's death in 1968, it has been widely assumed that the presidency of the United States would pass to the next and last in line of the Kennedy brothers, "Teddy." It was only a matter of time—and political timing. Now is the time, with the polls counting Carter's popularity even below Nixon's when he was forced to resign. So after a prolonged period of teasing, hinting, primping and posing, Kennedy has at last satisfied his admirers, coyly letting it be known that he had finally secured his mother's permission to go all the way.

Among those admirers who make up the "draft Kennedy" committees across the nation are many of the labor bureaucrats and black misleaders who sold Carter as a "friend of labor" and "man of the people" in the last election. These Democratic loyalists and class betrayers will do it again for their party, but they would rather have a fresh face, particularly the face of a Kennedy to sell for the capitalists. Revolutionists warn as we did with Carter: the Democrats and Republicans are the parties of capital. Kennedy is not fundamentally different from Carter.

Before Jimmy Carter became the pollsters' most unpopular president in U.S. history, Teddy and the Camelot gang seemed to be looking to the presidential campaign of 1984. After all, why should they want to challenge a sitting president, causing a nasty split in their party and making a Republican victory all the more likely? But with Carter totalled, Kennedy can ride in like the Ajax cleanser white knight to save the Democrats from nearly certain defeat.

It is not only the Democratic Party presidency at stake, however. Carter's



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Build a Workers Party!

colossal unpopularity is due not merely to his political stupidities, sermonette solutions and general ineffectiveness. Carter is also a self-made symbol of a punishing economy with its uncontrollable inflation, mass layoffs, shortages amid plenty—grinding a new generation of blacks and Hispanics into desperate poverty: driving workers onto gas lines and unemployment lines, and panicking sections of the middle class. Much of the dismay and anger is focused on Jimmy Carter who blames the American people

for "a loss of faith."

The problems of American capitalism are real, serious, and in the long run terminal. But the bourgeoisie portrays the problem as a crisis of confidence. School children are taught that the "Great Depression" was caused by such a crisis of confidence, that money has "value" because people believe in it, and more such wisdom suited to the realm of Oz. The elaborate theatricality of U.S. bourgeois electoral politics is staged to obscure the fact that the real issues in America are class issues. But Carter's sermons have backfired. The American public has no confidence in Jimmy. They do not believe in his baloney that Americans have no confidence in themselves. Carter's religious act has not worked and he has been given the hook as a more seasoned performer heads for the oval stage.

The style of modern American bourgeois politics is conditioned by the absence of an organized mass political expression of the working class. If, as the saying goes, "the business of America is business," the style of American politics is style. That is what Teddy had to offer capitalism in its time of need. Matters of style are even more accentuated because there has rarely been such consensus within bourgeois politics. There is no great issue of imperialist strategy like the Vietnam

war which divides the capitalist politicians; they have an amazing amount of agreement even on small issues and particularly on the economy. Not only does Teddy have the same economic programs as Carter, he also has the same program of moral uplift, although the style is more secular, slicker, efficient. The only question is who will deliver the sermons and in what regional accents.

Kennedy has come not only to bury Carter, and to save the Democratic party, but to do a job for the entire capitalist class. The ruling class needs a man for one economic season: *austerity*. And they want a president who can "inspire," that is, enforce, austerity upon the working people. Another Kennedy will tell Americans "what they can do for their country": eat less, take home less wages, pay more, drive less, sacrifice more—not in the name of god perhaps, but in the name of country and some hyped-up Madison Avenue "frontier."

Kennedy as Carter

Running for president in 1960 during a period of economic stagnation, John F. Kennedy promised to "get this country moving again." But today his younger brother is promising nothing, absolutely nothing. Here in a nutshell is Ted Kennedy's current economic wis-

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Down With the State of Emergency in Sri Lanka!...4

SWP Bows to Khomeini, Runs from Spartacist League

Bay Area: Daniel Ellsberg, Kay Boyle Honor SL Picket

Mullah Lovers' Exclusion Backfires

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party is in political hot water. It is unable to answer the Spartacist League's exposure of its criminal tailing of Islamic reaction in Iran. Instead, it has opted for the cowardly, reformist expedients of slander and exclusion. Thus all around the country the SWP is desperately trying to keep the SL from attending demonstrations and rallies called to defend the lives of 14 imprisoned members of the Iranian HKS (Socialist Workers Party of Iran).

The only justification the SWP has ever given for this policy is that the SL demand, "Down with Khomeini—For Workers Revolution in Iran!" is "provocative" and a "disruption." This is getting to be a hard proposition to defend now that Khomeini's executioners prepare to butcher the jailed HKSers. And the SWP's criminal policy of excluding the SL, the one tendency that refused to swear fealty to the reactionary "Islamic Revolution," is backfiring. Even the SWP's liberal friends and favorite trade-union bureaucrats are beginning to object to its blatantly anti-democratic exclusions.

On September 14 the SWP barred nine trade-union militants and SL supporters from attending a rally here to free the imprisoned HKSers. Among those denied entry by the SWP goon squad stationed outside the Retail Clerks Union (RCU) Local 1100 hall, the meeting site, were executive board members of ILWU Locals 6 and 10, several stewards from San Francisco Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and militants from the UAW and International Typographers Union. When it became clear that the SWP would admit no one who didn't lick the slippers of Khomeini, the ILWU members told the SWP that they intended to lodge a protest with RCU Local 1100 president Walter Johnson. SWPer Lou Jones sneered, "You do that. See if I care."

At this point, an SL spokesman told Jones that the meeting was public, that the SL had the right to attend, that Jones and his gang did not constitute a serious physical obstacle to attendance, but that the SL chose instead to protest the SWP's provocative exclusion by setting up a picket line. Several dozen additional SL supporters who had been waiting in anticipation of just such an

exclusion were summoned and a picket line was established.

Among the placards carried by the spirited marchers were: "Usec/SWP Line Kills Arabs, Kurds, Leftists!" "SWP Criminal Tailism in Iran: History Takes its Vengeance", and "Usec Revisionists Have Blood of Iranian Workers on their Hands!"

The chants included: "SWP: You Cheered for Khomeini, But You're Not Cheering Now!" "Not Usec Tailism, But an Iranian Trotskyist Party," "Last Autumn You Said Khomeini's Fine, It's Kind of Late to Change Your Line!" "Not Cultural Autonomy but Kurdish Self-Determination," and "SWP: If the Boot Fits, Lick It!"

Kay Boyle, Ellsberg Refuse to Cross Picket Line

So far, this anti-communist exclusion was just business as usual for the SWP social democrats. So the SWP was stung when two of its featured speakers from Amnesty International, Kay Boyle and Daniel Ellsberg, refused to cross the SL picket line. Kay Boyle discussed the exclusion at length with both the SWP and excluded ILWU executive board members Stan Gow and Bob Mandel. She ended up shaking Mandel's hand in front of the SWPers, then turned to them and demanded that she be taken home. Daniel Ellsberg drove up, saw the picket line protesting the exclusion, and left.

The 28 September issue of the SWP's

Militant whined about how the SL protest all but ruined the SWP's meeting—and then the Spartacists had the nerve to applaud Boyle and Ellsberg for refusing to cross a picket line to address a politically exclusionist "public meeting."

The Militant Lies (Again)

Caught out, the SWP is squealing like a stuck pig (but rather more slanderously). The *Militant* article by one Bob Capistrano claims that "more than 30 members of the Spartacist League... tried to march into the rally." Indeed we did not—though this would have been a perfectly principled response to political exclusion from a publicly advertised forum! It would serve the SWP right for a large group of working-class militants to thus enforce workers democracy.

The *Militant* article's main theme is that "The Spartacists placed their factional hatred for the SWP above the lives of the imprisoned socialists." *This is the height of hypocrisy coming from the people who have used physical force to keep the SL out of meetings and demonstrations to defend the HKS!* In fact, the SL was demanding a vigorous defense of the HKS and other victims of Khomeini's white terror while the SWP was still shrinking from publicizing the HKS case which exposes so nakedly the reactionary nature of Khomeini's regime. On June 22, for instance, the Bay Area SWP boycotted a Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration

called around the slogans "Free the imprisoned HKS and Fedayeen Supporters!" and "Stop Khomeini's Government's Attacks on the National Minorities and Women of Iran!" To date the Bay Area SWP has yet to hold a single demonstration in solidarity with any of Khomeini's victims, including the HKS.

SWP/HKS/Usec: You flinch in the face of the Spartacist League's accusations and charge us with blind "factional hatred." *In fact, all militant workers should feel revolutionary hatred for your policies in Iran!* You told the workers of Iran that Khomeini was a "progressive," that he was "anti-imperialist." Now the HKS pays the price.

Today Khomeini guns down Arabs, Kurds, and other national minorities. Yet you still refuse to take a forthright stand for the right of these national minorities to self-determination. Today Khomeini orchestrates a campaign of white terror: unions are attacked; workers parties are outlawed, their members jailed, beaten and executed. Women, especially, and the populace as a whole suffer under the hideous code of feudal morality of the mullahs. Yet you still refuse to call for the overthrow of Khomeini's regime, but instead beseech these clerical reactionaries to adopt your parliamentary-cretinist "Bill of Rights for Working People."

In March the SWPers sneered when a

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Scab Presidential Candidate Speaks in Detroit

SWP: "No Black Trotskyists Allowed"

DETROIT—Twenty Spartacist League supporters picketed the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) office here September 9 with signs reading, "SWP Excludes Black Trotskyists," "Laid-Off Chrysler Workers Excluded by SWP for Fighting for Sit-Down Strikes" and "Defend Workers Democracy." Inside the hall, the featured speaker was SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. Having admittedly scabbed on the railway clerks strike in Chicago last year, Pulley was well-prepared to cross the SL picket line.

The picket of Pulley's forum was thrown up to protest the SWP's racist exclusion of black members of the Spartacist League from its so-called "public events," a practice begun after the Detroit SWP's film showing/discussion on Malcolm X last February. Since then SL pickets have embarrassed the SWP before the socialist public in Detroit to the point that it felt compelled to issue an "Open Letter" in July to justify the exclusions. The "Open Letter" accuses the SLers of "disruption" for not being willing to "abide by forum discussion policy."

Everyone present at the February 11 forum knows it was actually the SWPers who disrupted—by shouting down black SL spokesman Topaz Knight. Knight pointed out that Malcolm X was beginning to see the importance of the woman question,



"You, you, you and you!"

WV Photo

while the SWP tailed after the mullahs who were reimposing the veil on Iranian women. This "disruption" was the SWP's excuse for the anti-democratic, anti-communist, racist exclusion. But for authentic Trotskyists—unlike the apologists for Khomeini, who help get their own comrades of the Iranian HKS killed—fighting the veil is not "off the topic." The real point is that the SWP

cannot defend its suicidal line on Iran and its usual tactic of race-baiting does not work so well against black Trotskyists. When asked at the September 9 forum why SLers were being excluded, the SWP spokesman replied: "Not everyone is being excluded—just you, you, you and you," pointing to every black supporter of the Spartacist League

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Dodge Main workers rally on June 2 against Chrysler's mass layoffs and threatened plant closure.

WV Photo

No to the Auto Sellout!

DETROIT—Two and a half hours before the midnight, September 14 contract deadline, General Motors had what it wanted: a sweetheart contract agreed to by the leaders of the United Auto Workers (UAW) without a strike. UAW president Doug Fraser and vice president Irving Bluestone made the announcement to the press. "An excellent settlement," they said, "momentous" and "historic." Grinning and backslapping for the cameras, the union leaders praised GM's "affirmative attitude." It was the first time since 1964 that the UAW settled without even a token walkout against its "target" company.

But it was GM that had reason to be smiling. Exploiting the union bureaucracy's obvious unwillingness to strike, the corporation got a contract which will give it a free hand to eliminate thousands of additional jobs while drastically worsening the conditions for those who remain in the plants. The demand for a shorter workweek was abandoned and management's existing rights to schedule virtually unlimited overtime were left unchallenged. The union agreed to a substantial pay differential for new hires, while the company was given the green light to implement a tough, new absentee policy with the UAW's blessing. For auto workers this will add up to even more job overloading, speedup and company harassment.

In our last issue we warned that if the Fraser bureaucracy had its way, auto workers would "have to accept a chicken-feed settlement only to be handed their pink slips after the contract is ratified." But the companies aren't even waiting for ratification. With the ink barely dry on the GM pact, on Friday, September 21 Chrysler laid off indefinitely a whole shift at the Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit. This is what's in store for all auto workers if this sweetheart deal goes down.

