

Italian Elections:

No to the "Historic Compromise" with Capitalism!

CP Woos NATO, Pope, Bosses

Centrists Call for "Left" Popular Front

JUNE 8—For the past three decades, Italian governmental politics have seemed the living embodiment of the U.S. Army acronym SNAFU ("systems normal, all fouled up"). But through the innumerable revolving-door cabinets, the linchpin of all the post-World War II governments has been the Christian Democracy (DC). Now, in the parliamentary elections scheduled for June 20, for the first time in 30 years the combined vote of the reformist workers parties may approach a majority. For the past year, this prospect has mesmerized the traditional power brokers, causing an extended crisis of bourgeois leadership. The upcoming Italian elections are also seen as a key test case by the leading imperialist powers on the question of Communist governmental participation throughout southern Europe, an issue that is now on the agenda for the first time since the late 1940's.

But the Christian Democrats' internal crisis and possible defeat at the polls by no means signal their departure from office. The reformist Communist Party (PCI) has repeatedly made clear that it does not wish to enter the government without the DC. The lesson of Chile, says PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer, is that you can't run a country with a mere 51 percent of the votes. Instead he proposes a "historic compromise" with the Pope, the generals, the bureaucratic nepotists and the plutocrats—in short, a deal with the capitalist power structure of Christian Democratic Italy.

The real lesson of Chile, however, is the danger to the working class represented by all stripes of popular frontism, whether in the form of a broad "historic compromise" or a more traditional "left government." From the social democrats' "left bloc" with bourgeois liberals in the 1920's to the 1930's popular fronts in Spain and France to the Popular Unity in Chile or the "MFA-People's Alliance" in Portugal, class-collaborationist coalitions with the bourgeoisie have repeatedly spelled defeat for the working class, blocking the road to revolution and conciliating the forces of reaction until they are ready to strike from a position of strength.

Today in Italy, the axis of revolutionary struggle is once again the popular front, and it is precisely on this question that the comparatively large centrist and left-reformist groups demonstrate their

inability to present a consistent opposition to the PCI. Mired in eclecticism, the "extra-parliamentary" forces of yesterday have buried all principled considerations in a "far left" electoral cartel, the Democrazia Proletaria (DP), that seeks to maximize its votes by simply calling for a more left-wing popular front than the wall-to-wall coalition envisioned by Berlinguer & Co.

The task of the Trotskyists is not to give a left cover to this shameful electoralist class collaborationism, either through direct participation or "critical" support, but to provide intransigent Marxist criticism of the reform-



PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer

mists and centrists, refusing to give support to their candidates so long as they are committed to bourgeois coalitionism.

Crisis in the Christian Democracy

Following the "administrative" (municipal and regional) elections last June 15, when the PCI boosted its vote above 33 percent, long-time Christian Democratic boss Amintore Fanfani was ousted as DC secretary and replaced by a colorless "center" politician, Benigno Zaccagnini, in an effort to "rejuvenate" the party. But the cliques, clans and fiefdoms of the ruling party are so entrenched that a year later no significant step has been taken that could spruce up the DC's electoral image. On the contrary, the Lockheed affair indelibly stamped the party as the very incarnation of corruption: in April it was revealed that a former premier had received bribes in exchange for facilitat-



Italian Communist Party election posters proclaim: "The crisis of the Christian Democratic Party is paralyzing the country—Go with the PCI to save Italy."

ing the purchase of several military transport planes.

On the economic plane as well, the Christian Democrats have been unable to reverse their fortunes. In 1974 a severe balance of payments crisis was avoided through a \$2 billion loan from Germany, reputedly on the condition that the Communists be kept out of the government. For a time, the immediate foreign exchange crunch was averted and an industrial recovery seemed underway (industrial production in the last three months has increased by almost 20 percent). However, already a hefty trade deficit is in the offing for 1976, the lira has fallen by more than a third relative to the dollar and inflation is increasing (now at 21 percent) and due to rise sharply with the money supply up more than 50 percent over the past year (*Economist*, 5 June).

So the Christian Democracy is faced with the need to impose drastic anti-working-class austerity measures in a period of internal party crisis and declining popularity. Simultaneously the DC leaders are under considerable pressure from international and domestic power centers to draw a hard line against cooperation with the Communists. U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger issued numerous warnings against PCI participation in the government, the latest coming after Premier Moro officially consulted the Communists for the first time since 1947 shortly before sharply increasing taxes and bank interest rates in mid-March. The Pope, in turn, is goading for an anti-Communist crusade, with the Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, labeling the elections a choice between "liberty and dictatorship."

PCI and PSI: "Historic Compromise" or "Left Alternative"?

The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) opened the government crisis on December 31 when its secretary, Francesco De Martino, announced that it would

no longer support the sinking ship of the DC minority government, and that the PCI would somehow have to be brought into power. In the succeeding weeks, PSI leaders sought to appear to the left of the Communists, by proposing a "left alternative" and favoring abortion reform and other democratic measures which the PCI was willing to modify in the interests of a "broad" coalition with the party of the Catholic hierarchy. However, the Socialists' real motivation was to avoid being squeezed into irrelevance in a PCI-DC coalition.

By appealing to leftist-inclined workers and secular liberals, they hope to carve out their own electoral milieu without breaking from popular frontism. The PSI's "left alternative" is open to both the PRI and the Radicals (PR) as well as to an eventual left split from the Christian Democrats. And in any case, at the last Socialist Party congress a resolution was approved which holds open various governmental possibilities following the elections, including a "government of national union." Having seen its privileged relations with the DC over the last decade go up in smoke, the PSI seeks to establish a new position, as the axis of the popular front (and possibly head of government) with the bourgeois parties.

The Communist Party continues its efforts to consummate a popular-front government with the DC, a long-term goal which goes under the name of the "historic compromise." The reformist PCI's compromise with capitalism is, of course, of long standing. As Berlinguer recently said: "We have always offered to collaborate with the Christian Democrats, but they have always said, 'no'" (*New York Times*, May 30). In its conservative reform policies (amounting to little more than "clean government") in the "red regions," its opposition to early elections, its willingness to postpone a referendum on abortion and its clamping the lid on the latest round of contract negotiations, the PCI is enthusiastically demonstrating its

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Editorial Notes

Bi-Centennial Baloney

On March 27-28 the National Conference For A People's July 4th was held in New York. In the modest words of its organizers, "it was an historic decision, the first time in many years that the progressive movement in this country had achieved a working unity on such a wide range of issues" ("July 4th Bulletin," April 1976). The "working unity" was an agreement to hold a "People's July 4th" demonstration in Philadelphia with "floats, musical and other cultural displays" to reflect the lowest-common-denominator reformism of the "progressive movement."

Wallowing in the social-patriotism so dear to these aging New Left "activists" and Stalinists, the "July 4th Bulletin" obviously had trouble keeping itself from breaking into song. The opening sentence rhapsodized: "They came from across the country: from Los Angeles to New York City, from the deep South, the mountains of West Virginia and the Great Plains." One can almost hear Woodie Guthrie celebrating the redwood forests and the Gulf Stream waters.

The "July 4th Bulletin" lists the Spartacist League among the organizations attending the conference—a list prominently displayed directly beneath the "People's July 4th" Executive Board. Anyone not familiar with our organization would naturally assume that the SL endorsed the "People's Bicentennial." Observers from the SL were present at the conference but far from lending support to the enterprise, they assailed its nauseating populist patriotism. It is dishonest and contemptible of the "People's July 4th" to publicly imply Spartacist support for its cause in this manner. We demand that it remove the name of the Spartacist League from its literature and publicly state that our organization gives no support whatsoever to its campaign.

To those militants who may be taken in by the populist rhetoric of the "People's Bi-Centennial" hucksters, the revolutionary internationalist SL insists that "this land" will not be "your land" until the capitalist class and its imperialist system of exploitation, racism and war are swept away by a victorious proletarian revolution.

Vargaite Bedlam

In the aftermath of the terminal disintegration of the Healyite "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC) in 1971, its main former components proclaimed the reconstitution of political blocs with varying degrees of international pretensions. Healy's own English WRP, now headed by Mike Banda, continues to style itself the IC despite the near collapse of its U.S. imitator, the Workers League now headed by David North, and a substantial split in its most significant affiliate, the Greek EDE. Meanwhile the French OCI, whose main international support is based in Latin America, has entered upon a converging course with the reformist American SWP.

The most bizarre element of the former IC is the grouping around Michel Varga which styled itself the Ligue Internationale de Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale (LIRQI—International League Reconstructing the Fourth International). The LIRQI's initial support consisted of a left split from the OCI as well as a number of emigré groupings which claimed to have propaganda networks active in East Europe.

From inception the LIRQI took over the most apocalyptic aspects of the Healyites' "crisis"-mongering and the OCI's "imminence of the revolution." Much of the Vargaite's strident grandiosity was predicated upon the growth of an affiliate in Spain. In July 1974 the LIRQI proclaimed, "The proletarian revolution is knocking at Europe's door... the struggle of the LIRQI in Spain, through its Spanish section the PORE, opens the way to the European revolution by overthrowing Francoism!"

The voluntarism of the LIRQI was boundless. Declaring in late summer 1974 that it and it alone "fully actualizes the worldwide unity of the class struggle," it announced that the Fourth International would be rebuilt by the summer of 1975. Accordingly it authored an incredible letter in effect offering the Spartacist tendency a chance to get in on the ground floor—in exchange for footing the bill: "although we have the political means necessary to achieve this, we lack financial means" (September 1974 letter, reprinted in *Spartacist* édition française, No. 8, February 1975).

After some delay, the LIRQI duly proclaimed the Fourth International "rebuilt" on 30 January 1976.

Almost immediately it began agitating for a "Congress of the Fourth International" to be held in Barcelona in summer. Barcelona was also to be the site of an "International Youth Congress" announced for May 29.

The LIRQI's wildly inflated self-image extended to the Spanish PORE, which sought to present itself as "the second political force in the country" after the Communist Party:

"The Spanish section of the Fourth International, the PORE, whose role is increasingly decisive from day to day, and especially among the workers in Barcelona and Madrid, has put on the agenda preparing the revolutionary confrontation.... Increasingly, and everywhere, there is our section's fight, despite our still limited forces, to set off and organize the general strike against Francoism."

La Quatrième Internationale, March 1976 (article dated 12 March)

However, the LIRQI's grotesque extension of the worst aspects of the IC in degeneration apparently was not without internal opposition. The LIRQI meeting which proclaimed the Fourth International "rebuilt" was also forced to note that there were in the organization both "tendencies" and "factions" which opposed "the reconstruction of the Fourth International." The resistance to Varga's delusions of grandeur included—by the LIRQI's own admission (*Quatrième Internationale*, No. 25-26)—elements of the PORE.

It was only a matter of time until the Vargaite's catastrophism ran into a real catastrophe: the repression in Spain hit the LIRQI section. The LIRQI's 12 March attempt to explain the attack on the PORE militants shows no evidence that this confrontation with the outside world will puncture Varga's balloon of self-satisfaction:

"Now it is even more clear that the bourgeoisie counts on the Spanish CP to break the movement, and that to break the movement it must isolate and liquidate the revolutionaries, above all the PORE, the Fourth International.... Because it is indeed the proletarian party, our section is the target of bourgeois repression."

The ugly reality, however, is that the LIRQI may be paying the price for its own provocative ultimatum. Fully in line with its frequent grandiloquent boasts about East European work (including such specifics as a reference to "the Polish comrades living in Sweden") the LIRQI arrogantly disregarded the most elementary considerations of security. LIRQI publications prominently featured a photograph of a Barcelona demonstration captioned "in the first rows certain leaders of the PORE can be recognized" (reprinted in *Truth*, 1 April 1976)! The Varga sect's trumpeting of its calls for international gatherings in Barcelona did not bring down the walls of the Francoist dictatorship. Instead it is the militants of the PORE who will suffer the disastrous reverberations.

The LIRQI attempts to excommunicate from the workers movement any who dare challenge its authority. Arrogant assertion of infallibility has from the outset characterized its attitude toward the "Varga affair"—the scandal initiated by the OCI's charge that Varga had been a KGB and/or CIA agent (see *WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975). Although raising its accusations in a criminally irresponsible fashion, the OCI cited enough damaging evidence against Varga to warrant an impartial inquiry commission of the workers movement. When after nearly a year of struggle several organizations came to agree with the international Spartacist tendency that the LIRQI groups could not be members of an impartial investigative body, an authentic Commission of Inquiry was formed.

