WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 235 X-523 6 July 1979

Gas Lines, Layoffs, Prices Explode

Hot Summer Mad

While the imperialist leaders huddled in Tokyo for an "Energy Summit" and OPEC price-boosters gathered in Geneva, Americans in gas lines cursed the Big Oil Rip-Off of '79 and the cartel's man in the White House. Meanwhile, inflation is soaring at levels not seen since '46. In industry, particularly the key auto sector, layoffs are beginning to cascade as the bottom drops out of the market. And food shortages are beginning to develop as a result of the truckers' work stoppages. Even Jimmy Carter, notorious for mistaking the mood of the American people, can't miss this one. And an aide speculated on why his boss might not be reelected: "The American people are mad—hot-summer mad" (*New York Times*, 29 June).

There is plenty to be mad about. Americans need gas, and it sometimes can't be found at any price. The gas lines on the oil-thirsty Atlantic seaboard have become longer, nastier and more enduring than the earlier lines in California. Weekends have been nearly dry; weekdays are an infuriating struggle of each against all. Motorists with odd-numbered license plates begin their search often as early as 4 or 5 a.m. on "odd days," cruising the freeways and streets hoping to find a station flying a green flag. What they find are lines that stretch blocks and sometimes miles, where they wait for hours, inching up toward the semi-precious fluid now selling for a dollar a gallon and more.

Pokempner/Time

Independent truckers tie up highways in protest against the Big Oil Rip-Off of 1979.

The most common time-filler on the lines is the morning paper wherein the victim reads about himself. He reads about the violence. In Freemansburg, Pennsylvania, an Amoco dealer's wife was accidentally crushed between two cars and lay bleeding while motorists continued to fill their gas tanks. He reads the "human interest" stories. These include a belly dancer and a $10-an-hour car-sitting service on New York's Upper West Side. He reads about the dozen cars that mistakenly lined up behind a parked funeral procession.

He is not amused. The gas shortage is

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Military Victory to Sandinista-Led Insurgents!

Down with Somoza—Workers to Power!

JULY 2—As the offensive of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) against bloody Nicaraguan tyrant Anastasio Somoza enters its sixth week, the U.S. government seems finally to grasp that its puppet strongman may soon come crashing down. Washington is now desperately engaging in last-minute maneuvers to ease Somoza out while preserving his hated National Guard and setting up a more conservative "transitional government" than that backed by the FSLN. This attempt to preserve "Somozaism without Somoza" must be vigorously opposed. Proletarian communists stand for military victory of the Sandinista-led insurgency and the destruction of the brutal American-backed dictatorship down to its roots.

The Sandinista leadership, however, calls for stopping the revolution midway. Its call for a "provisional government of national unity" including all "consistent" anti-Somoza forces is a program for a capitalist regime of "human rights" democracy. It demands the expropriation of Somoza family property, but exempts that of the other leading clans. The Nicaraguan masses have already experienced the oppressive rule of the Chamorros and the other latifundistas, who called in the U.S. Marines to guarantee their profits. The heroic sacrifices of the workers and poor must not go to replace a greedy upstart exploiter with the traditional aristocracy! For a workers and peasants government, led by a Trotskyist party, to extirpate capitalist tyranny!

A deadly "calm" has reportedly returned to the Nicaraguan capital, as military necessity has apparently forced FSLN fighters to withdraw from the slums of Managua. But the storm must come. If the murderous oligarch is not toppled now, it will be a long time before the masses recover the strength and morale to rise again. And the key to victory is mobilizing the working class to impose its rule over the ranchers, bankers and branch-office bourgeoisie that provided the underpinnings for the Somoza dynasty. As negotiations go on behind the backs of the working people, the communists proclaim: Don't stop now—Get rid of all the Somozas and strike at their imperialist masters! Arm the masses—Workers to power!

The imperialist press has focused on Jimmy Carter's frantic efforts to entice the Nicaraguan dictator to quit so that he can be supplanted by a "broad, representative" government equally subservient to imperialism. But so far Washington has suffered one setback after another in this quest. The U.S. plan for an inter-American "peacekeeping" expeditionary force was shot down in a meeting of ministers from the members of the Organization of American States (OAS). Liberal Latin American regimes opposed another Santo Domingo-style invasion, while right-wing dictators saw it as a precedent that could be used against them.

Dejean/Sygma

"Tachito" Somoza

Finally a compromise resolution was passed calling for the "immediate and

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Break with the Democrats

Strike Ma Bell in '80!

The 41st annual convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), scheduled to open in Detroit on July 16 will spotlight all the political and economic issues facing the U.S. labor movement, as delegates meet under the watchful eyes of an increasingly angry and frustrated membership. The main tasks now facing the union include the fight to win the right of locals to strike and preparations for a solid national strike in 1980 to beat back the Bell System's rampaging attacks on the workforce: stop layoffs and forced transfers, and smash Carter's wage freeze.

Phone workers, like the rest of the U.S. working class, keenly feel the current 14 percent yearly inflation rate. At the same time, working conditions grow steadily worse as the Bell monopoly tries to get by with fewer workers doing an increasing amount of work. Some 100,000 workers have been forced off the payroll in the past five years, while the Bell System has been speeding up workers nationwide, forcing them to work long hours of overtime and trying to beat down the union every chance it gets. Discipline is harsh—workers with long years of seniority and many skills are fired at the drop of a hat.

In the face of this campaign, the CWA leadership of President Glenn Watts has been forced to make at least a show of concern. Thus on June 15 the union staged a series of "Job Pressures" demonstrations across the country. But the bureaucrats' policy of flashy publicity stunts (complete with rock bands and balloons in New York), media blitzes and a futile effort to pressure the Democratic Party (focus of the march in L.A.) were an attempt to divert phone company workers from the need for militant labor struggle to defend the CWA. As a leaflet distributed at last month's CWA West Coast regional "Job Pressures" conference by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Local 9410 said, "There is one way to win a contract that stops job pressures: a solid, well-prepared national strike in 1980 that shuts communications down tight with mass picket lines and no scabbing."

Local Right to Strike

The job pressures CWA members now experience are the fruits of a policy of appeasement and passivity by the union leadership to a years-long Bell System automation/speedup/job cutting drive. And the Watts bureaucracy gives every indication that its fundamental policy of retreat and surrender before the phone company's onslaught will not change. During last year's convention the Watts team took up four out of five days trying to get a dues increase passed. The delegates, obviously feeling the heat from an angry membership, turned down this proposal. At bottom, the delegates rejected the bureaucracy's plea to finance its program of détente with Bell management and begging crumbs from Democratic Party politicians.

At that convention Watts ruled "out of order" a move to amend the CWA constitution so that locals would have the right to strike without prior authorization from the International. This was not because of any violation of the convention's procedural rules but because the CWA leadership is opposed to using the strike weapon against the phone company. Indeed, only a month after that convention Watts & Co. failed to back up the 31 Long Lines locals who were forced into a strike by AT&T's policy of trying to pick off locals one at a time. The Long Lines strike showed that the CWA membership is willing to take on the bosses when its vital interests—in this case the right to respect picket lines—are threatened. It is not the membership, or even wide sections of the union's local leadership, but the top International brass who are fearful of taking on Ma Bell.

WV Photo

June 15 "Job Pressures" rally, Los Angeles. Phone workers need militant labor action, not reliance on Democrats, to stop company attacks.

The issue of the strike weapon will certainly come up in the 1979 convention. Last year the proposal to grant locals the right to strike was supported by over 50 delegates, including a number of local officers, indicating significant disaffection with the International's policy of burying its head in the sand in the face of company attacks on job conditions. And there is widespread anger over the International's sellout of the Long Lines' walkout.

Moreover, the convention takes place only a year away from both the U.S. presidential elections and the CWA's national contract expiration date. *Workers Vanguard* has learned that there will be at least one proposal to devote a convention day to discussing CWA strategy for the upcoming contract negotiations. This motion should be supported. The convention is the highest body of the union and should discuss, debate and *set policy* on questions of substantial importance.

No to the Bosses' Parties

Glenn Watts, of course, can be expected to beat the drum for his recommended candidate, U.S. president Jimmy Carter. At last year's convention, Watts crowed:

> "...CWA has a proven friend in the White House. Jimmy Carter's record as President has indicated that although he is by no means in labor's hip pocket, as the saying goes, he is basically sympathetic to the interests of working people, and his record has proven that."

This was *after* Carter had invoked the slave-labor Taft-Hartley injunction to break the heroic miners' strike of 1978 and *after* this "right-to-work" peanut millionaire threatened similar injunctions against phone and postal workers! But this year Carter may be a lot harder to sell, with his 14 percent inflation/7 percent wage raise "guidelines" and his arrogant preaching that high gas prices are what the American people deserve.

In these circumstances, the CWA tops certainly don't want a well-planned coast-to-coast phone strike in 1980 which could bring the company to a screeching halt and reveal Carter for what he has always been—an anti-union strikebreaker. The bureaucrats are locked into a policy of begging for a few favors from the bosses' parties in exchange for heading off strikes and mobilizing their ranks to support "lesser evil" bourgeois politicians. But the problem for the U.S. labor bureaucracy is that the capitalists and their government are in no mood or position to grant favors to buy labor peace. Carter and the Democratic Party-dominated "veto-proof" Congress have kicked labor in the teeth again and again. The old bureaucratic shell game of "don't strike—ask the Democrats to pass a law to help us out" is getting harder and harder to play.

For a Nationwide Phone Strike in 1980!

The only systematic political opposition to the current CWA leadership comes from the MAC, a class-struggle union caucus in San Francisco's Local 9410. MAC spokesman Jane Margolis, a member of the Local's executive board and delegate to the upcoming national convention, told *WV* that MAC has gathered significantly wider support in Local 9410 over the past year. This is shown by Margolis' strong showing (placing fifth in a field of 31 candidates)

Militant Action Caucus Program

1. **Stop Company harassment** — For the right of locals to strike: no International veto power. Stop the firings. End absence control. For full paid sick leave. No productivity quotas. No forced overtime. End reform-school conditions in Traffic.

2. **Stop union collaboration with the Company.** For a militant, fighting union—Dump the sellouts. Build a class-struggle leadership. For union solidarity—No one crosses picket lines. Finks out of the union. For union democracy—lower the quorum, for elected stewards.

3. **Union action to smash discrimination**—union control of hiring, upgrades and transfers. Support busing, ERA. For labor/black defense against Klan/Nazi terror.

4. **For international working class solidarity**—Break all CWA ties with the CIA labor-front, the AIFLD.

5. **Smash Carter's wage freeze.** For a solid national strike in 1980: For a 100% cost-of-living escalator and a big pay boost; no layoffs, forced transfers and downgrades; Jobs for all—a shorter work week with no cut in pay.

6. **Not a dime, not a vote for the strike-breaking Democrats and Republicans.** Down with the "slave-labor" Taft-Hartley Act. Build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation to the capitalist bosses. Establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit.

ELECT
JANE MARGOLIS
PAUL COSTAN DIANA COLEMA

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For CWA Convention Delegates
ELECT

☒ **JANE MARGOLIS**
- '78 Convention Delegate
- Exec. Board Member

☒ **PAUL COSTAN**
- Steward
- 5 Years in Plant Dept.

☒ **DIANA COLEMAN**
- 6 Years in Plant Dept.

Paul Costan | Jane Margolis | Diana Coleman

Militant Action Caucus Delegate Jane Margolis was the only local delegate to challenge the International's sellout policies at the '78 Convention. This Union needs fighters. Elect the MAC Slate. Get this Union off its knees!

Vote MAC Slate Only!

MAC platform for Local 9410 delegates election.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 235 **6 July 1979**

Steelworkers Back Anwar

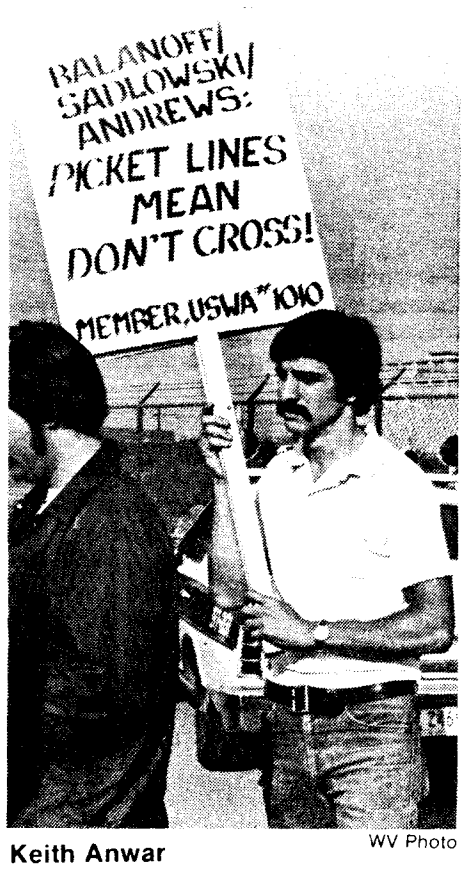
CHICAGO—On June 30, the fight to win back the job of Keith Anwar, the militant unionist fired by Inland Steel Company for respecting the picket lines of a Steelworkers (USWA) local striking his plant, took a major step forward when the District 31 Conference of the United Steelworkers of America endorsed his defense.