But the UAW ranks don't have to take this kick in the guts lying down. GM workers must throw this sellout deal back in the faces of the auto bosses and their flunkies in Solidarity House. UAW militants must mobilize the membership to fight for an *industrywide strike* throughout North America, combined with *sitdown strikes* in plants hit by mass layoffs.

Even Less Than '76

Not only is there no new money in the tentative agreement—there is even

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less than before. The estimated aggregate increase of 33 percent is smaller than that won in 1973 although inflation is much higher now—14 percent annually. The settlement is also less than those approved by the Carter government for Teamsters and rubber workers. The traditional (since 1948!) "annual improvement factor" of 3 percent has been retained and the cost-of-living formula will remain unchanged until September 1982. COLA on pensions, which Fraser touted as the union's top priority in 1979, was junked when GM claimed it was "too costly and unpredictable." Instead, retirees will receive meager three-times-yearly benefit adjustments—to be paid for by deducting an eventual total of 14 cents an hour from the COLA of employed auto workers!

But GM fully expects to cover even these modest pay and benefit increases through a massive new productivity drive. Fraser handed the bosses a major weapon to divide younger workers from high-seniority employees by agreeing to pay rates for new hires 60 cents below base wage. The recovery provision which formerly allowed new hires to regain most of that money once off probation has been abolished.

Solidarity House also committed itself to helping GM police the plants for absenteeism. The UAW will participate with management on a newly established "National Committee on Attendance." Ominously, the International circulated letters to GM locals urging them to work out with management new programs to deal with "unwarranted absences"—thereby allowing auto workers to be picked off plant by plant!

Thus GM is readying itself for a major new speed-up drive. Older workers who cannot take the grueling

pace or will not accept company infringements of union standards will be threatened with replacement by lower-paid new hires who have no union protection. At its Fremont, California plant, GM's already-launched productivity campaign has forced over 400 workers to seek medical leaves-of-absence.

New Layoffs Ahead

There is already considerable disgruntlement in the plants over the proposed settlement. To sell this rotten deal, the UAW bureaucracy is banking on the hope that the membership will be reluctant to strike during an economic downturn. With 80,000 auto workers already on the streets and more layoffs projected, the fight for jobs is a central issue in this contract. Fraser says that the few more paid personal holidays (PPH) granted under the contract are a step to a four-day week. This is pure bunk. Auto workers, who are forced to work grueling overtime, do not even have a five-day week! And PPH, based on perfect attendance, is nothing but a disguised absentee control plan. It has nothing to do with fighting layoffs.

The contract at Ford undoubtedly will closely parallel GM's tentative agreement, but the worst is yet to come for the Chrysler workers. Fraser has already promised "special consideration" for the failing No. 3 auto maker. And Lee Iacocca, Chrysler's newly installed chief executive, clearly got the news. Employees at the Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit got an early taste of the fiscal "responsibility" which the government has required of the union in order for Chrysler to qualify for a government handout. Just one week after the signing of the "historic" agreement with GM, 2,000 Lynch Road workers

showed up at the plant only to be told that their jobs no longer existed. Detroit police were summoned as the enraged workers initially refused to disperse. In the days prior to the cutback, rumors of a layoff spread through the plant and, with no hope of support from the cowards in the International, workers reportedly resorted to widespread sabotage.

With 27,000 already laid-off hourly workers at Chrysler, a pink slip means almost immediate destitution, since the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funds are nearly exhausted. Chrysler workers must respond to the wholesale liquidation of their jobs with militant sitdowns. If management pleads bankruptcy the workers must seize company assets! Not a dime for the stockholders and coupon clippers who have milked the corporation dry—every penny must go to the workers who have sweated out their lives in these pits. Such a militant defiance of the bosses' sacred private property rights could spark a real industrywide strike for a shorter workweek, with a big pay boost and full COLA protection for active and retired UAW members. This is the only way to provide auto workers with the jobs, decent wages, benefits and working conditions that they need.

Fraser's the One!

With their backs against the wall, the UAW ranks have no choice but to fight to protect their jobs and living standards. But nothing except treachery can be expected from Fraser and his cohorts. Fraser is the "leader" who criticized Chrysler for giving in to militants who seized an electrical power station in August 1973 at the Jefferson Avenue plant in Detroit and threw the switch in protest over the abuses of a racist foreman. It was he who personally mobilized a 1,000-man goon squad later that month to crush a sit-down strike a few miles away at the Mack Avenue stamping plant. On the eve of his accession to the UAW presidency, then-Chrysler Department head Fraser broke the back of a militant 12-day wildcat by Indianapolis Chrysler workers in March 1977 following a foreman's assault on a union steward. And, as International president, Fraser abandoned a bitter nine-month strike by mostly women workers in Elwood, Indiana who struggled valiantly against armed

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Fraser on September 14: sellout time at GM headquarters.

WV Photo

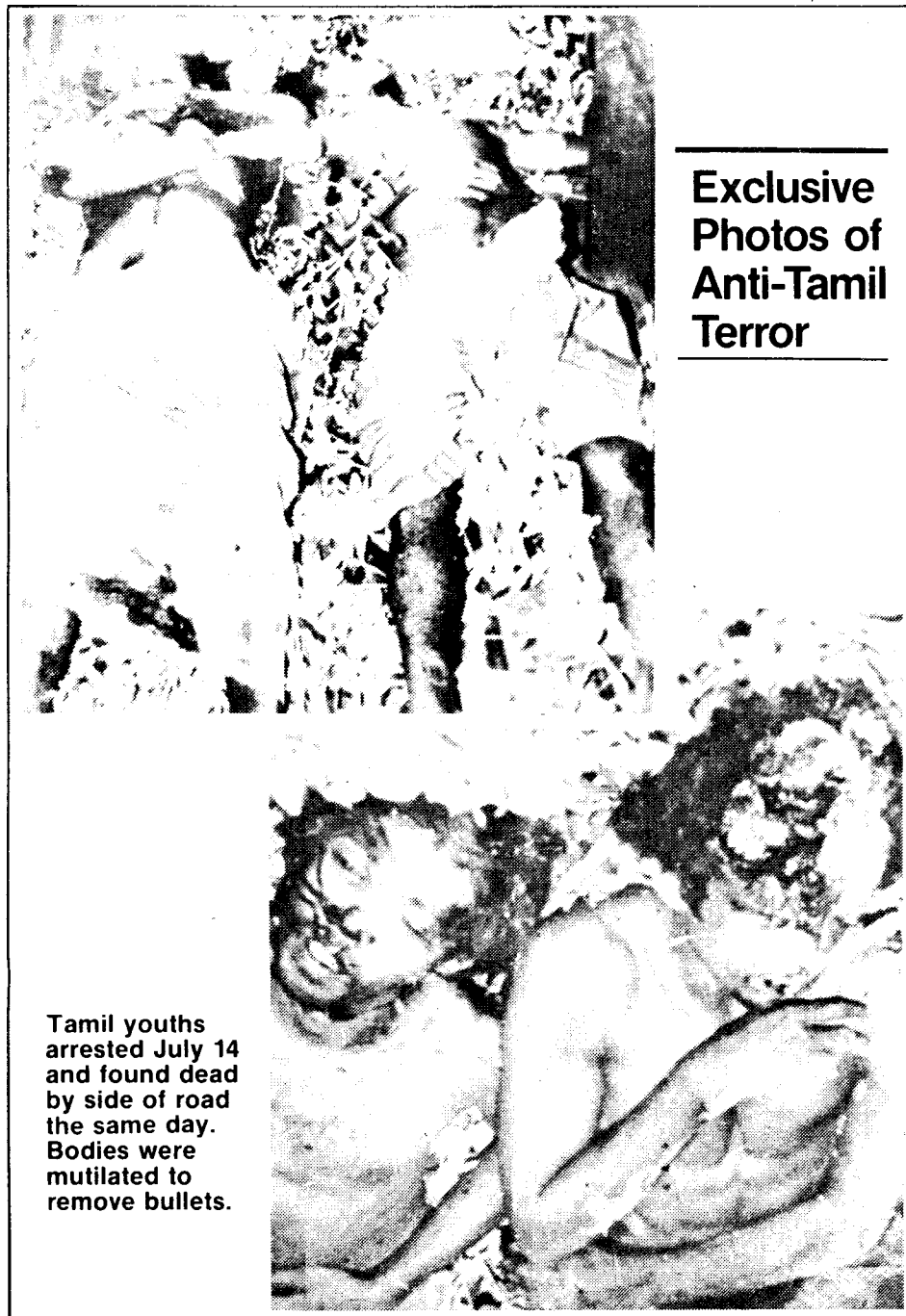
Down with State of Emergency in Sri Lanka!

During the last two months on the island of Ceylon, the United National Party (UNP) government headed by President J.R. Jayewardene has imposed a regime of police-state repression on the oppressed Tamil-speaking minority. Using as a pretext alleged incidents of Tamil terrorism, the cabinet on July 11 declared a state of emergency in Jaffna, in the northern district populated predominantly by the Indian-derived Hindu Tamils. The following week the UNP rushed through parliament sweeping draconian legislation called the "Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act."

Under this act the armed forces and police are free to terrorize and even murder with impunity, while the government has at hand a mailed fist of reactionary sanctions that could be used at any time to smash political opposition. In particular, they will be used to suppress opposition to the economic austerity measures recently imposed by the openly capitalist Jayewardene regime, which is no less Buddhist/Sinhala chauvinist than the preceding Bandaranaike/LSSP/CP popular front. The anti-working-class measures include drastic cuts in the food subsidies on which millions depend for their daily existence.

When the emergency was declared, Jayewardene gave the following marching orders under presidential seal to Brigadier Tissa Weeraratunga, his nephew, who had been appointed chief of staff of the Sri Lanka army shortly after the UNP took office two years ago: "It will be your duty to eliminate in accordance with the laws of the land the menace of terrorism in all its forms from the island, and especially from the Jaffna district." And acting accordingly, the military/police forces have made their terrorism the law of the land in Jaffna District.

Although the government has clamped strict censorship on all coverage of the emergency, the authorities have not been able to completely suppress news of the terror unleashed against the Tamils. It has become known that three days after the imposition of the emergency two Tamil youth were taken from their homes by the police. Later the same day they were found dead by the side of a public road, killed by blasts of gunfire and badly mutilated (see exclusive photos of this atrocity above). It is also known that a third youth, who had been arrested on



Tamil youths arrested July 14 and found dead by side of road the same day. Bodies were mutilated to remove bullets.

Exclusive Photos of Anti-Tamil Terror

July 13, was assaulted by the police and succumbed to his injuries while under detention in the Jaffna prison.

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of a number of Tamils arrested by the police is unknown, as is the fate of others remanded to Jaffna Prison on orders from magistrates. Under the emergency regulations, the armed forces are empowered to enter any premises and to arrest without obtaining a warrant. They may also detain prisoners for up to 15 days anywhere the inspector general of police decides. Trial by jury and just

about every other legal right of the defendant are denied in cases prosecuted under this act.

Initially, the act also empowered the police to seize and dispose of corpses in any way without a coroner's inquiry to determine the cause of death. However, this sanction was withdrawn after the Tamils living in the area where the police murdered the two youths on July 14 closed their shops and businesses in protest. Yet under the emergency act even this protest could be deemed terroristic and punishable with sentences of up to 20 years.

So far the communalist drumbeaters of the UNP have been successful. It has not been challenged by militant action of the working class, even though the cuts in consumer subsidies and the repressive powers sanctioned by the emergency act threaten Sinhalese working people as well. The bourgeois Hong Kong-published *Far Eastern Economic Review*, commenting in its 10 August issue on the cuts in the rice ration already introduced by the UNP, noted with evident surprise: "The political backlash from the most affected urban working class was nowhere near as bad as it might have been."

But this is a testimony not so much to mass support for the UNP as to the mass disaffection with the traditional reformist workers parties—the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP)—

which supported and participated in the popular-front governments of the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which predominated in the period 1964-77. During these years the LSSP and CP enabled "Mrs. B" (as former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike is widely called) to break strikes, drive down the living standards of the working people, foment virulent anti-Tamil chauvinism and massacre thousands of young leftists who participated in the 1971 rebellion.

No wonder the reformists' cynical exhortations for mass opposition to the government cuts in food subsidies today largely fall on deaf ears. Routed in the general elections of July 1977 that swept the UNP into office in a landslide vote, the CP and LSSP two years later are still widely despised. It was not sheer cynicism that led J.R. Jayewardene to attend the recent funeral of LSSP leader N.M. Perera (who had been a top minister in the Bandaranaike coalition government) and eulogize this veteran reformist with the farewell, "Well done, thou true and faithful servant, well done" (*Ceylon Daily News*, 30 August).