Since then the LIRQI has concentrated its fire on the Spartacist tendency, repeatedly accusing the Commission's participants of "capitulating" to the "theses of the anti-Trotskyist group, the Spartacist League" (*Quatrième Internationale*, 1 March 1976). The LIRQI has now taken refuge in the most blatant slander, charging that the Spartacist League and SWP "have set up with the OCI an 'objective' commission of inquiry behind closed doors" (*Truth*, 24 May 1976). In fact the Vargaite, like the OCI, were requested to appear before the Commission to present their case. The LIRQI responded by refusing to recognize the authority of any body which includes the Spartacist tendency, counterposing its own captive "commission" to the Commission of Inquiry which is open to all members of the workers movement—except, of course, the LIRQI and OCI.

The apocalyptic "program" and simple dishonesty of the LIRQI expose as utterly fraudulent the Vargaite's claim to stand for the Fourth International. Only the colossal irrelevance of this posturing sect prevents the LIRQI and its highly dubious leader, Michel Varga, from impeding the vital struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

I.S. Trips Over the Class Line

An article in the 31 May issue of the International Socialists *Workers' Power* begins with what, on the face of it, is a simple statement of Marxist principles. "Workers' Power," it claims, "has always said that the courts are not neutral. That they, like the police, the army, and all other governmental institutions are controlled by the employers."

But in the hands of charlatans like the I.S., Marxist principles can be misused for some mighty strange purposes. The article in question consists mainly of a reprint of a statement by Ken Paff in *Convoy*, the newsletter of Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), a union opposition grouping backed by the I.S. Paff, secretary of TDC, was recounting his experiences at an April court hearing in Washington, D.C., at which TDC was unsuccessfully bringing suit against the Teamster International to demand that union locals have the right to vote separately on contract supplements.

Paff is piously outraged at how the court showed no respect for the cause of the rank and file, but what most angered him was the collaboration between the Teamster bureaucracy and the trucking company bosses. Apparently the employers' federation entered the case on the side of the union leaders and thereafter labor and management lawyers worked hand and hand. Railing against this, Paff moaned: "Here we were, asking for our rights as union members, and the employers were getting into our union affairs."

Surely they jest. It takes real nerve to accuse the Teamster tops of bringing the companies into union affairs when in fact it was the TDC which involved the bourgeoisie in the first place, by submitting the matter to the capitalist courts! Why, indeed, do the I.S. and TDC advocate submitting the question of voting rights on the contract, which should be determined solely by the union membership, to courts which even they admit are "not neutral" and are "controlled by the employers"? Perhaps *Workers' Power* would care to enlighten its readers further concerning its strangely contradictory "lesson in Marxism."

Letter

Vancouver

2 June 1976

Dear Comrades:

The article "For A Cross-Canada General Strike Against Wage Controls" (*WV*, 28 May 1976) contains a factual error. The British Columbia Social Credit (Socred) government has not yet passed Bill 22 which would ban all strikes for four years on the B.C. Railroad. The "Railway Operation Continuation Act," announced on 5 May, has been touted by sections of the bourgeoisie as the first step in banning all strikes in so-called "essential services." Recently, the Socreds have broadened the attack on public workers by ordering back to work thousands of striking non-medical hospital employees for a 21 day "cooling off period" and by threatening to break any strike by the ferry boat workers who are organized into the B.C. Government Employees Union.

The reaction of the labor fakers and the New Democratic Party (NDP) to this offensive has been nothing but cheap talk about a province-wide general strike from the former, and not even strong vocal protest from the latter. In fact, former NDP premier Dave Barrett, running to regain his seat in the legislature in a 3 June by-election, has had *nothing at all* to say about Bill 22 or the back to work orders. Most likely Barrett can find nothing to object to as the Socreds' attacks are not qualitatively different from those of last year's NDP government which sent 90,000 strikers back to work.

The need to oust the treacherous bureaucrats and to forge a class-struggle trade union leadership committed to fighting for a workers government that would expropriate the capitalists has once again been clearly posed as the pressing task of those who seek to defeat the attacks of the ruling class once and for all.

Communist greetings,
O.S.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mario Muñoz Campaign Calls Demonstration in NYC

The international campaign to save Chilean revolutionary labor leader Mario Muñoz from death at the hands of the murderous Argentine junta continues to receive broad support from socialists, trade unionists and others concerned for the defense of human rights in Latin America.

Telegrams have been received from the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees in response to numerous requests for UN action to ensure safe conduct out of Argentina for Muñoz and his family. One such telegram, sent on May 29, in reply to a letter from Andrew Bewin, a New Democratic Party member of parliament in Canada, states:

"Ref your letter 12 May concerning Mario Muñoz. Would like to assure you United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees following this case closely together with his regional representative in Buenos Aires who has intervened highest level Argentinian authorities."

Press coverage of the Muñoz case has also increased. While the bourgeois press generally greeted the Videla coup, and subsequently has downplayed reports of the escalating rightist repres-

sion, last week the 4 June issue of the *Toronto Star* carried an article by Harvey Levenstein, associate professor of history at McMaster University, describing Muñoz' plight. In Vienna, Austria, the 5 June *Arbeiterzeitung* also carried an article on Muñoz.

Among the many new endorsements received by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz during the past two weeks are those of Pedro Pascal Allende, nephew of the slain Chilean president Salvador Allende, a member of the Socialist Party of Chile* and former national director of housing under the Popular Unity government; Alfred Ströer, vice president of the European Federation of Free Trade Unions* and general secretary of the Austrian Union Federation*; North London Teachers Association, National Union of Teachers* (England); Alfred Kastler, physicist; Jane Fonda, actress; Rudi Dutschke, former German SDS leader; Peter Yarrow, singer; Paul Targot, Communist Party* senator (France); Christian Pierre, first secretary, Paris Federation of the Socialist Party; factory council at Carlo Erba

North London Teachers Defend Muñoz

The following resolution was passed by a June 7 meeting of North London (England) delegates of the National Union of Teachers (NUT).

Whereas, Mario Muñoz is a leader of a Chilean copper miners' union, and his persecution and denial of basic democratic rights by the Argentinian government represents an attack on all trade unionists;

We, therefore, move, that the NLTA [North London Teachers Association] endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz in accordance with the following slogans:

Hands Off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Chile and Argentina!

Stop the Manhunt!

And that this body calls upon the National Union of Teachers and the Trades Union Congress to support this case and for the Labour Government to do the following:

1. To demand of the relevant United Nations subcommittee to extend its protection to this man and his wife and children;
2. To make a formal and explicit offer of asylum in Britain;
3. To make these points clear to the Argentinian government.

North London Teachers Association

SpA, Milano (Italy); and Joe Alvarez, International representative, Northern Region 6, United Auto Workers*.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz reports that arrangements are currently being made for delegations to visit Argentine consulates in New York and elsewhere on behalf of Muñoz. In conjunction with these delegations, demonstrations will be held outside the consulates protesting the victimization of Muñoz and other leftist and labor militants in Argentina; following the visits, press conferences will be held to

further publicize the campaign.

Financially, the campaign has received generous support from endorsers and other concerned individuals. To date, the Committee reports receipt of donations totalling \$7,503. However, the tremendous costs of mounting an international campaign of protest and pressure require even more. *WV* urgently requests its readers to support the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, by endorsements, seeking support from others and through financial contributions. ■

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

Irwin Silber Fans the Flames of Eclecticism at Guardian Gala

"Third Worldists" and Peking Loyalists: The Rift Widens

NEW YORK CITY, June 5—"Anybody who suggested that we reprint the Chinese position on the Cuban troops in Angola certainly would not have been doing China a favor."

Speaking here last night at a well-attended forum on "The International Line of the U.S. Left," *Guardian* executive editor Irwin Silber in these words demonstrated the kind of slimy agility required by the soft Stalinists whose niche as "friends" of all "pro-

gressives" has become rather uncomfortable lately.

Although promoted for weeks with fanfare as the opening of a "discussion" on Maoist foreign policy, the *Guardian* forum above all avoided any analysis of the admitted "colossal errors" resulting from the Chinese alliance with U.S. imperialism against their bureaucratic rivals monopolizing power in the Russian degenerated workers state. Rather, playing the old New Left "united front against U.S. imperialism" tune, the *Guardian* now more than ever is attempting to be the mouthpiece for all the vicarious "Third World" nationalists, sub-Menshevik "movement" leftovers and "Marxist-Leninist" refugees disaffected with China's foreign policy and alienated from the hard-line "party building" Maoist sects.

"Détente of a New Type"?

"What brought you here in the first place," Silber croaked, "was the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and it is unity in the struggle against U.S. imperialism that is the only thing that can bring us together again." Seeking to reconcile the appetites of the *Guardian* constituency of petty-bourgeois radical hand-clappers with the betrayals of the Chinese bureaucracy in its promiscuous courtship of U.S. imperialism, Silber preached "self-determination" for all "friends of China." Again and again returning to the theme that "our movement must develop its own revolutionary line," Silber insisted that the "world revolutionary movement" has

"no single center today," no "established church" and no "papal infallibility."

In order to distance the *Guardian* from the stench of Peking's betrayals without leaving the trough of Maoism Silber cynically invokes the national-centeredness inherent in Maoism as a Stalinist ideology justifying "socialism in one country." The so-called "proletarian internationalism" touted by the *Guardian* is nothing more than a cynical "détente" with the back-stabbing bureaucrats in Peking and a declaration of independence to cheer the struggles of its choice.

So sham is the "internationalism" of the *Guardian* that Silber slithered through his entire prepared talk without once directly confronting Chinese foreign policy. Lapsing into the aesopian anonymity often employed by *Peking Review*, Silber at one point in his panegyrics for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) noted that all "socialist" governments supported the MPLA, "with one notable exception." Silber refrained from noting this "notable" enemy of the MPLA: "People's" China.

In addition to this shadow boxing, "critical Maoist" Silber repeatedly used the "literal Maoists," especially the shameless October League (OL) but also the pariah Revolutionary Communist Party, as punching bags for polemical jabs at the Peking line. For example, Silber pounced on the OL, the former bedfellow-traveller of the *Guardian*, for allegedly "pulling out of



Irwin Silber

WV Photo

thin air" the contention that before the introduction of Cuban troops in Angola, the FNLA and UNITA together commanded the support of the majority of the population. But, like all its "analyses" of Angola, the OL merely pulled this right out of the pages of *Peking Review*.

U-Turns Allowed on the "Capitalist Road"

Only during the bureaucratically orchestrated discussion period did Silber even pretend to address the substantial issues of Chinese foreign policy. Two speakers expressing the viewpoint of the OL attacked the *Guardian* for anti-Maoism by refusing to brand the Soviet Union as "capitalist" and the "main enemy."

Indeed, the criminal allegation that the USSR represents "social-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Strike Harvester to Stop Layoffs!

MELROSE PARK, Illinois The International Harvester (IH) tractor works here has announced that 175 workers are to be laid off in June. While the agricultural implements division of the UAW has fared considerably better than auto workers throughout the last two years of economic crisis, IH has been hard hit by layoffs in recent months. Word of the layoffs comes only one month after the company announced record quarterly profits of over \$50 million and only six months after another major layoff in the same plant.

December's layoffs hit when the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund was still relatively high and the company slid them past the union with brazen lies that they were to last only a month. In fact, most of the workers were not recalled until more than four months later, and 250 are still

throughout the Harvester chain and backed up by the full power of the International." While calling for full and unlimited SUB payments and unlimited recall rights for all those laid off, the leaflet raised the demand of a sliding scale of wages and hours as the "only real solution to layoffs."

Unfortunately, but unsurprisingly, the only response from the pro-Woodcock Local 6 bureaucracy has been to haggle with the company over terms for a surrender: 175 workers on "indefinite" layoffs versus 350 on "limited" layoffs. The bureaucracy's "victory" leaves 175 Local 6 members once again jobless.

While the avowedly pro-capitalist bureaucrats were engaged in plea bargaining, one group of ostensible militants not only declined to counter the company's attack with a strike call,



TDC leader Gene Fleszar (speaking) with I.S. supporter Steve Kindred at pre-strike Detroit Teamster rally in April.