The statement and resolution submitted by Anwar, passed overwhelmingly by the conference, read as follows:

> "Local 1010 member, Keith Anwar, was summarily fired for refusing to cross a Steelworker picket line at Inland Steel. An unprecedented 30-day suspension was meted out at Gary Works and several one-day suspensions have been issued at U.S. Steel's Southworks for the same 'crime.'
>
> "It should be clear that the steel companies are waging a concerted attack on all vestiges of labor solidarity. With the absence of strong union backing numerous grievances have been either lost or cowardly dropped.
>
> "The Conference must address itself to this urgent matter. The full weight of our powerful district must be employed to reverse these attacks against our union. We cannot allow the companies to pick off in ones and twos individual militants who believe that picket lines mean don't cross. The companies have served notice that *any* union activity they don't approve of will be ruthlessly dealt with. Only a united district-wide defense can stop them.
>
> "I am asking for delegates' support to get the following resolution on the floor and fight for its passage:
>
> "Whereas, the steel companies have systematically been victimizing union militants in several locals for honoring picket lines; and
>
> "Whereas, union members have been victimized in Locals 65 and 1014 for honoring Railroad and Ironworkers picket lines at their plants; and
>
> "Whereas, brother Keith Anwar of Local 1010 was fired by Inland Steel for honoring USWA Local 8180's picket lines; therefore
>
> "Be it Resolved, that USWA District 31 use all available resources to reverse these attacks by defending all union members victimized for honoring picket lines, and
>
> "Be it Further Resolved, that District 31 demand that Inland Steel reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay."

Three days prior to his important victory, steel workers at Southworks also led a successful fight to pass a union resolution pledging defense of members respecting picket lines. Last September three Local 65 members had been disciplined for honoring the lines of the striking Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks (BRAC). On June 22, USWA International staff representative Robert Hatch dropped their grievances without explanation. The resolution passed at the June 27 Southworks Local 65 meeting included demands that "the local condemn the dropping of the picket line grievances by the International," and resolved further that "Brother Keith Anwar of USWA Local 1010 be invited to address the 6/27/79 local meeting to speak in his defense and that the local pass the hat to raise money for his legal defense through the NLRB."

The defense resolutions passed at union locals and the District Conference



Keith Anwar WV Photo

represent an important achievement. But to insure that these resolutions are actually implemented will require a continued vigorous mobilization of the labor movement by Anwar and fellow militants. The trade-union tops who routinely order their members to cross picket lines, and who have for years accustomed themselves to subordinating labor solidarity to enforcement of no-strike clauses and meek acquiescence to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and anti-labor laws like Taft-Hartley, are at best indifferent, and often hostile to workers like Anwar.

Nevertheless, the gains already achieved clearly demonstrate the possibility of mobilizing steel workers to defend Anwar. Anwar also told *WV* that the Keith Anwar Defense Fund had raised over $600, the majority collected from steel workers at plant gates as well as at union meetings, although donations and letters of support have come in from all over the country as well as Canada. Even more importantly, the fight within the USWA has tapped a layer of support among workers prepared to demand that the union begin to respect the norms of labor solidarity. As an official from 500-member USWA Local 3008, which organizes clerical workers at U.S. Steel's Gary complex, put it in addressing the District Conference in support of Anwar: "What is the use of organizing if we don't stand together. We've got to line up right with each other.... Anytime any of our brothers and sisters hit the bricks in order to get a little bit of dignity for their jobs, we should support them or else we cannot call ourselves organized labor."

The Anwar case is of crucial importance to all trade unionists. Victory for Anwar will strike a blow for reforging the traditions of labor solidarity within the labor movement, and for a class-struggle program that can genuinely defend the interests of *all* working people. ■

SL Forum in Detroit

Sit Down to Save Dodge Main!

DETROIT—In the midst of a wave of layoffs affecting thousands of auto workers, and with the first phase of Chrysler's plan to shut down Dodge Main going into effect this month, on July 1 the Detroit branch of the Spartacist League held a forum on the demand "Save Dodge Main!" Speakers included Don Alexander, spokesman for the SL, and Mike Adams, a worker at Dodge Truck who recently presented a motion in United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 140 calling for plant occupations and sitdowns to stop the layoffs. The forum, held in a Hamtramck meeting hall and attended by some 75 people, also received coverage in the 2 July *Detroit News* (see box). We reprint below excerpts from the speakers' remarks.

* * * * *

DON ALEXANDER: Chrysler wants to ax 1,000 workers at Dodge Main and next year close down the entire plant. Everybody knows what would be the effect of closing down Dodge Main—it would be absolutely devastating in both Hamtramck and Detroit. A lot of workers will lose their homes; a lot of their cars will be repossessed; their families won't be able to get any kind of medical care, even the inadequate medical care that exists today. And a lot of the Arab workers who send money home to their families trapped in poverty in the Middle East will face a greater hardship.

It'll mean that an entire community will face virtual destruction. It doesn't take a lot of imagination to think what Hamtramck will be like a year from now: more boarded-up businesses, more boarded-up bars and restaurants, and crime will increase. And with growing unemployment we're going to see a lot more cop terror, directed against everybody but with a bloody emphasis against the blacks and Arabs. A lot of workers recall with particular bitterness what the mass layoffs in auto were like here in '74 and '75....

Labor militants in the UAW will have to demand that the union call factory occupations, sit-down strikes in order to reverse this plant shutdown and halt the mass layoffs. If it were to occur, a sit-down strike would have to necessarily raise demands in defense of the unemployed, demands such as unlimited unemployment benefits for laid-off workers, government takeover of the bankrupt SUB [supplementary unemployment benefit] funds. The Chrysler corporation, like all capitalist corporations usually do, is going to plead poverty. In that instance, the workers must demand that Chrysler be expropriated without compensation. And in addition we call for an industry-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. This would have far-reaching implications for workers throughout the entire country.

The sit-down strike is a crucial militant trade-union tactic. That's what built the union in the first place, that's what built the UAW in 1937. In the Flint sit-down strike, the workers won union recognition, not by getting down on their knees and begging GM to recognize the union, but by the result of organizing for a fight. They occupied the plant for 44 days, they were aided by the women's brigades; thousands of workers in Detroit and Pontiac and throughout the country came to Flint to back up the union organizing efforts. They won because they relied upon their own organized strength and because they did not rely upon the exploiters. That's the reason why they won. And the same tactic that built the UAW in 1937 is the tactic that's going to prevent the destruction of the Detroit working class today.

MIKE ADAMS: Tuesday morning at my plant the second shift gets axed and the entire plant goes down for a month. I lose my job, there are thousands of my brothers and sisters out on the street and at Dodge Main 5,000 people's jobs are on the line.

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Detroit News —2 July 1979

Rally supports strike to keep factory open

By DENISE CRITTENDON
News Staff Writer

About 75 people, some of them auto workers, rallied last night in Hamtramck in support of a proposed sitdown strike intended to block the planned shutdown of Chrysler Corp.'s Hamtramck assembly plant.

Chrysler, faced with dwindling car sales, announced in late May that the historic plant, commonly called Dodge Main, would be closed by August, 1980, and its 5,000 workers either laid off or transferred.

The meeting was sponsored by a socialist labor group called the Spartacist League Forum. Donald Alexander, a member of the league, said the UAW "surrendered without a fight" in the Dodge Main closing.

HE CRITICIZED the UAW's "passive stand" and demanded more "militant action" to head off the layoffs.

"The UAW surrendered without a fight," Alexander said. "Their advice to workers is to write to their congressman. Workers who take that seriously will waste a lot of ink."

Noting UAW Vice-President Marc Stepp's lobbying to avert the closing, Alexander said Stepp "was trying to appeal to (Chrysler President Lee A.) Iacocca's humanity." This, Alexander said, was "a dead-end strategy."

Alexander added, "Labor will have to demand a sitdown strike to halt the shutdown . . . (or) workers will lose their homes, cars, families and they won't be able to get medicare."

Members said the Spartacist League advocates overthrow of capitalism and greater emphasis on the needs of the working class. It also publishes the Workers Vanguard, which describes itself as a "Marxist working class newspaper."

ALEXANDER SAID the organization sponsored the rally at the Polish Roman Catholic Union club, and distributed leaflets outside auto plants informing workers of the rally.

Dora Arden, a Spartacist League public relations woman, said the auto workers would be urged to return to their plants and drum up support for the proposed sitdown strike. Ms. Arden said there would be more meetings later on plans for the strike.

PCI Takes a Beating in Italian Elections

In general elections held June 3-4, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) paid the price for three years of parliamentary support to the ruling Christian Democrats (DC). The cost: a whopping loss of 1.5 million votes, bringing the PCI's share of the total ballots cast for Chamber of Deputies to 30.4 percent (down from 34.4 percent in 1976). This was the first electoral setback for the Communists in more than 30 years, ever since the Cold War election of 1948. It hit them in vital areas: the Mezzogiorno (southern Italy), youth and workers in the industrial belts around the northern cities. And to underscore the PCI's vulnerability on the left, immediately after the vote there was an unexpected explosion of labor militancy which for many recalled the beginning of the *autunno caldo* (Hot Autumn) of workers' struggles in 1969.

The election was precipitated by the Communist Party's withdrawal from the parliamentary majority in late January, demanding seats in the cabinet as the *quid pro quo* for continued support. In the ensuing government crisis, Italy's 38th since World War II, all the "clans" of the clique-ridden Christian Democrats united to oppose direct entry of the PCI into the government. But while the DC vetoed Communist Party ministers, thus putting PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer's long-sought *"compromesso storico"* (Historic Compromise) between the country's two largest parties back into the freezer, "red" losses did not spell "white" gains. In fact, the incoming parliament closely resembles its predecessor, with the DC unable to put together a majority (unless it allies with the fascists) without the support of at least the Socialist Party (PSI).

For years the Italian bourgeoisie has been incapable of governing the country with just its own parties. During the 1960s and early 1970s a succession of "center-left" cabinets brought together the PSI, the Republicans (PRI) and Social Democrats (PSDI) under Christian Democratic prime ministers (and firm DC control of the elephantine government bureaucracy). Then, with escalating scandals (notably the Lockheed affair, which implicated President Leone) and large PCI gains in the 1976 elections, Communist Party support or at least tolerance became necessary. Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti worked out various formulas for PCI cooperation with his *monocolore* (single-party) DC cabinet, the last being a formal agreement admitting the Communist Party to the government majority.

L'Europeo

However, while willing to accept PCI support in parliament, the clericalist party bosses drew the line at ministerial posts. This veto, and the PCI tops' realization that there is no percentage in voting for a DC government which won't even let them near the patronage pork barrel, means that another Communist-supported "government of national unity" is unlikely at present. Even if there is a return to the "center-left" formula, however, the attitude of the PCI remains decisive. And Communist Party leaders have made it clear that they have nothing more threatening in mind than a sort of Her Majesty's Opposition *all'italiana*. The DC has given its nod, by again voting a PCI member (the widow of Togliatti) to head the Chamber of Deputies.

What the Election Showed

The June 3-4 vote results did not represent a shift to the right (the DC fell slightly from 38.7 to 38.3 percent, as did the fascist MSI from 6.1 to 5.3 percent). Nor did the "center" make significant gains, with the PSI, the other major reformist workers party, advancing from 9.6 to 9.8 percent, the Republicans oscillating around 3 percent and the CIA-instigated Social Democrats up from 3.4 to 3.8 percent. The biggest gains went to the maverick Radicals (PR), a "lay" bourgeois party which has gained publicity and support among "lib-rad" petty bourgeois by campaigning for referendums on divorce, abortion and other democratic rights shunned by both the DC and PCI. The PR shot up from 1.1 to 3.4 percent.

But even this did not explain the big Communist losses. Significantly, most of those who abandoned the PCI column either did not vote, or cast blank and spoiled ballots. Abstention, though small compared to other countries, was up by 3.5 percent, while more than 1.5 million ballots were either blank or void. And as *La Repubblica* (8 June) noted:

> "The most massive offensive for spoiling ballots came, however, from the BR [Red Brigades].... [Many ballots had inscriptions such as] 'Free Toni Negri' [the professor and *'autonomo'* leader imprisoned on accusations of complicity in the BR kidnapping/killing of DC leader Aldo Moro], 'Abolish the prisons,' 'Free all political prisoners.' [There were] quite a number of five-pointed stars [symbol of the BR] and hammers and sickles."