But a New Left that has emerged around the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) does pose more of a threat to the UNP. As a result of its 1971 uprising against the Bandaranaike popular front, the JVP is seen by many—especially the youth, women and even some Tamils in urban centers—as the only repository of militancy on the island. Its politics, however, are really nothing more than a "new left" version of Stalinist popular frontism, a kind of class-collaborationism-with-a-gun reminiscent of the Chilean MIR.

Thus today no less than under the LSSP/CP/SLFP coalition, intransigent proletarian opposition to popular frontism remains the touchstone of a revolutionary perspective on Sri Lanka. Support, however "critical," to any component of the popular front is a roadblock to winning over on a principled basis subjectively revolutionary youth from the layer of militants that coalesced around the New Left Stalinist JVP.

Skimpy Carrot, Big Stick

The emergency powers give the UNP regime a ready weapon to use against the working class and Sinhalese petty bourgeoisie in the event the government's economic policies provoke resistance. Jayewardene is committed to drastically reducing state food subsidies, since the International Monetary Fund and other imperialist agencies made such cutbacks a condition for their aid to the UNP government. For more than 30 years the government has subsidized basic foodstuffs and provided free medical services and education. It could do so in large measure on the basis of the superexploitation of the British extracted from the Tamil plantation laborers. Now the UNP and its imperialist patrons can no longer afford to expend over \$200 million annually while the economy is ever more squeezed between soaring market prices internationally and stagnation domestically.

After the rice ration was eliminated for better-paid workers in February of 1978, the UNP now has dumped the entire food subsidy system, offering in



Asiaweek

Government troops attack Tamil demonstrators in Jaffna in 1977.

its place food and fuel stamps for workers earning less than \$65 a month (see *New York Times*, 11 September). Even with the stamps most workers will not be able to maintain their meager standard of living, given the runaway inflation and chronic shortages of basic necessities. If the trade unions or opposition parties mount any serious struggle against the government policies, the UNP is already prepared for emergency action. Jayewardene has a "strong state" now: an increasingly bonapartist regime that is closely linked to the military high command, through both political and familial ties.

With the declaration of emergency in the north and the enactment of such sweeping repressive legislation Jayewardene, while claiming to protect parliamentary democracy in Sri Lanka, has actually taken significant steps to make the central executive power more and more independent of legislative controls. After the UNP came to power, Prime Minister Jayewardene created the office of president so that he and his cabinet could wield more power than traditionally held by the prime minister. In addition, the UNP regime revised the election laws such that a candidate must poll a certain percentage of the vote cast in his constituency in order to be elected—an anti-democratic system clearly intended to keep leftist parties like the JVP out of office.

With the enactment of the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" the minister of justice has been given extraordinary powers combined with significant autonomy from the control of parliament and the courts. For example, the minister can arbitrarily decide that a given person is "connected with or concerned in unlawful activity" under the emergency regulations and detain him for three months, although the detention could be extended up to 18 months. Likewise the minister could prohibit any person from addressing public meetings or from engaging in political activities under threat of imprisonment for up to five years. In neither case could the minister's action be appealed in court.

Armed with an arsenal of emergency powers, the Jayewardene regime intends to bring the Tamils in the north to heel and to impose its economic policies through the classic carrot-and-stick approach. Imposition of martial law in Jaffna was clearly intended to intimidate the masses of Tamils into submission—the actual incidence of even alleged Tamil terrorism has never assumed threatening proportions (over the last three years 15 policemen were killed, allegedly by Tamil separatists). Jayewardene would like to nip in the bud the "Liberation Tigers," young Tamil nationalists who reportedly number only several hundred, and is prepared to use the same kind of murderous repression unleashed against the leftist Sinhalese youth who participated in the 1971 insurrection.

The iron-fisted police-state measures directed against the Tamil minority

have been prepared by the reactionary communalist policies that the UNP has pursued since coming to power in 1977. Last year hundreds of Tamils were killed or injured, and many more were forced to flee north, when mobs of Sinhalese chauvinists ran amok in pogroms that were encouraged, if not fomented, by the UNP. At the same time the government has called for negotiations with the bourgeois politicians of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), who did not even protest the declaration of the state of emergency or the police/army rule in Jaffna. Here the carrot is the offer to discuss "devolution"—an autonomy ploy that would give TULF leaders a rationalization for shelving the demand for "Eelam" (a separate Tamil state), which they adopted reluctantly and reactively, and resume their role as respectable "statesmen" who since the 1977 elections command the largest opposition bloc in parliament.

Popular Front Paved the Way

Today the opposition parties that formed the last popular-front government—Bandaranaike's bourgeois SLFP, the LSSP and the CP—issue polite denunciations of the cuts in food subsidies and criticisms of UNP policy in handling the Tamils. These hypocritical protestations carry little credibility, however, coming from those who have long since become identified with viciously racist Sinhala chauvinism. The LSSP once championed the rights of the Tamil minority, demanding full citizenship rights for the plantation workers and equal status for the Tamil language. But with the overwhelming victory of the first SLFP government in 1956 on the basis of "Sinhala Only" communalism and calls for "Buddhist socialism" (against the Hindu Tamils), the LSSP's tendency toward narrow national-centeredness and preoccupation with parliamentarism began to blossom into full-scale class-collaborationism and Sinhala chauvinism.

The LSSP's slide into unprincipled coalitionism had already reached the stage of definitive capitulation when after the 1960 elections, which returned the SLFP to office, it announced a policy of "general support of the government." This culminated in 1964 with the formation of an SLFP/LSSP coalition government. One of the most notorious acts of this short-lived popular-front regime was the Sirima-Shastri Pact legalizing the forcible deportation of tens of thousands of Tamil plantation workers to India.

The latter, generally referred to on the island as the "Indian Tamils," were largely landless "low caste" peasants brought from southern India by the British to work the upland coffee (later tea) plantations in the middle of the last century and have been denied all citizenship rights since independence. In contrast, the "Ceylon Tamils" of the north and the eastern coast, whose ancestors inhabited the island more

than a thousand years ago, were allowed to retain their representation in parliament even after the "Indian Tamils" were disenfranchised.

Bandaranaike's coalition government fell after only eight months, brought down by the principled opposition of two Members of Parliament from the left wing of the LSSP, Edmund Samarakkody and Meryl Fernando, who refused to vote approval for the work of the bourgeois popular front. Six years later Sri Lanka was again under a coalition government, this time of the SLFP/LSSP/CP, and "Sinhala Only" became the official government policy in every field. Thus the "Ceylon Tamil" intelligentsia, who had enjoyed enhanced access to positions in the British colonial bureaucracy, by fiat became illiterate in the official language of their country. Buddhism was made the state

Front creates favorable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torment and sacrifice, if not by decades of fascist terror."

—"The New Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Fourth International"

In most cases, unleashing the expectations of the working class, politically disarmed by illusions that the popular front is "their" government, provokes in short order brutal right-wing military repression, as occurred in Spain in the 1930s and more recently in Chile. But a different variant was played out in Sri Lanka. The traditional workers parties were able to discipline the working masses so thoroughly that the popular front could run itself into the ground and openly reveal its bourgeois, counter-revolutionary character. In Sri Lan-



J.R. Jayewardene



Simon/Katherine Young
Sirimavo Bandaranaike

religion. And the "Indian Tamils" on the plantations bore the brunt of pervasive economic discrimination. Sinhalese chauvinism on the key issues of language rights, university admissions, land colonization and employment was more intense under the coalition than earlier under the former UNP regime, so that even the bourgeois Tamil leaders of the TULF felt compelled to adopt the demand for "Eelam."

Life for the Ceylonese working class grew ever more grim with each passing year of the popular front. What limited state control and nationalization of the economy was imposed by the government served only to stifle the motor of capitalism, producing stagnation, unemployment and parasitic bureaucratism. And when in 1971 the petty-bourgeois radical JVP launched an ill-prepared insurrection by un- and under-employed Sinhala ex-students, including many young women, the "socialist" coalition imposed a draconian state of emergency and unleashed the military and police to hound, murder, mutilate and maraud through the insurgent-held areas.

After seven years of popular-front government, which brought nothing but false promises and privation, the masses enthusiastically returned to office a nakedly Tory party in a country where even the Buddhist monks speak of socialism. Popular frontism, as Leon Trotsky wrote, is together with fascism the last defense of the bourgeoisie against proletarian revolution. But while collaboration in the capitalist government with the parties of the class enemy by the reformist misleaders may deflect the workers' struggle, the popular front cannot provide the bourgeoisie with a stable political solution. In a July 1936 article Trotsky forcefully argued this point in respect to the Spanish popular front:

"Incapable of solving a single one of the tasks posed by the revolution—since all these tasks boil down to one, namely, the crushing of the bourgeoisie—the People's Front renders the existence of the bourgeois regime impossible and thereby provokes the fascist coup d'état. By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralyzing their will to struggle, the People's

ka the coalition government itself carried out the bloody repression of the insurgent masses.

But the reformist working-class parties of the popular front reaped the bitter fruits of their betrayal. Along with Mrs. B's resounding defeat in the 1977 elections (the SLFP lost 72 of 81 MPs!), the LSSP and CP lost every single one of their parliamentary seats, including some they had held continuously for 40 years! Today the LSSP is a stinking corpse. After the debacle at the polls in 1977, a section of its cadres scurried like rats from the sinking ship, launching the "LSSP (New Leadership)." The latter's main difference with the N.M. Perera/Leslie Goonewardena/Colvin De Silva old guard is that the LSSP should have played a more "independent, militant" role in the coalition. Such after-the-fact excuses are the stock in trade of reformist betrayers, from the surviving leaders of the Indonesian CP decimated in 1965 to the Chilean Stalinists after the fall of Allende.

Today the LSSP is rightly hated by the masses who identify it with racism, mass murder and economic impoverishment. Its apparatus is moribund, its Colombo office closed, its unions left to drift, and the largest public meeting that the LSSP has recently been able to muster was the funeral for N.M. Perera. Even the miserable Communist Party was able to mobilize more supporters than the LSSP at its last May Day rally. But it is the JVP, which at its May Day demonstration attracted some 60,000, that now appears to the masses as the only militant opposition. Thus in Ceylon, where for decades ostensible Trotskyism has been the historic left wing, the total bankruptcy of the LSSP has allowed a new generation of Stalinists to gain the ascendancy. The task of an authentic Trotskyist nucleus on the island is above all to break this hold of the popular-frontists-with-a-gun by posing itself as the only consistent opponent of class collaboration in all its forms.

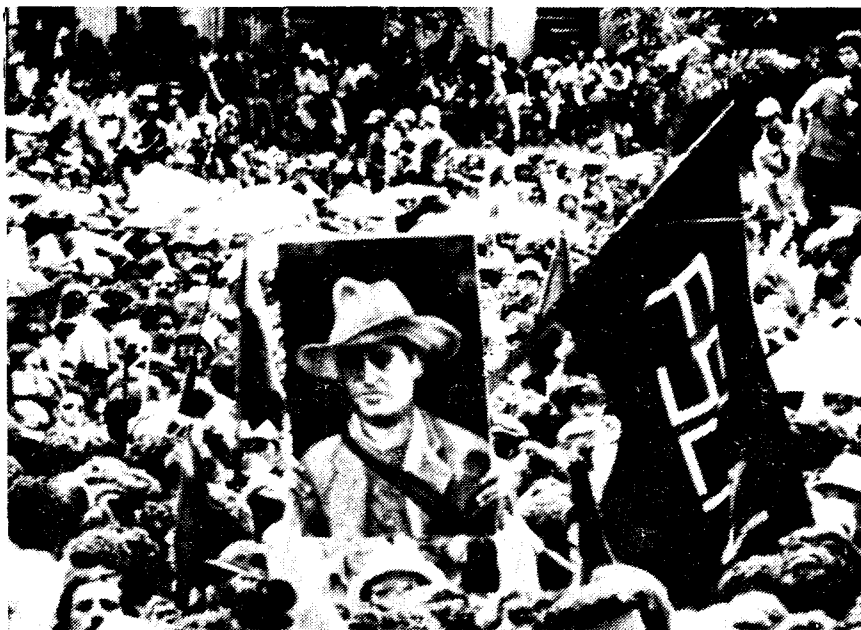
Sri Lanka today is anything but politically stable. Not without reason does the UNP fear a mass protest

continued on page 11



JVP suspects rounded up during 1971 revolt—12,000 were murdered by the popular front.

