

Seize the Oil Companies!

The Great Gas Rip-Off of '79

In the confidence racket it's called the "sting" when the victim gets fleeced after an elaborate preparation of lies and deception. The American public knew they were stung as they lined up at the gas pumps. And they knew who stung them: Big Oil and Jimmy Carter. Exasperated, they sat for hours in lines that were blocks long in California trying to get to work. Some had awakened two hours early only to find a line of locked cars left the night before. And waiting in the stifling heat for hours was no guarantee that gas would not run out before it was your turn. Workers at their jobs arrived late and hungry.

The rich had their employees wait in line for them. In San Francisco college youth looking for a fast buck offered a "waiting service," but for everyone else it was a frustrating, inch-by-inch trek for gas, pumped out at nearly \$1 a gallon. Tempers were as short as gas supplies in some cases, and stories of brandished knives and guns and jack-handles were widespread as motorists huddled to get their share of the stuff that makes America go. Gas station attendants were packing pistols. In Los Angeles a pregnant woman cut in line and got punched and had the air taken out of her tires; she was rushed to the hospital and went into labor. In Hollywood a man drove up to the front of the line, demanded gas and held off the outraged crowd at gunpoint.

There was a time not so long ago when American businessmen boasted about "Western superiority" by pointing to the long lines in the Soviet Union for scarce consumer goods. But they're not poking fun now, nor writing panegyrics to the "efficient free enterprise system" as the anger pours from the pumps. This spring the fundamental irrationality of the capitalist market economy, the strategic military goal of U.S. imperialism to be less reliant on politically unstable, foreign sources of crude oil, and a genuine monopoly conspiracy in the style of Jay Gould or John D. Rockefeller came together to wallop the American people where they live—in their cars.

It's a Hoax

The long lines at the pumps and the visible anger of the public unsettled Carter and Big Oil. Not that they cared



Running out of gas in America.

AP

very much that Americans were having difficulty using their cars, but the public had a pretty good idea of who was behind the immediate crisis. It is rare in the political life of a country like the U.S., where class consciousness is notoriously low, that the common-sense reaction is also fundamentally correct. But, that is the case today as the overwhelming majority of the American population look at the gas shortage and scream: It's a profit-gouging hoax by the oil monopolies! The most recent Gallup Poll showed that 77 percent of Americans believe the energy crisis was "deliberately" created by the oil companies (*Newsweek*, 28 May).

"They are looking for scapegoats," scolded Carter with majestic haughtiness, as the oil companies launched a media blitz about the problems of Iran, unleaded gas and "wasteful" people. But the public remained unconvinced. They had heard Carter's energy speech which promised decontrol and higher prices, and they knew the oil companies in

collusion with the government were simply holding back to wait to make more profit. They weren't sure exactly how it was done—whether the oil companies were storing the gas in the tanks or exporting it or dumping it or running the refineries at deliberately reduced capacity—but they were quite sure *what* was being done and why: the oil companies were manipulating the market to extort higher prices and blackmailing the public to push Carter's plans for decontrol of oil prices. The common wisdom was most often put succinctly: "There will be plenty of gas when it hits \$1.50 a gallon."

Americans remembered well the last oil shortage during the 1973-74 oil embargo. They remembered that when the gas prices went up, it became easy to fill up the tank. And they remembered too how the oil companies had purchased abandoned gas stations for the purpose of using underground tanks to store oil until the prices went up. And who could forget the profits? In 1973-74,

the public may have been somewhat angrier, the lines a little longer and more widespread; but then the anger was directed mainly at "the Arabs." It was the OPEC price fixers and the embargo that caught the brunt of the outrage. It was not widely realized at the time, however, that the U.S. oil cartel which controlled refining and distribution was profiting like crazy along with the sheiks.

But this time around, the American public has caught the oil companies in an old-fashioned trust manipulation. The energy trusts and Carter have not made much of an attempt to convince anyone that there really is an unavoidable gas shortage. Instead the oil companies complain that they need "incentives," i.e., *more profit* through tax breaks, higher prices and easier environmental law. However, they have also recently declared record profits for the first quarter of the year. Exxon has had the most profitable quarter in its

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Stop the Popular Front Witchhunt in Italy!/6

Cops Shoot Eulia Love, Go Free Jail LAPD Killers!

LOS ANGELES—Once again a rash of savage killings by L.A. police directed against the city's minority population has produced a wave of outrage here. There have been some 25 Los Angeles Police Department shootings since the beginning of the year (and 77 in 1978), the most recent coming only one day before a "police crimes tribunal" called by assorted reformist groups took place. Among the recent victims of the LAPD have been 15-year-old black youth, Carlos Washington, shot in the head by the cops on April 26 and a black truck driver shot in the neck by an off-duty cop on May 3.

The protests have focused on the case of Eulia Love, a black 39-year-old mother of three who was gunned down in broad daylight by the cops last January over the issue of an unpaid \$22 gas bill. Three months later the L.A. district attorney announced that the two cops who had shot her would not be prosecuted, while an LAPD investigator declared that the cops had violated no police procedure! The uproar over the official whitewash forced the police department to reopen hearings into the case. Meanwhile, amid widespread concern that anger in the black neighborhoods over the rulings could "spark another Watts," the police have been using an unsolved shootout in which a deputy sheriff died as a pretext for flooding the ghetto with cops.

On January 3, at 11:15 a.m., Eulia Mae Love chased away a utility com-

pany meterman who had come to turn off her gas for non-payment. The press reported that she had hit him with a shovel. Later that afternoon two company supervisors returned. In the interim Love had purchased a money order to pay the bill, but the supervisors refused to accept it. Moments later the two cops drove up, found Eulia Love clipping the hedge of her lawn with a fishing knife, and ordered her to drop it. An argument ensued. White policeman Lloyd O'Callaghan chased Love up the walk to her house, knocked the knife from her hand and sent her sprawling with a second blow. Then the cops pumped eight bullets into her body.

Even as Eulia Love was dying, black cop Edward Hopson kicked her to the ground again, snarling, "Lay down, bitch," and slapped handcuffs on her. One of Love's daughters ran to a neighbor's to call an ambulance while the two cops stood laughing over their victim. Eulia Love was pronounced dead upon arrival of the ambulance.

On April 17 the D.A. ruled that not only was there no basis to indict Hopson and O'Callaghan for murder, but "the officers' conduct falls short of the aggravated, reckless and grossly negligent act condemned by case law." The testimony of Love's daughters was discounted because of their familial ties and "traumatic experience." The testimony of three other witnesses, including a gas company supervisor who swore Love was on the ground when the shots

were fired, was also disregarded. And as the public outcry mounted, the cops responded with a grotesque full page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* entitled "LA Police Victims Too," in which they complained: "We feel the sensational way this tragedy has been reported has made us victims along with Mrs. Love!"

Some 200 outraged city residents showed up the for reopening of the police department hearings on the case in early May. Even Los Angeles' black mayor, Tom Bradley, himself a former cop, felt constrained to show up and chastise the LAPD with some mealy-mouthed comments about "unnecessary force." In the main, the protests over the Love killing—organized by a coalition of groups ranging from black ministers to the Communist Party (CP) and the CP-run National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) to Democratic Party politician Michael Zinzun's Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA)—have confined themselves to liberal calls for police "accountability." With pusillanimous legalism the NAARPR called for suspending any cops who shoot "unarmed" civilians—thus washing their hands of, for example, a Black Panther or perhaps even Eulia Love! And, as might be expected, everyone from the NAACP and the ACLU to the CP/NAARPR is calling for an independent civilian police review board.

The LAPD is infamous for its

dangerous honapartist marauding. From "Dragnet" to "S.W.A.T.," its exploits are glorified on TV shows. In real life its Vietnam-style helicopter gunships are routinely used in the ghettos and the heavily armed SWAT teams stage such atrocities as the 1974 siege/immolation of the "Symbionese Liberation Army." Clearly no powerless civilian review board is going to put a stop to such legal killers. Appeals for action to the black mayor or demands for accountability to the courts are equally empty: in the past 27 years not a single policeman has been indicted in Los Angeles! And in 1976 some four tons of files of citizens' complaints of police brutality were shredded by the cops!

Hopson, O'Callaghan and all the badge-toting killers in blue should be tried and jailed for their crimes. While the Spartacist League has consistently opposed efforts to repeal civilian review boards—recognizing that the trigger-happy honapartist cops see repeal as an open invitation to intensify their racist terror—we insist that the bosses' hired thugs can be disbanded only by victorious proletarian revolution.

In Los Angeles today, opponents of cop terror must join in powerful demonstrations mobilizing thousands of blacks, Chicanos and the labor movement, to demand: No guns for the police—Jail the killer cops! ■

Night of Wrath in S.F.

MAY 22—The huge gay community of San Francisco erupted in fury last night at news that ex-cop and former S.F. supervisor Dan White, who admittedly killed homosexual leader City Supervisor Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone, was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter rather than murder. An estimated 5,000 poured out of Castro district to march on City Hall demanding justice and angered over a surge of anti-gay harassment by the cops. When helmeted, riot-equipped police tried to har their way, thousands of homosexuals chased the cops down the street. Behind the smashed windows and broken doors of the besieged City Hall police hid under overturned tables as street fighting raged for six hours. When the tear gas cleared, 13 cop cars had been burned, 140 people were injured and 20 arrested according to NBC News.

Dan White went on his killing spree last November after a nasty squabble with fellow Democratic officials. But for San Francisco gays there was a justified desire to avenge the murder of Milk, the man who symbolized homosexual respectability. White was transparently guilty of premeditated murder. But while we oppose the death penalty, we solidarize with the outrage, while warning that it can be exploited by law-and-order liberals. If only there had been a similar outburst of anger in New York City when killer cop Robert Forsney was let off on a plea of insanity for his cold-blooded killing of 15-year-old black youth Randy Evans, it would have been a powerful protest against racist police terror.

Deerhunter/Iran

Jerusalem, Israel
10 May 1979

Dear friends of *Workers Vanguard*,

I want to congratulate you specially on your 27 April issue with the "Deer

Hunter Lies" article. I have read a lot of critiques of this clever cheat, but yours is *by far the best*, in fact the only one which goes to the heart of the matter. If it is not too difficult for you, please convey my greetings to the author, Pat Kincaid. I also enjoyed Fatima Khalil's interview. Incidentally, the position of women in orthodox Judaism is *even worse* than in Khomeini's Islam. Khalil mentions that

"on a legal basis two women are considered equal to one male witness." In the Jewish religious law, which legally puts the testimony of a Jewish woman on a par with a slave or a non-Jew, even a million women wouldn't equal one Jewish male!

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

Need a Little Leninism?

SWP Discussion Bulletin
Vol. 7, No. 12
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ICKPA
LENIN & THE VANGUARD PARTY

Artist Pamphlet \$2.50

Fake-Trotskyists know where to go for the real thing. SL pamphlet Lenin and the Vanguard Party was plagiarized wholesale by Australian SWP leader Doug L. In internal polemic.

Fake-Trotskyists Weep for Ayatollah Motahari

MAY 22—The clerical reactionaries who now hold sway in Iran have stepped up their drive to crush all opposition to Islamic theocratic rule. Having successfully muzzled almost all of the newspapers critical of the Khomeini regime, they may soon follow this up with a full-scale assault on the left.