As for the so-called "far left" formations, the Partito di Unità Proletaria (PDUP) and the Nuova Sinistra Unita (NSU—United New Left), their combined vote increased only marginally over the 1976 electoral score of the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) coalition, from 557,000 (1.5 percent) to 795,000 (2.2 percent). The number of "far left" deputies stayed the same (six), all of them going to the PDUP slate. (The PDUP, the more reformist of the two blocs, has for years acted simply as a pressure group on the PCI. The loose NSU coalition is made up of holdovers of the relatively large New Left groups Avanguardia Operaia and Lotta Continua, once bitterly anti-PCI, which both fell apart shortly after Democrazia Proletaria's poor showing in the 1976 elections.)

The Communist Party losses were particularly evident in the large cities: Milano, Genova and Venice, 4 percent; Rome and Torino, 6 percent; Palermo, 8 percent; Naples, 10 percent. While it held onto previous gains in middle-class areas, the PCI itself was forced to admit that the losses were centered in working-class districts:

> "There are a few large municipalities in the Torino beltline—where the concentration of the industrial proletariat is extremely high—where our losses are of the magnitude of 6 to 7 percent. The highest losses are to be found in the working-class neighborhoods, ranging from 8 to 20 percent."
>
> —*Rinascita*, 8 June

It was also clear what had caused the disaffection: a young PCI militant, in Palermo, Sicily told Berlinguer that, "The alliance with the DC ... led people

de Bellis/Panorama

After the vote: Auto workers take over toll booths and impose their own "value added tax."

ILWU Tops Ram Through Sellout Warehouse Contract

OAKLAND—Earlier this month officials of the Teamsters and of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) succeeded in saddling 12,000 northern California warehouse workers with a master contract that spells further erosion in their living standards, jobs and working conditions. Following ratification by key Teamster locals, ILWU bureaucrats including International secretary-treasurer Curtis McClain rammed through the sellout deal at a Bay Area Local 6 meeting on June 9 by a margin of 959 to 287. While Local 6 president Keith Eickman crowed about an overwhelming "yes" vote, the nearly 25 percent who voted "no"—in the face of almost unanimous leadership support for the package—represented a significant section of the membership which was willing to strike in defense of their living standards.

The new contract provides for a maximum 30 percent *total* hike of both wages and cost-of-living (COLA) pay over three years, compared to a current annual inflation rate of 14 percent. In order to hold the settlement down, the bureaucrats agreed to going one full year without COLA, and topped that off by placing a maximum on the total amount of COLA payments allowable over the life of the contract—thereby trampling the membership's demands for full, uncapped cost-of-living protection. Absent from the settlement was any mention of job security, a crucial issue for warehousemen who face erosion of jobs through runaway plants, automation and speedup.

Local 6 members who attended the June 9 meeting had not even been informed beforehand that a tentative settlement had been reached. After more than an hour of glowing reports on the contract by Local 6 officers, including such prominent supporters of the Communist Party (CP) as Joe Figueiredo, the leadership allowed a scant 15 minutes of discussion from the floor, abruptly cutting off debate after a spokesman from the class-struggle Militant Caucus (to widespead applause) demanded rejection of the contract, immediate strike action and replacement of the existing negotiating committee by a local-wide stewards council.

The June meeting was only the latest example of the bureaucracy's attempts to squelch militancy. As early as last February, Local 6 leaders joined with the CP/*People's World* crowd in an unsuccessful attempt to pass a "gag rule" that would have prohibited criticisms of the leadership's conduct of negotiations. The "gag rule" resolution explicitly singled out for attack the Militant Caucus. McClain, Eickman & Co., backed up by their Stalinist lackeys, attempted to frighten the membership from striking by pointing to an earlier, defeated Teamster grocery strike: "We'll do everything to avoid a strike," the hacks asserted again and again.

In contrast, the Militant Caucus demanded serious preparations for a strike around such demands as a shorter workweek at no cut in pay; full, uncapped cost-of-living protection; pensions equal to a full month's wage; and abolition of the no-strike clause. The same sellout artists opposed a Militant Caucus resolution for "no contract, no work" and succeeded in keeping members on the job past the contract expiration deadline on June 1. And while the Militant Caucus was demanding frequent stewards meetings and election of strike committees in the houses, the Local 6 bureaucrats did everything in their power to demoralize and confuse the membership: they canceled all regular union meetings in May and, in a local with a sizeable number of Spanish-speaking workers, refused to publish most bulletins in Spanish.

The ILWU bureaucrats were desperate to prevent a strike which would have posed pointblank the question of taking on government strikebreaking in order to win. To prove their loyalty to the companies and the Democratic Party, McClain & Co. forced through a settlement which lays the basis for a new round of employer attacks, including threats by bosses at houses not covered by the master contract to impose settlements even *worse* than the one ratified June 9.

Union militants in the ILWU ranks must draw the hard lessons of the latest contract sellout. The union needs a new leadership which draws the line against the companies and puts no faith in either of the two capitalist political parties. In the five and a half years since its founding, the Militant Caucus has fought to break the leadership's stranglehold on the union and its treacherous alliance with the Democratic Party. Those who are serious about reversing the string of defeats suffered by ILWU workers must look to join the Militant Caucus as the only way forward. ■

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to put us all in the same bag" (*Panorama*, 19 June). But the impotence of the misnamed "revolutionary left" over the course of the last decade, and particularly since '76, has meant that opposition to the PCI's popular-front policies was expressed above all through the negative gesture of abstention, blank and spoiled ballots.

Agony of the "Historic Compromise"

The 1976 parliamentary elections had raised the hopes of Communist Party leaders that they could finally achieve an alliance with the DC, Italy's perennial ruling party since the break-up of the post-war coalition. Several million voters also saw it as a chance to clean out the Augean stables of the graft, corruption and "immobilism" produced by three decades of Christian Democratic rule—and consequently crossed over to the PCI column on the ballot. As a result of that "mandate," Andreotti formed a minority government resting on PCI "non-defiance" (abstention on key votes) in parliament. This lasted until July 1977, when a six-party programmatic accord was signed by the PCI, DC, PSI, PRI, PSDI and the "free enterprise" Liberals (PLI). The third incarnation of this misnamed government of "national unity" came in early 1978 when Andreotti agreed to a formal pact admitting the PCI into the governmental majority. The pact was voted on the very day of Moro's kidnapping, thus sealing the popular front over the body of the former DC chairman.

Keystone

PCI's Enrico Berlinguer

Meanwhile, however, the government was imposing anti-working-class "austerity" policies which provoked discontent among the Communist Party ranks. The six-party agreement called for a reduction in the real cost of labor, translating into attacks on the sliding scale of wages (COLA escalator) won by the labor upsurge of 1969. In cities such as Naples, where the PCI won in 1975 on promises of urban reform, all efforts were stymied by cuts in social services. Fearful of angering the Vatican, the Communists refused to touch "hot" issues such as abortion and divorce. And on terrorism, Berlinguer became the most hawkish of the witchhunters, supporting drastic repressive measures such as the Reale Law. The result was big PCI losses in by-elections and increasing pressure to either get cabinet seats or return to the opposition.

To left-wing voters it seemed that the PCI, like the Socialists before them, had simply been sucked into the Christian Democratic morass. And DC party bosses, seeing their adversaries in trouble with the electorate, decided to hardline it. At least 100 Christian Democratic deputies (out of 263) signed calls for the DC to refuse to govern together with the PCI after the elections. PSI leader Benedetto Craxi also embarked on an aggressive election campaign attacking Berlinguer & Co. for not dumping "Leninism." (This led left-wingers to accuse Craxi of "throwing out Marx and bringing in marks," alluding to his close ties with the German SPD.) As a result, most bourgeois commentators saw the vote as a referendum on the PCI's cherished Historic Compromise. "The result," concluded the London *Financial Times* (6 June), "was a clear 'no'."

Sabatini/Panorama

DC's Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti

But the ever-"responsible" Berlinguer wouldn't take no for an answer. At the PCI's 15th party congress held in early April, "Eurocommunism" was defined as a "third way" between the Soviet bloc and social democracy, while a "government of national unity" was reaffirmed as the party's immediate goal. The PCI tops even repeated their scandalous advocacy of anti-working-class austerity policies: "Austerity has been proposed by the PCI as an instrument of transformation..." (quoted in *Critica Comunista*, April-May 1979). And in an interview with the Christian Democratic newspaper *Corriere della Sera* (6 May), Berlinguer repeated his statement made during the 1976 election campaign, that he "feels more secure" in NATO than in the Warsaw Pact. But it is not only the Eurocommunists, seeking to distance themselves from Moscow, who push the "Historic Compromise." The supposed pro-Kremlin PCI spokesman Armando Cossutta in a post-election interview reaffirmed the validity of the PCI's "strategic line," calling for a policy of "national unity in opposition" (*Corriere della Sera*, 7 June).

"The Clash Begins Now"

The Italian bourgeoisie did not exult over the election returns. On the contrary, the economic weekly *Il Mondo* devoted the cover of its 15 June issue to the working class: "The clash begins now.... Nine million workers, the productive foundations of the country, with their contracts coming up. Metal workers, chemical workers, textile workers, construction workers...." *Il Mondo* was right, for only two days after the voting a series of explosive struggles broke out in big factories in the industrial centers of Milano and Torino. While the union bureaucracy managed to regain control after a couple of days of wildcat actions, and struck a militant pose against the DC government with a mammoth metal workers demonstration in Rome June 22, the potential for a major conflagration was there.

On Wednesday, June 6 workers at the Arese factory of Alfa Romeo near Milano walked out. On previous days workers had fainted due to excessive heat, and anger had built up over provocations by foremen. Now they formed a procession which wound its way out of the plant and onto the nearby turnpike where they seized the toll booths, with the solidarity of the toll collectors. There motorists were stopped by the red flag of the Metal Workers Federation (FLM) and contributed their tolls to help pay the costs to send a delegation to the Rome demonstration (*Lotta Continua*, 9 June).

The very same day there was a nearly identical action at the giant Fiat Mirafiori works in Torino. The action began as a normal three-hour strike

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Trotskyism and the Sino-Soviet Split

Shurnacher/White House

PART TWO OF TWO

The year 1965 marked a decisive turn in Chinese politics, both externally and internally. The U.S. escalation in Vietnam, especially the bombing of the North, opened up a major policy dispute within the Chinese leadership. This rift was among the scores to be settled in the savage intra-bureaucratic conflict known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The "Cultural Revolution" was generally accepted at face value as an explosion of radical youth, encouraged by the aging revolutionary Mao, against bureaucratic conservatism. This superficial view was put forth not only by bourgeois commentators and New Left student youth, but also by the wing of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), headed by Ernest Mandel. In reality, the Cultural Revolution was a faction/clique fight within the ruling bureaucracy, in which the army played the decisive role throughout. A main precipitant of the bloody power fight was a difference within the Chinese Stalinist regime over Mao's *isolationist* position on the Vietnam War.

As the U.S. B-52s bombed ever closer to China's southern border, People's Liberation Army (PLA) chief of staff Lo Jui-ching anticipated intervention in Vietnam along Korean War lines. Concomitantly, he advocated rapprochement with the Kremlin, which itself approached the Chinese for cooperation in supplying North Vietnam. The PLA chief of staff's position had some support from Liu Shao-chi, the head of state, and party secretary Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing), who were to become the principal victims of the Cultural Revolution. The main opponent of military support to Vietnam was Defense Minister Lin Piao, who also called for a *de-escalation* of the war in South Vietnam back to the level of guerrilla forays. Lin's line eventually triumphed through the personal intervention of Chairman Mao.

Lo's position was stated in May 1965 in an article ostensibly commemorating the defeat of Nazi Germany:

> "We not only fully support these [Vietnamese] struggles politically and morally and help them materially to the limit of our capabilities, but are also prepared to send our men to fight together with the people of Viet Nam when they need us....
> "...we pay high tribute to and express our full confidence in the great Soviet people and the great Soviet army, who grew up nurtured by the brilliant thinking of Lenin and Stalin, who stood the test of the war against fascism and triumphed. We are deeply confident that we will be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will fight shoulder to shoulder against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism...."
>
> —*Peking Review*, 14 May 1965

The answer to Lo was Lin Piao's famous pamphlet *Long Live the Victory of People's War*. The strategic line of this central document was that of "self-reliance":

> "In order to make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country and prepare to carry on the fight independently even when all material aid from the outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of the revolution in one's own country and does not rely on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid—*even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution*—no victory can be won, or consolidated even if it is won." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Peking Review*, 3 September 1965

The author of these lines became the chief executor of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." And to make sure his Vietnamese "comrades" learned the lesson of "self-reliance" well, Lin cut Chinese aid down to a trickle and hindered Soviet rail shipments to Hanoi, leaving the Vietnamese people to fight unaided against the most powerful imperialism on earth.