Revolution in Nicaragua and the Left



The petty-bourgeois nationalist spirit of Sandino dominates the revolution in Nicaragua.

(continued from page 12)

and must be roundly condemned by all would-be socialists. But this is not what the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) thought of it. The SWP did not protest at all. In fact, it issued four different "explanations" of the Sandinista repression against the ostensibly Trotskyist leaders of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, one of which consisted of quoting without comment a statement by the Nicaraguan ministry of the interior. Moreover, the SWP's explanations not only shamelessly support the FSLN government against their own "comrades," but they join in the witch-hunt themselves. An August 21 SWP Political Committee declaration entitled "New U.S. Propaganda Drive Against Nicaragua" states:

"The Simón Bolívar Brigade was organized by the Colombian PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party), under the direction of an international grouping known as the 'Bolshevik Faction,' led by Nahuel Moreno....

"In the case of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, the Bolshevik Faction never consulted the Fourth International about this project or about the policies the Brigade followed. These policies ran counter to the policies decided by the leadership bodies of the Fourth International.

"Through the Simón Bolívar Brigade the Bolshevik Faction led young militants from several Latin American countries—people who wanted to help the fight against Somoza—into a sectarian adventure. Masquerading as a section of the Sandinista Front (FSLN), the Simón Bolívar Brigade entered Nicaragua from the outside to engage in its own organizing efforts along the lines of 'outflanking' the Sandinistas on the left. Their tactic was to up the ante in what the Sandinistas were saying, trying in this way to build a counterforce to them.

"This grotesque idea—that people from the outside can maneuver to capture the leadership of the revolution from those who have emerged in the course of the struggle—has nothing whatever to do with Trotskyism, revolutionary socialism.

"The unfortunate episode of the Simón Bolívar Brigade was just what the Carter administration was waiting for."
—*Militant*, 31 August

In another article in the same issue of the *Militant*, on "The Facts About the Simón Bolívar Brigade," the SWP labels the Managua workers demonstration a "provocative clash" and accuses the leaders of the Brigade of having "acted irresponsibly." Again, the "fact"-sheet charges that the Brigade's attempts to "outflank [the FSLN] from the left" had "absolutely nothing in common with the position of the Fourth International." And it ostentatiously washes its hands of any association: "The Fourth International is in no way responsible for the activities of the Brigade." Quite a mouthful coming from people who are formally part of the same "International."

The SWP's response to the expulsion of the Bolívar Brigaders was the most naked stab in the back by a section of the fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat (USec) since its supporters in Portugal

found themselves on opposite sides of the barricades in the summer of 1977. But what about the other wings of this pseudo-Fourth International, long accustomed to the dirtiest of factional tricks? Those sections associated with the former International Majority Tendency of Ernest Mandel were less virulent than the SWP in their attacks on the Morenoite-led Brigade, at most clucking their tongues at the FSLN-ordered repression. Thus the newspaper of the French LCR, *Rouge* (24-30 August), felt constrained to condemn the remarks of agrarian reform minister Wheelock, who in announcing the deportations launched a diatribe against "Trotskyism and all those who want to accelerate the evolution of the regime in Nicaragua." Of course, on the next page the editors published a friendly interview with the same Wheelock, remarking favorably on his revolutionary credentials.

As to the expulsions themselves, the LCR statement said only that "It is rather unlikely, whatever may be the political differences, that 60 foreigners could pose a real problem for a revolutionary leadership enjoying immense popular support." Supposedly, then, if leftists did pose a real threat to the Sandinista regime, the LCR would begin foaming at the mouth like the rabid SWP! By the next issue, *Rouge* (31 August-6 September) could only bring itself to complain that "the terms in which the Nicaraguan government decreed the expulsion of 'foreign' militants constitute a disturbing prece-

dent." Finally, a resolution by the LCR central committee (published in the 7-13 September *Rouge*) screwed up its courage to utter the mildest of formal protests, declaring that the expulsions themselves "constitute an unacceptable precedent." Anyone counting on such "militant solidarity" to back him against anti-communist repression had better forget it.

But while *Rouge* was gradually escalating its adjectives from "disturbing" to "unacceptable," its man in Managua was taking a sharply different tack. According to the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (24 September), a USec delegation including LCR Latin American "expert" Jean-Pierre Beauvais (as well as Hugo Blanco, Peter Camejo, Barry Sheppard and others) handed a statement to the Sandinistas hailing "the revolutionary leadership of the FSLN" and declaring: "All activities which create divisions between the mobilized masses and the FSLN are contrary to the interests of the revolution." Dotting the i's and crossing the t's, it added: "This was the case specifically with the activities of the 'Simón Bolívar Brigade,'" which it termed "sectarian." And to top it off the USec delegation explicitly endorsed the expulsion:

"In a political and economic situation that required the greatest possible unity in struggle, the FSLN was right to demand that the non-Nicaraguan members of this group—which defined itself above all as a military organization—leave the country."

It is not reported whether Blanco/Camejo/Sheppard/Beauvais et al. re-

ceived thirty pieces of silver, although they clearly hope to cash in on their perfidy by becoming the authorized cheerleaders for the FSLN. But the roots of such treachery are political and go back more than a quarter of a century, to the refusal of Michel Pablo, then secretary of the Fourth International, to defend the Chinese Trotskyists jailed by Mao. He called them "refugees from a revolution" for refusing to bow to the new bureaucratic rulers in Peking. For Pablo it was part of his liquidationist program that led to the destruction of the Fourth International as the organized world revolutionary vanguard. In the case of his epigones it is the consequence of their Pabloist policies, which lead all wings of the USec to chase after non-proletarian, anti-Marxist leaderships—from the Chinese Stalinists to Portuguese army officers and now the Sandinista nationalists.

SWP: Reformist Through and Through and To the Core

We will have a good deal to say below about the charlatan-adventurer Nahuel Moreno and his pseudo-leftist Bolshevik Faction. But as regards the SWP, for anyone who still had doubts, the blow-up over the Simón Bolívar Brigade and the SWP's unconditional, almost hysterical political support to the FSLN are proof positive that it is reformist from head to toe. For more than a decade the Spartacist tendency has been unique in insisting that the long-since ex-Trotskyist SWP was committed to supporting the bourgeois order. This has been contested by those who are afraid to break definitively with the USec "family," and therefore argue that profession of formal Trotskyism indicates subjectively revolutionary will. (What about the Brezhnevite, Maoist and Castroite Stalinists who profess to be Leninists?) Here it is spelled out so that even the willfully blind can't miss it: support to a government of capitalists against left-wing opponents, explicit popular frontism, warnings against frightening the bourgeoisie, a parliamentarist program and a call on the imperialists to "aid," i.e., strangle, the revolution.

Having embarked this year on a campaign of unbridled adulation of the Castroite regime in Havana—SWP leader Jack Barnes, in a speech on the 20th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, termed Castro & Co. "superior to the Bolshevik leadership, once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that!"—the Socialist Workers Party is treating Sandinista Nicaragua as if it were already the "second Cuba" so feared by Washington. And following out their own Cuban precedent in justifying this backstabbing attack on the Morenoites, Barnes is clearly harking back to the SWP's refusal to defend the Cuban Trotskyists jailed by Castro. (The Spartacist tendency denounced this Stalinist repression and brought the case to the attention of the socialist public. See "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba," *WW* Nos. 223 and 224, 19 January and 2 February 1979, and "In Defense of the Cuban Trotskyists," *WW* No. 225, 16 February, for a recounting of the SWP's betrayal and the Trotskyist analysis of the development of the Cuban Revolution.)

However, by the time that the SWP became lawyers for Castro's repression of the Cuban Trotskyists, a social revolution had taken place on the island. Joseph Hansen was defending a Stalinist leadership of a bureaucratically deformed workers state against would-be communists who called for opening the road to socialism by internationalizing the revolution and instituting soviet democracy. In the present case, Hansen's apprentices are covering the left flank of a government including a number of capitalist ministers and committed to protecting the properties of the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." And the SWP defends this regime against all those "trying to

Morenoites brag of subordination to Sandinista nationalists.

an el campo de batalla cedió a otro con el que no...
nacional...
Peru...
Esperamos de...
Brigada Socialista...

A LOS COMPAÑEROS DE LA BRIGADA INTERNACIONAL SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

Compañero
Isidro C. Valencia—Coordinador en Colombia.
Compañero Voluntario de la Brigada Simón Bolívar.

Reciben un saludo revolucionario a nombre del Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional-FSLN.

La campaña que los adelantos en apoyo a la lucha del pueblo de Nicaragua contra la dictadura de Somoza, es un aliado para quienes venimos enfrentando la dura situación. Es también una demostración internacionalista que recoge las mejores expresiones de las luchas libertadoras.

El apoyo político de la Brigada Simón Bolívar es ya un hecho, tanto por lo que significa un contingente de centenares de voluntarios que se alistan en Colombia como en otros países, como por las actividades que ha venido desarrollando el primer contingente que se encuentra aquí en el Frente Sur.

La Brigada Simón Bolívar ha comenzado ya a hacer efectivos los planteamientos que le dieron origen. En estos momentos, junto con combatientes nicaragüenses, las primeras unidades están concentradas en los entrenamientos que son indispensables y entrañan, en un momento crucial, el destino de la Brigada Internacional Conjunta. De la misma manera, bajo el directa coordinación, miembros de la Brigada han venido participando en actividades de conformación de columna combatientes que hoy se a que trae en acción en el Frente Sur bajo la dirección del Estado Mayor.

La Brigada Simón Bolívar se proyecta no solo como una Brigada internacionalista, voluntarios latinoamericanos, sino de una Brigada integrada inmensamente con los combatientes y el pueblo de Nicaragua.

Es un reconocimiento a la tarea que los desarrollan y al que se un llamado a profundizar las acciones solidarias de este espíritu en Nicaragua y en América Latina.

PATRICK LIRIO O MEIR
Comandante del Frente Sur
Frente Sur, Julio 27 de 1979

COORDINADOR
Brigada "Simón Bolívar."

outflank it to the left"—i.e., anyone who even pretends to mobilize the working masses around demands which go beyond the democratic program of overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship.

Thus in a front-page statement in the 31 August *Militant*, SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann unreservedly endorses the FSLN regime: "We think that the Sandinista government that is trying to get Nicaragua on its feet is doing a good job of it." And an article written from Managua by Pedro Camejo, Sergio Rodriguez and Fred Murphy begins with the flat assertion: "The socialist revolution has begun in Nicaragua" (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 September). If that is so, then what need is there for an independent Trotskyist vanguard? Not only is the SWP opposed to such "irresponsible" acts of the Simón Bolívar Brigade as mobilizing Managua workers to raise demands on the Sandinista regime, but to the existence of any left group outside the FSLN, including the official *USec* section in Nicaragua. In all of the articles on the Sandinista revolution appearing in the main *USec* organs, not one so much as mentions the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria ("sympathizing section of the Fourth International").

According to Camejo/Rodriguez/Murphy, "The power that exists today in Nicaragua is a revolutionary power." And this praise should not be mistaken as some kind of "critical support" to the FSLN. The classic formula for such a treacherous policy toward a bourgeois "revolutionary power" was provided by Stalin in March 1917, before Lenin returned from exile and presented his April Theses calling for "all power to the soviets." The Bolsheviks would support the Provisional Government, wrote *Pravda* under the editorship of Stalin and Kamenev, "insofar as it struggles against reaction or counterrevolution." But today's SWP is worse than the 1917 Stalin, for these raving all-the-way-with-the-FSLN hundred-percenters give a blank check: "... the only way for revolutionary socialists around the world to help advance the Nicaraguan revolution is to recognize the revolutionary capacities of this leadership, to identify with it, and to join forces with it in the struggle to defend and extend the revolution" (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 September 1979).

Stalin's support for the Provisional Government in 1917 anticipated his reformist degeneration in the 1930s, tying the workers to their class enemy through the policy of the People's Front. And it is a hallmark of the SWP's fully flowering reformism that it today openly defends popular frontism against left critics. Its articles on Nicaragua virtually call for the Stalinist-Menshevik "two-stage revolution." Camejo and his friends recognize that "The capitalists and those determined to defend their interests still remain a factor in the government." But this is nowhere criticized, merely presented as



manufacturing were severely disrupted. More than a million people are in need of food. At the same time, the threat of imperialist-sponsored armed intervention remains ever-present.