When the mysterious Forghan terrorists gunned down both General Mohammed Ali Gharani and Ayatollah Morteza Motahari, the mullahs seized the opportunity to unleash a torrent of frenzied anti-communist propaganda. The funerals for the slain officials and also the proletarian holiday of May Day were turned into occasions for reactionary demonstrations demanding "Death to the Communists!" "Iranian Women's Day," May 17, saw another show of strength by the Khomeinists. A hundred thousand women, swathed in *chadors* and carefully segregated from the male marchers, chanted "Islam is victorious, down with the traitors!" in a tragic display of the continued hold of religious reaction over the Iranian masses.

The Forghan assassinations were the spark for the regime's confrontation with the press. *Ayandegan*, one of Iran's major daily newspapers, has been a forum for mild leftist and liberal criticism of the new regime. But when the paper published the manifestos of the Forghan Fighters, which denounced the "dictatorship of the mullahs" in the name of Islam, it drew the wrath of Khomeini himself. In short order



At ayatollah's funeral fanatics chant "Death to the Communists!"

Muslim thugs destroyed or confiscated bundles of *Ayandegan* and occupied or sacked its offices across the country, denouncing the paper as simultaneously "Communist," "Zionist" and "satanic." By May 12 *Ayandegan* was forced to suspend publication.

Next came the turn of *Kayhan*, second of the three leading Teheran dailies, which had reprinted a photo of *Ayandegan's* final front-page editorial. Heeding Khomeini's pronouncement,

"If the press writes in support of traitors and criminals it is not our press," Islamic workers at the paper barred entry to 22 journalists they claimed were leftists. When the remainder of the journalists walked out in protest, the Khomeini supporters brought out their own edition of *Kayhan*, which simply regurgitated the government's propaganda handouts. But while the U.S. press has concentrated on the plight of the liberal papers, it should also be

noted that the leftist daily *Peygham Enruz* and the satirical weekly *Ahangar* have been forced underground.

A Cowardly Capitulation

The situation cries out for a united-front defense of the left and all secular-democratic forces under attack by the mullahs and their "Islamic marshals." Yet only a break with the suicidal policy of giving support—"critical" or otherwise—to the "Imam" Khomeini can make possible this independent mobilization of the working class and its allies. The fake-Trotskyists of the HKS (Socialist Workers Party) have made it abundantly clear that they do not stand for such a policy of proletarian opposition to the Khomeini regime. Instead these Iranian brethren of the reformist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have responded to the clerical anti-communist offensive by shamefully cringing before the mullahs.

The 5 May edition of the ill-fated *Ayandegan* carried a HKS statement on the assassination of Motahari which categorically declared, "The terrorist attack on Ayatollah Motahari was a counterrevolutionary act. It was an act against the toilers. The consequences of it can only be harmful to their interests" (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 May). The HKS used the traditional Marxist criticism of individual terror as an "orthodox" figleaf for *solidarizing* with the mullahs: "Reaffirming this historic position, we deplore the assassination of Ayatollah Motahari and express our sorrow at his death."

The HKS has proved to be an apt pupil of its social democratic mentors in the SWP. For in the hysteria surrounding the Kennedy assassination in 1963 the SWP caved in to the pressure of bourgeois public opinion and sent a telegram of condolences to the widow of this leader of U.S. imperialism. They conveniently "forgot" his crimes against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cuba in the rush to respectability.

The Iranian pseudo-Trotskyists warn that "Terrorist actions give the counterrevolutionary forces an opportunity to mobilize...." But it is precisely Islamic reactionaries like Motahari, for whom the HKS feels "sorrow," that are mobilizing against the Iranian proletariat! As a member of Khomeini's secret Revolutionary Council Motahari was

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Apartheid Lynching

In the summer of 1976, 19-year-old Solomon Mahlangu was one of thousands of black South African students who joined the spontaneous anti-apartheid uprising in Soweto. Mahlangu witnessed the brutal police repression of the demonstrations and saw his

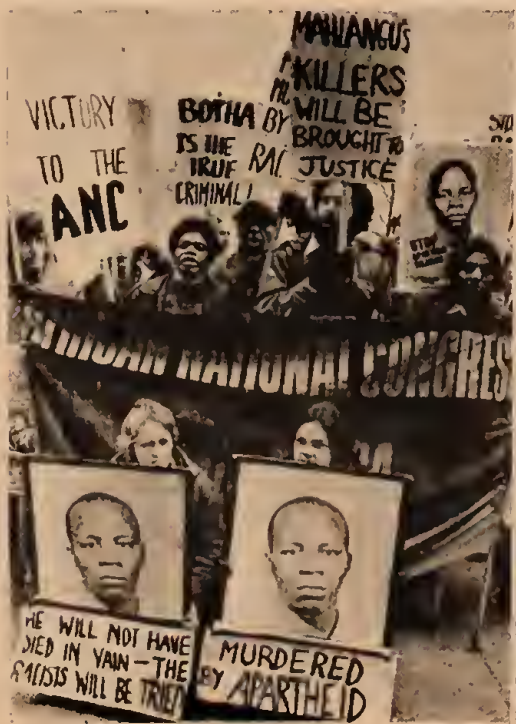
fellow students beaten, arrested and gunned down by the armed thugs of the apartheid regime. Like many others, Mahlangu was driven into exile to escape the murderous repression. But Soweto had made Mahlangu a rebel and he returned to South Africa one year

later—as a guerrilla fighter of Umkonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC).

Before Mahlangu and two companions could make their way to Soweto, however, they were challenged by police in Johannesburg. In the chase that followed, one of the ANC militants escaped but Mahlangu and the third youth, Monday Motloaung, were captured in a warehouse, where Motloaung shot two white men dead. Although Mahlangu had not fired a shot, an apartheid judge found him guilty by "common purpose" with Motloaung (who had been beaten so badly after his capture that he could not stand trial).

On April 6 Solomon Mahlangu was hanged in a Pretoria prison, the 37th victim of legal murder in South Africa this year. The execution of Mahlangu by the Afrikaner hard-liners rankled even the loyal opposition of white liberals, and drew pleas for clemency from Jimmy Carter and former British prime minister James Callaghan. South Africa's well deserved reputation for racist brutality, which embarrasses Pretoria's imperialist allies, means nothing to a government which hanged 132 persons last year and which routinely murders black prisoners in its torture-chamber jails.

Solomon Mahlangu, Steven Biko and all of their fellow martyrs to the cause of black liberation in South Africa will be avenged! The revolutionary victory of the powerful black working class of South Africa will bring the torturers and hangmen of apartheid to justice. ■



Demonstrators in London protest the hanging of Mahlangu by the bloody South African regime.

Mark Rutherford/IFL

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Gas Rip Off...

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history: a whopping 37 percent over last year's profits. Gulf profits were up 61 percent. Texaco and Mobil 81 percent. Standard Oil of Ohio 303 percent (Time, 7 May).

These astronomical levels of profit were gained through supply manipulation. But not according to Big Oil: the present gas shortage, they say, is out of their control; it is caused by the loss of crude oil from Iran, the greedy Arab sheiks, Ralph Nader, unleaded gas and so on. Yet the hard facts demonstrate that it is not the "crisis" which is out of control, but the oil majors who controlled the crisis.

- Last year there was an oil glut.
- The oil industry's American Petroleum Institute admits that imports of foreign crude for the first four months of this year exceed last year's level by 4.3 percent despite the decline in Iranian production (San Francisco Chronicle, 17 May).

- Production of domestic crude oil in April was 2.1 percent less than April 1978 because oil companies held back in expectation of higher prices.

- Oil company allocations of gasoline to retailers are far below 1978 levels. Exxon is supplying only 80 percent of 1978 levels (Time, 14 May).

- Refineries are operating at only 81.5 percent capacity according to the Department of Energy (San Francisco Examiner, 8 May).

- The Federal Trade Commission, noting that the reduction in gasoline production far surpassed the reduction in oil imports, conceded that "the current gasoline shortage may be contrived" (New York Times, 16 May).

There was not much mystery. The oil companies had been battling for a long time to shed the old Rooseveltian "controls" so they could be free to sell at the world "spot" market price which is nearly four times that of the controlled domestic "old oil" price. "Old oil" is that which comes from wells discovered before 1973. But the oil companies were already selling "old oil" in new barrels. Federal regulators charge that by selling

WORLD'S HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING



Cars and the American Dream. Bread lines in the '30s, gas lines today.

oil discovered before 1973 at prices set for newer oil, one company—Texaco—gained \$888 million in illegal profits (Time, 14 May).

What better way for the oil giants to help Carter convince the American public that the oil companies need "incentives" to look for more domestic petroleum than by staging a shortage? In his April 5 national energy address, Carter announced the gradual phasing out of controls on domestic oil prices, which are significantly lower than world oil prices. Decontrol would start on June 1 and be completed by 30 September 1981. Carter said in his give-it-to-'em-straight pose, "Use less oil and pay more for it." (It is a statement he may regret come 1980 as his rival Ted Kennedy quickly distanced himself from the Carter talk-tough program.)

Carter is in the pocket of the oil companies perhaps deeper than any major political contender in Washington except John Connally. But he tried to play the populist in his speech with talk of "oil company rip-offs." He proposed a windfall profits' tax on

superprofits the oil companies would gain through decontrol. It may be that the government wants a slice of that windfall which the British Tory journal, the Economist (14 April), predicts could be upwards of \$30 billion by the end of 1982. But it was clear that the oil companies, which are the foremost experts in avoiding taxes, would not be stung on the proposed tax. In fact there is already talk about a dollar-for-dollar rebate on the tax for "exploration, investment and research." Those who know the oil companies will not be surprised if the "research and exploration" takes the form of buying copper mines in Chile.

The Imperialists' MEOW

The public anger has been met with limitless arrogance and patrician hypocrisy by Carter and the oil billionaires. How dare the American people not believe them? An increasingly petulant Carter has taken to rebuking the American people. Speaking to a gathering of business leaders in the White House on May 15, the peanutgate millionaire whined that "the American people refused to face the inevitable prospect of fuel shortages" (New York Times, 16 May). The house organs of the bourgeoisie chimed in, with Newsweek (21 May) writing: "The public blindly refuses to believe that the crisis is anything more than an industry plot." And Time is full of finger-wagging journalism about the public's "prodigal way of life" and the "great summer driving orgy."

"Sacrifice," says Carter. He declared it in 1977 when he proclaimed the energy crisis was "the Moral Equivalent of War," or MEOW as the acronym of this presidential imperative is known around Washington. But on the same day the president railed against "gas guzzlers" and condemned the "panic" on the long lines at the pumps in California, he flew off in his helicopter for a mini-vacation at Virginia Beach, fishing off his cabin cruiser.

For Carter the energy crisis is no small political matter. From a certain point of view it is the imperialists' MEOW. The psychology of sacrifice and the austerity program it serves is necessary to the Carter drive to gear up for imperialist war to save U.S. capitalism—a goal requiring the development of more reliable domestic energy resources. In this effort Carter has the backing of California governor Jerry Brown who, despite his attempts to gain media points for the upcoming Democratic Party presidential race, shares the same goals. So far, however, the working class has felt no desire to "sacrifice" for "energy independence" despite the scoldings from the president. And feeling the heat at their backs,

Congress killed Carter's stand-by gas rationing bill.

Ideological rearmament for his military build-up has been the main purpose of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. But there has also been a steady undercurrent of the "new conservatism," which he has attempted to offer as a basis for the austerity. If the capitalists can supply less at higher cost, then less is good, say the new ideologues of "no growth" and "no use." Americans are too wasteful. Therefore prices must be raised to "help" these compulsive, voracious consumers. As Carter put it in his energy message, if too much gas is being used by federal employees, then end free parking. California senator S.I. Hayakawa, typically, expressed what millions of Americans felt: let there be gas—damn the price—but make it flow 24 hours a day, seven days a week. And a willing Congress responsive to a middle-class constituency will make Hayakawa's "screw-the-poor" sentiment the law of this gas-thirsty land. And NYC's profit-gouging blackout utility, Con Edison, has attempted to justify a 22 percent summer increase on the basis of its "social conscience" in helping to keep down energy levels of air conditioning!