Lo Jui-ching was purged as PLA chief of staff in November 1965, the first victim of the Cultural Revolution. Red Guards were later to break his back. Lo's crime against Maoism: advocating military support to Vietnam in alliance with the USSR. The same month that he was purged, Peking officially rejected any military cooperation with the Soviet Union against the U.S.:

> "The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] are doing exactly what Khrushchev did before them, namely, pulling the Viet Nam question into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. Since they are cooperating so closely with the U.S. imperialists in united action, it is of course impossible for Marxist-Leninists to join in and take 'united action' with them.
> "At bottom, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are clamouring for 'united action' on the Viet Nam question because this slogan is highly deceptive and is apt to create the illusion that it is still possible to have 'unity against U.S. imperialism' with the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. who are intent on Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination."
>
> —*Peking Review*, 12 November 1965

Since China and Vietnam started shooting at one another last fall, Hanoi has exposed the Mao regime's hypocrisy and treachery during the war against U.S. imperialism. For example, in 1967 the North Vietnamese officially protested against the Red Guards' disruption of Soviet arms shipments. Last November Vietnam's deputy foreign minister, Nguyen Co Thach, remarked acidly: "There was a joke in the Western press during the war that the Chinese would fight to the last Vietnamese. Those American journalists had no idea how true that was" (*Daily World*, 2 February). At the very outset of the Cultural Revolution, Mao signaled U.S. imperialism that as long as China was not directly attacked, it would not intervene even in the face of the most murderous attacks on the workers and peasants of its "socialist neighbors." Mao's message was not lost on the State Department and Pentagon, although it took them a few years to make a positive response.

But the militarily far more powerful Russian Stalinist bureaucracy also did little to protect the Vietnamese people from massive imperialist terror. Even at the level of military aid, Soviet arms shipments were wholly inadequate, being inferior to those supplied to bourgeois regimes like Nasser's Egypt. Thus as early as 1965 the Spartacist tendency demonstrated outside the Soviet mission to the UN carrying signs demanding, "Soviet nuclear shield must cover China, North Vietnam!" (*Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). A year later we picketed Moscow's attaché in San Francisco, distributing an open letter demanding real Soviet support to the Vietnamese revolution:

> "Why are you sending fifteen-year-old SAM II missiles to Vietnam when you have a plentiful supply of SAM III's which would provide real protection to the cities and villages of North Vietnam?"
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967

Healyites Join the Red Guards

The Cultural Revolution brought a new recruit among ostensible Trotskyists to the view that Maoism constituted a revolutionary opposition to Moscow-line Stalinism: the Socialist Labour League (SLL) of Gerry Healy and Michael Banda and their acolytes elsewhere. Up to that point the Healyites—despite grossly unprincipled organizational practices and a somewhat erratic line toward "militant" Stalinism (insistence that Castro's Cuba was capitalist coexisted with outbursts of softness toward Ho Chi Minh)—had maintained generally orthodox affirmations of formal Trotskyism. But with their enthusing over Mao's Red Guards, the Healyites took the first decisive step toward "Third World" nationalism that would lead them a decade later into the political harem of Libya's Colonel Qaddafi.

A front-page article by Michael Banda in the SLL's *Newsletter* (14 January 1967) kicked off the Healyites' pro-Maoist phase with a screaming headline: "Hands Off the Chinese Revolution! Conditional Support of 'Red Guards' the Duty of Every Revolutionist." Two weeks later this was followed by the text of a speech by Banda which takes Mao-talk at face value, proclaiming the Cultural Revolution a youth-vanguardist attack on bureaucratic rule in China:

Lower/Contact

Left, anti-Chinese rally in Hanoi after invasion. Right, Vietnamese soldier guards bridge destroyed by Chinese.

> "The Chinese Communist Party (which was the creation of Mao Tse-tung), the Chinese trade unions, the Chinese youth movement, all these organisations have degenerated to a point beyond redemption. That is why Mao had to set loose the Red Guards....
> "It [the Cultural Revolution] is a movement aimed at curbing the powers of the bureaucracy in the Chinese party and government and that is why it is the youth who constitute the main attack in the movement against the bureaucracy. "The youth instinctively hate bureaucracy, they detest this type of party which stifles criticism and creative thought, and it is against this that the youth react."
>
> —*Newsletter*, 28 January 1967

A decade later the idea that the Cultural Revolution was a movement to stimulate "creative thought" would have provoked universal derision.

At that time the Spartacist tendency condemned the Healyite support to the Red Guards as a decisive political capitulation to Stalinism:

> "Thus aid to the Chinese revolution signifies in addition to military defense against imperialist attack, ruthless criticism of this Bonapartist clique at the head of the Chinese workers state and the call for its removal through a political revolution of the workers, given direction by a Marxist-Leninist party....
> "Healy's prior theoretically rudderless response to the Chinese revolution has led to his pathetic inability to distinguish a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy from the massive purge the Maoists are now unfolding. From theoretical weakness it proved a short step for opportunist elements like Banda to push the SLL into giving essential political support to this purge under the slogan, 'Defend the Red Guards.' These departures by the Healy group from revolutionary politics signal the transformation of the unclarified civil war between Healy-Banda-Wohlforth and ourselves into a clear-cut political struggle between counterposed tendencies."
>
> —"Healy at Liège and Peking," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967

Our analysis that Healyite support to the Mao faction represented a decisive political degeneration was soon confirmed as the SLL discovered the "Arab Revolution" in June of 1967, giving military support to the various Arab nationalist colonels and sheiks against Israel. Thus the organization which recently supported the murder of pro-Moscow Communists by the bourgeois-nationalist Iraqi Ba'athist regime started on its counterrevolutionary course in 1966-67 by hailing the Red Guards.

Mandelite Centrists vs. SWP Reformists

As we noted in the first part of the present article (see *WV* No. 234, 19 June), political support to the Mao regime against the Kremlin was one of the bases for the reunification of the rightward moving American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) with the Michel Pablo/Ernest Mandel revisionists. Resolutions on the Sino-Soviet split at the 1963 and 1965 USec world congresses were supported by both tendencies. However, when the Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966-67, the responses of the SWP and the Mandelites were significantly different. Where the centrist European Pabloists were tailing the radical youth captivated by Mao's Red Guards, Joe Hansen's by now reformist SWP wanted to have nothing to do with any "Chicoms." Moreover, within the USec Hansen was associated with the old Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse, who sympathized with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Old Guard and critically supported Liu Shao-chi.

This widely divergent, three-way split was embodied in a curious pamphlet issued by the SWP in mid-1967 entitled, "Behind China's 'Great Cultural Revolution'," which contained an article for each different line. An article by Peng characterized the Cultural Revolution as a campaign "to create an atmosphere of terror in order to stifle criticism from the intellectuals and to assure maintenance of control over the masses who feel likewise." The Mandelite Pierre Frank, on the other hand, argued that "we cannot at all condemn an appeal to the masses against a bureaucratized party and apparatus, even if this appeal originates from a wing of the bureaucracy."

This counterposition came to a head at the USec's 1969 "Ninth World Congress" where the Mandelite majority and pro-SWP minority presented alternative resolutions on China. The majority resolution simply reaffirmed the Pabloists' long-standing position that Peking constituted a left-radical opposition to the Kremlin. Moreover, it attributed this in part to pressure from the Chinese masses:

> "The more radical line pursued by the Chinese leadership towards world revolutionary developments since the beginning of the Sino-Soviet conflict which, on several important questions, brought it nearer to the positions of revolutionary Marxism..., reflects both the specific relationship of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy towards the P[eople's] R[epublic] of China, and the *objective impact of the rising tide of world revolution on the Chinese masses*." [our emphasis]
>
> —"Original Draft Resolution on the 'Cultural Revolution' and Proposed Amendments Arranged in Dual Columns," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, June 1970

Presumably "the rising tide of the world revolution" bypassed the Russian masses.

The Mandelite resolution inadvertently reveals their tailist motivation, i.e., that they are praising Mao's China because this had become *de rigueur* in the student-youth radical milieu. The resolution cites as one of Mao's great virtues that many young leftists see in him a genuine expression of Leninist militancy:

> "...the sharp campaign which Peking unleashed against the right-wing opportunist line of the CP's following Moscow's lead, and against some key features of bureaucratic rule in Eastern Europe, has objectively contributed to deepen the world crisis of Stalinism and to facilitate the upsurge of a new youth vanguard the world over. Inside that youth vanguard the general sympathy for China and Maoist criticism of the Kremlin's revisionism remains deep...."

During the 1930s-40s many more subjectively revolutionary worker militants and radical intellectuals looked upon Stalin as the great living authority of Marxism-Leninism. For Trotsky the fact that hundreds of thousands of would-be communists took Stalin as their leader made him *more not less* a counterrevolutionary force in the workers movement.

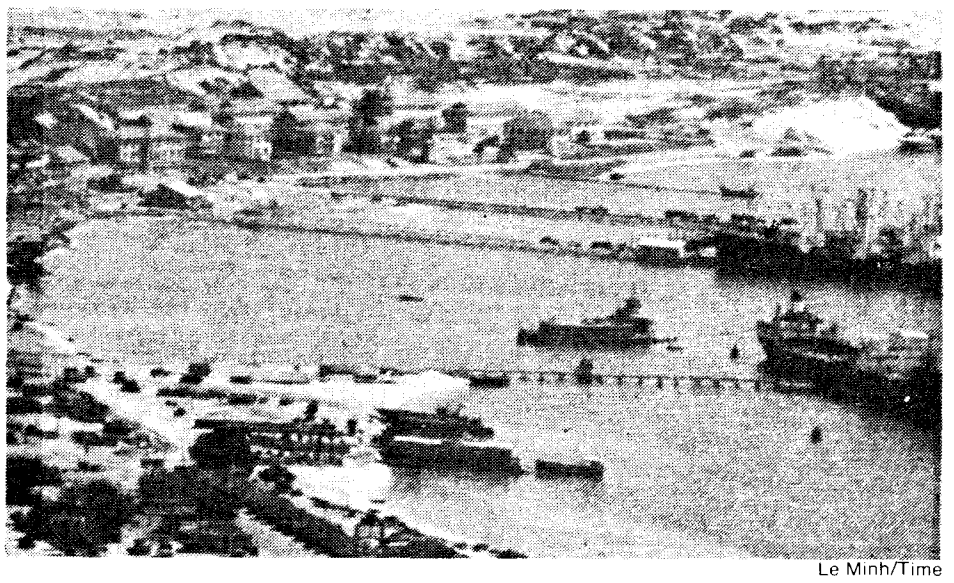
Superficially the SWP's 1969 resolution on China certainly seemed more Trotskyist than the Mandelites' praise of Mao. In fact, one wonders if Joe Hansen didn't crib from old Revolutionary Tendency and Spartacist material. For instance:

> "While recognizing that for its own reasons Peking often pursues a more aggressive diplomatic policy than Moscow, the Fourth International also criticizes the opportunism of the Chinese Communist leadership. In seeking to gain influence in the colonial world, Peking uses a language that is strongly anti-imperialist.... Nevertheless, Peking's basic policy, as reiterated many times by its leaders and voiced once again upon the inauguration of the Nixon administration, has been 'peaceful coexistence' with U.S. imperialism. Out of narrow nationalistic considerations and in line with its doctrine that the revolution must first pass through a bourgeois stage before it can reach the socialist stage, Peking counsels and countenances support to bourgeois governments in Indonesia, Pakistan and other countries instead of mobilizing the masses for uncompromising struggle against the neocolonial regions.
> "The conduct of the Chinese Communist party leadership since it came to power proves that it has not shaken off its Stalinist heritage. These nationalistic-minded bureaucrats do not hesitate to subordinate the welfare of the Chinese masses and the interests of the international revolution and socialism to the protection and promotion of their own power and privileges."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Reading this resolution, one would never know that a few years earlier the SWP had endorsed the position that the Maoist regime was a *non*-Stalinist centrist formation "leaning toward the left"!

What was really going on here is that under the impact of the French May '68 events and the burgeoning of New Left "Marxism-Leninism," the European-centered Mandelites moved to the left, specifically adapting to "Third World" Stalinist guerrillaism. They decided to outdo the Maoists and Guevarists at their own game. And although in the case of Maoism the USec majority's flirtation never went beyond paper resolutions, in Latin America they actually made a half-hearted attempt to put their talk of "armed struggle" into practice, for a time making common cause with dissident Castroite groupings like the Argentine PRT/ERP.

But while the ERP was kidnapping American executives, the SWP had become the "best builder" of the liberal antiwar movement in the U.S., establishing collaborative relations with Democratic Party doves of the McCarthy / McGovern / Hartke / Lindsay stripe. Naturally they were horrified at being associated with what the FBI was calling the "Terrorist International," and Joe Hansen began a struggle against Latin American guerrillaism (with which the SWP had had a platonic fling a few years earlier). For good measure, Hansen also took out the Mandelites' infatuation with the Red Guards, while conveniently forgetting its own support to China in the Sino-Soviet split of the early '60s (back in the days when the SWP was evolving into centrism).