Under these conditions, the Sandinista leadership faces a difficult and complex leadership job in carrying the revolution forward. It must seek food and financial aid from all possible sources, including the imperialists. It must make inroads into the bourgeois order, without giving the imperialists easy pretexts to whip up propaganda in favor of intervention.

persons, who were brought out by the promise—totally false—that they would be discussing trade union and salary problems with the FSLN leadership.

After this provocative clash, non-Nicaraguan members of the Brigade were ordered out of the country. Some were expelled. Others are still being sought by FSLN authorities.

The leaders of the Brigade have acted irresponsibly in other ways. The Brigade was organized in Colombia by the Colombian PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party). The PST has labeled everyone disagreed with their project as "traitors" to the Nicaraguan revolution. For example, the July 27

SWP on Nicaragua: popular frontism, backstabbing, calls for imperialist "aid" to contain revolution.

people who supported the Brigade's activities were thus left with the false impression that they were following the FSLN.

This attempt by a grouping from outside the country to substitute itself in the revolutionary struggle against Somoza has absolutely nothing in common with the position of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

The FSLN leadership met on several occasions with the leadership of the Brigade, to try to obtain the agreement of the Brigade to merge all independently formed groups into a disciplined and effective army and militia.

Several left groups operating in Nicaragua, in particular the Maoists and the Simón Bolívar Brigade, have challenged the FSLN in these areas, trying to outflank it from the left.

They have utilized objective problems—the gap between the great hopes for immediate improvements and the difficulties in achieving all these goals quickly—to encourage conflicts by sectors of the masses against the FSLN leadership.

The Simón Bolívar Brigade, an

a "concession"—and moreover a correct one:

"In the struggle against Somoza the Sandinistas consciously tried to create the broadest possible front, including bourgeois forces who were opponents of Somoza. That was obviously the correct, intelligent, and revolutionary policy." [our emphasis]

No clearer endorsement of the treacherous policy of the popular front could be asked for. As Leon Trotsky wrote after the tragic experience of Spain and France in the 1930s: "There can be no greater crime than coalition with the bourgeoisie in a period of socialist revolution" ("Trotskyism" and the PSOP," July 1939).

Not only is the policy the same as Stalin's, even the language and the excuses are identical. Thus in polemicizing against the danger presented by the "provocative" actions of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, the SWP writes that the FSLN leadership "must make inroads into the bourgeois order, without giving the imperialists easy pretexts to whip up propaganda in favor of intervention" (*Militant*, 31 August). Haven't we seen this somewhere before? Yes, we have. It was the famous letter of Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov to Spanish prime minister Largo Caballero explaining the need not to frighten the bourgeoisie: "This is necessary to prevent the enemies of Spain considering her a communist republic and thus to avert their open intervention which is the greatest danger for republican Spain" (21 December 1936).

Naturally the SWP adds its own peculiar spices to this traditional reformist recipe for class betrayal, notably a

heavy dose of constitutional cretinism—in a country presently in the throes of revolution. The *USec* has of late been given to "socialist constitution" schemes as a device for presenting its social-democratic parliamentarism in countries under the heel of bonapartist dictatorships. Consequently the SWP was ecstatic when the FSLN proclaimed a "Bill of Rights," printing the full text, all 52 articles of it, in *Intercontinental Press*. The most socially "advanced" provision of the new Nicaraguan statute is a clause on the "social function of property" which is no more radical than the right of eminent domain in Anglo-Saxon common law.

And of course there is the constant equation of FSLN-ruled Nicaragua with Castro's Cuba. Thus the SWP hailed Fidel Castro's July 26 speech on Nicaragua, reprinting it in every one of its publications. But they neglected to point out that the core of the speech was Castro's reassurance to those (e.g., the U.S.) who "expressed fears to the effect that Nicaragua would become a new Cuba." According to the Cuban leader, the reply of "the Nicaraguans" is: "No, Nicaragua will become a new Nicaragua. And this is something quite different" (*Granma* [English-language weekly edition], 5 August). Instead, the *Militant* (10 August) emphasized that in Castro's speech the OAS vote against the U.S. proposal for a "peacekeeping force" to be sent to Nicaragua "was rightly hailed as 'a great victory for the people of our America.'" It didn't mention that Castro hailed the formation of "a great democratic, pro-independence and anti-interventionist

front" including the governments of Panama, Costa Rica, Mexico and the Andean Pact countries, or that the U.S. itself finally voted against the proposal.

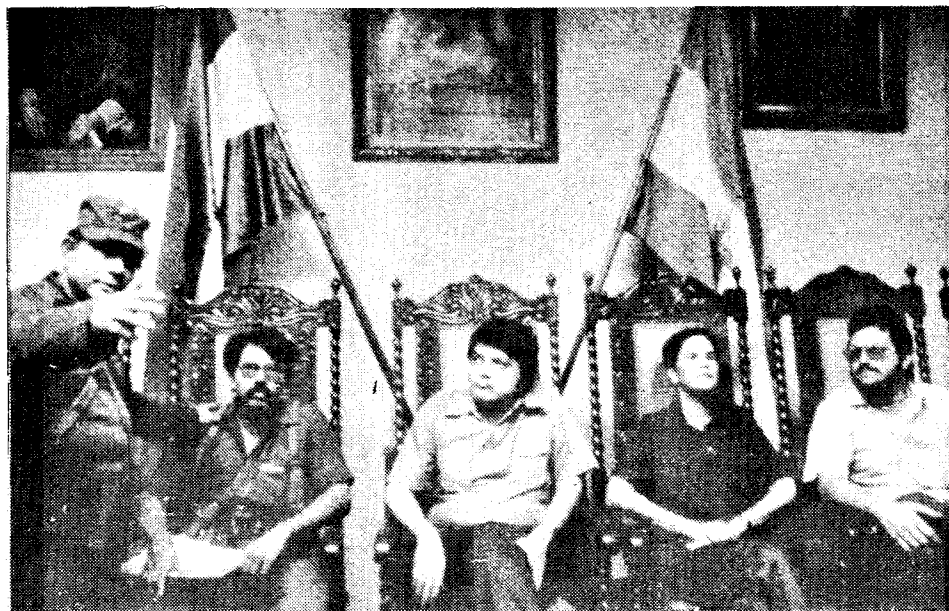
If the SWP hereby joined Castro in propagating illusions about the possibility of hemispheric "peaceful coexistence" with the predatory imperialist colossus to the north, its central political demand—for "massive U.S. aid to Nicaragua"—is far more sinister. In appearance a utopian call on the imperialist leopard to change its spots, in reality it is an appeal for a bloc with the liberal American bourgeoisie to prevent socialist revolution in Central America. This demand encapsulates the SWP's whole reformist—i.e., counterrevolutionary—perspective on Nicaragua. As we pointed out in a box in our last issue ("Reformists Who Can't Spell"), these State Department socialists are literally picking up the line of the State Department, which is telling Congress that if the U.S. does not provide aid, Nicaragua may well "go Communist." This is also the position, for example, of Mexican president López Portillo, who told the *New York Times* (23 September) that:

"I do think that the best way to dissuade the Nicaraguan Government from taking extreme positions would be to provide it with unconditional and generous financial help."

The latest *Militants* read like CARE appeals for philanthropic aid to the starving Nicaraguans. But behind "humanitarian" dollars there is always politics. Aid to rebuild what—a capitalist or collectivized economy? And from whom? What we see here is the SWP's touching faith in the reformability of American imperialism, the butchers of My Lai and authors of the Bay of Pigs invasion. It is their appeal for federal troops to Boston to "protect" black children writ large. Would revolutionary Marxists have called for "massive allied aid to the Russian Revolution" after the February 1917 revolution overthrowing the tsar? Of course not, because such aid—strings or no strings—would necessarily have been aimed at preventing the Bolsheviks from taking power and at keeping Russia in the war.

The principal "aid" which the Nicaraguan working people urgently need is the leadership of a communist vanguard with a program of permanent revolution, going beyond the bourgeois-democratic program of the FSLN to mobilize the forces for proletarian revolution. And they won't get it from the reformist SWP, which supports the Sandinistas against the left and calls on

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FSLN-appointed junta members Borge, Ortega, Ramirez, Chamorro and Robelo at press conference in July.



Nahuel Moreno

BART Workers, Teachers Strike Threatened

Beat Back Scabherding Assault in Bay Area!

SAN FRANCISCO—Two drawn-out union struggles here escalated sharply last week as local government employers threatened massive scabherding. School teachers on strike since September 10 and workers of the BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) system locked out since August 31 are facing a showdown with capitalist politicians bent on destroying San Francisco's reputation as a labor town. Union strength was already badly damaged by the defeat of the municipal craft workers strike in 1976. Today the 3,800 teachers and 1,650 transit workers are on the front lines against a vicious provocation by city bosses determined to finish the job. And labor's battle must be fought not only with militant strike action, but also politically, as the Democrats and Republicans join hands against the workers movement.

BART officials, who locked out the unions and shut the system down last month, are now boasting on the front page of the *San Francisco Chronicle* (20 September) that salaried engineers and foremen have been doing union maintenance work on damaged cars in the Concord yards. Management plans to re-open the system with "recertified" (read "scab") train operators in about two weeks, the paper reports. It was BART's open violation of union jurisdiction that sparked a workers sit-in at the Concord yard in late July—now it is threatening to smash the transit unions altogether.

Both of the unions affected, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555 and United Public Employees (UPE) Local 390, have been trying to negotiate a contract since their old one expired July 1, but BART management is determined to break union standards. The main issue in the lockout is the transit workers' defense of the cost-of-living formula, one of the few escalator clauses which actually keeps step with galloping inflation. Yet to hear the bosses tell it, fighting for 100 percent COLA has made BART workers

Public Enemy No. 1.

Perhaps taking a cue from the BART directors, San Francisco school superintendent Robert Alioto suddenly took a hard line in the ten-day-old teachers strike and began reopening schools on Friday using \$90-a-day "substitutes." Negotiations for a new contract had broken down as SF Federation of Teachers president Jim Ballard justly, though belatedly, began demanding the rehiring of all 1,200 teachers laid off last spring. Using smokescreen budget figures, the school board has argued that only 700 of the 1,200 could be rehired—as substitutes without tenure!—and the expense would result in a pay raise of only 5 percent. To top it off, Mayor Diane Feinstein, who as a supervisor led the attack on the craft workers in 1976, is sitting in the bargaining with the teachers as a "mediator."

There must be no mistake about the threat hanging over the unions. The bourgeoisie has already sent out the word that it means business. A major article in the *New York Times* (22 September) announced, "Strike-Support Tradition Shaken in San Francisco":

"For almost 40 years the tradition around here has been that the public will support organized labor when it strikes to force a recalcitrant employer to terms... City agencies, aware of that annoyance, have begun to chip away at tradition....

"Yesterday the San Francisco school board used the ultimate weapon against a striking union. It opened for business behind the picket line, with strikebreakers carrying out union members' jobs. That first, tentative strikebreaking effort has so far not been rebuffed."

The bosses have made it clear: all Bay Area labor is affected. Either the unions close ranks to reverse their 1976 defeat and ensure victory for the BART workers and teachers, or they will go down separately before the anti-labor onslaught. The scabbing must be stopped! But even this simple defensive action is too much for the cringing union bureaucrats, who having been kicked in the teeth just

crawl back for more punishment.

In the BART dispute the two main union leaders, Varacalli of UPE and Danzy of ATU, have not called a strike, arguing that an official strike might endanger efforts to get unemployment benefits. But since the lockout began, with almost 200 workers suspended and both local presidents fired, they have not even called a union meeting, let alone set up a mass picket line. And even so, the locked-out workers have not received a penny of unemployment benefits (presently blocked by the intervention of BART management). All Bay Area transit unions have a vital interest in defending the BART workers and their COLA clause. They must help mobilize working-class support for their brothers and sisters under attack by shutting down the entire mass transit system, not just this elite unit catering to suburban executives.

Such militant strike action and bold acts of labor solidarity are crucial to secure victory for the BART workers and San Francisco teachers. But the bureaucrats' "answer" has been to lick the feet of Diane Feinstein and the rest of the capitalist politicians who are leading the attack on the unions. At the last BART workers meeting, on August 23, the general staff of Bay Area organized labor showed up—including Richard Groulx of the Alameda Central Labor Council, the ILWU's Jimmy Herman, Chuck Mack of Teamsters Local 70 and others—in order to derail a strike vote by offering to join the negotiations. Herman boasted then, "Solidarity is alive.... If there is a struggle of workers that needs support from other workers, we will do it" (quoted in *People's World*, 1 September). However, after one abortive negotiating session on August 25-26, this "high-powered" ad hoc group quickly disappeared from sight. Bay Area workers must hold their leaders to their promises and demand full labor support for the teachers and transit workers, including manning mass picket lines to stop the

scabherding.