TDC Backs Strikebreaking Hoffa Bureaucrat in Detroit Teamsters

DETROIT In clique-ridden Teamsters (IBT) Local 299 here last week, Robert Lins was elected by a split vote of the local executive board to succeed resigning president Dave Johnson. Lins, a Local trustee and business agent, was chosen over Richard Fitzsimmons, son of Teamster International president Frank Fitzsimmons.

Under existing anti-democratic union rules, vacancies in local offices are filled through appointment by the executive board rather than by membership election. At first the executive board was deadlocked between Fitzsimmons and Otto Wendel, the Local's secretary-treasurer and the choice of the pro-Hoffa faction in the bureaucracy. Then Johnson, another Hoffa ally, prevailed on Wendel to step down in favor of Lins. That done, the resigning president threw his vote to Lins and broke the tie.

As head of one of the most volatile IBT locals in the country, Dave Johnson had come under tremendous pressure for his role in the recent Teamster contract. He and International vice president Robert Holmes were booed off the platform at Cobo Hall April 5 by 3,000 Teamsters when the bureaucrats attempted to ram through a vote of approval for Fitzsimmons' sellout contract. Dissidents in the Local, spearheaded by Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), then launched an abortive three-day wildcat that fell apart after the companies obtained back-to-work court injunctions. Johnson's role in the strike not only made him unpopular with the rank and file, but useless to the International as well, because of his demonstrated inability to control the membership.

In recent years the Detroit Local has been a battleground for factions in the bureaucracy supporting ex-IBT president Jimmy Hoffa and those loyal to Frank Fitzsimmons. Detroit was Hoffa's home territory and had been targeted as the base from which his return to power would be launched. This touched off a violent power struggle between Hoffa and Fitzsimmons forces.

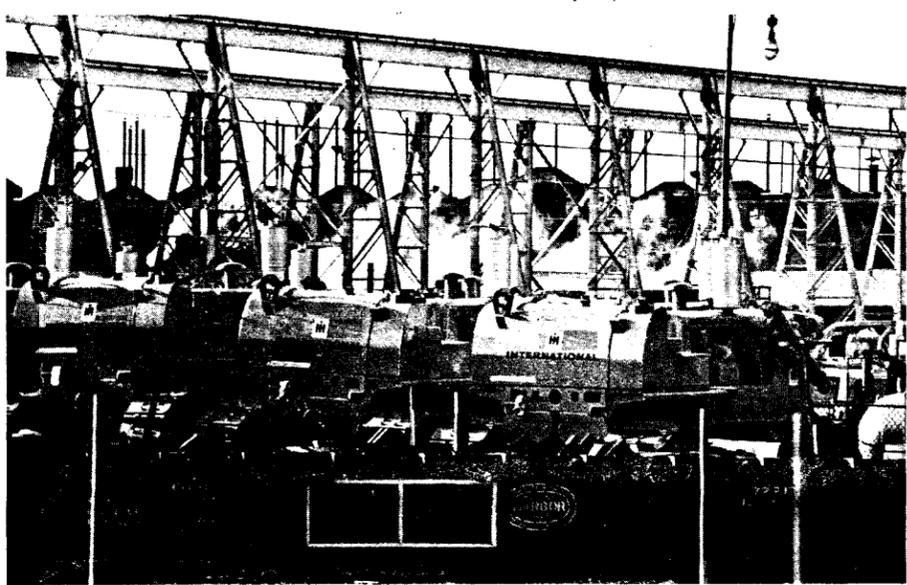
At one point Local 299 president Johnson, a Hoffa ally who had planned to appoint his mentor to an executive post in the Local before Hoffa's disappearance last summer, had his cabin cruiser blown up. Subsequently a

Lincoln Continental belonging to Fitzsimmons' son was destroyed by a bomb. According to the *New York Times* (10 August 1975), "organizers and officers on both sides were slugged and shot at so often that all are now under orders never to go out alone." The mysterious circumstances surrounding Hoffa's disappearance hardly eased the tension in the Local.

Despite their history of feuding, both wings of the Local bureaucracy united to help the companies break the Detroit Teamsters wildcat. All the Local 299 bureaucrats, including Johnson, Richard Fitzsimmons, Wendel, Lins and Hoffa's son Jimmy, Jr. (a lawyer and the Local's director of organizing, who is considered a potential rallying point for Hoffa forces), were conspicuously absent from the picket lines. TDC leader Peter Camarata told *WV* that the new president Lins was seen around the city during the wildcat trying to get Teamsters back to work.

One would think that TDC would have a gut hatred for a strikebreaker like Lins, who was active in defeating a TDC-led wildcat. Alas, this is not the case! Originally TDC launched a petition campaign for a rank-and-file election to fill the vacancy. When the petitions were "ignored," however, TDC lined up strongly behind Wendel, including organizing a demonstration of 300 Teamsters in his support on May 23. When Wendel withdrew, TDC backed

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Bulldozers ready for shipment at International Harvester complex in Melrose Park, Illinois.

waiting. Furthermore, many of those now projected for layoff have no SUB remaining. Even the company admits that the new layoffs are "indefinite." What is clearly called for in this situation is an immediate strike against the layoffs, to be spread throughout the entire Harvester chain.

Only the militant oppositionists of the Labor Struggle Caucus have raised this call in UAW Local 6. In a leaflet entitled "Strike Against the Layoffs" distributed at the Melrose Park IH plant last week, they demanded that an immediate special meeting and strike vote by the membership be called in order to arrange "a local strike to be extended

but instead launched their own attack on other workers. The Rank and File Coalition (RFC), a Local 6 grouping praised to the skies by the reformist International Socialists (I.S.), put forward a program of "militantly" begging Harvester to allow some repair work to be done "before taking a layoff."

Such simpering capitulation, revealing the total absence of a will to struggle and strategy for victory, could be expected from these "militants," but it is followed up by a nauseatingly parochialist chauvinist appeal to "defend our jobs" at the expense of workers in other plants and other countries. Noting that IH has been "farming out" much of its repair and assembly work, the RFC squeals in despair: "Perhaps more tractors will be assembled overseas in the future. Whatever comes of this farm out policy can only be disastrous to us and our families." The RFC leaflet went so far as to offer the company suggestions as to where exactly in the plant this repair work could be done... just so it stays in "our" shop.

Lenin coined the expression "social patriots" to describe those traitorous "socialists" who preferred waging an imperialist war against foreign workers to class war against their "own" bourgeoisie. In all fairness to the social-democratic traitors of the Second International, it must be noted that they succumbed to the tremendous pressures of a world war. For the "militants" touted by the social-democratic I.S., however, a layoff of 175 workers is more than sufficient to bring out their social patriotism, attacking their class brothers and sisters while accepting company justifications of a lack of work! ■

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Link Up with Warehouse Strikers—Bring Out BART, AC Transit!

Spread Alameda County Workers Strike!

OAKLAND, June 3—Over 5,000 Alameda County workers walked off their jobs in hospitals, welfare offices and other facilities yesterday in response to a vicious union-busting scheme of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors. The strike of three locals of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) extends throughout Oakland, Berkeley, Hayward, San Leandro, Fremont and other East Bay cities. Although it points in the direction of a county-wide general strike, the Alameda walkout is threatened with the same disaster suffered by striking San Francisco city workers recently as a result of divisive, business-as-usual tactics by the treacherous Central Labor Council leaders.

Aping the arrogant tactics of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, the Alameda Board adopted an insulting wage ordinance for its employees May 27, attempting to cut wages for the coming fiscal year beginning July 1. Pleading poverty and whipping up anti-labor sentiment with talk of new tax increases, the board "offered" the county's 390 craft workers a "raise" of 1 percent now and 1 percent in six months! Meanwhile, an equally wretched 3.2 percent increase was proposed to the lower-paid workers represented by the SEIU. But the Board exposed its hypocrisy about the need for "austerity" when it voted management raises of 6.8 percent.

As in San Francisco, the offer to skilled tradesmen was designed to sever the traditional link of county craft workers' wages to those in private industry. In this case, however, the cowardly craft union leaders rammed the settlement through at a membership meeting on June 1, leaving the SEIU locals to strike alone against the wage ordinance. In S.F., craft locals struck

after a rotten settlement had been foisted upon lower-paid clerks and other city workers, resulting in massive crossing of picket lines by these workers.

The three striking SEIU locals—250, 535 and 616—representing hospital workers, social workers and clerical workers, are composed largely of women, with a high proportion of black workers in the membership. Picketing has been massive and effective at many locations, such as Highland Hospital and the county courts, where the clerks are out. But at the Hayward Hall of Justice, a \$12-million project still under construction, work continued despite the picketing.

Militant Ranks at Strike Meeting

At the final pre-strike meeting at Oakland Auditorium June 1, about 1,000 members of the three SEIU locals enthusiastically approved the strike call for the next day. The meeting began with "Solidarity Forever" and picket-line instructions for most county locations had been prepared. With such beginnings, the strikers were already better prepared than the unions under the crusty S.F. labor misleaders had been! Local 250 secretary-treasurer Tim Twomey threatened to "close this county down tighter than a drum." Asserting that S.F. city workers lost because they "got too fat and didn't know how to fight," Twomey offered instead a call for "power to the workers!"

On the concrete wage demands, however, such verbal protestations of militancy by the leaders have already given way to a pragmatic attempt to appear "reasonable." The opening proposal on March 25 had called for a 12.5 percent increase, but at the June 1 meeting negotiator Jay Levine listed the union's demands as 7.6 percent including fringe benefits to match the percentage given management. He described this compromise-in-advance as being "within earshot" of the rise in the cost of living. Before the strike is over, such compromises could place the benefits out of "earshot" altogether.

Local 535 business agent Dave Kramer gave a report on strike strategy which was not subject to discussion and vote. Placing emphasis on mass picketing, Kramer nevertheless made it clear that the strike would be kept within narrow bounds. The vital decision to call out the Alameda County (AC) transit bus drivers and shut down the BART trains would be left to the SEIU strike council and the Alameda Central Labor Council. Thus the strike is isolated to 5,500 workers with minimal social weight. Buses and trains must be shut down at once in solidarity, and the strike extended to the Oakland airport and docks!

While a number of major union officials put in an appearance at the June 1 meeting, it was clear that their main purpose was to keep the struggle within narrow business-unionist bounds. Ed Collins, assistant secretary of the Central Labor Council, came merely to "release" strike sanction and advocate that county workers get "at



Striking workers picketing Alameda County courthouse last week.

WV Photo

least" what the Board is paying management. Enthusiastic support was expressed however for the one concrete announcement of support. Teamsters Local 70 president Jim Muniz said his members would respect the picket lines. This support has already been felt in the strike, as garbage pickups and food deliveries have been stopped at hospitals and other facilities.

The Board of Supervisors has not been fazed in the slightest by the timid steps of the union bureaucrats and boldly threatens to break the strike. Sheriff's deputies have been heavily deployed to protect scabs and demoralize pickets. Strike coordinator Shirley Campbell complained that there were 15 deputies for nine pickets at one location, prompting an angry refusal to comment from the sheriff (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 June). The Board also voted today by three to one to hire temporary personnel "as necessary." Although rescinded later in the day, this vote was a dire warning of the scab-herding in store for the strike whenever the Board feels it can get away with it.

Sweet "Reasonableness" Gets a Kick in the Teeth From the Bosses

Instead of denouncing this open threat in no uncertain terms, union leaders were "furious" because they had already offered to provide emergency services of "any nature" to the Board and had even gone so far as to set up an emergency 24-hour phone line to union headquarters for the Board to call for help. "We did not limit our offer," protested Campbell, "we simply told them that we would provide services anywhere they felt they had an emergency. They indicated that this was fine" (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 June). The way the Board will treat such grovelling "reasonableness" is with a kick in the teeth. Already Superior Court Judge Robert Barber showed the way the strikebreakers will go when he issued an ultimatum to the 110 workers in his jurisdiction: "If you intend to maintain employment in your present capacity, you are hereby ordered to report to work" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 2 June).

Striking SEIU militants must not be misled by the capitulation of their leaders before the altar of "public service." While certain services might be maintained in the interests of gaining public support for the strike, these should be decided upon by the strikers themselves through democratic discussion and vote and should certainly not

include the unlimited offer of services "anywhere the Board feels it has an emergency" provided by Campbell! A lesson should also be learned from the behavior of the sheriff's deputies: they are the strikebreaking agents of the bosses' state. Like all cops, prison guards, etc., they should be driven out of the unions (in this case, the Operating Engineers). But despite occasional phrases for "workers power," the SEIU leaders have no intention of waging a militant class struggle against the bourgeois state. In fact they are firmly committed to its maintenance and consequently have no qualms about including the hired guns of the class enemy in the unions.