Le Minh/Time

Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam: U.S. warns Hanoi against allowing Soviet naval base.

By this time, while the SWP condemned the Chinese Stalinists for opportunism vis-à-vis imperialism, in the major conflict involving the United States (the Vietnam War) the SWP *opposed* any expression of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. It fought to limit the antiwar movement to the "single issue" acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie—immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. In good part, it was this wretched liberal social-chauvinist line of the SWP which led most young American radicals to look to Maoism as the real communism of the day. For Joe Hansen these Stalinist reformists were..."ultra-lefts." So when in 1971-73 the Maoist movement went into crisis over the Mao-Nixon rapprochement, the Spartacist League, then far smaller than the SWP, was able to recruit significant numbers of New Left Maoists to Trotskyism.

Fake-Trotskyists Fall Out Over China-Vietnam War

In the early 1960s Washington definitely tilted toward Moscow in the Sino-Soviet dispute and perhaps contemplated a military assault on China over the Taiwan straits with the Soviet Union's benign neutrality. Today, in contrast, the U.S. is complicit in Peking's war on Russian ally Vietnam, and could become involved directly in support of its Chinese ally in the event of a Sino-Soviet war. The very day after Deng invaded Vietnam, even before Moscow had publicly taken a position, Washington warned the Soviets against "widening the war"—i.e., attacking China. In the first week of the war there was a world-wide fear that it could spark a nuclear holocaust. Thus the China-Vietnam war raised for Trotskyists the principled question of unconditional

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1967: Chairman Mao and his "closest comrade in arms," Lin Piao.

PCI...

(continued from page 5)

called by the FLM in the body shop, stamping plant and foundry, denouncing the auto company bosses' refusal to bargain seriously (they had obviously been awaiting the outcome of the elections, hoping that big PCI losses would dampen the workers' spirits). However, several hundred workers in the body shop formed a procession which then proceeded to march through the various departments and internal passageways of the complex, preceded by the red flags of the FLM, and eventually mobilizing an estimated 25,000 workers in front of the management offices. Later they left the plant and sat down (blocking traffic) in a major intersection which, as a Fiat management statement noted, was "exactly where the Hot Autumn began ten years ago."

Late in the afternoon the company decreed a punitive measure intended to intimidate militants: five workers (who headed the march), accused of kidnapping foremen, were fired. But on Thursday, June 7, the union issued a statement defending the fired workers and called a two-hour strike, holding a rally and procession of several thousand workers. Finally on Friday a third strike, of two and a half hours, was held by the unions without incident, indicating, as the capitalist press breathed a sigh of relief, that "Calm Has Returned to Mirafiori" (*Corriere della Sera*, 9 June). However, the PCI and union bureaucrats had heard the alarm. In the June 3-4 elections, the Communist Party vote in the municipality of Mirafiori fell by 9.2 percent.

The march in Rome two weeks later was perfectly tranquil, drawing roughly 250,000. It was a ("disciplined") show of strength by the PCI, whose supporters prominently displayed party emblems. But the Stalinists are exerting themselves to stay on top of things. With their combative actions at Fiat and Alfa Romeo, Italian workers announced that PCI electoral losses would not dampen their fighting spirit and showed that "the clash begins now."

The Bankruptcy of the Italian "Far Left"

The PCI's sizable loss of votes on June 3-4 was primarily due to disillusionment among workers, youth and the poor and opposition from the left to its alliance with the Christian Democracy. But the Italian "far left" which grew out of the explosive struggles of 1968-69 has proved incapable of providing revolutionary leadership to channel this unrest. The six deputies elected on the Democrazia Proletaria slate in 1976, for instance, undertook no initiatives to spur militant actions by workers against the PCI-DC austerity plans and the popular-front repression against the left. In fact, on the issue of terrorism the centrist and left-reformist groups in the DP simply collapsed in the witchhunt atmosphere, refusing to defend the Red Brigades against bourgeois repression. Expressing the widespread demoralization of the "far left," one DP deputy, Silverio Corvisieri resigned from the bloc and this time was elected on the PCI slate. And the only deputy of Lotta Continua, Mimmo Pinto, crossed the class line by entering the lists of the bourgeois Radicals.

In the 1979 elections a call was issued this spring by 61 trade-union officials for a united "far-left" slate. However, after extensive negotiations this came to naught, as the PDUP negotiated a separate agreement with the Communist Party to shift some PCI votes to them in the Milano area, ensuring the election of some PDUP deputies in exchange for being a "kept" opposition. Consequently, the Nuova Sinistra Unita was limited to the remnants of Democrazia Proletaria, and no NSU deputies were elected. This, in turn, meant loss of the state subsidies which were key to the financial survival of the "far left" daily newspapers (*Quotidiano dei Lavoratori* has already folded, while continuing to deny the demise of the New Left from its own deathbed). The NSU further proved its bankruptcy by forming a mini-popular front with the PR, running joint slates for the senate and some constituencies of the Chamber.

For Trotskyists, the disintegration of the New Left is not something to be mourned but an opportunity to reach thousands of militants who in a confused way sought to build a left opposition to the ultra-reformist Communist Party. However, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Italian section of the United Secretariat [USec]) instead politically capitulated to the amorphous New Left in the hopes of gaining easy popularity. In 1976 the GCR supported and ran candidates on the DP slate, even though the campaign of the "far left" centered on a call for a "left government"—a traditional popular front modeled on the Chilean UP. This time around the followers of Livio Maitan called for a vote to the reformist party of your choice: "Vote for one of the workers parties, but build the revolutionary party with us!" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 15 May). And the main GCR slogan, for a "workers vote" to "block the offensive of the right," was barely distinguishable from the Communist Party itself.

The Lega Comunista (Communist League — formerly Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria) of Roberto Massari graphically demonstrated its USec origins and appetites by issuing an "electoral proposal" virtually identical to the à la carte electoral cretinism of the GCR: "Vote PSI, but fight against the center-left! Vote PCI, but fight against the alliance with the DC! Vote PDUP, but fight against a 'left government'! Vote for the NSU, but force it to take a position on a class governmental slogan, which in Italy is put forward by the Lega Comunista!" In other words, these psuedo-Trotskyist charlatans say that any vote for a reformist party or electoral bloc is "good enough"...for a left pressure group. Not surprisingly, Massari & Co. are trying to get readmitted to the USec "family" of anti-Trotskyist revisionism, lacking an independent perspective of their own.

Finally there is the Gruppo Bolscevico-Leninista (GBL), which produced a special issue of its *Bolletino Trotskista* (printed by the GCR press) calling for "critical support to the NSU." However, this policy was restricted to the Chamber, while in the senate, in constituencies where the NSU ran together with the radicals, the GBL called for a vote to the PCI. This is a curious shift for a group which has sought to distinguish itself from the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) above all by calling for votes to the "workers parties of the popular front." Why not call for a vote to NSU candidates for the senate as well, comrades of the GBL? It is noteworthy that the GBL, also, is trying to return to the USec under the slogan of "unification of the Trotskyist forces." So much for their pretensions of fighting Pabloist revisionism!

The iSt and the Lega Trotzkysta d'Italia (LTd'I) have consistently fought popular frontism, putting forward the tactic of conditional opposition to the centrist and mass reformist workers parties participating in or politically committed to class-collaborationist coalitions with bourgeois forces. In the 1976 elections the iSt opposed votes for the PCI, with its project of a Historic Compromise with the DC, and for the DP with its more traditional "left" version of the popular front. In the June 1979 elections we point out that neither the traditional reformist parties nor their little brothers on the "far left" provide an avenue to express a vote for working-class independence. If the PCI is thrown back into the opposition, it is not because it has abandoned its perspective of "national unity," anti-working-class "austerity" and repression against the left. The PDUP is manifestly nothing but the tail of the PCI, and the NSU directly betrays the workers by its alliance with the Radicals.

The absence of a revolutionary alternative to the Eurocommunist Stalinists and impotent social democrats has tied the hands of hundreds of thousands of Italian workers opposed to the PCI's treacherous "Historic Compromise" with capitalist exploitation. Meanwhile, many courageous but despairing militants are attracted to the dead-end of the terrorist groups. The ostensible Trotskyists linked to and oscillating around the USec offer no way out—tailing after Berlinguer & Co. with their policy of unconditional "critical" support and simply washing their hands of the BR when the heat is on. In Italy today the key task is to build an authentic Trotskyist party through relentless struggle against this Pabloist liquidationism in order to reforge the Fourth International. ■

Sino-Soviet Split...

(continued from page 7)

military defense of the USSR against capitalism/imperialism.

For the United Secretariat the China-Vietnam-Cambodia conflicts have mainly caused plenty of confusion and a resurgence of barbed polemics whose tone is reminiscent of the decade-long USec factional struggle between Hansenites and Mandelites. The latest installment consists of counterposed USec majority (Mandel) and minority (SWP) statements on Indochina wars (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 June). On the surface, both sides score easy points against each other. The SWP's resolution takes the majority to task for practically ignoring the key fact of U.S. collusion in the Chinese invasion. Mandel, in turn, dismisses the SWP contention that Peking had no interest of its own in invading Vietnam, and makes mincemeat of the argument by Hansen's not-too-bright epigones that Pol Pot's Cambodia was a capitalist state.

An unmentioned but polarizing factor in this "debate" is the international Spartacist tendency. Mandel refers obliquely to our slogan "China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism" in order to warn Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters and their minions against inadvertently bringing in the taboo Russian question:

> "If Peking is not acting for its own interests against the Vietnamese bureaucracy but in support of Washington's counterrevolutionary drive, couldn't one tomorrow explain that, after all, in its conflict with Moscow it is also starting to act as Washington's cat's-paw?"
>
> —"Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia," *Intercontinental Press*, 9 April

But after they get done accusing each other of alibiing Washington and Peking respectively, it is evident that this is a pseudo-dispute, for both sides assert that the China-Vietnam war had nothing to do with imperialist hostility to the USSR. They merely use different arguments. Both the SWP and the Mandelites deny reality in order to duck the crucial question of Soviet defensism.

According to the SWP, U.S.-China collusion supposedly had the purely local aim of overturning the Vietnamese revolution. The 8 March *Militant* front-page editorial on the war does not mention that Vietnam is a military ally of the USSR. In fact, it does not mention the USSR at all! Moreover, the *Militant's* first two articles on the war omitted the fact that Washington had warned Moscow about retaliating against China. The SWP's new theoreticians have discovered an ingenious way to abandon the Trotskyist principle of Soviet defensism: they just pretend the USSR doesn't exist! But while the SWP disappeared the Soviet Union during the war, they could hardly avoid dealing with it in their after-the-fact justifications. Here the USSR appears as...an ally of Washington against "the Vietnamese revolution," imperialism's fifth column in Hanoi:

> "To try to contain the Vietnamese revolution, the imperialists turned to Beijing for military aid, and to Moscow for diplomatic aid. While Beijing invaded Vietnam, Moscow pressured Hanoi to reach a Geneva-type settlement over Kampuchea acceptable to the imperialists."
>
> —USec minority resolution, *Intercontinental Press*, 4 June

This is a typical Third Campist conspiracy theory of history, in which capitalism/imperialism and the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy act as joint partners with common counterrevolutionary interests everywhere and at all times. This one-sided view sees only that the capitalists and the Stalinists are both sworn enemies of socialist revolution. It ignores the imperialists' fundamental hostility to the proletarian property forms on which the bureaucracy rests. The SWP's notion that Washington favors increased Soviet influence in Vietnam is on a par with their discovery the Gierek regime allowed the pope to make his anti-Communist pilgrimage because "they need the Polish Catholic Church...in helping to stabilize the Stalinist regime against the workers" (*Militant*, 22 June). The U.S.' present hostility to the Vietnamese Stalinist regime derives primarily from Hanoi's increasingly close ties to the Soviet bloc rather than out of vengeance for the defeat it suffered earlier in the decade. When the USSR and Vietnam signed a friendship treaty last November, rather than welcoming it as a restraint on "the Vietnamese revolution," the Carter administration warned Hanoi that it could not "normalize" relations with the U.S. while remaining allied to Moscow.

The leitmotif of Mandel's analysis is that peaceful coexistence between U.S. imperialism and Soviet Stalinism is the central axis of world politics. Rather in the manner of 1960s-vintage Maoism, the USec's leading theoretician rails against the joint domination of the superpowers:

> "So contrary to the analysis of [SWP] comrades Feldman/Clark/Waters, if there is a certain connivance between the Chinese bureaucracy and Tokyo and Washington in East Asia...nothing has changed in the *basic* aspect of the world situation, which is the consistent pursuing of mutual peaceful coexistence and collaboration by Moscow and Washington on a world scale....
>
> "So from a world view, there is no difference between Moscow's and Peking's counterrevolutionary policy. There is no reason to feel that imperialism is more 'lenient' and 'understanding'

towards one than towards the other, or that it is looking for an overall alliance with Peking against Moscow. Both counterrevolutionary bureaucracies are major obstacles on the road to a victorious world revolution. In no way do they have a substantially different relationship with world revolution and world imperialism." [emphasis in original]

—Ernest Mandel, "Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia"

Mandel to the contrary, China is in the process of joining the U.S.-led global alliance against the Soviet Union. This fact is openly admitted by such an authoritative imperialist politician as Henry Kissinger who, not now being in office, needn't be so diplomatic about world power relations:

"On the one hand most major countries in the world (United States, western Europe, China and Japan) will be grouped on one side and the Soviet Union will be on the other. That may well be perceived in Moscow as a potential for encirclement."