The eco-faddists have provided the most popular base of ideological support for this austerity masked as conservation. When Carter lambastes the "gas guzzlers" or his wife tells workers they ought to "try walking," they have ready listeners among the no-nuke flukes who came to Washington to demand "Less Electricity." In San

"Let 'em Walk"

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, R-Calif., says he has a solution to the gas shortage: let the price soar so high that only the rich can afford to drive cars.

"The important thing is that a lot of the poor don't need gas because they're not working," Hayakawa told reporters Wednesday after the California Congressional delegation met with President Carter to discuss the gasoline shortage.

The senator said the wealthy would drive their Cadillacs "whether they have to pay 95 cents for gas or \$2 to \$3 for gas."

"That's what it means to be wealthy," he said.

But he said the poor would cut back on gas purchases as prices rise. "Let the price of gas go up—\$1.25, \$1.50, \$2, or \$2.50," he said.

Francisco a small band of these people who long for a return to pre-industrial society demonstrated under the slogan "Drive Less." Instead of attacking the corporations who suck the livelihood out of the masses with their extortion schemes, the antinuke crowd sees the enemy as gasoline, automobiles, highways.

A Necessity and a Dream

The slogan "Drive Less" is going nowhere in America. While there have been periodic "crises" caused by short-term capitalist profit considerations like the "natural gas crisis" of the winter of 1977, this one touches the heart of the American Way of Life—the car. No wonder the population is enraged. By what right does this peanut swindler order them to use less gas?

The car is a necessity of modern life in America. People need their cars to get to work, to go shopping, to go to the doctor and so on. The entire economy depends on cars. The distance between working-class neighborhoods and the factories demands them. California is only an extreme example of what exists throughout the country, particularly exaggerated in Los Angeles, where GM and Standard Oil long ago effectively conspired against mass transportation. The same auto companies who help to scuttle buses and subways then build plants 30 or 40 miles outside the major population centers. Now they say, "Let

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Big Oil company executives face Senate investigation following 1974 "crisis."



Class-Struggle Opposition at ILWU Convention

Not a Penny for the Pentagon!

SAN DIEGO—The 23rd Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) which met here late last month was the first in the union's history not to be held under the leadership of Harry Bridges and Lou Goldblatt. Bridges and Goldblatt were eased into retirement in 1977 and with them went much of the Stalinist and social-democratic veneer which was the hallmark of the ILWU since its founding. Toning down the reformist rhetoric and stepping up repression on dissent, their successors are doing their best to look like any other mainstream liberal union leadership.

The convention met under the threat of a massive employer assault against ILWU and Teamster warehouse workers when the Northern California Master Contract expires June 1. The union is also confronted with a lack of jobs in every division. But instead of mapping out a militant strategy of union struggle for job guarantees and safe conditions along with an extensive organizing campaign, International president Jimmy Herman opted for the defeatist policy of begging the capitalist government for legislative relief. And while saddling the membership with a series of contracts below Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines, the bureaucrats voted themselves a hefty 29 percent pay raise, by far the largest in the union's history.

In a departure from the past ILWU practice of limiting the role of bourgeois politicians at International conventions, Herman brought in two liberal California Democrats—Leo McCarthy and

Ron Dellums—to give major policy speeches. Their anti-Carter sallies suited the mood of the delegates perfectly, but their anti-Brown cracks made it clear that they were posing as stalking-horses for Teddy Kennedy. This was a switch from Bridges, who used to lecture the union on the virtues of the dictatorship of the proletariat while selling out jobs to the employers' Pacific Maritime Association. Herman only claimed he was a socialist in his closing remarks, and then mainly to justify a redbaiting attack on the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League, accusing them of "trying to impose their program on the union."

The nakedly class-collaborationist policies of the International tops were challenged at the convention only by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, editors of the "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle opposition newsletter in San Francisco Local 10 which is also linked to the Militant Caucus in Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse). In a minority report on warehouse, Gow stressed the need to mobilize the entire ILWU against the employers' union-busting challenge. "The officers are saying that no strike is necessary and instead are telling the membership that capitalist politicians like McCarthy and Dellums can defend the union. In fact, the officers are preparing what may be the biggest giveaway of ILWU jobs and conditions since the M&M [Mechanization and Modernization] contracts which cost us longshoremen half our jobs."

Gow proposed that no ILWU local handle any scab goods or cargo, that ILWU members be organized to assist

warehouse Locals 6 and 17 in mass picketing to combat police scabherding, and that longshore and warehouse locals stand ready to take sympathy strike action if necessary, particularly in the event of attempted government strikebreaking. The minority report forced International secretary-treasurer

Gow's position, opening the possibility that should the warehousemen come under heavy attack, working longshoremen could be rallied to their defense.

Gow and Keylor distinguished themselves from all the shades of reformists at the convention in particular by their principled opposition to the



Stan Gow and Howard Keylor

WV Photo

Curtis McClain to respond, precipitating the only serious debate on policy at the convention. When the officers' report was finally voted, fully 50 percent of the delegates abstained. Subsequently it was reported that at the Longshore Caucus several delegates voted for

bureaucrats' resolution on military spending, which called on Congress to "reverse the priorities established in President Carter's budget proposal" and held that "some \$18 billion could actually be cut from the current military

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Inco Strikers Clobber Sellout

TORONTO—After eight winter months of a bitter strike against the International Nickel Company, 11,700 Sudbury miners have courageously rejected a lousy settlement, vowing to continue their struggle against this huge multinational metal producer. The miners, organized into United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 6500, voted 5,463 to 4,058 to reject a settlement which the Local's negotiating committee had accepted earlier this month in a 16-to-2 vote. The Local leadership and the bigwigs of the USWA bureaucracy hailed the tentative agreement with Inco as a "victory"; the bourgeois press ran stories on the "history" of the strike, and management began making preparations to resume production. But in an act of defiance which surprised even many of the miners who voted for rejection, the strikers threw the sellout back in the face of the nickel bosses and the USWA tops.

When the strike started last September, Inco, sitting on a stockpile of 300 million pounds of nickel, was positive it could starve the miners into submission and saddle them with a contract that would take away their cost-of-living allowance, their grievance procedure and give them an insulting 10-cent wage "increase" spread over three years. Having already slashed the workforce in Sudbury by 2,800 in the mass layoffs of April 1978, Inco sought to use the threat of further unemployment to force those miners who still had jobs to accept the company's terms hat in hand. Slightly better versions of the original offer made to the Sudbury

miners were accepted by Inco workers at the Port Colborne, Ontario refinery and the Thompson, Manitoba mines. Stuart Cooke, USWA District 6 director, told the miners that any strike would lose. Nevertheless, isolated and facing great odds, the Sudbury miners stood up and fought back.

With nickel prices skyrocketing and company stockpiles diminishing at a rate of 20 million pounds for every month the strike continues (Inco's inventory is now down to around 100 million pounds), the mine barons now want their Sudbury facilities back in operation. The company managed to buy off the bargaining committee by offering a miserable 71 cents an hour over three years and dropping its demands aimed at crippling the union's grievance procedure. As part of the tentative settlement the nickel bosses offered to introduce supplementary unemployment benefits for miners who are laid off after two years' service. But the offer of \$40 a week SUB pay is purely token especially when compared to far greater benefits won by workers in auto and steel. Given the massive job loss at Inco in Sudbury a majority of the miners have spent more than ten years working under dangerous and grueling conditions underground. Thus pensions are of great importance. The company offered "35 and out"—retirement with pension after 35 years—knowing full well that few survive that long in the industry.

Local 6500 president, Dave Patterson, described the tentative agreement as "benefits that workers in other

industries have enjoyed for 25 years." USWA bureaucrats hailed the company's contract offer as a "victory for Canadian labor." But winning demands other unions won a quarter century ago was not seen as any victory on the Sudbury picket lines. The strikers were bitter and angry. Just when their long, hard strike was finally hurting the company their bargaining committee was ready to settle for a little more than what was accepted at other Inco installations without a strike. As an omen of the impending rejection, Local 6500 stewards voted 100 to 2 to reject the agreement.

When the bargaining committee convened a union meeting to try and sell the agreement to the membership, 2,000 angry miners turned up. Bargaining committee members who recommended acceptance were booed off the stage. One miner jumped onto the platform and took a swing at Patterson. When the fighting spread throughout the hall the meeting was adjourned. However, according to the USWA supervisor for northeast Ontario, Gib Gilchrist: "It was a pretty quiet meeting compared to

1966." At that time striking miners stormed the stage and threw chairs at Lyn Williams, who has subsequently been rewarded for his support to USWA International president Lloyd McBride with the post of International Secretary, the No. 2 man in the USWA bureaucracy. The miners also learned a bitter lesson from the 1958 strike, during which Inco combined with local politicians and the Roman Catholic church to organize a back-to-work movement among the strikers' wives. In the present struggle not only have the miners' wives set up their own strike support group, Wives Supporting the Strike, but they spoke up strongly against the tentative agreement and pledged their continuing support if the offer was rejected.

When the rejection vote was announced on the night of May 12 a spontaneous celebration broke out at the Local 6500 union hall. Conspicuously absent from the celebrations was the Local president. Patterson later told the press that he didn't know what kind of "reception" he would get. In the last USWA presidential election, Patterson

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Release the Red Brigades and Far-Left Militants

STOP THE POPULAR-FRONT WITCHHUNT IN ITALY!

In the middle of Italy's parliamentary election campaign another Roman square gained intentional notoriety: Piazza Nicosia, where on May 3 a Red Brigades commando seized local Christian Democratic (DC) party headquarters in broad daylight, destroying it with powerful bombs and then escaping without leaving a trace. On the walls, their signature: "Transform the electoral swindle into class war." The result: 50,000 soldiers mobilized together with police and carabinieri to enforce capitalist "law" and order" during the campaign.

Ever since the kidnapping of Aldo Moro on Rome's via Fani a year ago March 16, and the subsequent execution of the DC chairman by Ins Brigate Rosse (BR) captors, Italian politics have been dominated by left-wing terrorism and bourgeois repression. The "hawks" have been the leaders of the Communist Party (PCI) with their repeated calls for streamlining the repressive apparatus of the "democratic state." And while the Red Brigades continue to confound the authorities, it is the "far left" which suffers the blows of the popular-front witchhunt.

To their shame, virtually the entire Italian ex-New Left milieu has fallen into step with the PCI's "anti-terrorist" hysteria. But as the centrists howl with the wolves, genuine revolutionaries continue to defend the left against the capitalist state while warning against the Red Brigades' suicidal program of individual terror. We print below a report from a correspondent in Rome, written in collaboration with comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia.

ROME On April 7 state attorneys in Rome and Padova ordered the arrest of the principal leaders of the so-called Autonomia Operaia (AO—Workers Autonomy) "area." Among those jailed are political science professor Antonio Negri, Milano *autonomo* leader Oreste Scalzone, Emilio Vesce, Giuseppe Nicotri and eleven others, including almost the entire political science faculty of Padova University. In addition, the police are actively searching for other



Repression following Moro's kidnapping in 1978.



Paterno/Agf

AO leaders, among them Franco Piperno. The accusations against Negri, Scalzone, Piperno and the other *autonomi* range from "subversive association" to "aiding in the formation and participation in an armed band," "assault on the state constitution" and "armed insurrection against the state power."