The struggle to win this strike means first of all a militant strike strategy based on class-struggle solidarity going beyond county lines. Besides shutting down AC transit, BART, the airport and docks, the strike should be extended to nearby counties such as Contra Costa, where workers face the same threats of attacks on wages due to "austerity." Mass mobilizations of all striking unions should be called, and a joint strike committee elected from the ranks to hold the leaders to the commitment that no striking union will return to work before all settle. The strike must be linked up with the joint Teamster and ILWU warehouse strike.

In addition, the strike must be turned into a political offensive against the union-busters. As in San Francisco, Alameda County rulers are using ballot propositions to set middle-class voters against the workers and smash union gains. Two Oakland propositions for the June 8 ballot attack firemen: these must be rejected! Remove them from the ballot! In addition, the strike should win the unconditional right to strike for all public workers. It must call for expanded welfare and unemployment benefits along with massive jobs programs. For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay! Down with the county's plans to spend \$100 million on new jails and courthouses! Militants must demand: cops out of the unions, for militant defense of the picket lines, reopen the investigation of the Emeryville police and jail the murderers of Tyrone Guyton!

The SEIU leaders, no matter how verbally militant, will never accede to these demands. A class-struggle leadership must be built in Alameda County unions to carry the struggle forward in the interests of all workers. ■

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Confronted by SL

República Editor Hails Strikebreaker Carvalho

At a well-attended forum in New York June 5, the former editor of the now-defunct Lisbon leftist daily *República*, Alexandre Oliveira, made a pitch for "people's power" and an alliance with "revolutionary officers" of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The event was many months out of date, with last year's "MFA-People's Alliance" posters prominently displayed and a political documentary film (*Viva Portugal*) that ended with the April 1975 elections. Oliveira's message was that despite setbacks all was not lost in Portugal, and the assembled liberals and radicals should contribute to *República's* successor, the weekly *Gazeta da Semana*.

For the most part, the over-long film by three German TV journalists was an apology for the left wing of the MFA, which was largely purged following the coup by right-wing officers last November 25. *Viva Portugal* does, however, show one key event in dramatic and revealing depth: the attempted Spinozist putsch of 11 March 1975. Scrambling from one side to the other as attacking paratroopers approached Light Artillery Regiment No. 1 (RAL-1, later RALIS) on the outskirts of the capital, Portuguese television reporters captured the incredible confusion surrounding this botched coup (and most of the other key events of the last two years dominated by murky in-fighting within the officer corps). At one point the paras' second in command, asked what was going on, replies, "Well, quite frankly I don't know."

After the paratroop commander decides to call off the attack there are dramatic scenes of fraternization between the soldiers of the two sides. But the politically most significant episode was the negotiation that produced the truce. Left-wing RAL-1 officer Dinis de Almeida traces the chain of command and finally convinces the paratroop leader that everything can be resolved by appealing to their superiors, COPCON (Continental Operations Command) chief General Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho and the president, Francisco da Costa Gomes.

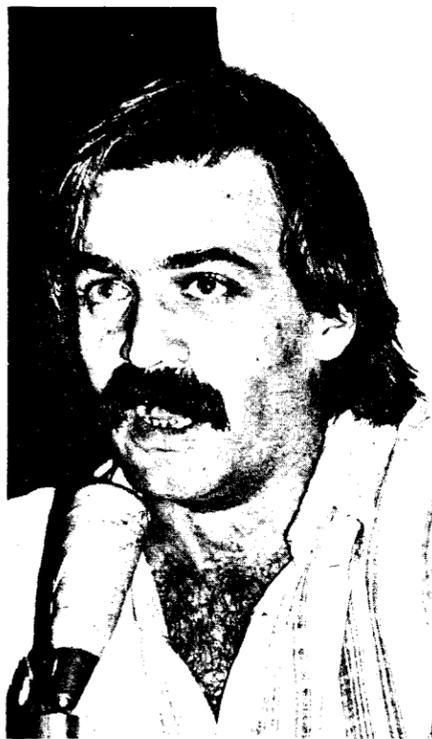
From the April 1974 "Revolution of the Carnations" forward, even the most left of the "socialist officers" in Portugal did not break from the military hierarchy. On March 11 the paratroop commander capitulated to Almeida because Carvalho was in the saddle; eight months later, on November 25 it was Almeida who bowed to the reactionaries, because Carvalho deserted his followers to side with Costa Gomes. The army was not split on class lines, winning the soldiers to the leadership of the workers, but instead according to the divisions within the officer corps.

This is a key fact in explaining the ease with which a few hundred commandos were able to mop up all the "red regiments" in Lisbon in the space of a few hours.

Only in the discussion session following the film did the real political questions come out, through the intervention of supporters of the Spartacist League. *Workers Vanguard* editor Jan Norden challenged Oliveira to defend the takeover of *República* by its printers in 1975. While stating the SL's defense of the printers against government repression, he pointed out that this attempt to silence the newspaper's Socialist editor came down to censorship by the bourgeois state. Norden then asked:

"How do you defend, both in *República* and now in the *Gazeta*, support to former General Carvalho, who is an officer of the bourgeois army and has never broken with the bourgeois army, and whom you are now supporting for president in Portugal? [Army chief of staff Ramalho] Eanes is the candidate of the 25th of November, and you are supporting the man who led to the 25th of November."

Oliveira avoided the question of Carvalho and denied the *República* workers relied on the military. They were, he said, "building a revolutionary legality and... it was not imposed by the Revolutionary Council or anybody at all." Claiming that all the workers asked of the government was to let them publish a newspaper and decide its policies, and to "defend the people's power movement," Oliveira argued: "This is part of the connection between the revolutionary officers, the revolutionary soldiers and the people...." He had no explanation, however, for the ease with which the generals' "Revolutionary Council" closed down *República* last December (its military editor



Alexandre Oliveira

WV Photo

resigned and the paper was returned to its owners).

A few minutes later a second Spartacist supporter took up the same theme. "Isn't it true," he asked, "that Carvalho's troops were used to break the TAP strike [in September 1974], and also isn't it true that during the November 25 barracks revolt he appeared on TV with Costa Gomes who was calling for repression?... Isn't it true that support for the left military set the stage for November 25 because the soldiers did not break with their bourgeois officers... and thus set the stage for Eanes' coming to power?"

The moderator sought to distort the question by "summarizing": "Essentially he is asking, 'is it not true that various forces supported Otelio, whom the Spartacist League apparently is opposed to,' and at another point tried to stop Oliveira from replying (which he refused to do). But the former *República* editor's first words spoke volumes about the illusions of the "people's power movement" in Carvalho and the other "revolutionary officers": "Otelio must not be condemned forever because of breaking the TAP strike." When a militant in the crowd replied, "But after Chile how can you continue to have confidence in the military?," Oliveira responded: "I have no confidence in the military.... It's concrete confidence in this and that, in this man and the other man, in the officers of the RALIS, in the officers of the COPCON." Which only proves the point. ■

Free Anti-Apartheid Fighters!

SWAPO Militants Sentenced to Death

The South African apartheid government has condemned two black militants to death under the notorious catch-all Terrorism Act. Hendrik Shikongo and Aaron Muchimba, members of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) were sentenced on May 12 after being convicted of participation in "terroristic activities." Two female members of the nationalist organization were jailed for seven and five years respectively.

The trial was linked with the assassination last August of quisling South African appointed Ovamboland chief minister Filemon Elifas. Shikongo was charged with transporting three men who allegedly killed Elifas. The other defendants were charged with activities such as contributing funds that aided SWAPO's fight for independence of Southwest Africa (Namibia). Most of this blatantly political trial dealt with the nature and goals of SWAPO rather than with any specific charges.

These sentences represent the first time the capital punishment provisions of the draconian Terrorism Act have been imposed. Clearly, the Pretoria regime is attempting to set an example to all militants fighting its racist oppression of non-whites and the extension of its nefarious "bantustan" schemes to the former German colony. Left and labor militants must demand the immediate and unconditional release of Shikongo, Muchimba, their co-defendants and all imprisoned opponents of white supremacist rule in southern Africa.

Telegrams of protest can be sent to the South African Embassy at 3051 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

The Dark Side of the M

South Korean Anti-Commun

Bad times breed false prophets. The depression-wracked U.S., lacking even a minimally politically conscious workers movement, is an especially fertile breeding ground for reactionary cultism. The proliferation of nut-fringe revivalist fads and "consciousness-raising" rackets—Scientology and Hare Krishna, "Jesus freaks" and transcendental meditators—is the product of despair.

In past months, New York City has been invaded by legions of fervent young "moonies"—followers of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, the South Korean messianic charlatan and right-wing zealot. White-uniformed "moonies" descended upon Manhattan business districts sweeping up the streets in their "Make America Beautiful" publicity stunt. Posters were plastered throughout the city. The whole operation was aimed at producing a large turnout for Moon's "Bicentennial God Bless America" extravaganza at Yankee Stadium on June 1. Moon's organizers hoped that as many as 200,000 would turn out for the gala occasion.

But despite the all-out publicity push for the event, which reportedly cost the self-styled "Universal Father" a million dollars, the crowd of perhaps 25,000 did not even match the turnout at Moon's first major New York event, a Madison Square Garden rally in September 1974. Moon's grandiose effort to boost the respectability of his "Unification Church" and broaden the audience for his pulpit-pounding brand of anti-communist revivalism was far from an unqualified success.

The glassy-eyed "moonies" sang patriotic songs in unison, cheered as if on cue and waved little American flags. But several thousand of the spectators expressed their opinions by booing, shouting and whistling from the moment Moon began his tirade. The field was bombarded with programs, balloons and other decorations. Some contributed to the carnival atmosphere by exploding firecrackers and smoke bombs. Outside the stadium assorted "holy rollers" protested Moon's claim to be the new messiah.

The self-proclaimed "Lord of the Second Advent" was introduced by his top American shill, Neal Salonen. Downplaying the cultist pitch, Salonen rhapsodized, "I guess brass bands are just about as American as apple pie" and "Let's have a cheer for god and America." As he ascended to the podium, the "messiah" from Korea was hailed not by his usual titles but as "a humanitarian," "one in a long line of immigrants who have made this country great."

In long, bellowed bursts of Korean interspersed with translation, Moon delivered a harangue entitled "God's Hope for America" which lauded the U.S. as god's chosen imperialism:

"Of all the immigrants, the righteous men of God were to find their proper place as leaders in America. All the different races and nationalities of the world harmonized upon this land to create God-centered families, churches and the nation of America.... In a short 200 years, God raised this nation to be the mightiest nation on earth."

Moon's insistence that his doctrine of "Godism" is an "ecumenical" form of Christianity "uniting the cultures of the East and the West," like his Bicentennial hoopla, is intended to dissociate this business-suited "messiah" from the more exotic gurus, yogis, shamans and prophets who regularly

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Rightist cult leader Sun Myung Moon



Bert Miller

Moonie promoting god and country on the streets of New York.

carve out earthly paradises from the wallets of light-minded, petty-bourgeois faddists. The Unification Church has made a point of trying to win favorable attention from right-wing bourgeois politicians.

Through front groups like the Freedom Leadership Foundation and American Youth for a Just Peace, Moon campaigned for support for the imperialist Vietnam war. He financed a media blitz and organized rallies, pray-ins, fasts and all-night vigils to back Nixon after the Watergate scandal. For his efforts, the celestial pimp was accorded a private audience with the presidential crook in early 1974.

Moon courts the rich, famous and powerful. Kicking off a four-month tour in 1973, he held an exclusive dinner at the Waldorf Astoria, addressing what was described as "a prosperous looking crowd which was liberally sprinkled with U.S. military uniforms" (*Time*, 15 October 1973). Last November he sponsored an "International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences" in which 350 prominent academics participated.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation conducts extensive lobbying activities on Capitol Hill, cultivating support for increased aid to the South Korean regime of butcher Park Chung Hee. With the help of Representative Richard Ichord, former chairman of the Internal Security Committee, Moon

recently addressed a group of congressmen in the House Caucus Room. He quickly demonstrated that, religious mumbo-jumbo aside, his world view was not so dissimilar to that of the assembled politicians:

"After the victory of World War II, God expected America to further strengthen her leadership of the allies and to safeguard and manage the defeated countries and their protectorates. If America had clearly learned God's desire, she would never have yielded anything to the Soviet Union, the chief of the Satanic world.... On the contrary, however, America knowingly or unknowingly gave up many helpless nations in Asia, permitted to Communists to claim Eastern Europe as satellites, and allowed Korea and Germany to be divided....