—*Economist*, 3 February 1979

It was the Washington/Moscow "détente" that was a transitory conjuncture, while the deepening U.S./China alliance has a profound historic causation. The 1972-73 Brezhnev/Nixon détente was a temporary product of the U.S.' military defeat in Vietnam. But since the 1975-76 Angola war (when Washington officially dropped the term "détente"), U.S.-Soviet relations have progressively worsened. The purpose of Carter's "human rights" campaign was to revive popular hostility to "Russian Communist tyranny." To a significant extent he has succeeded. Anti-Sovietism in the U.S. today is so extensive that the essentially empty SALT II "arms control" treaty may well be voted down in Congress.

Underlying Mandel's curious notion that U.S.-Soviet détente is alive and well is a fundamental revision of Leninism. Like the Stalinist bureaucrats, Mandel believes that if the USSR pursues a sufficiently class-collaborationist foreign policy, the imperialists will be willing to "peacefully coexist" with its collectivized (proletarian) economic system. But ultimately imperialism must seek to keep control over Near East oil, to prevent socialist revolution in West Europe, to maintain its domination over Latin America, not by collaborating with the Kremlin but by overthrowing the Soviet degenerated workers state. This accounts for Washington's strategic alliance with Maoist China which so confounds Mandel. The imperialists understand that if they overthrow the USSR, reconquest of China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc. will follow relatively quickly and easily.

Six years ago, in the heyday of the Brezhnev-Nixon détente, we wrote:

"Whatever episodic changes occur in diplomatic moods, the objective relationship of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet Union is fundamentally different than that toward China. The Soviet Union is economically and militarily qualitatively superior to China, and the military peer of the U.S. Therefore it is the Soviet Union which is the core of the anti-capitalist regimes in the world, the main objective obstacle to U.S. imperialism. (Could China have supplied the U.S.-blockaded Cubans?) Conversely, the Soviet Union could defeat China in a major war without imperialist intervention, while China could expect victory only in alliance with another power. Thus the logic of the great power triangle is for a U.S.-China alliance against the Soviet Union."

—"Mao's China: From Stalin to Nixon," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973

Who will deny that this analysis has been borne out, while the confusionism of the SWP and Mandel must resort to the crudest flights from reality?

During the 1960s, when Peking was verbally to the left of Moscow, the Mandelites and the SWP maintained that the Chinese leaders were moving "nearer to the positions of revolutionary Marxism" on several important questions. Today, when China is allied to U.S. imperialism, when it criticizes NATO for being "soft" toward "Soviet social-imperialism," Mandel and the SWP claim that Peking and Moscow now have the same relationship to world imperialism. This is more than just softness toward the Peking variety of Stalinism—it is a capitulation to the pervasive anti-Soviet climate in the imperialist centers. But the Spartacist tendency does not capitulate to the anti-Soviet chauvinism whipped up by the imperialist bourgeoisie. As we wrote at the height of the China-Vietnam war earlier this year:

"Should the Soviet Union be drawn into the fighting in a direct way it would pit the Russian degenerated workers state against the Western imperialists, principally the U.S., through the intermediary of their Chinese ally. This would pose pointblank the urgent task of militarily defending the USSR and the gains of the October Revolution. In this conflict the Trotskyists know where they stand: shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet workers against the counterrevolutionary attack. The Fourth International was founded on the principle of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and we will not flinch in the decisive hour!"

—"China Get Out!" *WV* No. 226, 2 March

The past pro-China line of the Mandelites and SWP in the Sino-Soviet dispute was based on *political* support to the Peking Stalinists against their Kremlin counterparts, on the claim that the Maoist regime was moving toward revolutionary politics. In fact, during the 1960s the USec rejected even the formal position for proletarian political revolution in China. If today we focus upon the *military* defense of the USSR against imperialism, it is in no sense because we deny that the Brezhnev regime is Stalinist and counterrevolutionary. On the contrary, it is the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with Jimmy Carter's America, its outright support to reactionary bourgeois regimes like Khomeini in Iran (and formerly the shah), that most *disarms* the Soviet working class in the face of the increasing imperialist threat. Only workers political revolution led by a communist, Trotskyist party can transform the Sino-Soviet states into bastions in the struggle for world socialism. ■

Hot Summer Mad...

(continued from page 1)

manifestly manipulated but the rage is real. The present situation is intolerable and insane. It is this experience of being trapped in an irrationality with no recourse to effective action that explains the particular character of this "hot summer mad."

In the steamy days of summer, drivers aren't keeping their cool as they use up gas searching for gas and sit waiting in lines that are disbanded by the cops when the station stops pumping. But it is not only the frustration and boredom, the canceled vacations, the price-gouging. The same newspapers that carried "Notes from the Gas Line" brought other news as well. All bad. To the motorist who pulled up to the pump where unleaded premium costs $1.50 a gallon, the papers announced that "inflation was soaring under the impact of oil." The *Wall Street Journal* proclaimed that "the U.S. recession is under way" (27 June) while the *New York Post* headlined "It's All Gloom and Doom" and "Crisis City."

The entire U.S. economy is in trouble. Gone are the confident predictions about easy availability of home heating oil this winter. Now all the official talk is about sweating in summer and freezing in winter. Inflation is running at about 14 percent, with skyrocketing prices particularly for the necessities: food, fuel, housing. In the Northeast, home heating oil is expected to reach a dollar a gallon, up from 55 cents last year. Food money will go for fuel. With the independent truckers' work stoppage, wholesale warehouses began to empty out, threatening food shortages and "hoarders' prices" for produce and meat. And to top it all off, New York City raised rents 20 percent on new three-year leases for "stabilized" apartments and offered landlords a "pass-along" raise for increases in fuel costs.

The recession might be as deep as the one in 1974-75 and by most predictions may last even longer. During April-May the unemployment rolls rose 500,000 and government economists predict 800,000 more by the end of the year, with auto hit especially hard.

Gas crisis, inflation, recession, shortages. But apprehension, economic insecurity and even hardship do not account for the anger and the explosions. *What makes Americans angry is that they know it is all a hoax to jack up prices.* All around is evidence that they are being conned. In New York harbor and on the Delaware River, convoys of laden oil tankers stalled at anchor, waiting for the "spot" price to shoot even higher. Crude supplies which had been deliberately held down in 1979 were overloading the pipelines, refineries and "tank farms." Refineries were still working at about 85 percent.

In the face of this irrationality of oil everywhere and not a drop to buy, Americans are in no mood to hear how they must stop "guzzling." Calls for austerity find no ready audience at the gas lines. Only a small layer flaked from the petty bourgeoisie was pleased by the generalized attack on the automobile. The gas lines became for them a proving ground where they sold cookies and lemonade in the latest fashion of "depression chic." Eco-faddists presenting the captives at the pumps with messages on the advantages of bicycles and roller skates, as they glide by the car windows of workers who live 25 miles from their jobs, only heightened the irrationality with absurdity.

The angry motorists are mainly resigned to the blackmail of Big Oil. For them, Senator Hayakawa's prescription seems the only real choice. They are willing to pay the blood money to the greedy oil companies if only the con-game act will stop and the gas will flow. Not since the deepest days of the 1929-33 depression, when farm "surplus" was dumped before the eyes of hungry millions, has the irrationality which is a constant feature of the capitalist economy been so widely and palpably displayed.

Rage in Levittown

To defuse the gas crisis furor, the government is looking to produce a scapegoat. The public having refused to plead guilty to "gas guzzling," Carter & Co. have turned to the old standby from the oil embargo/recession of 1973-74: OPEC. Indeed, the rich OPEC sheiks are getting richer, having just raised the price of crude up to $23.50 a barrel. Carter's imperialist strategy of becoming "energy self-sufficient" from "the Arabs" has been given its jingoist expression by the Senator from Tel Aviv, Daniel Moynihan. Appealing to racism and great-power chauvinism, Moynihan sounds like he would like to try out some old-fashioned gun boat "diplomacy" on the OPEC nations who are doing what is in the nature of the capitalist system: making the biggest possible profit. But this is a dangerous game, says Moynihan with the rattle of a sabre: "There are 100 ways to retaliate against the OPEC nations. You use arms shipments, you use credits, you use food.... They are our enemies" (*New York Post*, 29 June).

Even scapegoating OPEC won't get Big Oil off the hook. Everybody knows that every time OPEC makes a dime, so do the oil companies. It is hard to forget the 1973 profit bonanza for the oil trusts. Big Oil controls distribution and refining worldwide, and the sound of the cartel's gold jingling is not lost on the American public.

Ever since the truckers began their protests against the high cost and unavailability of diesel fuel, the press has pointed to the convoys snarling traffic on the Long Island Expressway or the Chicago Loop as responsible for the dwindling supplies of fresh meat and produce. But Levittown showed that angry Americans aren't buying this one either. When about 20 big rigs blocked the largely working-class "Five Points" area outside Philadelphia, Levittown residents saw the blockage for what it was: a protest against the Big Oil rip-off. Motorists waiting in the gas line at one of the four stations at the intersection joined the truckers' protest when the station closed before they could purchase gas. Local residents came pouring out of their homes in spontaneous solidarity. "More gas! More gas!" chanted the crowd which quickly grew to an estimated 1,500. And a huge sign was scrawled: "No gas my ass."

Then the cops moved in and two nights of street battles against Levittown residents and truckers began. The cops came from Philadelphia with riot gear, armored trucks, tear gas units and a large pack of dogs. When it was over, 200 demonstrators and 44 cops had been injured. Some 196 protesters were arrested. "We could have arrested 500 if

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Hot Summer Mad...

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we had the manpower," the chief cop proclaimed.

It was the first gas riot in American history—the contemporary rough equivalent of a food riot. They fought the cops and attacked the consumer-symbols of Big Oil. Gas pumps were destroyed, stations damaged, tires dragged to the center of the intersection and set afire, making a smelly blaze that shot flames 20 feet into the air.

It was the hottest expression of anger in the U.S. since the summer 1977 New York City blackout when ghetto blacks took to the streets to take what they could. The media whose racist epithet for that spontaneous outburst was "Night of the Animals" are now calling the Levittown protesters vandals and criminals. Just as then we demanded "Free the 4,000," we now demand that the charges against the Levittown 200 be dropped immediately.

Expropriate the Energy Trusts—For Socialist Revolution!

The independent truckers' actions are now reportedly slowing down, with rumors of a government agreement to okay higher rates, but the gas crisis is by no means over. To meet the tidal wave of anger and the demands for action, the administration—in imitation of the gestures of leadership—has tried one phony scheme after another, the latest being a "stand-by" coupon rationing plan. But since the "shortage" is contrived, so is the plan. The windfall-profits tax scheme, import limits, research and development programs all serve Big Oil. Synthetic fuel, which will take more energy to produce than it can supply for the next generation or so, is just a government give-away. And even mass transit is a pseudo-solution in a land where the private car *is* the fundamental means of mass transit.

At bottom the problem is political and demands a political solution. The gas crisis may be a hoax but the crisis of capitalism is quite real. The bourgeoisie does have an energy dilemma, rooted in its irrational economy. As the somber tones emanating from the Tokyo summit reveal, when all the schemes are played out and all the odd/even dice are thrown, the capitalists have only one "solution": get less—pay more—learn to like it.

Bourgeois pessimism is overwhelming and with it come increased demands from on high for "austerity" below. In general, Carter officials (following liberal economic opinion) have abandoned talk of Keynesian economic management and preach the inevitability of austerity as a form of public "inspiration." Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal proclaims: "The great question is whether we will have the courage, wisdom and discipline to maintain a true course involving short term sacrifices for long term gains" (*Wall Street Journal*, 20 June). Alfred Kahn, Carter's wage/price tsar, doesn't even limit austerity to the short term: "As far as I can see, there is no alternative in view to economic restraint for the next several years. There is no way we can avoid a decline in our living standard. All we can do is adapt to that" (*Newsweek*, 11 June).

Only one aspect of Carter's austerity program has had any impact at all: his frontal attack on the wages and living standards of the working class. While the 7 percent wage "guidelines" have been surpassed, with the help of the union bureaucracy they have kept down contract settlements. Thanks to the labor tops' class-collaborationist loyalty to the Democratic Party, workers' paychecks are limping behind the disastrous runaway inflation.