The bureaucracy refuses to carry out such a militant defense of the workers under attack because it is afraid of going up against the state. A real effort to stop scabbing would soon confront the capitalists' hired gun thugs, the police. Already, when the transit workers seized the Concord maintenance yard in July, BART cops were assembled in a nearby building poised for an assault. Yet these police remain members of one of the BART unions, organized as a separate local of the SEIU. They must be expelled now!

"Cops out of the unions!" is an elementary demand in defense of the labor movement, yet the entire opportunist left has tried to duck the question. One treacherous outfit even defends the police as "fellow workers"—the Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC), a tiny group linked to the Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Britain. When BART cops struck in August 1977, SL-DC leader Tom Cagle wrote an article for the group's paper supporting the strike and sneering that groups like the Spartacist League who insist that the police are *enemies* of the workers movement simply "worship orthodoxy and dogma" (*Labor News*, September 1977). How now, Brother Cagle? Are BART cops still "union brothers" when their nightsticks are poised and guns drawn against transit strikers? A little dogma wouldn't hurt such dyed-in-the-wool opportunists.

Since the craft workers strike the Bay Area labor leaders have learned nothing. Defeated in 1976 because of their failure to mobilize effective labor solidarity, today the trade-union fakers want at all cost to avoid strikes, placing their confidence instead in the Democratic Party. But Feinstein and her cohorts want to discipline the unions by decisively humiliating them. Only when the workers throw out their sellout misleaders and replace them with class-struggle militants dedicated to forging a workers party can the defeats be reversed. ■

Mullah Lovers...

(continued from page 2)

Spartacist comrade said, "The Spartacist League will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them" (see "They

Wanted Khomeini, They Got Him," *WV* No. 227, 16 March). Now the chickens have come home to roost.

Unlike the SWP, which so far has seen fit to defend only the utopian/reformist HKS, the iSt defends the Tudeh party, Fedayeen, HKS, unionists, women, Arabs and the courageous Kurdish guerrillas victimized by the mullah-led terror.

The SWP is now willing to defend the HKS... so long as nobody raises the

question: why did the left in Iran and abroad work to bring this murderous Persian-chauvinist, anti-communist, anti-woman regime to power? To keep this question off the floor, the SWP will turn its forums into provocations against workers democracy—provocations which even some of its guest speakers refuse to sanction. The SWP's overriding "defense" priority is to keep from having to account for its political betrayal of the Iranian working masses who are now paying in blood for the opportunists' cynical support to Khomeini.

It is thanks to the criminal tailism of the SWP/HKS and people like them that Iranian militants are today in mortal peril. Even at the height of Khomeini's popularity, the Spartacist tendency did not flinch from raising the independent proletarian perspective—"Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution!"—required to forge a revolutionary vanguard party in Iran. Nor will the two-bit

exclusionism of the reformist SWP intimidate us in the face of this historic responsibility. ■

The following motion was presented September 20 to an International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 East Bay Division meeting. Submitted by Local executive board member Bob Mandel, the motion was referred by a membership vote to the international executive board. It reads as follows:

"Whereas, Khomeini's 'Islamic Revolution' has been carrying out increasingly bloody attacks on Iranian labor unions, national minorities, women and leftists; therefore, be it resolved that warehouse Local 6 recommends as policy to all locals in the ILWU and to the international executive board that the ILWU refuse to ship any arms to the reactionary mullah regime."

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Kennedy, Carter...

(continued from page 1)

dom: "I believe we're facing difficult economic problems today to which there are no magic or easy solutions" (*New York Times*, 16 September).

Recognizing that Carter is a hopeless loser, the influential *New York Times* is pushing Kennedy's candidacy. It is trying to convince the ruling class at large that the Democratic Senator from Massachusetts is no big-spending, welfare-state liberal whatever his sometime image. On 14 September the *Times* ran a front-page article entitled, "Kennedy Says That Leadership, Not Economic Policy, Is at Issue." And the following Sunday (16 September) the *Times* lead headline in its "News of the Week in Review" section informs us, "Now, Kennedy Shifts His Perspectives on Economics":

"To most Americans, the familiar Edward M. Kennedy is the Senatorial Kennedy, an old-style liberal who has remained true to the credo that ever bigger Government is ever better.... Last week, a Presidential Kennedy appeared, and during a brief foray into broad economic issues, offered a more *au courant* philosophy dwelling heavily on free enterprise, the limitations of Government and inflation."

To drive home the point the article quotes an anonymous Kennedy economics adviser, who assures Wall Street that his boss is "a pretty pragmatic guy."

Behind both Carter's holy-roller economics and Kennedy's much-touted pragmatism is the deep concern of the American capitalist class over the present economic situation; all of the talk about "leadership," of course, is a discussion over who can best "lead" the drive for austerity. From the standpoint of the ruling class, the only way to reverse this unhappy situation is to cut the consumption standards of the working people in order to add to profits. This accounts for the present drive for fiscal austerity against "big government," cutting social services and seeking to transfer these resources to private capital. Welfare-state liberalism has become anathema from the no-nuke rallies to the boardrooms of the *Fortune* 500 top corporations.

For his part, Kennedy knows that this is a bad season for New Deal/Great Society rhetoric and so is shelving it. For years his main claim to fame as a "fighting liberal" was his \$90-million national health insurance proposal. But earlier this year he "pragmatically" scaled down this program so it is now not essentially different from Carter's. According to a 19 September *New York Post* column by Evans and Novak, Kennedy no longer thinks Carter is "shielding" excessive defense spending—now he says he supports the president's 3 percent rise in real defense spending. Kennedy used to say the MX missile could "increase the threat of nuclear war"—now he is for its development and hedges only on its deployment (no doubt till he is elected). On foreign policy Teddy claims mere "tactical" differences. And he has dropped his crusade against Carter for oil decontrol, pointing with much clamor to his own sponsorship of deregulation in trucking and air transport.

But Kennedy is not a "betrayal of liberalism" as his more naive followers will surely charge. Rather, liberalism for the moment has a somewhat different role to play. It is interesting that Kennedy—who has a 95 percent favorable rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), as opposed to 1 percent from the ADA's conservative counterpart, Americans for Conservative Action—is as popular as he is. After all, this is supposed to be a country that is shifting ever more rapidly to the right.

It is not merely the mystique of the Kennedy name. The truth is that while American voters may accept the conservative rhetoric of hatred of "big spend-

ers" and "big government," they don't buy the reality. Carter talks about less, but Americans want more. They want more wages, more cars, more gas, more education, more health care. Many of the same Americans who correctly damn the failed liberal schemes and "wars" on poverty favor a cradle-to-grave national health insurance plan. That same ideologically conservative public is faced with unpayable costs and a financial fear of aging and sickness that rivals the fear of death. Thus, Kennedy's popularity is in part due to his identification with "big spending" social programs. But make no mistake, Teddy understands what the role of liberalism must be in this period of austerity and stagnant social struggle.

Labor Fakers Heady for Teddy

The trade-union bureaucrats are not only hoping for a Kennedy candidacy, they are praying for it. One AFL-CIO official said, "We had been hearing from all over the country that union leaders, when they said their prayers at night, would say, 'Please God, let Teddy run.' Now their prayers have been answered" (*New York Times*, 21 September). And no wonder. The labor fakers do not relish the prospect of supporting a president already hated by millions of American working people. For the most part the bureaucrats are loyal Democratic Party activists who would still back Carter if he somehow managed to get nominated. But taking their cue from the bourgeoisie, they would certainly prefer to switch horses, or more accurately, riders.

First onto the Kennedy bandwagon was William "Wimpy" Winpisinger, head of the International Association of Machinists and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) vice-chairman, who launched a "Dump Carter" movement several months ago. Recently one-time Carterite Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers announced that anyone would be better than Jimmy, while the Fraser bureaucracy of the Auto Workers has adopted a pro-Kennedy "neutrality." Even the ILGWU's Sol Chaikin of the "Labor for Carter" committee is now having second thoughts, saying he would take "a long hard look" if Kennedy formally declares his candidacy.

Certainly the union tops have good reason to be fed up with Carter. All of labor's "must" legislation—the \$3 minimum wage, "common situs" picketing, the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill and the labor-reform bill were defeated by an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. Carter personally torpedoed the minimum wage and national health insurance bills. These labor traitors are not angry about Carter's real crimes—like invoking Taft-Hartley to try to break the 110-day miners' strike in 1978 or the railroad workers walkout that same year—after all, Arnold Miller solidarized with Carter in that! Rather, the Meanys, Frasers, Millers and Fitzsimmons are piqued because the wholesale defeats of their legislative *substitutes* for militant unionism leave them without a shred of credibility in the eyes of their ranks.

In the coming months the various union political machines will start cranking out the propaganda for Teddy, as a "real friend of labor," reminding trade unionists of Kennedy's support for Humphrey-Hawkins, for his national health insurance plan. Of course this "liberal showpiece" is already cut to the bone and in any case is unlikely to pass the austerity-minded Congress. Kennedy's "friend of labor" image only holds up because, unlike Carter, he hasn't been on the hot seat during the current recession and thus has not been held directly responsible for spiraling inflation and mounting layoffs.

The bureaucrats prefer to counterpose the "pro-labor" Democrats to the "pro-big business" GOP. This time, however, they're stuck with a Democratic incumbent, moreover one they escorted into office. So now they

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offer up a "choice" between Kennedy and Carter. DSOC's Winpisinger put it well when he told the 26 March *Village Voice* that his pro-Kennedy position was perfectly consistent with the social-democratic desire to "fine tune capitalism with a dose of socialism." From the new breed of labor "reformers" like Winpisinger to the old dinosaurs of the Meany ilk, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy functions to confine working-class protest within the boundaries of bourgeois politics. In order to break labor's ties to the bourgeois Democratic Party, militants must struggle to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. Forward to a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Dynasty of Reaction

One of the creepy side effects of a prospective Kennedy candidacy, let alone presidency, is the heap of media confetti shredded from what is called the Kennedy family mystique. We will not only be sprayed with tearful nostalgia of liberal martyrdom, but confronted with the family vigor (once again pronounced "vigaa"). Carter's praying, jogging and collection of faith-healing crackpots seemed bad enough, but now it will be all of Them and their Rat Pack again (how old is Peter Lawford, anyway?); white-water rafting down the Snake River, slumming in Harlem's drug areas and generally acting with unbounded arrogance and privilege. (It is peculiar to America's commercial fascination with youth culture that the two major figures of Democratic Party politics square off against one another as lingering adolescents calling themselves "Jimmy" and "Teddy.")

The mystique of the Kennedy family is supposed to be Teddy's greatest asset in his bid to become president. Surely, the family fortune is a big asset. The bourgeoisie is no doubt tired of modern self-made millionaires with their exposures of Watergates and Peanutgates. But with the Kennedy billions they get

not "old" money, just lots of it. Joseph Kennedy, the spirit of the "mystique," made his fortune not as an industrialist or in his brief connection with the motion-picture industry or in the imported liquor business, but in finance—stock manipulation, to be exact. He was one of this country's big-time hustlers, and surely one of the most rapaciously cynical of men in a milieu of gentlemen vipers.

Basically he brought the boys up to believe in nothing but their own advantage and the family's. A fervent right-winger, he supported "Mr. Republican," Robert Taft, and arch witch-hunter Joseph McCarthy. On the other hand, he could wheel and deal with FDR who appointed him to the Securities and Exchange Commission(!). The boys were supplied with the values of hucksters and the ideological outlook of the Chamber of Commerce. When John Kennedy ran against Henry Cabot Lodge for the Senate in 1952 he managed to red bait him as an "internationalist" and "Truman Socialist." And when Robert joined Joe McCarthy's anti-red staff in the early '50s, he was merely helping out a family friend.

For liberals, Teddy Kennedy's chief virtue is that he doesn't have a Bay of Pigs or a HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) in his past, but he is the legitimate heir to the family's political tradition nevertheless. His supporters like to portray him as an opponent of the Vietnam war as early as 1966. But during a March 1967 televised debate with Texas war hawk John Tower, Kennedy was stating, "I support our commitment in South Vietnam," and as late as October 1969 he was only calling for withdrawal of U.S. air and naval support for the Thieu regime after 1972!

Similarly, Kennedy's backers portray him to black constituents as the man who stood up to the racist mobs during Boston's busing crisis. In fact, although an early advocate of busing, when it was

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 7)

the liberal imperialists to hold back the revolution.