"Furthermore, when America retreated from commitments to safeguard free nations such as Vietnam and allowed them to be victimized, America's credibility fell to an all-time low."

Moon functions like an unofficial envoy of the Park regime, which in the post-Vietnam era certainly shares his concern that U.S. imperialism maintain its "commitments" to "helpless nations" in Asia. Two of his closest aides are former military attachés in the South Korean embassy. A *New York Times* reporter (25 May) documented rumors that Unification Church officials were able to transmit money and private messages through diplomatic channels. Moon is intimately linked with various of Park's "cultural" and "educational" propaganda outlets. The Church's International Federation for Victory Over Communism runs a political indoctrination center for South Korean government employees.

The Unification Church stands squarely in the Asian tradition—strong in both South Korea and Japan, where Moon claims hundreds of thousands of adherents—of mass politico-religious sects thriving on anti-Communism and often sponsored by the most extreme chauvinist wing of the bourgeoisie. Moon himself is a millionaire industrialist paying starvation wages to the Church members who work in his Korean plants, manufacturing weapons, handicrafts, paints and pharmaceuticals. While clergymen critical of the Park dictatorship are imprisoned, Moon held a World Rally for Korean Freedom in June 1975 at which reportedly over a million people pledged willingness to die in battle against North Korea.

In Japan Moon's activities are supported by the notorious ultra-rightist Yoshio Kodama, the power broker implicated in the Lockheed scandal. An article in the Presbyterian magazine *A.D.* (May 1974) on former Presbyterian minister Moon notes that "Substantial sums may come from right-wing Japanese industrialists and groups that are eager to re-establish the economic power Japan once held over Korea and who consider Moon 'their man'."

In Japan the demi-monde of religious fanaticism, bourgeois revanchism and criminality cohabited by Moon's henchmen and Kodama may well be the breeding ground for a fascist movement. But in the American context, the Unification Church will not become a successful fascist movement, despite its poisonously reactionary doctrines and fanatical petty-bourgeois following. A Korean-speaking "messiah" will not get far with the social base of the Ku Klux Klan. The wellsprings of American

continued on page 10



WV Photo

Cops protect racists as Klan/Nazi-organized mob attacks blacks in south Chicago Sunday.

Daley's Cops: No Protection Against Nazi Violence

Racist Assaults Escalate in Chicago

CHICAGO, June 7—Yesterday 500 white racists, openly organized by the Nazis (National Socialist White People's Party) and the Ku Klux Klan, rioted in the racial border areas of southwest Chicago. The initial purpose of the joint Nazi/KKK mobilization was to prevent a scheduled march into white ethnic (largely Lithuanian) Marquette Park by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. A church-organized pacifist group, the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement was protesting the failure to enforce open housing and a recent wave of attacks on blacks in white neighborhoods of the city.

When the black civil rights protest march was wisely called off, the Nazi Klan-organized racists ran wild. Armed with baseball bats and chains, they attacked black motorists at random. Small groups invaded the neighboring West Englewood ghetto, throwing rocks and bottles at any black person they saw. Six blacks, including a pregnant woman and two children, were sent to the hospital by the racist marauders.

The police, for their part, not only did little to stop the Nazis and Klansmen, they even protected them. When a group of blacks gathered on the ghetto side of the Western Avenue borderline, the cops moved quickly to cordon them off. The white rioters on the other side of the street were allowed to lob rocks and bottles into the police-contained black crowd.

The cops also permitted the mob to attack black motorists until the racists attacked the wrong man. After his windshield had been smashed by a baseball bat, a black probation officer, James Holdman, pulled out his gun and fired over the rioters' heads. Then the cops moved in, to prevent one of the racist scum from being shot.

Yesterday's white riot is the culmination of ever bolder Nazi and Klan activity in Chicago and a series of seemingly unrelated racist attacks in past weeks. The bourgeois media have played up these incidents to a point that race violence now dominates the local news. A vague but pervasive sense of racial tension in the city poses the need for an aggressive anti-racist drive by Chicago's powerful and integrated trade-union movement.

Racists Terrorize, Cops Stand By

The first victim of the wave of racist attacks over the last month was Robert

Ellington, a recently laid-off black railroad worker, who on May 15 was stabbed 22 times by three racist thugs while sitting in a parked car in a white neighborhood. His assailants shouted, "Nigger.... We'll teach you not to come around here anymore" (*Chicago Defender*, 22 May). The police have not found the attackers, but nonetheless categorically assert that there is no connection between the Ellington assault and the recently increased Klan activity.

Later in the month a group of black students holding a high school picnic in a suburban forest preserve were assaulted by a white motorcycle gang. The attack was well planned and involved residents of the area as well as the bikers. Unorganized and unarmed, the students fled by foot and car; several were injured. The police showed up late, but still in time to arrest two of the black students for speeding! There has been no police investigation of the incident.

These attacks have coincided with escalating KKK and Nazi activity. A few weeks ago the Klan held a public meeting in the Holiday Inn in south Chicago and posters bearing the words "Nigger Beware" with the design of a skull-and-crossbones and swastika have been appearing throughout neighborhoods in the city's southwest side. One such poster was pasted on the union hall of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 (International Harvester). UAW Local 6 was responsible for organizing a defense guard last year to protect the home of a black union member, C.B. Dennis, from racist firebombing and other vandalism.

Around the time of the Ellington assault, Nick Comito, a white homeowner in the racially mixed Austin area, was shot in the face and blinded by some black youth attempting to rob him. The big business press blew up the Comito shooting, claiming a non-political criminal act was an example of black racist violence. Fearing that the Comito shooting could become the trigger for a race riot, Chicago's black establishment launched a major campaign for conscience money. Rev. Jesse Jackson and black businessman George Johnson raised \$20,000 for Comito.

The response of the black bourgeois politicians to this wave of racist attacks comes down to "more cops." The only ghetto organizational response to the white violence has been the South Side Coalition, initiated by the Urban

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Warehouse Strike...

(continued from page 12)

scales and longer probationary periods for "B" men. The institution of such a system in the ILWU's longshore division by International president Harry Bridges in 1959 led to disastrous erosion of job conditions and a permanent division in the ranks. Any proposal to incorporate such a pernicious second-class status is a proposal to break the strength of the union and must be unconditionally opposed.

Despite the bureaucratic sabotage there has been much evidence from the ranks of basic trade-union solidarity and consciousness. Workers at several warehouses prior to the strike were refusing to handle struck products from Nestlé's, an ILWU shop now approaching its third month on strike. Warehouse strike lines are being honored by members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at production warehouses despite the official circular "allowing" them to enter. But the industry is dominated by small, widely scattered warehouses, and centralized militant strike coordination is absolutely essential for success. Both unions must pledge in advance at mass meet-

ings that there will be no return to work until both have settled, and a joint, democratically elected strike committee is needed to coordinate the strike and hold the bureaucrats to this pledge.

Such a strike committee could also tear up the tops' sellout proposal and organize a real fight for what is needed, including a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs (15 percent of Local 6 members are out of work), abolition of all probation periods (which undermine union conditions), an end to mandatory overtime, unrestricted right to strike, free 24-hour child care at company expense and large catch-up wage increases with parity between the ILWU and Teamsters. These are some of the demands published by the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in ILWU Local 6. The Caucus has also demanded a militant strike through a mass strike rally to unite the ranks, coordination between stewards of the two unions and a joint, democratically elected strike committee.

Meanwhile the separate strike by 15 Western Teamsters Conference locals against Associated Freight Lines continues amidst unabated company violence. Loss of this strike by the IBT could undermine the national over-the-road contract, since Associated provoked the strike precisely in order to break the Master Freight Agreement and has been underlining its determina-

tion with armed guards escorting scab trucks. (Ringsby Trucking, now owned by one of the area's largest firms, is paying MFA rates but refusing to sign the agreement pending the outcome of the Associated strike.)

Following the mysterious fire which destroyed Associated's San Francisco warehouse, the owner has filed a \$75 million suit against the Teamsters. Despite the admitted lack of evidence linking the strike to the fire (the warehouse had been shut down and was heavily guarded), an intensive federal investigation has been launched, no doubt providing a handy focus for the surveillance against union militants which FBI agents had already been carrying out prior to the fire.

Associated has been reportedly demanding of its competitors that they discipline any drivers that show solidarity with the Associated strike, and several firings have occurred, although none have been made to stick as yet. Rank-and-file IBT and ILWU driver and warehouse militants have led several walkouts at locations where scab Associated trucks have tried to make deliveries. But again, Teamster and ILWU leaderships have failed to organize and systematize such solidarity throughout the affected area, thus leaving the best militants to face victimization alone. Organized "hot-

cargo" solidarity action by all Teamster trucking and ILWU longshore operations could bring a swift finish to Associated's plots! The warehouse and Associated strikes must be linked up through a joint West Coast warehouse transport strike, which would include reopening the rotten ILWU longshore contract to combat deregistration-layoffs scheduled for July 1.

The divisive tactics of the IBT and ILWU bureaucracies point to the need for an oppositional class-struggle leadership throughout both unions. It is clear that the "inspiration" of the strikebreaking Communist Party, whose views are well represented on the leading bodies of ILWU Local 6, is actively counterposed to this task. Well-known supporters of CP views such as business agent Joe Figueiredo and Abba Ramos were listed as among the central policy makers in the strike bulletin which authorized scabbing by other unions. It was business agent Ramos who ordered handling of Nestlé's products at Thrifty's warehouse recently, despite militant protestations from the ranks. In Joe Figueiredo's jurisdiction in San Francisco, a *WV* reporter discovered that workers in one warehouse not on strike were crossing the picket lines of another house at the same location! Needless to say, the CP's *People's World* has not uttered one word of criticism of the bureaucracy's divisive strike tactics, since *PW* supporters are some of the chief hatchet men for the sellout leadership! IBT and ILWU militants need to sweep aside their treacherous business-unionist and Stalinist misleaders and build a new leadership committed to vigorously waging the class struggle through to victory. ■

Down With the Francoist Monarchy—for a Workers Republic!

Free All Class-War Prisoners in Spain!



"Justice"—a bitter cry for freedom written in the blood of a worker slain by police at Vitoria, March 1976.

During his current "Bi-Centennial" visit to the United States, King Juan Carlos of Spain is issuing cynical pronouncements of "authentic democracy" in order to hide the blood-drenched reality of the Francoist dictatorship. The king's proclamation of a "new Spain" is a sham, designed to loosen the pursestrings of the U.S. Congress which is set to review the \$1.2 billion treaty agreement with Madrid later this month.

The Francoist king—educated and installed by the hangman who ordered the execution of 200,000 Spanish workers and peasants even *after* the end of the Civil War—claims that the monarchy "has committed itself... to be an open institution" which "protects the whole people and each and every one of its citizens, guaranteeing through the laws... the rule of justice." Meanwhile anti-working-class repression in Spain has sharply intensified.

In the major cities the hated "grises"—the grey-coated special riot police—every week launch brutal attacks against workers' strikes and demonstrations for democratic rights. In March, during a general strike at Vitoria in the Basque region the "grises" opened fire on a crowd of 3,000 steel workers and their families leaving a meeting in a church; in the bloodbath four workers were killed and over 100 were wounded. An anguished comrade of one of the slain strikers wrote on the street with the still-fresh blood of the victim a single word, *Justicia*, expressing the powerful urge for freedom of the masses locked in the police state of Francoism for almost 40 years.

Freedom and justice will not prevail in Spain until Juan Carlos and his butchers are swept away by a victorious working-class revolution, replacing the bloody dictatorship of capital with a workers republic!

In addition to draconian suppression of demonstrations, there have almost daily arrests of militants of left-wing parties throughout the country. Early last month, the Barcelona police issued a press release claiming that it had broken up the district committee of the illegal Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España [PORE—Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain] in the zone of Bajo Llobregat, and "arrested its members" (*Noticiero Universal*, 10 May). Those arrested were Karmele Guinea Anasagasti, Jordi Parés Queralt, Juan José Borrás, Josep Lluís Moner Tomás, Josep Maria Corbella Rosset and Lluís Bengoa Maldonado.