The fundamental charge by the government is that the Workers Autonomy leaders are really the "brains" behind the Red Brigades, that their writings provide the "theory" and that several of them were directly involved in the kidnapping/killing of Aldo Moro. After months of drawing blanks, the judicial investigators now claim to have "cracked" the BR at the very top. The contention of the prosecuting attorney in charge of the Padova investigation, Pietro Calogero, was succinctly stated in an interview a year ago:

"There is a single leadership of terrorism in Italy. One single organization links the BR and the armed groups of Autonomia Operaia. One single destructive strategy inspires the attack on the heart of the state."

—quoted in *L'Espresso*,
22 April 1978

Of course, the state faces the impossible task of explaining away years of polemics between the *autonomi* and the Brigate Rosse. The idea that the well-

known professor Negri would telephone BR ultimatums to Mrs. Moro is patently absurd, and the charge of "insurrection" so outlandish that it has not even been raised against jailed Red Brigades leader Renato Curcio (or, for that matter, against participants in a 1970 coup plot led by the "Black Prince," Vittorio Borghese). But these may be inconsequential flaws for the real purposes of the frame-up: to score a publicity success in the "war on terrorism" and put the bothersome Workers Autonomy "movement" out of action.

"But the proof. Where is the proof?" asked the weekly *L'Espresso* (20 May), expressing the concern of many Italian liberals. The Radical Party-linked daily *La Repubblica* points out that under the draconian Reale Law of 1975, Negri and his comrades can be kept in jail for up to two years of "preventive detention" without ever being formally accused of a crime. Even if they are found innocent the imprisonment can be extended for up to an additional six years through various appeals. Meanwhile, the prosecution has neither charged the arrested "suspects," produced one shred of evidence or a single witness linking them to the Red Brigades.

The accusation of "subversive association" consists in having formed the Potere Operaio (PO—Workers Power) group, which fell apart a good six years ago! The charge would be absurd if it wasn't so dangerous to the left. PO was formed in 1969 and grew in 1970-71 to a thousand or so members and several thousand supporters, but split in 1973 following a deep crisis due to lack of a perspective and strategy. This took the form of a dispute between those who sought to abandon organized group activity (Negri and Vesce) and those who wanted to found a more structured organization (Piperno and Scalzone).

The prosecuting attorney bases his case on the claim that the dissolution was simply a ploy, that in reality a part of PO became the Red Brigades and another became Autonomia Operaia, which would serve as a front for the BR. But not only have the Brigate Rosse existed since 1970, and their leaders are Curcio and Franceschini (who come from Trento rather than Padova), but the various groups which could be

considered part of the "AO milieu" have for years accused the Red Brigades of being "militarists," "inveterate Bolsheviks" and the like. What, therefore, is the objective of the bourgeoisie in this repressive campaign?

It escaped no one's attention that the arrests came just a few days after the dissolving of parliament, which led to the calling of national parliamentary elections for June 3/4, and the hypothesis has been advanced that the whole business is a Christian Democratic electoral maneuver to win votes at the expense of the PCI. (The latter, presumably, would be associated in the public mind with the *autonomi* and the BR because of their common formal "communist" label.) But if this is the case, the Communist Party seems none too worried. It has thrown itself into the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt with such enthusiasm that it is attacking from the right the liberals worried about prosecuting crimes of opinion.

In point of fact, the accused AO leaders are almost all university professors, teachers and journalists, and the accusations against them are based essentially on their books and writings in such magazines as *Rossò*, *Autonomia* and *Controinformazione*. The first questions during the initial interrogation of Negri, moreover, concerned the theories put forward in his books, which have also been translated and published in Germany and France (where he has taught in Parisian universities). So it is likely that the eventual trial will look strangely like the medieval Inquisition.

This does not bother the PCI, which may have provided some of the dossiers on which the state attorneys are basing their case against Negri et al. So what if the arrested were not the heads of the Red Brigades, reason the Eurocommunist Stalinists, they are still "criminals" who carried out attacks on the "democratic state born of the Resistance." Thus while the popular-front parliamentary majority, extending from the DC to the Communist Party, which was sealed a year ago over the still-warm body of Aldo Moro, has come apart, its spirit lives on in the present witchhunt. The PCI's "Historic Compromise" with Italian capitalism is alive and well in the domain of the political police!

The targets include not only AO but



L'Espresso

"Diffuse terrorists" of Workers Autonomy in Milano.

all organizations to the left of the PCI, in particular the Democrazia Proletaria (DP - a centrist electoral coalition) and the milieu around the daily *Lotta Continua*, which runs the gamut from feminists and ecologists to "critical supporters" of terrorism. Caught by the kidnapping/killing of Moro between the hammer of the BR and the anvil of the state and the Communist Party, this "far left" sought to take the heat off by raising the cowardly slogan, "Neither with the state nor the Red Brigades. Against the state and the Red Brigades." Now, faced with the new "anti-terrorist" crackdown, they are totally inert and impotent. From the DP to Autonomia Operaia itself, the "defensive" line consists of simply demanding from the bourgeoisie "proof" of the guilt of the arrested AO leaders.

The crisis of the entire left-of-the-PCI milieu is probably close to an explosion. After this massive repressive operation many of those who today consider themselves part of this "dissenting left," which has been and remains totally incapable of presenting a genuine class opposition to the class-collaborationist popular front, will go over to supporting the PCI, through the intermediary of its handmaidens of the PDUP (Party of Proletarian Unity) and the *Manifesto*, or else will simply leave political life altogether—while still others go over to clandestine "armed struggle" in the orbit of the Red Brigades. Both Christian Democrats and the Communist Party seem willing to risk a short-run increase in terrorist activity in the hopes of obtaining a "normalization" not only in the universities but also in the factories and the streets. They hope to build a wall of fear around the BR, who up to now have taken advantage of the existence of a milieu of tacit and sometimes open support to "armed struggle."

Autonomia Operaia: From Workerism to Lumpenproletarian Banditry

Workers' Autonomy is not an organized group, not even a set of collectives grouped around a newspaper which "lays down the line." The "Autonomia" label groups together various collectives and committees of different origins and involved in different activities. The arrested AO leaders were all leaders of Potere Operaio, but PO did not generate Autonomia Operaia. In Rome, the workers committees of Via dei Volsci, the Policlinico and ENEL (electricity company) came out of *Il Manifesto* around 1970; in the North some AO collectives came from Lotta Continua (LC), others from diverse anarchist and Maoist groups (see accompanying diagram from *La Repubblica*). As for AO's theoretical "fathers," they can be traced back to the workerist formations on the left fringe of the Socialist Party.

Potere Operaio and Lotta Continua were founded as products of a split inside the workerist groups that sought to organize the most combative sections of the working class "outside of and against" the trade unions at the start of the *Autunno Caldo* (Hot Autumn) of 1969. The main difference between PO and LC was the former's greater organizational centralization and the latter's glorification of spontaneism. They both opposed the Leninist strategy for proletarian revolution; both had a program of refusing to work (wildcat work stoppages) and enthused over instances of sabotage in the factories and lumpenproletarian rebellions in the South. Internationally they both looked to the guerrillaism of Al Fatah, the Chilean MIR, Argentine ERP, Uruguayan Tupamaros and the IRA.

Over the last ten years the Italian working class has continued to struggle under difficult conditions as the main reformist party, the PCI, now openly champions "austerity" measures and the Red Brigades are locked in the dead end of individual terrorism. Meanwhile, growing sections of AO have looked to

social strata extraneous to the working class: the "angry youth" who spawned the large demonstrations and clashes of 1977, the lumpenproletariat of the large urban centers. Speaking for social layers excluded from the productive process—which they called the "second society," in counterposition to the first in which salaried workers predominate—the AO leaders' theories turned increasingly to "proletarian expropriations," "mass illegal behavior," "diffuse violence" and "assaults on capitalist social wealth." In other words they offered a "theoretical" justification and "strategy" for common criminality by the social refuse of the capitalist crisis. Thus some Milanese

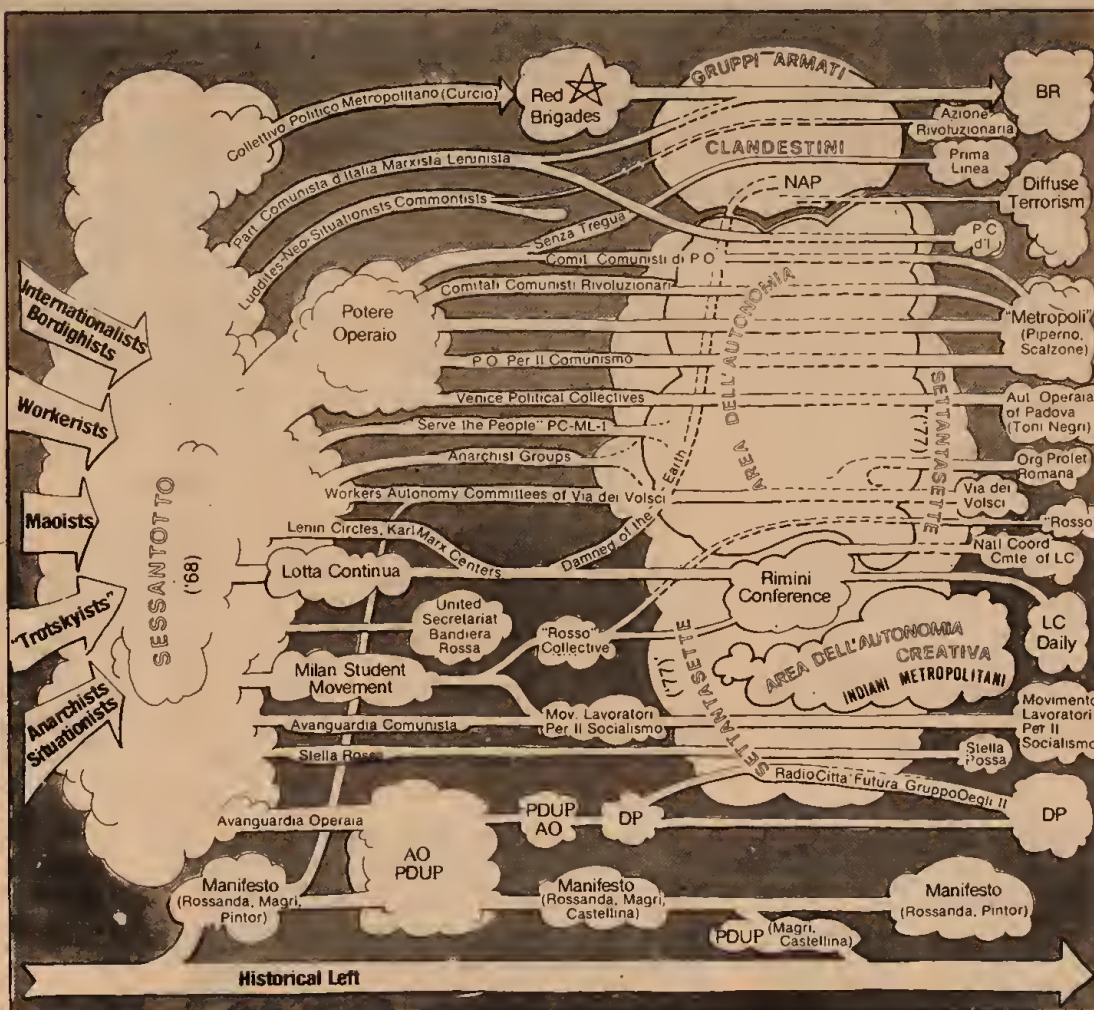
Nothing better than this continuous activity as a guerrilla operative, saboteur, absenteeist, deviant, criminal that I find myself experiencing. Immediately I feel the warmth of the working-class and proletarian community every time that I pull my mask over my face... Nor does the possible risk bother me; on the contrary, it fills me with feverish emotion, like waiting for a lover... "...the connection between self-awareness and sabotage does not allow us to have anything to do with 'socialism,' with its tradition, and even less with reformism and Eurocommunism. Jokingly, it would really be appropriate to say that we are another race."