Morenoite Charlatans and Adventurers

So what about the Simón Bolívar Brigade and its parent, Moreno's Bolshevik Faction. Certainly in comparison with the groveling betrayals of the SWP and the more shamefaced Mandelite majority of the USec, the Moreno outfit might seem a militant alternative. A look at Moreno's chameleon-like political track record, his notoriety for underhanded financial swindles and his ultra-reformist program in his home base, Argentina, will shatter this façade. And, indeed, the SWP is busily dredging up some of this material, filling the pages of *Intercontinental Press* with endless scandal stories about the disreputable adventurer Nahuel Moreno. No doubt Barnes and Mandel are getting ready to expel the troublemaker. But they are in no position to complain. For years they have coexisted in the same International (and in the case of the SWP, in the same faction) with this notorious snake-oil salesman, both after and during his worst betrayals. They have dirty hands.

When they are not echoing the Sandinista leaders' slanders that organizing workers around anti-capitalist demands is a "provocation," the SWP/USec charge that Moreno is an imposter traveling under false passports. According to the USec delegation statement, "to capitalize on the prestige of the FSLN," the Simón Bolívar Brigade "cloaked itself with the Sandinista banner." From news accounts of the August 15 Managua demonstration, it does seem that many of the protesters thought they were supporting a wing of the FSLN (although this does not lessen the significance of several thousand workers demonstrating against the government's pro-capitalist policies). But who do Barnes and Hansen think they are kidding? Their international "Nicaragua solidarity" campaign is intended precisely to drape the USec in Sandinista red-and-black, just as the SWP's Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the early '60s tried to capitalize on the popularity of Castroism. They just prefer to do it at long distance.

Besides, Moreno has a long history of impersonating other tendencies. He got his start in Argentina by pretending to be a left Peronist. In the late 1950s his review *Palabra Socialista* described itself as an "organ of revolutionary working-class Peronism" and carried on its masthead the slogan "under the discipline of General Perón and of the Peronist Supreme Council" (see "Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism," *IB* No. 24, 6 July 1973). When Peronism was no longer the rage, Moreno fused with a Castroite group and ran endless pictures of Che Guevara on the front pages of his papers. After a brief fling as a crypto-Maoist (hailing the Red Guards), he settled down to a more mundane existence as a social democrat—and to this end fused with a wing of the historic Argentine Socialist Party, in order to capture its ballot slot. Not one to quibble about small change, Moreno promptly wrote a social-democratic program to correspond to the new label (see *Intercontinental Press*, 13 November 1972). Truly, Moreno is, as we have often described him, a political chameleon.

In a polemic against the Simón Bolívar Brigade, the Colombian Mandelite PSR charges that the Morenoite undertaking was simply an adventure: "The brigade as such never entered combat. It could not have done so without adequate training and without being prepared to accept the discipline of the FSLN" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 17 September 1979). It does appear that for the most part Moreno's brigade, despite its bombastic propa-

ganda, sat out the fighting in Costa Rica. In fact, its U.S.-based supporters, the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua, did not even leave for Managua until the day after Somoza's fall! So the heroic, gun-in-hand guerrilla image the Brigade leaders would like to assume (Colombian PST "comandante" Kemel George reportedly showed up in battle fatigues for a fund-raising rally in Bogotá) is certainly undeserved.

It is not true, however, that the Simón Bolívar Brigade was unprepared to "accept the discipline of the FSLN." Moreno's idea of "discipline" is probably not to the liking of the Sandinistas (or the USec leaders), but the Brigade was definitely built on the basis of subordination to the FSLN. That makes its present situation all the more ironic. The "Open Letter" by the Morenoite Colombian PST to form the Brigade called for volunteers to go to Nicaragua to fight "under the military leadership" of the Sandinista Front; and it flaunted letters from FSLN leaders Edén Pastora ("Comandante Zero") and Plutarco Hernández Sánchez saying its members were "acting under the leadership of the General Staff" (see illustration). (The real content of the "military" posing, of course, has to be taken in light of the lack of combat activity by these Johnny-come-lately guerrillas.)

Politically, the Morenoites called for "a Sandinista government"—although for form's sake they tacked on that it should arise from supposed "organs of people's power" and be based on a program of "breaking with the bourgeoisie and imperialism" (*El Socialista*, 22 June). Such pious wishes aside, they got their Sandinista government and—guess what—they get expelled from the country! That's what often happens when you tail after bonapartists. So the Simón Bolívar Brigade managed to acquire a militant image in spite of itself. As for its detractors in the Colombian PSR, they note that sending off the Brigade was essentially a gimmick rather than a real act of proletarian internationalism. That is true—genuine Trotskyists, had they the resources, would seek to build a communist nucleus among the urban workers rather than tagging along after Comandante Zero on the Southern Front. But what the PSR counterposes is not the struggle for an independent Trotskyist leadership in Nicaragua but inoffensive "solidarity" demonstrations in Bogotá. The difference between Morenoites and Mandelites is the difference between

adventurers and cheerleaders, between con men and PR men.

The PSR polemic ended by touching on "the most sensitive point of all, the finances of the Simón Bolívar Brigade." Many people "have begun to have doubts about where the funds gathered by the PST are going," they report. And money is always the most sensitive point with Moreno. For those who know his past, the involuntary response upon learning that Colombian Morenoites were organizing an "international brigade" for Nicaragua was to say: "Nicaraguans, Colombians—keep your hands on your wallets!" But it hardly behooves the USec to raise this charge now. The Argentine Política Obrera group has been complaining for years that Moreno's Editorial Pluma took 50,000 copies of Trotsky works on contract from them, deliberately held off paying for them for months until the March 1976 Videla coup, and then, pleading poverty, refused to pay.

Moreno's financial skulduggery is legendary in the Latin American left. The most sensationalist case concerns allegations that he failed to deliver promised funds to Hugo Blanco's guerrilla operation in Peru in 1962, and his role in the disappearance of several thousands of dollars taken in a bank expropriation by the Túpac Amaru group and destined for Blanco (for a detailed account of this affair, see Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America* [1972]). In a review of Robert Alexander's grotesquely inaccurate book *Trotskyism in Latin America*, Joseph Hansen noted in 1977 that Moreno had never answered these charges. But in view of the scandalous nature of the charges, it is notable that Hansen evidently never bothered to get an explanation from Moreno during the six years that they were co-leaders of the USec minority.

Moreno stands before the workers movement convicted many times over of political charlatanism and breaches of proletarian morality. Yet his operation is such that he frequently puts on a cover of programmatic militancy for purely factional purposes. On several occasions this has led the Morenoites to adopt positions imitating (or borrowed from?) the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency. Thus in polemicizing against an article on Eurocommunism and Soviet "dissidents" by Morenoite Eugenio Greco, SWP hack Gerry Foley noted that the "award for originality" in raising these

positions belonged to "sectarianism" such as the ISI (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 December 1977). And indeed, the Greco article (*Revista de América*, August 1977) does bear a notable resemblance to our own writings on the subject (except that, funny thing, the Morenoites identify Stalinism with dependence on Moscow gold).

In particular, in founding the Bolshevik Tendency after his break with the SWP in late 1975-early 1976, Moreno adopted positions on Portugal and Angola strikingly similar to those of the Spartacist tendency. On Portugal he denounced the SWP's tailing after the CIA-funded Socialist Party of Mario Soares as well as the Mandelite IMT's political support to the Stalinist/Armed Forces Movement bloc. On Angola he called for military support to the MPLA against the South African/CIA invasion while formally opposing political support to any of the three competing nationalist groups. The principal characteristic of these formally orthodox positions is that they are far from home and they are utterly arbitrary, not derived from a coherent programmatic worldview.

Thus, while Moreno condemns the SWP's shameless support for the Portuguese SP, in Argentina he fused with Juan Carlos Coral's rump social democrats in 1971. While criticizing Mandel's capitulation to the Eurocommunists, his Venezuelan supporters are now deeply embedded in the "Eurocommunist" MAS. While criticizing the IMT's support for the demagogic Carvalho and the Portuguese MFA, Moreno's Colombian PST called for "support to the nationalist policies of Torrijos" in Panama, calling this demagogic military officer (friend of both Castro and Chase Manhattan Bank) "progressive" in his "confrontation with imperialism" (see "U.S. Out of Panama Now!" *WV* No. 203, 28 April 1978).

Feigning orthodoxy when it is "cheap"—in distant climes and when it suits his unprincipled maneuvers—close to home where it counts, Moreno's opportunism exceeds that of any other wing of the USec. Treacherously criticizing Bolivian POR leader Guillermo Lora for joining an "anti-imperialist front" with General Torres in Bolivia in 1971 (*International Socialist Review*, February 1973), two years later Moreno himself joined a popular-front Group of 8 together with the Argentine CP and the leading bourgeois parties in pledging support to the bonapartist government of Juan Perón (see "PST Caught Redhanded," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974). Today when the Sandinistas are international celebrities, Moreno is a gung-ho guerrillaist; but when the Castroite PRT/ERP (then affiliated to the USec) was stirring things up in Argentina with its kidnappings and attacks on the army, Moreno's PST equated "the guerrillas and their mirror image—the terrorists of the AAA and other organizations of the ultraright" (*Intercontinental Press*, 28 October 1974).

Nahuel Moreno's record is that of a huckster who has put on the garb of virtually every popular trend in the Latin American left—Peronism, Castroism, Maoism, and now Sandinism. His "left" positions on international topics bear no relation whatever to his rightist positions at home. The only reason he appears militant over Nicaragua today is that he was caught out in the middle of a maneuver with the FSLN—and that while he is up to his old tricks, the rest of the USec has moved distinctly to the right. Until the FSLN took power in Managua the Morenoites' call for a Sandinista government was formally to the right of the other tendencies of the USec, which raised various criticisms of the FSLN ties to the opposition bourgeoisie. But as soon as Mandel and Barnes smelled a chance to hook up to a popular cause, they leapt right over Moreno and left him holding the bag in the unaccustomed role of the far left wing.

Finally, it should be noted that in

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SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

choosing the name Simón Bolívar Moreno chose a singularly appropriate sobriquet. Perhaps it was intended to imitate the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War—although Bolívar, himself from a slaveholding landowner family, would be more appropriately compared to George Washington. But militarily the great hero of the wars of independence was a disaster in every way: he lost virtually every battle he fought, literally dozens of them, repeatedly abandoning his troops in moments of adversity. His specialty, wrote Karl Marx in an article on Bolívar, was “triumphal entrances, manifestos and the proclamation of constitutions.” He was, said Marx in a letter to Engels, “the most cowardly, brutal and miserable scum.” So too Nahuel Moreno. ■

Kennedy, Carter...

(continued from page 9)

popular among the liberals, he took a dive on the issue as soon as it became hot, going so far as to vote for a Congressional bill in 1974 which contained an anti-busing amendment. Two years ago Kennedy co-sponsored the racist and draconian S-1437 crime bill, the “son of [Nixon’s] S-1.” And on July 4, 1973, he paid an ostentatious visit to

Alabama governor George Wallace where he presented the Audie Murphy patriotic award to “the man in the schoolhouse door.” On that occasion he told a crowd of 10,000 Wallace supporters that perhaps they could teach the North how to achieve racial harmony (see *Senator Ted Kennedy*, by Theo Lippman, Jr.).

What is the “Kennedy mystique,” this inherited family tradition, in political terms? It is the tradition of cynical ruling-class attacks against the working and oppressed people of the world, and the most violent aggression against the Soviet Union. John Kennedy, the man of peace? Under JFK this country saw the most rapid buildup of the military in U.S. peace-time history. The first massive escalation of the Vietnam war (from the few hundred “advisers” when Kennedy came to office). The Berlin confrontation. The Bay of Pigs invasion. The Cuban missile crisis. In secret rooms meetings were held to discuss Castro’s assassination in a period that has become known to CIA killers as the agency’s “Golden Age.” The “friend of the black man” consciously appointed a host of racist federal judges throughout the South in a deal to cancel out whatever gains were reflected in civil rights legislation. And what of Bobby Kennedy, the “friend of labor” who ran one of the most vicious anti-labor vendettas against the Teamsters Union?

Although Teddy has not yet had his opportunity to invade Cuba, that he has

done so little and “worked so hard” seems to be his most attractive features to those who would sell him to American working people. And selling him is the family tradition. Father Joe said of John’s candidacy, with a rich man’s easy candor: “We’ll sell Jack like soap flakes.” And the Kennedy money-men bought up all the available air time of a local California radio station, where they deemed it necessary, in order to win.