A leaflet issued in Paris on 18 May by the LIRQI

(International League Reconstructing the Fourth International), with which the PORE is connected, reported that the arrested militants were brutally tortured in order to extort phony "confessions," and held incommunicado for five days, which is illegal even under Francoist law. The victims are now being held in the Model Prison in Barcelona and, in the case of Guinea Anasagasti, in the Trinidad Prison for women.

Another announcement by the office of the chief of police a few days later (*Noticiero Universal*, 13 May) reported that following a fire on May 4 they had found in a print shop and archives of the Organización Comunista de España-Bandera Roja (OCE-BR—Communist Organization of Spain-Red Flag). Following this raid, three people were arrested and charged with membership in the OCE-BR: they are José María Gil Martínez, José Vicente Martínez Barceló and Montserrat Alemany Cortés.

The Spartacist League has sharp political differences with Bandera Roja, which has not broken with popular frontism (a policy which led the majority of its members last year to rejoin the reformist Communist Party, from which the group had split a decade earlier), as well as with the ostensibly Trotskyist PORE, particularly concerning the dubious leader of its international tendency, Michel Varga, and its method of "reconstructing" the Fourth International through such patently fraudulent bombast as the published claim by a PORE leader that it is now "the second largest political force in the country" and in a position to lead the Spanish masses in a revolution. Nevertheless, we urgently demand that these class-war prisoners be immediately freed, along with all other victims of Francoist repression!

—Free Guinea Anasagasti, Parés Queralt, Borrás, Corbella Rosset and Bengoa Maldonado!

—Free Gil Martínez, Martínez Barceló and Alemany Cortés!

—For immediate dissolution of the paramilitary and political police! For people's tribunals to try the Francoist butchers!

—Down with the U.S.-Spain pact and NATO! Expel imperialist military bases from Spain!

—For a constituent assembly! For a workers government and a socialist federation of the Iberian peninsula in a socialist united states of Europe!

—Toward the rebirth of the Fourth International!

TDC...

(continued from page 4)

Lins, the choice of the Hoffa faction, against Fitzsimmons!

Richard Fitzsimmons is deservedly hated by the Local 299 membership as a flunkey for his father, the author of the sellout Master Freight Agreement the ranks overwhelmingly voted down. However, TDC's support for Wendel and Lins is in the worst tradition of lesser-evil bureaucratic combinationism. While they squabble with Fitzsimmons forces for control over Local offices, the Hoffa bureaucrats demonstrated graphically during the recent contract struggle that they solidly supported the class-collaborationist policies of the current IBT leadership.

Because it was the only organized force in the Local to oppose the contract sellout, TDC has experienced a surge of popularity. In recent balloting for delegates to the upcoming IBT convention, 10 out of the 15 elected were TDC members or supporters. Prominent TDC leader Camarata topped the balloting.

Yet Teamsters for a Decent Contract is clearly intent on channeling the militancy of the ranks back into support for a section of the bureaucracy. TDC's own economist program omits any mention of racial oppression or even the need to halt the Teamster raid on the Farm Workers. Its reliance on pressuring the IBT bureaucracy and its failure to prepare Teamsters for injunctions proved decisive in the defeat of the Detroit wildcat. Rather than explaining why Hoffa-style business unionism is a dead end, TDC has consistently capitulated to the illusions and parochialism of Hoffa supporters, attempting to put together a bloc of ambitious anti-Fitzsimmons local bureaucrats in the union. Teamster militants must reject TDC as well as the sellout Fitzsimmons bureaucracy, and fight to build a genuine class-struggle opposition. ■

Sectarianism Mars NYC Demonstration

Free Gary Tyler!

On June 5 the Committee to Free Gary Tyler held a demonstration and rally in Brooklyn to protest the outrageous frame-up of the 17-year-old black youth who has been convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to death by an all-white jury in Louisiana despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence. Although Tyler, who was scheduled to die in the electric chair on May 5, has been granted a stay of execution by the Louisiana Supreme Court, he remains a death row prisoner whose life is in grave danger. It is the duty of socialists, labor militants and all those



WV Photo

Rubin Carter speaking at June 5 rally for Gary Tyler at Borough Hall, Brooklyn.

concerned with the protection of democratic rights to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Gary Tyler and the abolition of the barbarous death penalty.

At the demonstration, which drew about 100 people, a spokesman for the Committee to Free Gary Tyler (which is supported in New York by the reformist International Socialists) called for as broad a defense effort as possible. However, the Committee has weakened its own efforts by its sectarianism and political exclusion. Thus, not one ostensibly revolutionary organization had been invited to address the rally. The speakers, including Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, who called for evolution, not revolution, feminist singer Bev Grant and Rev. William Douglas Kirkpatrick, who also sang, avoided political discussion almost entirely.

At the urging of the "Hurricane" Carter Defense Committee the Tyler Committee had initially invited the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), an anti-sectarian class-struggle legal defense organization which stands in accordance with the aims of the Spartacist League, to endorse it and to speak at the rally. But the PDC explained that while it supports a campaign to free Gary Tyler, it could not in principle endorse the Tyler Committee slogan "Ban the Klan." Such a slogan, the PDC explained, amounts to a call for the same bourgeois courts and police which framed Tyler to protect blacks from the racist terrorism of the KKK. This can only build illusions in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state. The PDC, on the contrary, places absolutely no confidence in the bourgeois state and insists that working people and oppressed minorities can rely only on their own forces for defense. Rather than "Ban the



WV Photo

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent in Brooklyn march to free Gary Tyler.

Klan," the PDC raises the slogan "For Labor, Black Defense."

In a phone conversation with the PDC, a representative of the New York chapter of the Free Gary Tyler Committee stated that it *did not like the slogan either*, but had been told to use it by the New Orleans leadership. Despite repeated assurances by the Tyler Committee that the PDC could speak at the rally without formally endorsing the Committee, on the night before the rally the PDC was suddenly notified that it would *not* be allowed a speaker the following day unless it endorsed the Committee and the "Ban the Klan" slogan. The PDC, of course, refused to renounce its class-struggle principles. Although deprived of speaking rights, it marched in the demonstration under its own slogans: "For Labor, Black Defense Against Racist Cop, Klan Terror," "Free Gary Tyler" and "Free All Class-War Prisoners."

The political exclusion of organizations which have clearly demonstrated their support for the defense of Gary Tyler undercuts the effectiveness of a campaign to free him and thereby further imperils Gary Tyler's life. The abandonment of a class-struggle perspective in favor of a plea that cops protect blacks against Klansmen—when many cops in fact *are* Klansmen—serves only to ensure that there will be more Gary Tylers in the future.

The time has come for leftists and class-struggle militants of all tendencies to revive the old trade-union solidarity slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all!" Only by so doing can we build the kind of united, broad-based, class defense that is urgently needed by the exploited and oppressed.

—FREE GARY TYLER NOW!
DROP THE CHARGES!

Phone Workers Walk Out Against Downgrades

SHUT DOWN OHIO BELL!

CLEVELAND, June 6—As of today, an estimated 11,000 phone workers in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) are on strike across Ohio. The strike began in Cleveland on May 29 and by June 1 included installers, repairmen, inside craftsmen and operators. During the last several days the strike spread to Canton, Youngstown and Toledo as well as other cities and towns. Although Ohio Bell and CWA figures differ, union officials estimate 18,000 will have joined the strike by Monday.

The strike is in response to Ohio Bell's opening the first of a chain of retail telephone stores where customers select and purchase phones. The stores are staffed by service representatives who not only display the phones but are expected to assemble them. According to the CWA contract, the phone assembly is the work of installers or repairmen, who receive \$58 per week more than the service representatives. Initially, Ohio Bell promised to use installers in their new stores. However, now Bell claims that the stores are not covered in the contract. The first store opened in East Cleveland in mid-May, and the Cleveland area's 7,000 CWA members passed a strike authorization vote on May 23.

It is now two weeks since the vote and nine days since the strike began. Local union spokesmen tell *WV* that the strike

is 90 percent effective. However, pickets at one Cleveland Bell office reported that there were 73 union members scabbing out of a workforce of 400. Bell workers complained that despite the enthusiasm of the ranks, the strike is poorly organized and union officials are not providing leadership. At a rally attended by 500 phone workers at Ohio Bell's headquarters on June 2 no elected union representatives were in evidence.

There was also no sound system nor union literature and signs. The only speaker restricted himself to general appeals for solidarity and to "keep the faith." Militants at the rally complained about the lack of information available to CWA members, and during the speech workers called out "We need union leaders," and "Where's the International?"

Local union officials initially excused their inactivity by asserting that they could not legally appear publicly as leaders of the "unauthorized work stoppage." They also complained that the strike will not be officially sanctioned until it receives the approval of the International. CWA International president Glen Watts continues to stall, hoping no doubt that the strike will grind to a halt in the meantime.

The passivity and narrow legalism of the local union officials only plays into the hands of the International. Rather

than waiting around passively for its support, a militant local leadership would have organized strike meetings and set up militant picketing from the first day. The picket lines organized were, at least at first, strictly "informational" and have not succeeded in keeping management from continuing operations. Mass picketing would be necessary to shut down the phone company as a relatively small number of scabs and company personnel can carry on many essential services. Moreover, while Teamsters are honoring picket lines, union leaders have made no effort to call out the CWA employees of Western Electric, which manufactures phone equipment. While "legally" a separate corporation, Western is in fact a subsidiary of Bell, closely integrated into phone operations. In order to guard against the treachery of their "leaders," union militants must fight for democratically elected strike committees.

The scheme to set up special phone equipment stores manned by low-paid service representatives has been in the offing for some time. There are plans to implement this in most other locales and it has already been done in several areas. Clearly Ohio is a major test case for both the company and the union. Furthermore, it appears that Ohio Bell is attempting to get out of paying cost-of-living raises due in August and will undoubtedly proceed to drop them if it

is successful here. A solid statewide strike is necessary to turn back this attempt to eliminate the jobs of installers and break the contract. Ohio Bell workers must stay out until this demand is won and not return to work under bogus schemes like offers for arbitration!

The slashing of phone workers' jobs is by no means limited to Ohio. Layoffs were recently announced throughout the Michigan Bell system, while a new directory assistance program being introduced into the Bay Area is slashing the jobs of operators. Under the cynical, pro-capitalist regime of Watts, and before him Joe Beirne, "management rights," including the company's "right" to a "fair" profit and the "right" to raise its phone rates, have been held virtually sacred. Eliminating jobs is but another means to bolster company profits.

The CWA tops have refused to mobilize the membership against these layoffs. Clearly this class-collaborationist strategy must be rejected. In the Bay Area, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), an opposition grouping within the CWA, called for a Bay Area-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in response to layoffs. Phone workers around the country faced with layoffs and downgrading must take up this demand as a focus for a fight for jobs. ■

Rubber Strike...

(continued from page 12)

divisions are free to do as they will (i.e., to stab each other in the back)!

At midnight on May 15, as *WV* reporters were talking with General Tire workers here, a union bureaucrat told the workers to respect a picket line if strikers from other plants appeared. (He added that since such picketing would constitute an illegal "secondary boycott," the company would "take care of it.") But the pickets failed to show. Four days later, five URW strikers from other Akron plants picketed the noon shift change at the scab plant, but General workers reported as usual. Crossing a picket line is an attack on all workers and must not be permitted! Militant rubber strikers must defy Bommarito and shut down General Tire with mass picketing!

The General Tire situation may well repeat itself as other URW tire companies which are presently working, such as Armstrong and Kelly-Springfield (a Goodyear subsidiary), have contracts which expire during the next few weeks. The URW must call out *all* its tire plants now!

Bommarito Against Strike Benefits

As if toleration of extensive scabbing were not enough of a defeatist policy, Bommarito has aggressively deprived the Big Four workers of any strike benefits. A financially weak union, the URW's strike fund of \$5.5 million was exhausted within three weeks. An additional \$1.35 million transferred from other union funds was quickly used up, and the strikers are now without any benefits.

The International Executive Board had called a special convention on May 27 in Chicago, a safe distance from the strike center, with the announced purpose of voting a dues supplement to replenish the fund. Incredibly, even if approved, this money was not slated for use in the current strike. But as it turned out the executive board advised against a dues increase and this was endorsed by the convention. Only the Canadian delegates, probably reflecting a higher level of union consciousness, spoke for more money for the strike fund.