—Antonio Negri, *Il dominio e il sabotaggio* (1978)

Here we see the trajectory of worker-

macht or even Mussolini's draft army along class lines. (In contrast, the French Trotskyists published a clandestine newspaper in German, *Arbeiter und Soldat* [Worker and Soldier], and succeeded in organizing a few cells in the German navy before they were harshly suppressed in 1944.) As their names show, GAP and SAP were nationalistic formations dedicated to the physical elimination of "foreigners" and fascist "servants of foreigners."

In the post-war period the most famous and important example of Stalinist partisan activity was that of "Volante Rossa" (Red Strike Force), which operated in Milano until 1949. Its



Fallout from Italian "far left." Satirical diagram from bourgeois daily *La Repubblica* pokes fun at left-of-the-PCI milieus.

autonomi, the Barona Collective, carried out robberies against small local merchants, proposing an alliance of "revolutionaries" and delinquents.

According to Autonomia Operaia the "new revolutionary subjects" must be looked for outside of the factories, the PCI and the trade unions. Even where AO has support in the working class it tends to use it above all as a base for "diffuse terrorism" directed at society in general. And given that AO considers Communist Party workers to be integrated into the regime by now, some Workers' Autonomy collectives in Rome have assaulted PCI locals, criminally lumping the PCI together with the state repressive apparatus. AO's political activity consists of arming an array of lumpenproletarian elements (but unfortunately also hundreds of subjectively revolutionary militants) with anti-proletarian conceptions, starting them on the road of semi-clandestine urban guerrillaism. The cardinal points of AO's "theory" are in reality pre-Marxist, and the classic hero of the *autonomi* is not the Petrograd working class that conquered state power in October 1917 but peasant brigands like Robin Hood.

Antonio Negri expressed these conceptions with striking clarity:

"...nothing reveals better the enormous historical positiveness of working-class self-awareness as does sabotage.

ism that has lost faith in the working class, searching for "new revolutionary subjects." The path along which AO is moving is taking it outside of the workers' movement into armed lumpenproletarian desperation. Only a party armed with the Leninist program of proletarian revolution can rescue the scores and hundreds of courageous militants who are prepared to sacrifice their lives on the altar of the Molotov cocktail and the P-38 pistol. Only the Trotskyists can expose the anti-Marxist garbage in the "theoretical" writings of Negri, Scalzone, etc., and denounce their responsibility for having misled these militants into a deadly blind alley. In the meantime these leaders of AO must be defended against the bourgeoisie's persecution and released from the prisons where their lives are in danger.

Red Brigades: Reformism Out of the Barrel of a Gun

Unlike the ex-New Leftists of Workers' Autonomy, the Red Brigades trace their roots back to the Stalinist partisans of the World War II Resistance and the immediate post-war years. During the Resistance the Gruppi di Azione Patriottica (GAP) and the Squadre di Azione Patriottica (SAP), controlled by the Stalinists, sowed terror in the ranks of the enemy army without ever attempting to split the German Wehr-

actions ranged from execution of known torturers and fascist leaders spared in the purges to furnishing military cover for demonstrations organized by the PCI. A few dozen men, well-armed and militarily organized, function in semi-clandestinity as a group subject to the discipline of the PCI, of which they were all members, but without having an officially recognized existence, much less open ties with the Stalinist party. And not only do the Red Brigades look back to the Stalinist partisan traditions, an important section of its founders comes from the PCI:

"The Genova column is historically the first column of the BR, the direct inheritor of Feltrinelli's GAP and the 22 October Group... formed by a split in a working-class section of the PCI. In the Genova BR there is the highest percentage of discontented ex-Communists, of ex-partisans who have remained cut off from reality, of veteran Stalinist workers and 'ever angrier youth.' It is probably an organization with many 'irregulars,' i.e., non-clandestine militants who lead a double life. Their infiltration in the big factories is no mystery (as is proven by the detailed document-accounts about the Ansaldo and Italsider plants)."

—*L'Espresso*, 4 February

Ideologically, the Red Brigades remain in the Stalinist-Feltrinellian mold of the GAP/SAP and Volante Rossa. It is significant that with all their "Mao-

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Popular Front Witchhunt...

(continued from page 7)

ism," the BR have never placed the (presumably "social-imperialist") USSR on the same plane as the United States, and their strategic perspective remains that of operating as a pressure group on the PCI. Thus they insist on the "duality" of the Communist Party, its "two souls"; that of the Berlinguerists, completely committed to the "Historic Compromise" with the DC; the other, prisoner of the first, which is supposedly still committed to revolution. Watchful of the moods of the PCI's working-class base, thanks to a capillary net of contacts in the most important factories of the North, the Brigate Rosse want to prevent the consolidation of the PCI alliance with the Christian Democracy.

The Red Brigades' methods resemble those of anarchist terrorist groups of the 19th century—starting from "exemplary actions" against foremen hated by the workers, through attacking fascist leaders to killing ministers of the bourgeoisie. According to the BR, repression can only accelerate the authoritarian dynamic of the regime, and this, in turn, will accelerate the development of class consciousness and hasten the hour of mass guerrilla warfare. Nevertheless, their strategy is no less reformist than that of the PCI—e.g., their political focus on the "domination of Italy by the multinationals," and their current "election campaign" directed only at defeating "Christian Democratic power" (thus leaving the door open for a "left government" or similar popular front).

But this does not prevent the BR from being drawn into dangerous and reprehensible actions with anti-working-class overtones. In particular, with the Communist Party increasingly drawn into the functioning of the state apparatus, there is a potential for a vendetta

the worker. Francesco Berardi, was found guilty and sentenced to four and a half years for "membership in an armed band." A few weeks later, on January 24, Rossa was shot to death in his car while going to work. A telephone call to a news agency claimed the attack as the work of the BR: "Red Brigades—we have just shot Guido Rossa, a spy for Italsider." It was the first time the BR had struck at a PCI worker and the ominous implications were obvious to everyone.

For revolutionaries the attack on an informer is not a morally reprehensible act, however excessive. By turning in Berardi, Rossa was committing a crime against the working class. No matter that he may have thought he was "defending democracy"—no doubt during the thirties many honest Stalinist workers thought they were striking at Hitler's "Fifth Column" by heating up and even killing Trotskyists. Guido Rossa acted as a police spy and the labor movement has a standard response to such links: drive them out of the working class. Trotskyists at the Italsider plant would have demanded that the informer Rossa be expelled from the union and the factory. While clearly stating that terrorism is a road to defeat, they would condemn the PCI-called "anti-terrorist" strikes and demonstrations as class treason, voting and seeking to organize the workers against these reactionary actions.

At the same time, the killing of Rossa was a violation of workers democracy. Rather than the action of an enraged worker at the time of Rossa's finking, this was a premeditated act by an organization which has set itself up as self-appointed enforcer of class justice. Moreover, the Red Brigades themselves showed an awareness of the disproportion between the crime and their would-be "exemplary punishment": a later BR communiqué stated that the original intention had been to "knee-cap" Rossa, thereby crippling him, but that he fought back and was killed in the scuffle. Refusing to join in the Stalinists' anti-BR hysteria, Trotskyists would never-

Guido Rossa:
The Fate of an
Informer



ANSA

"One cannot ignore the real rapport between the Communist Party and the working masses," said an internal document circulating in Genova, and this tie "cannot be ripped apart by pistol shots" (quoted in *L'Espresso*, 22 April).

The Rossa incident could have become the opening shot in a feud between the PCI and the Brigate Rosse. If that has not occurred, it is partly because the BR have not repeated the action, and also because the policy of Berlinguer & Co. of turning the trade unions into an appendage of the police has not found widespread support. The Italian working class, even though it is still dominated in large part by the Communist Party, is not made up of informers!

For a Trotskyist Party!

While denouncing the "Historic Compromise" of austerity and repression, Italian revolutionaries must also conduct a relentless struggle against the "diffuse terrorism" of Workers Autonomy and the "armed party" of the Red Brigades and other terrorist groups that model themselves on the BR, such as Prima Linea (Front Line). Such a struggle is, in the present phase, essentially a political struggle, consisting of presenting to the masses of workers, students and unemployed a Leninist-Trotskyist party with a proletarian-

Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR, Italian Section of the United Secretariat [USec] of Ernest Mandel) fell to their knees as soon as the bourgeoisie raised its voice. And yet the historic leader of the GCR, Livio Maitan, is famous for his theorizing on the role of "revolutionary violence" and "armed struggle"... as long as they remain far away from home. During the late sixties and early seventies, the years of guerrillaist euphoria, Maitan's group displayed the likeness of Che Guevara everywhere. Here is what was written at the time in the theoretical organ of the GCR:

"ARGENTINA: DARING ACTION OF THE ERP..."

"The action of the ERP [Revolutionary People's Army, a Castroite group then affiliated with the USec]...the kidnapping of the industrialist Sylvester and his subsequent release...has demonstrated what is the only way to correctly link vanguard action (e.g., kidnappings) with mass action." [emphasis in original]

—*Quarta Internazionale*, June 1971

But today, when the adoption of Maitan and Mandel's line in Latin America has by now cost the USec its Bolivian and Argentine sections (not to mention the lives of courageous militants), and thus is revealed to be "unproductive" for these ex-guerrillaists with pipe and slippers, today the GCR writes that "the militarists [Red Brigades et al.] are enemies of the organized workers movement." The GCR's capitulation was most dramatically expressed in response to the killing of Guido Rossa. In a press release published in *Bandiera Rossa* of 1 February these pseudo-Trotskyists say not a word about Rossa's actions as an informer, and instead write:

"The assassination of Comrade Guido Rossa is an attack directed against the workers movement, against all workers..."

"No witchhunt: the ground can be cut from under the Red Brigades and other terrorist groups...by expanding workers democracy to the maximum..."

For genuine Trotskyists the fink Rossa is no comrade, and we, at least, do not counsel the bourgeoisie on how to best suppress left-wing terrorists.

In the following issue, the GCR's grovelling is even more despicable. Not only is Rossa's informing unimportant, he is an example to be emulated:

"Whether or not Guido Rossa, assassinated in Genova, was an informer or not is a false and misleading debate. [PCI leader] Pajetta says: 'So we're spies—so what?'..."

"Guido Rossa was one of those comrades...who believed in defending a gain of the workers movement, but who at the same time are proud of defending it themselves, without delegating the inquiries to a police force they don't trust. Comrades like Guido Rossa are...a pride and joy [un patrimonio] of the class."

No doubt these clowns would have considered Ramón Mercader a "pride and joy of the class" because he didn't rely on the police to assassinate Leon Trotsky! In another article in the same paper Maitan & Co. read the Red Brigades out of the left and declare their solidarity with the PCI's "anti-terrorist" mobilizations:

"The latest evolution of the militarist formations in Italy makes it necessary

WORKERS VANGUARD



between the PCI and the Red Brigades with the northern factories serving as the battlefield. At the time of the Moro kidnapping, Communist Party leaders from Enrico Berlinguer on down called for "vigilance" in the factories—i.e., turning party members and trade-union officials into auxiliary spies for the cops. The PCI tops agreed with the *New York Times* (25 January) that, "One of the difficulties of the police in fighting terrorism in industry has been workers' reluctance to act as informers."