And as each government pseudo-solution fails, mass anger fixes more firmly on Jimmy Carter, whose "approval rating" according to the latest polls is only slightly higher (at about 29 percent) than Richard Nixon's was when he helicoptered out of the Rose Garden. *Newsweek* reports sighting bumper stickers reading "Carter: Kiss my gas." So Democratic kingmakers are looking ever more longingly at the "White Knight of Chappaquiddick." But Kennedy's empty "anti-trust" bill and anti-oil posture is nothing but Carter austerity out of office.

Carter might manage to grab another term in office if he seized the oil supplies. It's been done before. When it was a question of a strike Truman seized the railroads and steel mills in a hurry. But Carter is too much the "free market" ideologue for such a move, which the bourgeoisie as a whole would agree to only to stave off an imminent prospect of militant working-class action. Besides, he doesn't even know where the oil is. The oil companies keep their stocks a secret from the government which can't even get them to "open the books." Yet the idea of nationalizing the oil is so popular that it has been raised by the independent truckers' head, William Hill, as well as Republican presidential hopeful Howard Baker. Pollsters speculate it would be even more popular if most Americans did not project that nationalization under the present government would probably make the crisis even worse.

Something could be done, however. The workers who drill the oil, refine it and truck it could seize the oilfields, the refineries and the means of distribution, making sure everybody gets his fair share. But such a solution is chimerical unless it is understood that it would instantly precipitate a confrontation between labor and capital. A struggle for the expropriation without compensation of the energy trusts, with the capitalist rulers fighting tooth and nail against the attack on sacrosanct private property, would have to become an all-out fight for state power. Lacking this, the popular frustration could eventually be channeled in a reactionary direction by right-wing populist demagogues.

A revolutionary vanguard party, rooted in the working class, is vital to lead struggles over this deeply-felt immediate social issue toward a direct fight for working-class power. And only working-class power can solve irrational capitalism's energy crisis through the construction of an international planned economy. We must forge the mass proletarian party which will put the working class in the lead of the mass anger against this particularly hated section of the ruling class and direct that movement toward the final confrontation with the capitalist class as a whole. ■

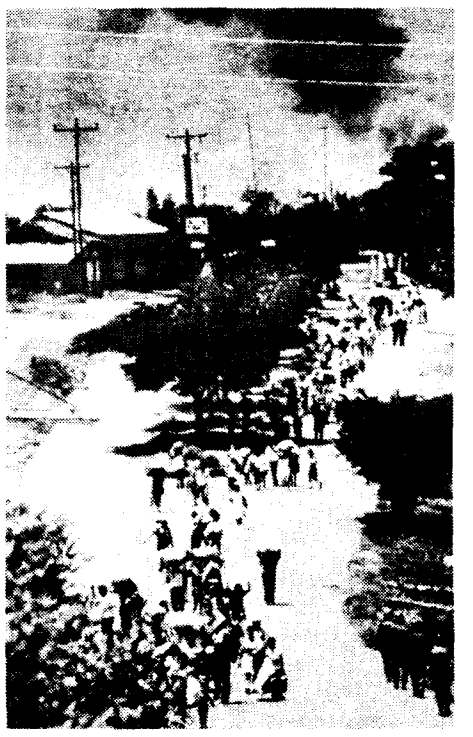
Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

definitive replacement" of Somoza. Only General Stroessner's Paraguay voted with Nicaragua against the resolution, while Brazil and Chile abstained. However, lacking the cover of an OAS endorsement, the U.S. turned from armed intervention to sponsoring a conservative "opposition" junta to rival the five-person "government of national reconstruction" formed by the Sandinistas. This effort, too, failed when the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie—both the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) and the "Superior Council of the Private Sector"—refused to oppose the popularly supported FSLN.

Now the United States has reluctantly begun negotiations with the Sandinista-backed junta in neighboring Costa Rica, attempting to pressure them to include more "moderates" in return for promises of Somoza's resignation. Junta spokesman Sergio Ramírez did not rule out expanding the provisional government, but expressed disbelief that *El Jefe* would bow out quietly. Somoza reinforced this skepticism with his remark, "I'm not going to abandon my army men and supporters like the shah of Iran did." While he has reportedly indicated to the new U.S. ambassador a willingness to "consider" stepping down, his conditions—leaving intact his property and the National Guard—are obviously unacceptable to everyone except his imperialist patrons.

On the battlefields, Somoza's praetorian guard continues to hold out, relying on superior weaponry to forestall an FSLN victory. Although government troops have only two tanks and 15-20 light planes for their bombing raids on the Managua slums, the Sandinistas have almost no heavy weapons at all. Somoza has continued to receive armaments, at least until recently, from Israel, Argentina and Spain, and has a considerable stockpile of U.S.-supplied weapons received before Washington turned off the pipeline. However, despite this military balance of forces, the dominant pro-bourgeois *tercerista* faction of the FSLN has sought to avoid a *mass* insurrection, fearing that it might get "out of hand"—with unpleasant results for the businessmen who finance them.



Esteli: September 1978.

Nevertheless, in the course of clashes in the capital and other cities large numbers of militant workers and youth have been drawn into the fighting. Unlike on the southern front and in the northern cities, where FSLN "regulars" appear to hold sway, in the Managua slums there have appeared many "insurrectional areas." A variety of defense organizations and committees have been thrown up, many of them associated with the United People's Movement (MPU), dominated in turn by the more radical tendencies of the Sandinistas and the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties and labor organizations. While FSLN leaders report that "people are complaining that we're holding them back" (*In These Times*, 27 June-3 July), genuine communists would seek to develop *workers militias* by demanding that the masses be armed.

Another factor in the fighting has been the participation of several "international brigades" under Sandinista command. By and large these are tokens of bourgeois-nationalist "fraternity," including the former Panamanian health minister, the son of former Costa Rican president Figueres and former Bolivian president Siles Salinas. There is also reportedly a "Simón Bolívar Brigade" sponsored by followers of the veteran pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. However, the Morenoites explicitly portray themselves as a pressure group to push the Sandinistas to the left, thereby imposing at best a bonapartist petty-bourgeois leadership on the working masses.

The key question in Nicaragua today is that of revolutionary leadership. The dominant forces in the anti-Somoza insurgency, in alliance with those business circles not directly tied to the apron strings of the ruling family, intend only to purge the parasitic dynasty while preserving intact the structure of neo-colonialist dependence and capitalist exploitation. When the conservative-led FAO became discredited last fall, as a result of its failure to negotiate a U.S.-mediated transfer of power from Somoza, the small Stalinist parties rushed to the aid of the impotent business opposition by forming the class-collaborationist National Patriotic Front. Including such friends of Washington as industrialist Alfonso Robelo, its role is to tie the workers to their "democratic" class enemies. Revolutionaries must certainly give military support to the Sandinista-led rebel forces. But the Nicaraguan masses have not shed rivers of blood and sacrificed thousands of their youth in the name of replacing the Somozas with the traditional leaders of the Conservative Party. Proletarian communists call for the arming of the working people to seize the possibilities for a working-class-led insurrection, which could bring in behind it the peasantry and urban poor, to form not a bourgeois "government of national unity"—which will demobilize the masses and construct a new National Guard—but a revolutionary workers and peasants government. Instead of limiting the struggle to the narrow confines of this quintessential banana republic, they call for a Socialist United States of Latin America. ■

Corrections

In our last issue, the article "Nicaragua Civil War" prominently raised the demand, "For a Popular Insurrection Against the Dictatorship!" As indicated both in the headline and the text, Marxists of course stand for military victory to the anti-Somoza rebels, while calling for a workers and peasants government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. However, the term "popular *insurrection*" as a *political demand* (rather than a sociological description) does not correspond to the *class centrality* of our call for *proletarian* revolution to uproot not only the Somoza dictatorship but also the capitalist foundations on which it rests. The article should have stressed *working-class*-led insurrection, drawing in the peasantry and other exploited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie.

The same article referred to the Russian Menshevik leader Plekhanov's lament that "it was wrong [for the workers] to take up arms" and relating it to the 1917 October Revolution. The remark actually applied to the 1905 Revolution.

In the previous issue (*WV* No. 233, 8 June), a sentence in the article "Hate Carter!" inadvertently dropped the word "capital" from the phrase "April orders for non-military capital goods fell by a whopping 14 percent." Finally, in the same issue, the article "Stop the Executions!" gives the date of the killing of 15-year-old black youth Randy Evans by killer cop Robert Forsney as Thanksgiving Day 1977. It should have read 1976.

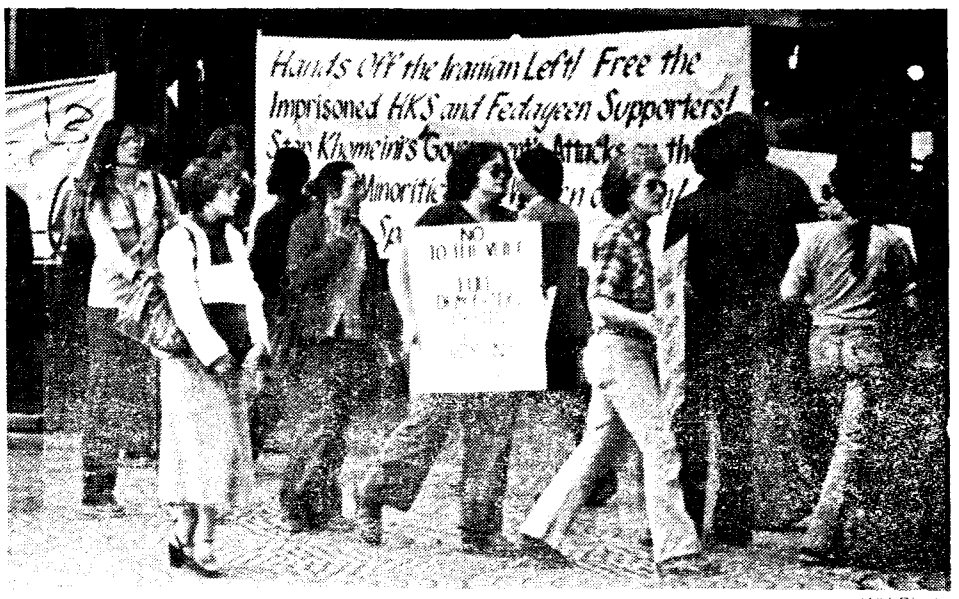
Your Comrades May Die...

(continued from page 12)

for this despicable abstention. Nevertheless, the SL went ahead with the protest, and some 40 people demonstrated in San Francisco outside the Iranian consulate June 22. Protesters, including SLers and supporters of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America and the Militant Caucus of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, marched under banners proclaiming, "Hands off the Iranian left. Free the imprisoned HKS and Fedayeen supporters" and "No to the veil. Down with Khomeini. For workers revolution." Chants included "Hands off the Iranian left" and "From Teheran to Kurdistan, Fight Khomeini's bloody terror."

In New York that same day the SWP carried out its most brazen act of sectarian exclusion so far, barring an SL contingent from participating in a protest outside the Iranian consulate. An SWP spokesman, Arnold Weissberg, later that evening sneeringly "informed" the SL that "the picket line today was called for people who supported the revolution in Iran." A subsequent 6 July *Militant* article tried to cover this exclusion with the slanderous lie that the Spartacist League had attempted to "assault" and "disrupt" the pickets. In reality, the SL simply walked up to the protest and was immediately shoved away by an obviously prearranged 50-person goon squad. Rather than let the SWP's criminal action turn into a free-for-all, with the cops standing by ready to intervene, the Spartacist contingent of 50 people set up another picket line across the street, vigorously chanting "Don't split defense of Iranian left!" and "Women in veils, Workers in jails, Stop Khomeini's attacks!" Among the SL picket signs were "No asylum for the shah" and "Down with Khomeini, For workers revolution!"

It certainly was a "private picket line," as one SWPer described their protest in an attempt to justify the exclusion. The SWP deliberately did no written publicity, advertising the picket by word of mouth in order to keep the Spartacist League away. And when the SL found out about it anyway, they changed the site at the last minute from Iran's UN mission to the consulate. Moreover, in their signs and chants not once did the SWP mention the Fedayeen guerrillas, who have been a major target of the new regime. Neither did they criticize Khomeini or Bazargan, or so much as mention the attacks on women and national minorities by the Islamic "Republic." And at no point were there slogans for workers rule, soviets or even a constituent assembly, usually the be-all and end-all of the SWP program. On the other hand, virtually every SWP slogan had tacked on "Defend the Iranian Revolution"—thereby trying to reassure Khomeini that they are fans of his Islamic regime, not "infidels" who



WV Photo

San Francisco, June 22: SWP boycotted rally to defend Iranian left.

demand "Down with the shah, Down with Khomeini!"