The dues supplement to beef up the strike fund had been planned several months ago, with the support of the Bommarito regime. However, in the meantime there was apparent resistance from some of the smaller non-tire locals, where wages are generally less than in the Big Four. The parochial backwardness of these locals fed into the International's defeatist attitude toward the current strike, and the dues supplement was nixed.

Not only did the Bommarito bureaucracy do a turnabout on the dues supplement, it openly rejected a UAW offer for an interest-free loan to renew the strike benefits. The UAW should grant the money outright to the rubber strikers, particularly since its secretary-treasurer, Emil Mazey, claims the auto union is in the "best financial position in its history" (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 27 May).

Bommarito is trying to peddle his anti-strike-benefit policy with a lot of pseudo-militant rhetoric: strikes are not won by money but by heart, he sputters. The resolution on the strike adopted at the special URW convention states: "That strike benefits or lack thereof shall never be a decisive factor in a URW strike." No rubber worker should be taken in by this double-talk. Bommarito figures that by increasing the financial strain on the strikers he can soften them up for a bad contract.

Shut Down Auto!

In contrast to the three-day Teamster walkout this April, the seven-week-old

national rubber strike is not treated as important news by the bourgeois media (or even by much of the left press). This is because the rubber strike can affect the U.S. economy *only* by curtailing auto production, and this is *not* happening.

The auto companies had built up large tire stocks anticipating the strike. These are daily replenished by non-union tire companies like Michelin, non-union plants of the Big Four like Firestone's southern operations, non-striking URW companies like General Tire and extensive scabbing in the struck plants themselves. Bommarito's attrition strategy, dangerous from the outset, threatens disaster for the union. A victory for the hard-pressed rubber workers requires a solidarity strike by the UAW. In addition, Teamster drivers and warehousemen must refuse to handle tires.

The obvious and overwhelming need for joint action between the rubber and auto unions is not limited to the current strike. Tire production, the heart of the URW, is a component part of the auto industry. An isolated tire strike can never have serious economic leverage. URW tire and UAW auto contracts should have a common deadline and coordinated negotiations.

Smash scabbing through mass picketing! Call out all URW tire plants now!

For a solidarity strike in auto! Teamsters: Hot-cargo tires! ■

Guardian Gala...

(continued from page 3)

imperialism" is the main justification used by Peking to cover its treacherous alliance with U.S. imperialism. To take just one example: Peking nominally calls for a "national-democratic" (as opposed to a socialist) revolution in Iran to achieve the "first stage" of "national independence"; yet China supports the butcher Shah precisely because this reactionary autocrat... "defends national independence" from the threat of "Soviet social-imperialism"!

In "reply" Silber pointed out that the "thesis" of capitalist restoration in the USSR leads to the reactionary conclusion that the "main blow" should be struck not at U.S. imperialism but at the USSR. But Silber "forgot" to add that this "thesis" forms the sole rationale advanced by the Chinese to explain their foreign policy!

Unwilling to openly confront the Chinese line, Silber hemmed and hawed that there were no "trick answers" to "sum up" this "most controversial question," this "very profound and serious question" of the "class character of the Soviet Union." Pleading agnosticism Silber concluded by declaring that although the USSR has gone "down the road to capitalism" the "process" of restoration has not been completed.

Specter of Trotskyism Haunts Maoists

Speaking from the floor, a Spartacist League spokesman nailed Silber for his evasions covering up the counterrevolutionary role of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. The SL speaker challenged Silber:

"Why is the *Guardian* only embarrassed by China's betrayal in Angola, when, at the time of the 1973 coup in Chile, China closed the doors of its Santiago Embassy to militants seeking asylum? Since then, why has China given financial and military aid to the junta? China, no less than the Moscow Stalinists, supported Allende's so-called 'peaceful road to socialism,' just as Mao engineered the 'peaceful road' to blood-bath in Indonesia in 1965.

"Why has the *Guardian* remained silent about Mao's support to the bloody Ethiopian junta as it marches in genocidal war against the Eritrean people struggling for self-

determination? Why has the *Guardian* remained silent about Mao's support to the butcher Shah of Iran? At the very moment the Shah was exterminating the guerrillas in Oman China called for Iran 'to strengthen its defenses in view of the prevailing situation in the region,' and that's a quote from *Hsinhua*.

"Why has the *Guardian* supported the Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), which has opposed proletarian revolution in Portugal and has advocated an alliance with German imperialism against the USSR? Could it be that examination of these questions would require a Trotskyist critique of Stalinist betrayals as has been put forward only by the Spartacist League in this country!"

Unable to answer the charges of the SL speaker, Silber attempted to brazen it out: "In that litany of things that you ran down—and I don't recall all of them [!]—there are a number of points that are true, there are a number that are half true, there are a number that are completely untrue." What untruths? Declares Silber, "One that's untrue, incidentally, is the charge that the *Guardian* supports the PCP-ML."

Permit us to recall that the *Guardian* (1 October 1975) uncritically reported the PCP-ML statements mentioned by the SL speaker, while adding that "this newspaper has many reservations" about the rival Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Party of the Proletariat. In fact, the *Guardian* (11 June 1975) itself hailed the *generalissimo* of the MFA as "dedicated revolutionaries" allegedly "leading the country in the direction of revolutionary social change"!

'Fig Leaf Falls

Silber dropped his fig leaf, however, when he attempted to deny the treachery of the Chinese in Chile at the time of the coup: "You have no evidence to show that the Chinese Embassy in Santiago closed its doors to Chilean refugees." Let Silber attempt to deny this account of leading Chilean Maoist spokesman Robinson Rojas' encounter with the Chinese embassy published in an Argentine newspaper only days after the coup:

"A few days after the overthrow of Salvador Allende, and when the Monedá [the presidential palace in Santiago] was still smoldering, the journalist Robinson Rojas, a Chilean who had been an editor of the New China News Agency (*Hsinhua*) in Peking and later correspondent in Santiago, arrived at the gate of the People's China embassy on Pedro de Valdivia Avenue and attempted to enter with the intention of asking for asylum. The Chinese officials, who knew him personally, rejected him, leaving him on the street. The *carabineros* [national police] on guard only watched. Rojas had to look for other asylum, as did other Chileans of the Unidad Popular who at first appealed to the Peking embassy."

—*La Opinion*, 21 November 1973

In fact, Silber himself all but admitted that the Chinese Embassy did not shelter hounded militants in this life-and-death situation. Countered Silber: "The Chinese have said on any number of occasions that indeed they used the automobiles in the Chinese embassy to transport refugees in Santiago on the day of the coup to a variety of embassies in the city, that they gave refuge in that fashion." Some refuge! Of the "variety of embassies" in Santiago only the American and the Chinese were not surrounded by government troops waiting to snare militants (see the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*).

For Communist Unity Against Imperialism!

It was the internationalist perspective raised by the SL speaker which finally provoked Silber to openly defend betrayals by the Stalinist bureaucracies in the name of "building socialism in one country":

"But the real question involved is not so much who did what, who did this, who did that, but, as you say, a generalization from it. We support—let's make it

clear very firmly—the fact that socialism must be built in the present world along national lines. And we have to recognize, in supporting that, that the foreign policy of a socialist country may not at all times be exactly the same as the international line of a revolutionary movement."

The *Guardian* may "respectfully differ" with the "colossal errors" in foreign policy committed by the bureaucratic elite ruling over the masses in China, but these seasoned Stalinists support "building socialism in one country" which forms the basis for counterrevolutionary "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Only Trotskyism upholds the call for international communist unity against imperialism and the unconditional defense of all the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states. Genuine proletarian internationalism requires an intransigent struggle for the political revolution to sweep away the parasitic ruling bureaucracies from Havana to Hanoi and to establish proletarian democracy expressed through soviets and replace the narrowly nationalistic policies of the competing Stalinists by the world-revolutionary program of the international working class. ■

Moonies...

(continued from page 7)

fascism are not only anti-Communism but also white racism and national chauvinism. Thus despite an operation strikingly reminiscent of the Young Life movement of ultra-reactionary industrialist H.L. Hunt in the late 1950's, Moon's mass appeal in the U.S. is limited primarily to cult-crazed dropouts.

The temporary flurry stirred up by the "moonies" has prompted some liberals to seek to contest the Unification Church's status as a religion and bring in the Justice Department, IRS and immigration authorities to suppress it. As Marxist atheists, we leave it to the competing brands of religious obscurantism to debate one another's doctrinal credentials. We vigorously oppose tax exemptions and all other forms of backhanded government support to any church. The bourgeoisie's chauvinist laws—such as the vicious witchhunting statutes requiring registration of "agents of a foreign power"—are a far more serious danger to democratic rights than are the "moonies." While misguided liberals cry for the government to apply these laws against Moon, left militants and immigrant workers understand that the weapons of bourgeois state repression can never be invoked to "serve the people."

Moon's paeans of praise for imperialism's holy war against Communism in Vietnam, and his prating about peace and justice in the service of the concentration-camp regime of Korea's dictator Park, are certainly nauseating and dangerous. But the respectable, "established" religions—from imperialist warmongers such as Cardinal Spellman in the U.S. to the Emperor-worshipping Shintoists in Japan—are far more influential props of reaction. The "moonies" are essentially a passing craze. Nativist American fascist movements are infinitely more dangerous potential rallying points for the forces of darkness which Moon's movement aspires to organize than is this self-proclaimed new "messiah." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Assaults...

(continued from page 7)

League and right-wing black nationalist Willy Curtis. In turn, the only "action" of the South Side Coalition against the racist mobs is radio patrol cars which inform the police of any trouble. The "cops and Jesus" strategy of Jackson, the Urban League and other "black capitalist" leaders can only embolden the racists and disarm the endangered masses.

For Labor/Black Defense!

Not far from the center of the Nazi Klan activity is U.S. Steel's Southworks plant with a labor force of 8,000, about one-third black. At a recent meeting of United Steelworkers Local 65, the issue of escalated racist violence in south Chicago was the subject of union discussion. Joe Kransdorf of the Rank and File Unity Caucus, which is supported by the reformist Communist Party, put forward a motion calling for more police protection for black people, action by the state legislature outlawing the KKK and Nazis, and a union contribution to the Robert Ellington Benefit Fund.

In the discussion a member of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, supported by the centrist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), amended Kransdorf's motion to call for labor defense squads. On the main issue of racist mobilization in the U.S.—busing—the RSL has come out on the side of the reactionaries in opposing court-ordered school integration. Seeking to cover this capitulation to white racism and acutely sensitive to Spartacist criticism, the RSL has picked up the SL slogan of integrated labor defense.

But labor/black defense should not be presented as an amendment to a motion calling upon the capitalist state to suppress the racists! Workers self-defense is fundamentally counterposed to reliance on the bosses' government. As it turned out, the Local 65 lame-duck right-wing president Mirocha buried the issue altogether with a motion condemning "all" racism, black as well as white!

Labor/black defense, mobilizing such racially mixed plants as Southworks, is indeed the answer to the Nazi/Klan offensive in south Chicago. A model for such action was the UAW Local 6 defense of a black member's home against racist nightriders. Likewise, an integrated force of several hundred steelworkers could quickly and efficiently eliminate the racist scum now rampaging through south Chicago. ■

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Italian Elections...

(continued from page 1)

willingness to sacrifice the interests of the workers in favor of respectability.

Domestically, the PCI pledges its support for an "effective executive" (i.e., freedom of action for the police) and promises to the monopolists that their profits will be guaranteed. In its election platform the word "nationalization" is stricken from the vocabulary, and instead it calls for reinvesting profits in Italy. The PCI "recognizes not only the particular social function of the small and middle-sized companies, but also the freedom of initiative of all private enterprise." At a more general level, Berlinguer's proposals are more and more minimalist: from the "new model of development" to the "medium-term program," the PCI has now reduced its bid for the basis of a corridor coalition to a "legislative term agreement" outlining only a few limited reforms.

Internationally, the Communist Party has pledged its support to Italy's traditional foreign policy alliances and explicitly states it will not demand that the new government break with the anti-Communist Western military alliance NATO. This commitment is embodied in particular in the person of Nino Pasti, former deputy commander of NATO and ex-head of the Italian air force, who is a Communist candidate this year. Another PCI candidate is Altiero Spinelli, a member of the Common Market's policy-making commission. (Still others include businessmen and Catholic church notables.)