Last October saw the first instance of this PCI-encouraged informing when Guido Rossa, a member of the factory council at the Italsider steel plant in Genova, saw a worker putting up Red Brigades leaflets near a coffee machine. Rossa reported the incident to the factory council, which notified the police. He also testified at the trial where



Christian
Democratic
Chairman, Aldo
Moro, left, and
imprisoned Red
Brigades chief
Renzo Curcio.

Epoca

theless oppose this excess and have nothing to do with people who carry out such acts of vigilantism.

But more than that, the killing of Rossa was politically an extremely destructive act, uniting the Communist Party's ranks with their treacherous leadership and playing into the hands of the DC government's counterrevolutionary plans. For Trotskyist revolutionaries the killing of Rossa was not the same as attacks on random members (or leaders) of the PCI, such as various AO groups have engaged in, and which must be unreservedly condemned. But it is not simply the execution of an agent of the bourgeois state either, because his role as informer is intertwined with his membership in a working-class organization. In fact, the incident reportedly provoked disputes within the BR leadership, precisely for this reason.

revolutionary program to sweep away the bankrupt Italian bourgeoisie. The central axis for forging such a party today is intransigent opposition to every popular-front coalition, whether it be the PCI's "government of national unity" or the "left government" proposed by Democrazia Proletaria. Important points of its program would include the demand for freedom for the hundreds of militants victimized in the popular-front witchhunt, abolition of reactionary repressive laws (Reale Law, Rocco Code, etc.) and of all special repressive apparatuses of the state (DIGOS, Antiterrorist Inspectorate).

Among the various Italian pseudo-revolutionary groups which have shown themselves incapable of defending the Red Brigades against repression, the behavior of many who claim to be followers of Leon Trotsky has been particularly wretched. The Gruppi

...to definitively deny that these are
"erring comrades."

"At a time when the workers movement
is mobilizing against the attacks by the
terrorists (and this attack is against the
workers movement not only when
Guido Rossa is shot!), revolutionary
Marxists mobilize together with their
comrades at work, with the class. But
within these mobilizations, we do not
fall into the bourgeois trap or the
reformist swindle."

—Bandiera Rossa, 2 February

As if these treacherous actions were not
themselves a bourgeois trap and reform-
mist swindle! *Livio Maitan: you are a
coward!*

The Lega Socialista Rivoluzionaria
(LSR), the other Italian organization
adhering to the supposedly "United"
Secretariat, has positions which are
even more openly capitulationist (if this
is possible):

"We do not have proof that the
bourgeoisie directly has people inside
the Red Brigades, nor that it might even
control its leadership. But this is
unimportant: what is essential is that
the Red Brigades' policies coincide not
only with the 'line' of the bourgeoisie,
but even with that of its most reactionary
sectors."

—Avanzata Proletaria, 29
October 1978

Thus the LSR, whose international
mentor is the Argentine pseudo-
Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno,
practically accuses the Brigate Rosse of
being cop agents or fascist provoca-
teurs. As for the Italian supporters of the
phantom "Organizing Committee for
the Reconstruction of the Fourth
International" (dominated by the
French OCI), they follow a line almost
identical to that of the Morenoite LSR:

"The Torino trial [of Curcio and
Franceschini] has established that since
1974 the Red Brigades have been
infiltrated by the police. But at some
point we can no longer be satisfied with
speaking of infiltration.... Therefore, it
becomes comprehensible that from the
gunmen to the kidnapers, all threads
invariably lead back to the heart of a
gangrened state apparatus and to the
clerical party which is its key."

—La Verité, No. 582, June 1978

In stark contrast to these cowardly
capitulations, the only organization in
Italy which has put forward a principled
line on the question of terrorism is the
Lega Trotskyista d'Italia (LTd'I—
Trotskyist League of Italy). The found-
ing nucleus of the LTd'I was expelled
from the GCR in 1976 because of
Maitan & Co.'s capitulation to the
popular front (the GCR gave uncritical
support to Democrazia Proletaria and
the call for a "left government" à la
Allende's Chilean Popular Unity coal-
ition). Already a year ago, at the time of
the kidnapping and execution of Aldo
Moro by the Red Brigades, the LTd'I
(then called the Gruppo Bolsevicco-
Leninista d'Umbria*) was the only
organization in Italy that refused to
capitulate in the face of the witchhunt

*Not to be confused with the Gruppo
Bolsevicco-Leninista d'Italia, which
calls for electoral support to reformist
parties even when they are part of a
bourgeois formation such as a popular
front.



WV Photo

NY Metro Postal Workers Demand Safety, Amnesty

"No OSHA, No Morgan!" More
than 500 members of the New York
Metro Area Postal Union chanted
this slogan as they demonstrated
May 9 at the NY General Post Office
for safe working conditions at the
renovated Morgan Station. The
Postal Service has spent \$70 million
to rebuild the station, which was
gutted by fire in 1967, and plans to
put 7,000 NY Metro members and
other workers in it this year. How-
ever, Postal officials have refused to
allow Occupational Safety and
Health Administration inspectors
inside the building.

Congressional investigations
sparked by union protests have
revealed gross safety hazards at
Morgan that will take \$30 million

more to correct. Fire safety is so bad
at Morgan that NY Metro president
Moe Biller warned at the rally, "If
anything should happen, it would
make the Triangle fire look like
amateur night." NY Metro leaders
have instructed union members not
to work any mail at Morgan until
OSHA gives it a clean bill of health.

Many workers at the demon-
stration also raised the demand for
amnesty for the 200 postal workers
fired in the wake of last summer's
wildcat strikes in New Jersey and
California. Union militants should
demand that NY Metro and the
national postal union take all neces-
sary measures, up to and including
strike action, to win back the jobs of
these fired strikers. ■

unleashed by the popular-front coali-
tion, insisting on the need to defend left
militants against bourgeois repression
while pointing out the bankruptcy of the
terrorist strategy.

The LTd'I recently reiterated the
position of Leninist-Trotskyist revolu-
tionaries on the question of terrorism, in
the context of a resolution approved as
the basis for undertaking joint work in
Italy together with the international
Spartacist tendency (iSt):

"The current resurgence of left-wing
terrorism (in Italy most notably the Red
Brigades) is born out of petty-bourgeois
despair and lack of confidence in the
ability of the organized proletariat to
make a successful proletarian revolu-
tion. Trotskyists categorically reject
terrorism as a systematic political
methodology. As Trotsky said, terror-
ists are bureaucrats in reverse. How-
ever, leftist terrorists believe they are
acting to overthrow capitalism and
revolutionists must defend them against
persecution by the bourgeois state for
attacks on symbolic targets or direct
agents of the capitalist system and call
for freedom for those militants impris-

oned as a result of such persecution. At
the same time, Trotskyists cannot
defend indiscriminate terrorist attacks
on the civilian population or against
other organizations on the left, just as
we condemn violence within the work-
ers movement."

For immediate release of the Workers
Autonomy leaders! Drop the frame-up
charges! Freedom for the Red Brigades
and all left militants victimized by the
anti-communist "anti-terrorist" witch-
hunt! For the construction of a Trotsky-
ist party in Italy! Forward to the rebirth
of the Fourth International! ■

Iran...

(continued from page 3)

responsible for the arrest of leftists,
attacks on women's rights and the
massacring of Kurdish civilians. The
other target of the Forghan group,
General Gharani was simply the mili-
tary instrument of the ayatollahs'
suppression of the Kurds—does the

HKS express its sorrow at his death as
well?

The Forghan Fighters claim to be
anti-clerical Muslim populists. This is a
shadowy organization and we have no
way of knowing whether or not it has
ties to shah-loyal forces. However, the
Khomeini clique will claim that all
oppositionists are SAVAK agents.

What is clear is that the Forghan's
assassination campaign served as a
pretext for the mullahs' stepped-up
campaign against the left. When the
"Islamic Republic" is dispersing the
protests of the unemployed, breaking up
the factory committees, attempting to
disarm the masses and suppress the
national minorities, it is positively
obscene to single out the assassination
of Mottahari, an enemy of the Iranian
toilers, as a counterrevolutionary act.

Genuine Trotskyists recognize that
the strategy of individual terrorism is at
best one of petty-bourgeois despair,
counterposed to the actual revolution-
ary mobilization of the working class to
overthrow its oppressors. The interna-
tional Spartacist tendency stands for a
workers revolution by the millions-
strong Iranian proletariat, supported by
the peasantry and the oppressed nation-
alities, to overthrow Khomeini's reac-
tionary "Islamic Republic." We stand
with the women who protested the im-
position of the veil and were assaulted by
Islamic goons. We demand freedom for
the Fedayeen guerrillas arrested by the
"Islamic Republic." And we mourn the
Kurds slain by Gharani's helicopter
gunships. Unlike the HKS we do not
mourn the class enemy! ■

CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (WV No. 231, 11
May) in the article "Portrait of a
Healyite as a Scab/Spy" we attrib-
uted to the Workers League (WL)
San Jose, California organizer the
report that "Tim Nichols" had been
asked to resign from the WL in 1975
for committing racially provocative
acts. The article should have referred
to the former WL San Jose organizer
as the source of this statement.

In the same issue a photo caption
on page 9 refers to a Spartacist
League/Britain contingent under
attack by the fascist National Front
at a London demonstration last July.

The photo, which was published in
several newspapers, was of a demon-
stration in January on the anniver-
sary of Bloody Sunday in Northern
Ireland.

Finally, the article "No Nuke
Flukes Flood Washington" carried a
statement by SL spokesman Mar-
jorie Stenberg, an excerpt of which
was broadcast over educational
television stations around the coun-
try. The live coverage of the May 6 no
nukes march in Washington, D.C.
was prepared by the Public Interest
Video Network (not the Public
Broadcasting Service as we reported)
and carried on more than 20 PBS
stations.

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Gas Rip-Off...

(continued from page 4)

'em walk." But it can't be done, and the capitalists know it.

For America, the car is more than a necessity; it is a way of life and a tradition. From Marlon Brando's motorcycle to Steve McQueen's racing cars it is gasoline which powers the American dream. The car is the high-speed carrier of the national fantasy life of American capitalism. It is a "self-evident truth," carefully nurtured by the auto industry, that a hard-working man is entitled to a car, a woman and a gun. The featured object in the American courting ritual, the car is a sex symbol for teenage cruisers. And while it is less true for the present "liberated" generation of young people, the car was the only private place adolescent Americans ever knew. So much to the joy of the capitalist auto industrialists, the car in America is practically a secular object of worship.

In the most mobile society in the world, the car is also the major means to relax from the work-a-day grind. In more than any other advanced country, Americans pile into the family car for day trips to the beach or the park. They cannot afford helicopters or cabin cruisers, but if they have an outboard motor on their fishing boat they need to get the gas to use it. Millions of American workers have been sold recreational vehicles of all sorts. Private transportation and the appeal of the open road mean the myth of freedom. Now they are being told that their most important investment (second only to the home if they own it), that shining efficient home on wheels that was meant to carry the family to Yellowstone, is not an Airstream, but a "gas guzzler." Now with Memorial Day weekend about to inaugurate the summer driving period, the president orders the American vacationer to stay home. And if he is not responsible enough to stay home, if he continues in his "blind refusal" to recognize the "energy crisis," then the gas will be taken away and priced out of

range. The anger of the American masses is fully justified; they are absolutely right to demand to use their cars, camper trucks, dirt bikes, snowmobiles and whatever else has been sold to them without suffering a gas-shortage hoax.