"You Defend the Mullahs, We Defend the Left"

In the midst of Khomeini's reactionary attacks, the SWP chose to underline its covering for clerical reaction with an NYC forum on the same evening (June 22) entitled "Iran: The Revolution Continues." Despite an ad in the *Militant* and a leaflet distributed at the demonstration inviting "everyone interested in the situation in Iran," SL supporters who arrived found their entrance to the meeting blocked by SWP goons. When the SWP refused to allow more than two Spartacists inside to present the Trotskyist point of view, the SL threw up a picket line denouncing this cowardly exclusion. A number of the SWP goons were noticeably upset as the SL marched outside their meeting chanting, "Your comrades may die, But you defend Khomeini," and "You defend the mullahs, We defend the left!"

The SWP's capitulationist line on Khomeini places it in an excruciating position toward the defense of the HKS. It must limit its defense propaganda to tokenism, explicitly opposing even the most minimal political slogans. And it must oppose those who have consistently defended the democratic rights of the Iranian workers and oppressed masses, throwing up a smokescreen of slander: "The Spartacists' slogans ... were a clear echo of imperialist propaganda" (*Militant*, 6 July); "The SL openly states that Iran was better off under the butcher Shah" (*Intercontinental Press*, 2 July).

It is only four months since the *Militant* (23 February) triumphantly proclaimed "Victory in Iran!" and hailed Khomeini's "anti-imperialist" intransigence. Today the SWP's Iranian comrades lie in jail, facing frame-up accusations of being "shah's agents" or "CIA spies." Only deeply ingrained, willful opportunism could have blinded the SWP to the Iranian regime's attacks on anyone who did not submit to Khomeini's autocratic rule. At a March 4 SWP forum on Iran, an SL supporter warned of the need for united-front defense of the left, saying: "The Spartacist League will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them" ("They Wanted Khomeini, They Got Him," *IT* No. 227, 16 March).

But the "democratic" cretins of the SWP mistake their own pollyannaish view of the world for reality. For Khomeini a Marxist is an enemy of god; the only good one is a dead one. Yet the SWP wants to reassure the maniacal ayatollah of their loyalty. Neither the regime's brutal assaults on Iran's oppressed national minorities and unveiled women nor the arrests of its own comrades have shaken the SWP's political confidence in Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution." Khomeini's a "bourgeois democrat?" Then why not try suing him in an Iranian "socialist watersuit?"

Faced with the ayatollah's sinister threats to "cut off the hands" of the left, the SWP responded with the cringing of reformists everywhere: Don't rock the boat, don't anger Khomeini. This was the line of the reformists in Chile, who relied on the "democratic" army and saw danger only in the CIA and not in domestic reaction, just as today the SWP and HKS defend the "Imam's Committees" and only denounce the presence of ex-SAVAK agents within them. This was the line of Stalin in China, who responded to Chiang Kai-shek's attacks on the CP by reaffirming support for the "anti-imperialist" Kuomintang. The result was the tragic Shanghai massacre of 1927, which took the lives of thousands of Communists. It was the line of Mao in Indonesia, who preached confidence in Sukarno right up to the eve of the reactionary holocaust that slaughtered half a million leftists, workers and peasants.

Khomeini's aims are no secret. He openly proclaims his program of turning the clock back to a medieval Islamic society, denouncing anyone who even calls for a "democratic" republic! Yet in order to continue to cuddle up to the supposedly "progressive" ayatollah, the SWP smears the Trotskyists of the SL as "provocative" and even pro-shah and sabotages the defense of its own comrades in Iran. According to the *Militant* (6 July), to call for "Down with Islamic reaction" and to demand massive united-front protests against the arrests of the HKS militants is a "counterrevolutionary line [which] would seriously jeopardize their defense, providing ammunition for the frame-up against them." SWP members should recall how in Chile before the bloody 1973 coup Allende's UP government, not wanting to "provoke" the generals, refused to defend leftist soldiers arrested by the military. The Chilean workers paid dearly for this cowardly policy. Don't repeat the treachery of the Stalinists and social democrats who led the way to this bloodbath!

In the late 1960s when Hugo Blanco was arrested in Peru, hundreds of thousands marched in the streets throughout the world to denounce the reactionary repression and demand his release. Why isn't that happening today—right now? Because the SWP prefers its miserable "private picket lines" and support telegrams from notables, which will hardly impress the anti-communist zealot Khomeini. Don't fool yourselves—Iran today is no bourgeois democracy. Your comrades' lives hang in the balance! What is needed is an urgent mobilization of the international left and working class, of all those who stand for democratic rights, in a powerful united-front defense campaign. Free the HKS and the Fedayeen! ■

Dodge Main...

(continued from page 3)

This is a tremendous opportunity to link the struggle between the workers at my plant and Dodge Main. The company has no right to throw us out in the street and the union has the responsibility to fight to save our jobs.

When we put forward a motion in my local saying we're not going to take it lying down, we tapped a real vein. We got some people out that hadn't been to a union meeting in five years because they recognized something was at stake. Here [at Dodge Main] Local 3 called a meeting and 2,000 people came out there and they wanted to fight. At my meeting we put up a motion calling for sit-down strikes and plant occupations at Dodge Main, Dodge Truck and the other plants where massive layoffs are projected....

Now, there are a lot of people in my plant running around calling themselves militants and leftists of some kind. But when I raised this motion in my local meeting, not only did they not support the motion, but they got up and fought against it. We got arguments like, that a strike plays into the hands of the company. Well, I want to tell you the company doesn't like sit-down strikes. You need a sit-down strike. You need to hit the company where they live. You plant yourselves on a few million dollars of their property and you're going to get some kind of response. Back up the sit-down strike by mass labor defense because one plant can't do it alone. Dodge Main can't do it alone, Dodge Truck can't do it alone. But believe me you have a sit-down strike to fight for your jobs, you're going to hit something in the membership, you're going to see some people out in front of that plant who want to fight.

One guy who supports *The Call* [a Maoist newspaper] gets up and says sit-downs are crazy. So 20,000 layoffs are sane? [Laughter.] So a plant closing is sane? They're not realistic, right? Sometimes you have to fight for what you need. They sold the membership short. A guy was there from the Justice Caucus. His newsletter has got a little caption in the right-hand corner, it says "Spirit of '37." He gets up and says, "Today's not 1937." So the spirit of '37 belongs in the right-hand corner of a newsletter, but don't try to bring it back into the rank and file? People around the SWP's *Militant*, the most misnamed paper I've ever seen in my life, say sitdowns aren't realistic. And what do they call for? Endorsing a demonstration on July 16 after the layoffs have already happened!

The brother on the block doesn't have much power, the brother in the plant does. Use the power while you're in the plant, then you can fight! ■

Ma Bell...

(continued from page 2)

in convention delegate elections and by the good scores of two other MAC candidates in the same election. At last year's convention the caucus initiated the move to grant the local right to strike, and Margolis indicated that this year MAC is cooperating with other CWA delegates to get this issue before the convention once again.

The MAC campaign platform stressed the need for a solid 1980 nationwide strike to fight the company's program of "absence control," transfer freezes, forced overtime, speedup, production quotas and secret monitoring. In the face of skyrocketing inflation and unemployment, MAC called for a fight for a full 100 percent uncapped COLA in all contracts, for an end to layoffs and forced transfers, and a struggle by the labor movement to win a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Its program insists, "Not a dime, not a vote for the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans."

MAC points out that the ongoing policy of appeasement of Ma Bell is a consequence of the CWA leadership's political alliance with the capitalist parties. Thus it calls for the CWA to break with the Democrats and take up the struggle for a workers party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. While at present the MAC is confined to only one CWA local, it has earned the respect of a growing section of union members by its long years of principled political struggle against the sellouts of the Beirne/Watts bureaucracy. To forge an effective class-struggle leadership to oust the bureaucrats and lead the CWA forward, it is necessary that the MAC expand its base of influence within the union. Today the caucus struggles to bring the political lessons of the current leadership's sellouts home to ever wider layers of the membership and to win them to MAC's fighting program. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

SWP Splits Defense of Iranian Left

Your Comrades May Die, But You Defend Khomeini!

The peril of nine arrested supporters of the Iranian Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party), already facing the threat of execution by rabidly anti-communist mullahs, increased sharply June 23 with the seizure of seven more party members who were circulating petitions calling for their comrades' release. This brings to 16 the total number of HKS members jailed by the "Imam's Committee" in the southern oil center of Ahwaz, most of them still being held incommunicado at unknown locations. As Khomeini continues to hurl anathemas against "satanic" Marxists, and mullah-led mobs chant "death to communists," the labor movement and socialists throughout the world must urgently raise an outcry to save these militants from the executioner's sword.

Yet in this crucial hour the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is doing its best to sabotage the defense. In an act of criminal sectarianism, they exclude all those who do not swear fealty to the "Islamic Revolution" *which threatens their own comrades' lives*! At the moment when freeing the jailed Iranian leftists depends on making this the cause of the international workers movement, the SWP grovels before Khomeini. Relying on telegrams from prominent personalities, they refuse to mount the broadest, most massive protests in the streets for fear that they would anger the fanatical ayatollah of Qom.

In repeated instances in the United States and Australia, the SWP has engaged in the most outrageous splitting of a united defense: refusing to vote for motions calling for the release of the HKS and Fedayeen militants, excluding Spartacist League supporters from public forums, shoving and kicking SLers off its "private" picket lines and even abandoning its own demonstration rather than be associated with genuine Trotskyists. To top it off, and to harden up their own members who may have gotten cold feet at such backstabbing treachery, they are now mounting a vicious slander campaign in the pages of the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*, accusing the SL of "disruption" and "provocative action" for demanding "Down with Khomeini, For workers revolution in Iran!" Yet history has shown many times over that the SWP's policy of appeasing reactionary zealots like Khomeini leads straight to disaster.

"Hands Off the Iranian Left!"

In Iran, the working class has shown the way with a strike by some 200 oil workers who sat in at oil company offices in Ahwaz demanding the release of two of their leaders who were jailed along with 20 steel worker militants and the HKS supporters. And in Paris on June 25, some 5,000 people overflowed the Mutualité meeting hall for a rally—jointly sponsored by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste and Lutte Ouvrière—demanding the release of the HKS militants. A message of solidarity with the imprisoned Iranian leftists from the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) was read to the meeting. It stated in part:

> "When Khomeini has the executioners of the shah's regime executed, our only regret is that they didn't fall into the hands of proletarian justice. But when reaction is attacking the left and the workers movement, the most elementary duty of communists is the fight to defend the militants in danger."

Previously, on June 14, a contingent from the LTF had participated without incident in a picket line called by the LCR outside the Iranian embassy.

Elsewhere, the HKS' "comrades" in the USec took a sharply different, sectarian line in their "defense." In

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"You defend the mullahs, We defend the left!"

WV Photo

"The Spartacist League will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them."
--SL supporter at SWP forum, 4 March 1979.

Australia, the defense of the HKS militants has become a hot issue at several universities. On June 13 at Melbourne's LaTrobe University a student General Meeting passed motions introduced by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand calling for workers revolution to overthrow the theocratic "Islamic Republic" of Ayatollah Khomeini and for the Australian Union of Students (AUS) to initiate a national campaign of demonstrations to "free the endangered militants of the Fedayeen and HKS." A supporter of the Australian SWP present at the meeting first tried to table the question, then abstained in the vote on the motions. Ten days later, when participants from all over Australia were attending an AUS council meeting in Melbourne, a member of the SWP's youth group voted against a motion to temporarily disband the meeting to attend the defense demonstration called for by the LaTrobe students' General Meeting.

At Sydney University, the Students Representative Council passed a motion similar to the one at LaTrobe, but failed to call for protest demonstrations to be built. The task now is to make this motion national AUS policy and to mount large united-front demonstrations in defense of the HKS and Fedayeen prisoners. But instead, the Australian SWP has borrowed from the Stalinist arsenal with a slanderous letter from a party leader published in its paper, *Direct Action* (14 June), which attempts to justify their despicable and cowardly abandonment of their own picket line in Sydney, June 11, rather than march together with the SL. The letter claimed the Spartacist League turned the picket line into a "reactionary demonstration" and that because the SL denounces Islamic reaction, therefore "the logic of this is that the shah ... was progressive by comparison and should have been supported."

Not only does the SWP know perfectly well that the Spartacist tendency has vigorously opposed *both* the shah and Khomeini, but this standard smear technique is currently being used by the Healyite provocateurs against the SWP itself! Thus, the 11 June *News Line* of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain peddles the frame-up charges of Khomeini's tribunals that the HKS members "have been accused of having contacts with a network of United States agents operating in Iran." The Healyites argue that anyone attacked by Khomeini must be a CIA agent; using the same "logic," the SWP claims that anyone who doesn't support the ayatollah is "counterrevolutionary." Both bow to Khomeini—the only difference is, the SWP does it for free!

"Women in Veils, Workers in Jails, Stop Khomeini's Attacks!"

In the United States, the SWP flatly rejected a Spartacist proposal for a united-front demonstration in the SF Bay Area, its Oakland organizer cynically refusing to give any explanation

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