But the real guarantee to the ruling class by the Communist Party is its support for a coalition government of all "democratic," "constitutional" or "anti-fascist" parties. Such a popular-front need not be limited to the DC, or even necessarily include it (although that is the PCI's clear preference). In presenting the party's candidates, Berlinguer reportedly announced his willingness to join with the PRI, the Social Democrats (PSDI) and even the Liberals (PLI). A top PCI union leader, Lucio Lama of the Metal Workers, responded that if the workers parties should win a majority of the vote and the other parties reject a coalition, "the new majority, even if it is limited, would have to assume all government responsibilities" (quoted in *Inprecor*, 27 May). However, even in the unlikely event of a PCI/PSI coalition, it is clear from the above that the reformists will seek to make it into the gateway to a popular-front government. A vote for the PCI or PSI is thus a vote for class-collaborationist coalitionism, not working-class independence, and cannot be advocated by Trotskyists.

Democrazia Proletaria

Faced with the looming danger of the popular front on the horizon, Marxists should seek to run their own candidates against the leading bourgeois workers parties, demanding that the Communists and Socialists break with bourgeois coalitionism as a precondition for electoral support to their candidates. By way of contrast however, the Party of Proletarian Unity (PDUP), the centrist Vanguardia Operaia (AO—Workers Vanguard) and the centrist Lotta Continua (LC—Continuing Struggle) have formed an electoral bloc of all leftist opponents of the "historic compromise." Seeking to pressure the PCI/PSI bureaucracies to the left, the Democrazia Proletaria more or less consciously takes as its model the Portuguese "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR), formed in August 1975 on a program calling for "people's power" and support to the Communist

Party-influenced "Fifth Government" of General Vasco Gonçalves.

In the tradition of the Spanish POUM in the 1930's, which criticized the popular front while entering it, the Italian centrists and left-reformists betray the desires of their militants to break with the class collaboration of the reformist PCI. Instead, the leading elements of the DP advocate a "government of the lefts" which deliberately leaves the door open to participation of radical bourgeois parties, such as in Allende's Popular Unity in Chile.

Thus the PDUP writes that the purpose of the Democrazia Proletaria is to "construct to the left of the PCI a political and electoral alternative which... plays a dialectical and unifying role in the predictable likelihood of a government of the lefts." Following the June 15 elections, the PDUP/AO combination has systematically succumbed to the strong pressure of the PCI in the unions and certain left-wing city councils (notably Milan). Moreover, earlier this year the right wing of the PDUP, the former *Manifesto* group led by Lucio Magri and Rossana Rossanda, vehemently tried to prevent the inclusion of Lotta Continua in the DP, due to the strong hostility of the Communist Party to LC.

However, giving in to pressure from the AO and their own left wing, PDUP leaders subsequently reversed themselves and offered to accept Lotta Continua under the most incredibly discriminatory conditions (only 15 percent of the candidates, little television time and no members of the LC leadership on the slate!)... which were promptly accepted. Meanwhile, the PDUP and AO reserve for themselves the privilege of determining the program. All in all, the bizarre maneuvering around the DP slate was so pronounced that the PCI could denounce it with justification as both "ultra-parliamentarian" and an unprincipled bloc.

Berlinguer & Co. characterize PDUP as "a group constantly vacillating between presumptuous dogmatism... and ill-defined libertarianism (*Unità*, 12 May). Toward Lotta Continua, which in the 15 June 1975 elections called for votes to the PCI, they are much harder, denouncing the LC's

"short-sighted adventurism" and its "increasingly open role of provocation toward the entire democratic and workers movement."

Following its capitulationist policy toward the PCI in last year's voting, Lotta Continua made a partial left turn. However, this year it not only has entered the Democrazia Proletaria slate, but also joins the PDUP call for a "left government." The LC election platform states: "A government, even a very progressive left-wing one, *such as that which we are struggling for*, will never be able to change the nature of this state..." (our emphasis). This statement makes crystal clear that the LC explicitly accepts the parliamentary framework of the capitalist state, and the inclusion of bourgeois parties in a "left government." Consistent with these positions, Lotta Continua's propaganda lacks any call upon the PCI and PSI to break with the parties of the bourgeoisie.

The "Trotskyist" Arena

The common denominator among the several fake-Trotskyist groups in Italy is to verbally recognize the class-collaborationist character of a "left government," calling instead for a "government of the workers parties," while simultaneously capitulating to the popular front. In particular, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups), Italian section of the "United Secretariat," has emerged humiliated and politically disarmed from the maneuverist twists and turns and bureaucratic compromises (which it hailed as a victory) accompanying the sealing of an electoral agreement between LC and PDUP/AO. Having trampled on all programmatic considerations for a menial seat at the table of Lotta Continua, to whose candidates they offered full political support, the GCR was reduced to three candidates and no rights at all on the DP ticket!

This year the GCR will call for a vote for the DP, but in 1975 it called for a vote for the PDUP/AO coalition *or the PCI*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR—Revolutionary Marxist Faction), an offspring of Maitan now linked to the German Spartacusbund should come out for a "red vote" for the DP *and the PCI*. Likewise, the Gruppo Bolscevico-Leninista (GBL—Bolshevik-Leninist Group) announced last month that it would give "critical support" to the PCI against the DP unless Lotta Continua were included in the "far left" slate ("Bollettino Trotskista," undated). The FMR accuses the GCR of capitulating to the DP, but its own position (and that of the GBL) is even *more* capitulationist—to the PCI and its "historic compromise" with capitalism.

In contrast to the Pabloist GCR and its by-products, the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia (NSDI—Spartacist Nucleus of Italy), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) issued a position paper on the elections calling for a policy of working-class independence:

"Given Lotta Continua's surreptitious entry into the Democrazia Proletaria slate—thus laying the basis for an Italian FUR (a "left" support to the popular front)—and given that no group running in the elections opposes an Italian popular front, the iSt cannot give critical support to any list of candidates in the Italian elections of 20-21 June."

The NSDI calls on the reformist misleaders of the working class to break with the bourgeoisie, and gives no support to the Italian FUR.

—No to the "historic compromise" or a "left government"—No to the popular front!

—No electoral support to the PCI, PSI or Democrazia Proletaria!

—For the construction of a Trotskyist party in Italy! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Joint, Elected ILWU/Teamster Strike Committee!

Ranks Must Take Control of California Warehouse Strike!

OAKLAND, June 7 Approximately 18,000 warehousemen in northern California whose contracts expired June 1 went on strike Friday. The warehousemen are represented by a negotiating alliance between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Teamsters (IBT). The employers have mounted a vicious offensive, but the criminal divisiveness of the labor officialdom from the start of the strike bodes ill for the workers.

The recent defeat of the San Francisco city workers strike emboldened employers throughout the Bay Area. The tempo of court and police attacks on strikers has increased and the bosses have become more brazen in negotiations. The warehouse companies brag they have three weeks of stockpiled goods, while the Distributors Association has reportedly directed its members to keep their doors unlocked and to post "open for business as usual" signs.

The rival bureaucracies of the IBT and ILWU are determined that there will be no class solidarity in this strike. No effort has been made to unite the

rank and file of the two unions, nor has there even been a joint meeting of stewards. Keeping a virtual blackout on information on the bargaining, the bureaucrats pulled the surprised ranks out on six hours' notice three days after the contract had expired. The initial hours of the walkout were marked by bureaucratic bungling surpassing even the recent conduct of S.F. Central Labor Council leaders.

Picket lines were established with considerable difficulty due to bureaucratic resistance to demands from militants to undertake basic strike preparations. The ILWU warehouse Local 6 leadership under Curtis McLain had not mobilized its stewards beforehand to provide instructions for the picket lines, or even supply picket signs! Local 6 suddenly issued a strike bulletin which casually informed the membership:

"... Houses should organize themselves to set up four (4) hour shifts for picket duty seven (7) days a week. Unless there are special problems, only a few pickets are needed at each entrance. Larger houses should help out smaller houses in the same area."

The same strike bulletin authorized

crossing of picket lines by other unions:

"For the present non-union office workers or members of other unions on the job are to be allowed to enter as long as they do not touch our work."
[emphasis in original]

Thus it is not surprising that the walkout has been marked by terrible confusion and division. ILWU warehousemen at one location in Union City discovered they were on strike only when they saw Teamster members picketing next door! Many smaller houses were suffering from lack of union reinforcements to maintain 24-hour picketing. There were scattered reports of customers crossing picket lines. Workers told IBT that they have been unable to get any answer on the ILWU "hot line" number, although the IBT special phone line was functioning.

Only half of the 18,000 workers whose contracts expired June 1 were pulled out on the first day of the strike. Such divisive tactics have been duplicated by the bureaucrats' decision not to strike those houses which accepted the union negotiators' inadequate package, although the membership has not ap-

proved the terms. This tactic and the rotten package itself appear to have been copied from the high-handed bureaucratic manipulation of the recent short-lived Teamster national freight strike. The bureaucrats' wage demand also closely parallels the IBT's Master Freight Agreement: \$1.60 increase over three years, 70 cents in the first and 45 cents in each of the next two years. The union negotiators are focusing attention on their cost-of-living (c-o-l) demand, insisting that the employers drop their demand for a 12-cent cap (upper limit) on cost-of-living adjustments. But the IBT-ILWU proposal calls for c-o-l adjustments only in the first two years of the contract, and then only computed annually!

Meanwhile other vital issues have been buried, such as opposition to mandatory overtime. This issue reportedly may end up on some arbitrator's desk, indicating surrender in advance by the union. Even more ominous are reports that the negotiators may agree to a second-class category of warehousemen complete with lower wage

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Defy Taft-Hartley—For A UAW Solidarity Strike!

Rubber Workers Face Bitter Strike

AKRON, June 5—As the strike of 70,000 United Rubber Workers (URW) members enters its eighth week, there are ominous signs that the tire companies are winning the slow war of attrition. When the strike began April 21 it was estimated that the tire supply of auto manufacturers would begin to run short in late May. However, auto production continues today with minimal inconvenience (spare tires have been eliminated), and Ford Motor Company announced that existing supplies would last until early July! By failing to call for solidarity action from the United Auto Workers (UAW) and Teamsters, URW president Peter Bommarito has virtually thrown away 45 days of the strike.

Though negotiations have remained deadlocked, the position of the Big Four rubber companies has improved noticeably. President Ford so far has refrained from invoking the Taft-Hartley Act to break the strike, but federal mediator James Scaree (who helped "negotiate" the Teamster contract) has summoned URW and Firestone representatives to Washington. Ford's decision not to invoke Taft-Hartley at this time simply indicates that the auto industry is not yet hurting, since *Business Week* (24 May) reports that Detroit will definitely demand a

federal injunction when its tire supply runs out.

At the bargaining table the companies remain intransigent. Firestone, the URW "target company," offered a slightly altered cost-of-living (c-o-l) proposal which the union negotiators rejected as unacceptable. This new offer would yield only 17 cents an hour over the next three years, well below the present rate of inflation. Firestone's wage-cutting negotiating position should not, however, obscure the fact that the official union demands are themselves wholly inadequate for the needs of rubber workers. Bommarito's maximum demand would only win wage parity with the UAW, and his c-o-l formula (1 cent for each 0.3 point rise in the consumer price index) does not even keep up with inflation.

Scabbing Within the Union

Managerial and clerical workers are being used in many struck plants to maintain some production. A union spokesman in Akron, the heart of the industry, told *WV* that production is as high as 80 percent in some departments. Instead of mobilizing mass picketing to smash this strikebreaking, Bommarito appeals to Gerald Ford to prohibit scab tires. The URW chief wrote a letter to



Firestone plant in Akron, Ohio.

WV Photo

Secretary of Transportation William Coleman complaining that they were "a clear safety hazard to the consuming public." But the best way to eliminate these defective tires is for union pickets to educate the scabs as to the dangers of working where they don't belong.

The most treacherous blow to the strike has been the failure of General Tire's 2,700 Akron workers to walk out when their contract expired on May 15.

This development came as a surprise to the International which, however, has done nothing to stop this scabbing. When a *WV* reporter at the URW special convention in Chicago asked Bommarito if the Local 9 (General Tire) action didn't undercut the strike, he shamefacedly replied that the URW is a "democratic" union in which the various

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