Seize the Gas, the Wells, the Refineriest!

Running out of gas in America has the impact of a national blackout of electrical power or cutting off the water



Gone lishin'. Carter orders sacrifice from his luxury cabin cruiser.

supply. It is simply intolerable—the minimal administration of society demands that gas be available. The problem in California is not a phony crisis, but a *manipulated* crisis. The shortage may not be necessary, but the injury to the population is real. Daily existence becomes increasingly unacceptable as millions fight just to make it to work and home; vacation plans fall apart for lack of fuel. Most important, layoffs and firings increase because of

the fuel shortage. In short, an *emergency* exists in the state of California.

Californians have a right to expect local government to step in to this emergency situation, just as it could in a blackout if the electrical utility companies refused or were unable to get the power back on. It is quite legitimate to demand that the government act to maintain the necessities of life even under capitalism, with all of its inequities and class biases. But Governor Brown, who has tried to institute an



NJ auto workers protest gas swindle.

annoying odd-even gas plan (which hardly meets the situation), will certainly not call out the California National Guard to seize the primary gas depots, the oil wells and the refineries and distribute the gas to the local dealerships. Although such action might be justified even within the framework of capitalism, it would put too big a dent in the sanctity of "private property" for the governor. He would rather see the gas cease to flow.

Such action would take place only under tremendous pressure from the working class. Trade unions could call massive strikes to demand gas as some West Virginia miners did during the 1973 oil embargo. But the working class is hamstrung by its parasitic bureaucracy which has stood in the way of any countervailing force against the Carter/Big Oil austerity plans. A case in point was the May 21 demonstration against decontrol in front of the Exxon Research Center in Linden, New Jersey, called by the industrial department of the Jersey AFL-CIO. Although shot through with populist rhetoric, the speeches of the day made no call to use the industrial power of the working class against gas price gouging. Instead the speakers urged labor to back assorted liberal Congressional schemes to "control" the energy trusts. While auto workers may face massive layoffs, in part due to the gas shortage, Solidarity House remains politically paralyzed.

The oil Robber Barons are playing with political fire when they tamper with America's use of the car. And they are increasingly isolated in what has been so far fundamentally an intra-capitalist dispute. It is not only the mammoth auto industry, but trucking, tourism, farming; virtually the entire economy is affected. In many quarters of the capitalist class (with the notable exception of Jimmy Carter) there is an anti-oil-monopoly fever. Even Republican senator and presidential bidder Howard Baker has uttered the word, "nationalization" with regard to the oil trusts.

But for Baker and the rest of the capitalists, the spectre of nationalization is merely used to taunt the oil companies into more "responsible" capitalist behavior. If the working class ignites on this issue, it will not stop with the demand for nationalizing the oil trusts. The mobilization to seize the wells and refineries must become part of the class struggle for a workers government which alone can begin the task of rational economic planning that will truly resolve the "energy crisis"—through socialist revolution. ■

Inco...

(continued from page 5)

gave his support to Ed Sadlowski. Like Sadlowski, the Local 6500 president is one of a new generation of ambitious union bureaucrats who hope to build their career against the conservative, corrupt and ossified incumbents with vague talk of democracy and "rank-and-file militancy." But, like Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers, Patterson has shown that despite their occasional rhetoric the "new boys" are just as willing as the Boyles and McBrides to do the companies' bidding. Just when the miners' grip was tightening around the nickel bosses' throat the self-proclaimed

"maverick" caved in and accepted the company's paltry offer. As the local president, Patterson was under even less pressure than Miller to capitulate. Today, he is almost as despised as the hated misleader of the mine workers.

The courageous example of the Inco strikers could be key to unlocking the bureaucrats' stranglehold and inspiring the rest of the working class to resist the Trudeau government's union-busting attacks. Despite the treachery of the trade-union bureaucracy the miners' eight-month battle against the Inco bosses has evoked deep sympathy and support in the ranks of the Canadian labor movement. Plant gate collections have been taken at industrial work locations across the country and thou-

sands of dollars have poured into the union's strike fund from unions and labor federations.

This support must be translated into concrete actions of labor solidarity! Inco workers at Port Colborne and Thompson must throw out their rotten settlements and go out together in a single solid offensive. Transport workers must ensure no scab nickel is moved, by "hot-cargoing" Inco stockpiles. With the powerful backing of industrial action by their fellow unionists the miners can win demands that answer their real needs: a full pension indexed to the cost of living—retirement after 20 years in the union at full pay; a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to combat the layoffs that have been ravaging the mining industry; the unlimited right to strike and union control over safety and working conditions; a full cost-of-living allowance and a hefty wage increase.

The contract rejection came in the midst of the Canadian federal election campaign. Hoping to capitalize on the labor bureaucracy's electoral support for Canada's right-wing social democrats of the New Democratic Party, NDP leader Ed Broadbent made a stopover in Sudbury where he campaigned for "Canadian" ownership of the nickel industry. But Inco is already more than half Canadian-owned and Canadian bosses have mercilessly cut the jobs and attacked the nickel miners' living and working conditions. The miners must reject the reactionary economic nationalism of the NDP and fight for the expropriation of Inco without compensation. Key to this struggle is the replacement of sellouts like Patterson with a leadership committed to a program of irreconcilable class struggle. ■

Defend Keith Anwar...

(continued from page 12)

the membership had opposed the leadership—the executive board motion carried by 45 to 26.

What preceded this revealing vote rendered even clearer the hypocrisy of the Local 1010 leadership. A request was received to help subsidize a trip of retired Steelworkers to attend a "Senior Citizens Day" baseball game of the Chicago White Sox in California, but objections were raised from the floor because the umpires are on strike. Many members didn't think the union should finance a trip that would cross picket lines. Yet one outraged steel worker rose to point out that 1010 members were daily crossing the balers' picket lines; another repeatedly shouted, "What about Keith?"

Prominent among those defending the lines of umpires 2,000 miles away but refusing to vote for the Anwar resolution was Environmental Committee chairman Mike Olszanski, past darling of the I.S. who has been assiduously courted by the SWP. As for the Balanoff/Sadlowski "opposition," their continued refusal to employ labor militancy and their shameful scabberding should tell steel workers that they haven't the slightest intentions of fighting for the right to strike.

The company must not be allowed to trample labor solidarity and victimize militants with impunity. Defense of Keith Anwar is a defense of the union principle that every pioneer CIO militant knew well—picket lines mean don't cross! ■

Women & Revolution New York Spartacist League Class Series



The formation of an "Islamic Republic" in Iran, pledged to subjugate women through a return to 7th Century Koranic law and the imposition of the veil, has focused renewed worldwide attention on the question of women's oppression. The Spartacist League, a revolutionary socialist organization, is sponsoring a bi-weekly class series to explore the sources of and solutions to the historic exploitation and special oppression of over half the world's population.

- Women's Oppression Today (May 29)
- Marxism and Women's Rights (June 12)
- The Russian Revolution and Working Women (June 26)
- The Revolution Betrayed: The Rise of Stalinism (July 10)
- Organizing Against Special Oppression: A Working-Class Program for Victory (July 24)

TIME: 7:30 p.m. PLACE: New York University, Meyer Hall of Physics (Rm. 122).
4 Washington Place (two blocks east of Washington Square Park)
For readings and more info, call 925-5665. Sponsored by NYU Friends of the Spartacus Youth League

UAW Fake-Lefts: Reformist Do-Nothingism

While Fraser and his gang do nothing, they lace little in the way of organized opposition in the UAW. In recent years the bureaucracy has closed ranks and even the semi-oppositions have either collapsed like the United National Caucus (UNC) or been housebroken like the Brotherhood Caucus in the Fremont GM plant. Most of the fake socialists in the UAW also seem to be wandering about aimlessly, trying this gimmick here and that phony coalition there. Their stock-in-trade is peddling "reform" bureaucrats—like the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski in steel—to the discontented ranks of labor. But the UAW at present offers little opportunity for such lakers, as it already has such minimal democratic rights like the right to ratify contracts which—along with bringing in the bosses' government to "clean up" the unions—are the sole content of the programs of the Miller/Sadlowski "reformers."

The UAW also has its house militants, like Cadillac Local 22 president Frank Runnels, head of the Shorter Workweek Committee (SWWC). But Runnels does not even make a pretense of opposition to Fraser, and the SWWC is largely a paper committee devoted to the useless task of pressuring capitalist legislators in Congress to pass various "full employment" bills.

The latest entry is the Autoworkers

for a Better Contract (ABC), whose prime mover is Pete Kelley. Kelley is also head of the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), an outfit oriented toward defending skilled trades exclusivity and privileges, and a former leader of the now-defunct UNC. While the UNC was primarily a lash-up of small-time bureaucrats, it at least included the demand for a labor party and made an occasional pretense of opposition to the UAW International. ABC has dropped even this in its hopes of a broader appeal to bureaucrats, although so far it has netted only the usual phony radicals—including supporters of the International Socialists, the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party (M-L), assorted "critical Maoists" and the Revolutionary Socialist League—and Hugh Oginsky, head of a pressure group for retirees. Oginsky, like Runnels, has always been a supporter of the International, voting for both Woodcock and Fraser for president.

The ABC program is notable only in that it fails to demand an industrywide strike—or any strike at all—and contains no mention of any criticism of the UAW bureaucracy. Not surprisingly, both ABC and the fake lefts generally have demonstrated the same slavish capitulation to capitalist property relations and the same refusal to fight

layoffs as Solidarity House. Thus the Communist Labor Party's (CLP) May *Truck Tribune*, issued to Dodge Truck Local 140, after quickly passing over the impending mass layoffs, urges the (remaining) workers to prepare for the contract by "laying aside some extra cash and putting off some installment purchases in order to be financially prepared for some time in the street." Even this pompous advice may be unnecessary, as these phonies assert, "In the fall our tactical situation may be such that a formal strike is not in our own best interests." Some militants, who won't even call for a strike!

The ABC coalition raises the slogan of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, but its failure to call for strike action renders this demand as hollow as when Fraser and the UAW International occasionally give it lip service. ABC also calls for "voluntary inverse seniority"—a softened version of the demand for preferential seniority. Such schemes, supposedly in the interests of younger workers, blacks and women, only pit one section of the workforce against another in a fight for a declining number of jobs. Of course, these wretches do not explain why any worker would "volunteer" for unemployment with almost certain cutoff of SUB benefits!

For the May 18 Dodge Truck union meeting, a group called Local 140

Members for a Better Contract, affiliated to the ABC coalition, distributed a leaflet entitled "Take Action Against Layoffs." In fact, its substance was to do nothing about the layoffs. While it ritualistically tacked on the demand for "30 for 40," the main points were calls on the local bureaucracy to oppose overtime and speedup after the layoffs were implemented, with not a word on how to fight the job cuts. However, union members told *WV* reporters that at least some workers had intervened at the meeting to lay out a fighting strategy to combat the layoffs. These militants demanded coordinated plant sit-ins as a first step in a union counteroffensive to win jobs for all.

The direct counterposition of profits for the bosses versus jobs and decent living standards for the working masses stands out starkly at Chrysler today. Chrysler workers, including some of the most militant sections of the Detroit proletariat, could provide a tremendous impetus in unchaining the enormous power of the UAW and the entire American labor movement. But more than ever this means junking the class-collaborationist policies of the labor fakers and their "left" apologists, and the forging of a militant leadership that will fight not only against layoffs and speedup but against the capitalist system that produces them. ■

Mass Layoffs...

(continued from page 12)

it was coming into the auto depression of 1974-75.