The selling of Teddy Kennedy may more resemble the ad campaign for this season’s version of a “pet rock.” He is in many ways the perfect product for a bourgeoisie pitching to the narcissistic audiences of the late 1970s—glamour, but no substance. If Roosevelt’s “fire-side chats” made him the first radio president, and the Kennedy-Nixon debates installed JFK as the first TV president, we may be witnessing the emergence of the first disco president.

If gossip continues to be the popular genre then Teddy will keep those invidious mills grinding on into the ‘80s. It is part of the media mystique that Kennedy is not only sold like the latest TV fashion, but he is also attacked in the same vein. Thus the Chappaquiddick “non-issue” has become “the great moral question” of his candidacy for a host of moral munchkins. The only political point of interest gets lost in the shuffle of moral deuces: Teddy was able to summon nearly the same braintrust to cover up his auto accident that was

gathered for the Cuban missile crisis.

The American bourgeoisie presents its problems as a crisis of charisma. In fact they are undergoing a crisis of leadership. Their governmental leaders must administer a decaying and irrational social order. (It has been observed that the Kennedy clan holds a position close to royalty in America. Indeed, a quick measure can be taken of the intellectual and moral decay of the American bourgeoisie by comparing this dynasty to the Adamses of New England.) However, it is not the crisis of bourgeois leadership—so well represented by Carter and Kennedy—that has stalled the progress of mankind, but the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the proletariat.

The labor fakery in the U.S. today hustle betrayal for the Democratic Party, keeping the powerful labor movement tied to its deadliest class enemies. And there is something particularly ominous and repulsive about the labor tops joining in the Kennedy/Carter/Reagan chorus for a “stronger leader.” From the point of view of the working class and its allies we do not want a more effective imperialist chief, a more competent strikebreaker, a more virulent carrier of malignant neglect for blacks and minorities, and a more vigorous enforcer of austerity. The oppressed do not call for more effective oppressors. Break labor’s ties to the parties of capital—Build a workers party! ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

movement akin to what led to the 1953 *hartal* (general work stoppage) or perhaps even renewed insurgency like the JVP uprising of 1971. Today the JVP has a Robin Hood respect for its insurrection, which has gone down in popular memory not as a criminal adventure like the 1921 March Action in Germany, but as a great patriotic action against oppression by the hated Bandaranaike government. Even the enemies of the JVP now grudgingly hail the revolt. Perhaps the most graphic example is the book *Insurrection 1971*, an account by the chief government prosecutor, which carries a dedication to “the sons and daughters of Sri Lanka who died in the course of the April insurrection.”

In addition, the JVP has demonstrated organizational capacity and determination to become an active political factor, running candidates in parliamentary elections and making overtures to the Tamils. However, unable to grasp the key reason for its defeat in 1971—the total isolation of the revolt based on rural Sinhala youth from the decisive urban labor movement and Tamil estate proletariat—the JVP remains wedded to its eclectic Stalinism and is still tinged with Sinhalese chauvinism. Thus the JVP refuses to recognize the democratic right of the oppressed Tamils to self-determination, simply calling for an “anti-communist front” to fight anti-Tamil repression. Thus the JVP opposes “Eelam” as necessarily an outpost of Indian imperialism. In contrast, genuine Marxist-Leninists, while counseling at present against separation, nevertheless insist that as an oppressed national minority the Tamils have the right to form their own state, if they so choose.

But a revolutionary policy for the emancipation of the oppressed Tamils must go beyond the struggle for democratic rights. Even if some liberal capitalist government were to grant all Tamils full citizenship and language rights, their oppression would continue as a result of the superexploitation of Tamil plantation labor—up to now the heart of the Ceylonese export economy. And even if “Eelam” were established in the north, allowing the bourgeois traders and bureaucrats to become the ruling class of an enclave linked to India, the large number of “Indian Tamils” locked in the Sinhalese heart-

land as agricultural workers would either remain the most oppressed in a virulently Sinhala-chauvinist state or at best become unemployed pariahs in the “liberated” Tamil land to the north, like the Biharis in Bangladesh. Additionally, a sizable component of the upland estate proletariat consists of women workers, posing the need for special methods of work to reach this key sector, while a struggle must also be waged to overcome the caste lines that divide the Tamil masses.

The oppressed Tamil population will be able to achieve social liberation only through working-class revolution, led by a Trotskyist party which fuses together the conscious vanguard of all sectors of the proletariat. The critical significance of the Tamil question for Ceylonese revolutionaries is enhanced as well by the myriad ties which link the island to the Indian subcontinent on the other side of the narrow Palk Strait. A successful proletarian seizure of power in Sri Lanka could not long survive unless it sparked a more general South Asian revolutionary conflagration. And for the laboring masses of southern India, the program of Ceylonese revolutionaries toward the Tamil minority will be seen as a key test of their internationalist intentions. ■

Detroit Exclusion...

(continued from page 2)

present (including one member who was not even at the February 11 forum). When comrade Topaz asked why she was being excluded, the SWP goon pointed to her sign and said, “For that.” Her picket sign read: “I Spoke Against Khomeini’s Repression of Women and Minorities—Now the SWP Excludes Me!”

Behind the exclusions is the SWP’s cringing before the bourgeoisie and their labor lieutenants. In 1971 the SL was kicked out of an NPAC “antiwar” conference by SWP marshals for objecting to the presence of Democratic senator Vance Hartke. In 1972 the Spartacist League was excluded from a WONAAC “women’s rights” conference for protesting the appearance of a spokesman for capitalist politician Bella Abzug. Last

year it was over the miners strike, as the SWP was unable to defend its support to the back-stabbing treachery of UMWA leader Arnold Miller.

Now the SWP is so fearful of angering the vengeful Ayatollah Khomeini that it goes so far as to hold “private” picket lines “defending” their imprisoned Iranian comrades. Excluded are all those who do not praise the mullahs who are poised to execute the HKS. And they turn their “public” forms into exclusionist clubs. The SWP has a lot of nerve criticizing former attorney general Griffin Bell for belonging to a segregationist Atlanta club. For above every SWP function in Detroit is an unwritten Jim Crow sign proclaiming: “No black Trotskyists allowed.” ■

Auto Sellout...

(continued from page 3)

guards and scabberding police to improve their \$2.76/hour wages.

This is the man who negotiated the UAW’s new contract. Clearly, the pro-company policies of the UAW bureaucracy spell defeat for the historically militant auto workers. Fraser and his ilk must be replaced by a class-conscious militant leadership whose demands are based on the needs of the membership and not tailored to the sacred profit margins

of the Big Three.

The most prominent of the existing UAW “opponentists,” however, has simply capitulated to the anti-strike sentiments being whipped up by the International. Hugh Oginsky for example, the leading spokesman for the Thirty and Out Committee which demanded “COLA on pensions or a strike in ‘79,” announced that he would recommend ratification of the tentative agreement in his home local. “What we got is great,” he told a *WV* reporter, “but it’s sad that it’s got to be diverted from COL.” Oginsky is also a member of the Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC), the latest catch-all dissident group supported by a myriad of fake-left groupings. But the ABC couldn’t even muster the energy to call for a strike and contented themselves with a talent show dubbed the Autoworkers Performing for a Better Contract.

After 30 years of Reuther, Woodcock and now Fraser, the UAW has had enough of gimmicks and excuses. A real fight is long overdue. The task of constructing a militant leadership which can challenge the sellouts in Solidarity House and lead the UAW in struggle against the Big Three has never been more urgent.

VOTE NO! For an industry-wide strike against the Big Three! For sit-down strikes against layoffs! Victory to the UAW! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

**Sandinistas Expel "Simón Bolívar Brigade"—
SWP Knives "Comrades" in the Back**

Revolution in Nicaragua and the Left

SEPTEMBER 24—It took 18 months of bitter struggle, including two insurrections totaling eleven weeks of the bloodiest fighting, before they drove out the hyena of Managua. Almost 50,000 died out of a population of 2.3 million, and today the cities are in ruins, the surviving population on the brink of starvation, three quarters of the work-force unemployed. Those who have sacrificed so much are burning to root out every trace of the hated dynasty which bled the country dry. Laying claim to what is rightfully theirs, the Nicaraguan masses are already infringing on the property of the belatedly oppositional bourgeoisie, which for decades extracted fat profits from the sweat of the working people in Somoza land.

"National reconstruction" is now the watchword of the victorious Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). But on what foundations? With their program for a "government of unity of all anti-Somoza forces" the Sandinista leaders hope to limit the revolution to the replacement of a rapacious family dictatorship by a reformed, "popular-democratic" capitalist regime. As proof of the "generosity of the Nicaraguan Revolution," they have refused to execute any of the National Guard criminals who tortured at random and rained high-explosive bombs on their own cities. While expropriating the property of the tyrant and his underlings, the new rulers have vowed to protect the holdings of other capitalists.

From the beginning it has been clear to all that the "government" in Managua is highly unstable. The guns are clearly in the hands of the petty-bourgeois radical-nationalist Sandinistas, but a united FSLN was established only at the last minute by papering over a three-way split. While the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie" are presently pliant, and their influence declined as the fighting intensified, they are not passive nor are they discredited by the stigma of collaboration with the dictator as the Cuban capitalists were with Batista. On the other hand, the working masses are a far more active factor than in the Cuban Revolution, having armed themselves and fought key battles in the streets of the capital and other cities. The common enemy vanquished, it is impossible to stop the class struggle simply by telling the combatants to return home.

The array of forces in post-Somoza Nicaragua has the potential for an explosive confrontation—within the uneasy ruling coalition, between it and the impatient working masses or be-

Victorious Sandinistas roll into Managua on mini-tank.



tween a sector of the radical-Jacobin FSLN and reactionary sectors of the domestic bourgeoisie. This highly charged situation poses an acid test for revolutionists. For while the overwhelming majority of the left to one degree or another is tailing after the popular Sandinistas, the task of Trotskyists, who fight on the program of permanent revolution, is to remain the party of intransigent working-class opposition. Those who proclaim that proletarian-socialist revolution can come about peacefully in Nicaragua by nudging the present bonapartist regime gradually to the left could well be the first victims of their own illusions.

The FSLN leaders may themselves believe that their program of "popular-democratic revolution" represents an intermediate stage between capitalism and proletarian dictatorship. But experience will soon demonstrate that only a show of force can halt the tendency of the working masses to turn the victory over Somoza into full-scale social revolution. And if they didn't know already, they are quickly becoming conscious of the fact. When the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina asked top FSLN commander Humberto Ortega, "How will you deal with the class struggle that will develop in this stage?" he replied:

"In order to keep this struggle from

becoming more acute, it is necessary to implement the program supported by the Front and the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. Then we must struggle against various kinds of deviations."

—*Granma* [English-language weekly edition], 2 September

That struggle against "deviations" means anti-working-class repression soon became clear, notably around the land reform. While its scope is sweeping, affecting as much as 60 percent of the arable land of Nicaragua, it is limited to estates belonging to Somoza and his henchmen. This was justified by Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock with the argument, "We must keep solidarity with those members of the private sector who supported the ouster of Somoza" (*New York Times*, 5 August). A few days later FSLN officials clashed with a Maoist labor group organizing land seizures near the city of León. According to Wheelock, "the few disorderly occupations" were atypical, the haciendas were "reinstated to their original owners" and the peasants given Somoza lands instead (*Granma* [English-language weekly edition], 12 August).

Expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade

The suppression of "disorderly" land seizures is not the only instance of measures to keep the class struggle from

"becoming more acute." The most notable was the expulsion of several dozen foreign leftists, most of them self-proclaimed Trotskyists, associated with the "Simón Bolívar Brigade" which had rushed to Nicaragua in the last stages of the battle against Somoza. The incident was described by *Time* magazine (3 September) at the end of an article praising the "merciful revolution" that was "steering a middle course":

"Surprisingly, the first serious threat came from the extreme left. Dissatisfied with the government's plans for building a mixed economy melding public and private enterprise, 60 Latin-American Trotskyites, calling themselves the Simón Bolívar Brigade, incited a demonstration by 3,000 Managua factory workers demanding compensation for wages lost during the revolution. The revolutionary government reacted by ordering its armed forces to put the Trotskyites on a plane to Panama."

According to the *Washington Post* (21 August), banners at the August 15 Managua demonstration carried the slogans, "The Revolution is in the hands of the bourgeoisie" and "Power to the proletariat." The expelled Bolívar Brigaders, however, were charged with being "counterrevolutionaries" and "foreign provocateurs."

This expulsion was clearly a blow struck against any independent leftist agitation among Nicaraguan workers

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