What has particularly fueled both the anger and fear with which the announcement of the indefinite layoffs was received at Dodge Truck is the widespread awareness that the Chrysler Corporation is in deep trouble. The string of layoffs was initiated this winter, at a time when the rest of the auto industry was still operating at a feverish clip. And while General Motors and Ford both posted record-breaking profits in 1978, garnering \$3.5 billion and \$1.6 billion respectively, Chrysler was losing \$205 million, its worst performance since the hazy year of 1975. Chrysler has also continued to slide steadily in terms of its share of the American market: from 1977 to 1978 it fell from 12 percent to 11.1 percent, and it dropped another full percentage point for the first quarter of 1979.

The decline of Chrysler is part and parcel of the decline of American imperialism. With the oil embargo five years ago the American automobile companies, finding themselves increasingly unable to compete with European and Japanese corporations in the small-car market, screamed for protectionist import quotas. Chrysler, the weakest of the Big Three, was the most vulnerable and teetered on the verge of financial collapse at the time of the 1974-75 depression. Though buoyed up since by the resurgence of auto production and the financial cushion provided by its foreign operations, Chrysler has nonetheless lagged far behind its competitors in downsizing its cars and retooling for new fuel and emission standards. In 1978 Chrysler sold off its European plants to Peugeot-Citroën, as well as several South American plants to GM, in order to pump more cash into its domestic operations.

Thus Chrysler has essentially eaten away its reserves, and in the face of new difficulties has been forced to cut into its

North American operations. And while Chrysler president Lee Iacocca was moaning at a stockholders meeting last week that "'78 and '79 look rough, and after the last six weeks they look rougher," the real losers are not the coupon clippers but Chrysler workers. It is extremely unlikely that many of the Chrysler workers currently being laid off indefinitely will ever be called back, as Chrysler seeks to stabilize its financial base by scrapping its least profitable operations.

UAW Inaction

Despite their attempts to cultivate an image among liberals as socially concerned "progressives," United Auto Workers (UAW) head Doug Fraser and Solidarity House are as much integrated into the capitalist order as any other section of the trade-union bureaucracy. Fraser in fact was one of few major union leaders to promise support to Carter's by-now tarnished wage guidelines when they were announced last fall. Thus, it is no surprise that the UAW leadership has responded to the Chrysler layoffs with stony silence.

Almost six years ago the UAW tops embarked with great fanfare on a campaign to win a shorter workweek for auto workers. The 1973 negotiations brought the thoroughly fraudulent "voluntary overtime"—which in fact only codified the 50-to-60-hour weeks prevalent in the industry. In 1976 came "paid personal holidays"—a paltry handful of additional days off a year. None of this has altered the hellhole reality of the assembly line—long, grueling hours just barely to keep pace with soaring inflation. Every auto worker has experienced firsthand the increased overtime and speedup that lies behind the government's employment statistics: in 1978 roughly the same number of passenger cars were produced in the U.S. as in 1973, but with 20,000 fewer workers in the assembly plants alone (and probably more than double that figure for production workers for the entire industry!).

The sacked Chrysler workers must recall with bitterness the long hours of

overtime they have put in over the past three years. In fact even in those plants where there have been recurrent layoffs, the workweek has generally not been cut, and work schedules of up to 60 hours a week are not unusual. But the UAW bureaucracy, with its class-collaborationist philosophy that more profits for Chrysler is the key to more jobs and better wages and conditions, has not lifted a finger against this massive exploitation. And now Chrysler workers see themselves thrown on the scrapheap—so Chrysler can make more profits.

The labor movement must not stand by passively in the face of such wholesale victimization resulting from the anarchic workings of capitalism. In defense of the unemployed, class-struggle militants raise such demands as unlimited unemployment benefits, government takeover and financing of bankrupt SUB funds, and unlimited

right of recall for those laid off. In the event of large-scale plant closings, militants would demand government takeover of the plants and nationalization of Chrysler without compensation.

But such demands cannot be won without sharp class battles. Militants in the United Auto Workers, particularly the Chrysler division, must demand that the union mobilize its membership for effective and coordinated plant occupation where there are mass layoffs, in order to insure that no worker loses his job and that demands in defense of the unemployed are won. Such a struggle would provide a powerful impetus to launching a struggle for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. With the UAW contract expiring this fall—and with the recent oil price-gouging accelerating a deepening economic downturn—the fight for jobs must become a rallying point to mobilize the full strength of the UAW. ■

Not a Penny...

(continued from page 5)

budget without severely impairing the ability of the U.S. to defend itself or its allies." Dave Arian, a delegate from Los Angeles Local 13 who is regularly hailed by the Communist Labor Party's *Western Worker*, sought to amend this social-patriotic resolution by saying that more money for education and other social needs "can only strengthen America." Joe Lindsay, a supporter of the Communist Party's *People's World*, made his "contribution" by calling the question, whereupon all the Stalinists present voted for the motion.

Not one self-styled supporter of the Soviet Union, in this union founded by Stalinist and fellow-traveling "friends of the USSR," rose to defend it against the Pentagon and Carter's "human rights" propaganda. Only Howard Keylor, alternate delegate from Local 10, took the floor to oppose contributing "one penny for the imperialist military machine which brought us Vietnam, the Chilean coup and the shah of Iran. The

same war machine which was used in the sixties against black ghetto uprisings, the same imperialist war machine which was threatened to be used to force Taft-Hartley against the Mine Workers." At the same time he pointed out that despite decades of bureaucratic misrule, the Soviet Union, the product of the only real workers revolution in history, is still the main bastion against a U.S. nuclear adventure.

"To demand that the USSR disarm in the face of Carter's openly imperialist, anti-Communist 'human rights' campaign would be like demanding that the unions in the U.S. in the midst of an employer-government anti-labor offensive give up the right to strike in the name of social peace...."

"Both the main resolution and Brother Arian's report hold up a fallacious 'jobs for peace' program—that somehow or other by cutting back the military budget we're all going to have jobs. We should not be sowing illusions about a peaceful reconversion of the U.S. capitalist economy. The only way we're going to create some jobs is through militant union-wide strikes for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. And finally, we'll have full employment only when the working class has political power and throws out the employers." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Must Call Sit-Down Strikes

Chrysler Orders Mass Layoffs

DETROIT—In recent weeks mass layoffs have spread throughout Chrysler, smallest of the Big Three auto companies but the one most central to Detroit. Latest to join some 15,000 jobless Chrysler workers are over 3,000 workers at the Dodge Truck plant in Warren, Michigan. Last week local union officials issued an informational bulletin informing the membership that the company was shutting down the main complex in July and that thereafter the second shift would be laid off indefinitely.

The 15 percent of the Chrysler workforce already on layoff includes some 1,700 workers at Dodge Truck in St. Louis; 700 workers at Lyons Trim Plant, closed one month ago; some 1,200 at the Hamtramck plant; and workers at numerous other assembly and parts plants. At Trenton Engine workers who have been without jobs now for 26 weeks were just informed

that their unemployment benefits had been cut off. And there are further reports that Dodge Main will cut one of its two shifts next week.

The boom-and-bust character of the capitalist economic cycle, so readily apparent in the American automobile industry, is familiar to even the relatively young workforce at Dodge Truck, where half the workers have been hired in since 1972. Many grew up in homes where parents or relatives employed by Chrysler were laid off for as much as two years at a time. And thousands of Dodge Truck employees bitterly recall the massive layoffs in 1975, when supplementary unemployment benefits provided by the union's SUB fund ran out after nine weeks, leaving workers to fend for themselves on measly state unemployment checks. This year the Chrysler SUB fund is only half as big as

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Brothers/Detroit News

Plant occupation at Chrysler's Detroit Jefferson Avenue factory in July 1973 sparked sitdown strikes in the Detroit area.

Defend Keith Anwar! Defend the Picket Line!

Steel Worker Won't Cross, Threatened With Firing

CHICAGO—Keith Anwar, an apprentice millwright and union militant at Inland Steel Company in Hammond, Indiana, is facing a firing for his refusal to cross the picket lines of striking United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8180 at Inland's plant No. 2.

Anwar, a member of USWA Local 1010, which represents most of Inland's 18,000-member workforce, has been honoring 8180 lines since they went up May 1. On May 10 he was suspended for "five days subject to discharge." Then Inland arrogantly turned down his request that his hearing—which normally would be held on company property, behind the picket lines—be either postponed or held off Inland property. Knowing full well that he will not cross picket lines, Inland is trying to ram the firing through without even permitting him to appear in his own defense.

This represents the second attempt by Inland to victimize Anwar for respecting picket lines. Last summer he honored Bricklayers Local 6 picket lines and successfully beat back a company attempt to discipline him (see *WV* No. 210, 30 June 1978). Anwar participated

in mass picketing by the bricklayers who shut down construction work at Inland and won the strike.

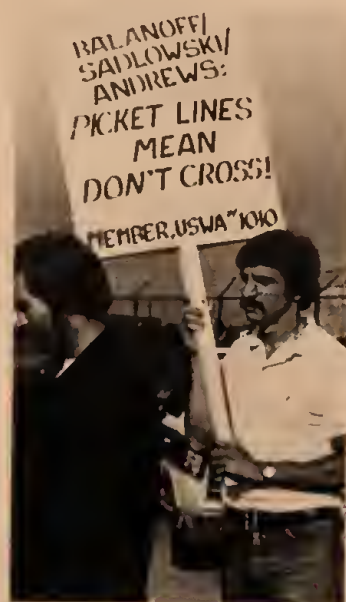
Although both the striking USWA Local 8180 and the Bricklayers local have issued written statements endorsing Anwar's defense, his own Local 1010 has refused to take even such a minimal step. With the Sadlowski/Balanoff forces who run Local 1010 (and who hypocritically claim to support the "right to strike") cowering before the company and refusing to honor the lines or vigorously defend Anwar's job, it is imperative that union militants back this courageous worker whose "crime" is to respect a Steelworkers picket line.

Initially, at the May 3 union meeting, Anwar presented a resolution calling on Local 1010 to honor the strike lines of their fellow USWA members. The strikers, employed by Apex Baler Company (which contracts jobs inside the plant from Inland), work alongside 1010 members but average \$2 per hour less. Apex locked out Local 8180 when it refused to extend its contract. Three years ago the balers waged a losing four-week strike. Although once again it was clear that Local 8180's chances of

victory depended in large measure on the willingness of the much larger Local 1010 to observe labor solidarity, Anwar's motion was ruled out of order by the Local 1010 bureaucracy run by the "Rank and File Caucus" of president Bill Andrews. This stab in the back was supported by the entire lake left in the plant.

Then, at Local 1010's May 17 local meeting, the bureaucracy did itself one better. Anwar submitted a resolution calling for the local to "demand that Inland immediately rescind the suspension and threatened discharge," and that any other victimized member "receive full Local 1010 support." The local executive board countered with its own motion, to the effect that the union would fight Anwar's grievance, and his defense resolution was therefore "unnecessary." Anwar later told *WV* that local officials had confirmed to him that the real motive for this cowardly maneuver was that the leadership did not want to go on record in defense of honoring picket lines—a fact which renders completely hollow its claimed "support" to Anwar.

When a close voice vote forced a



WV Photo

Inland steel worker Keith Anwar joined Bricklayers' mass picketing, June 1978.

standing count, it turned out that some Rank and File Caucus members, members of other caucuses and even supporters of the International Socialists (I.S.) supported the Anwar resolution while the entire local leadership and their aspiring waterboys of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) voted with the executive board. Supporters of the Communist Party and assorted Maoists, apparently frightened of taking a stand on elementary union solidarity, boycotted the meeting. When the votes were counted a significant proportion of

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