WORKERS VANGUARD

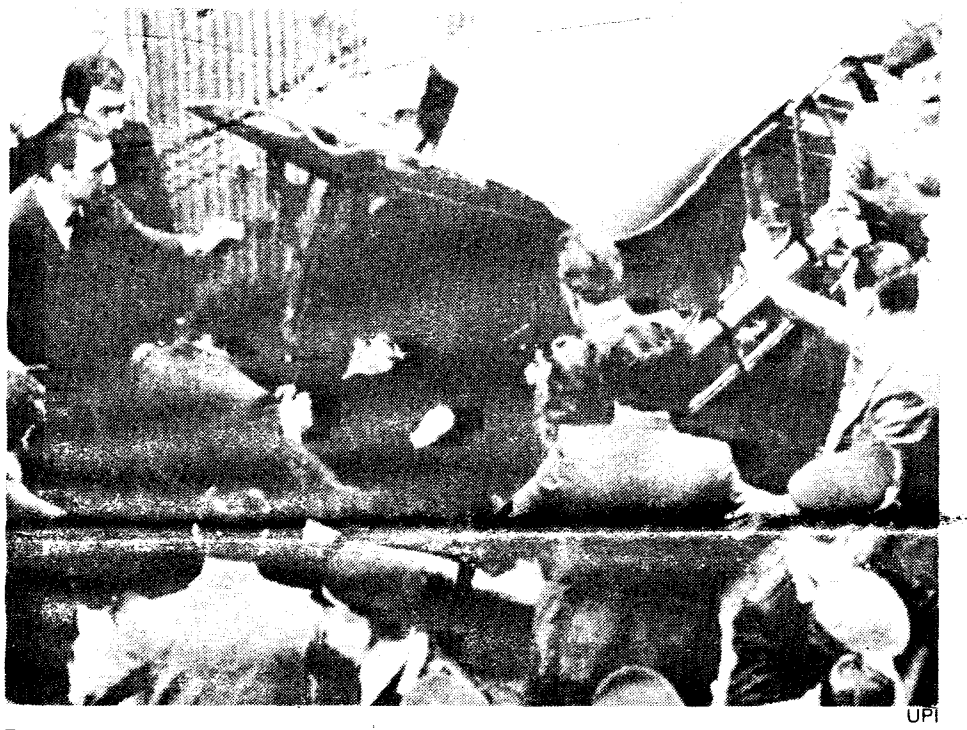
25¢

No. 206

19 May 1978

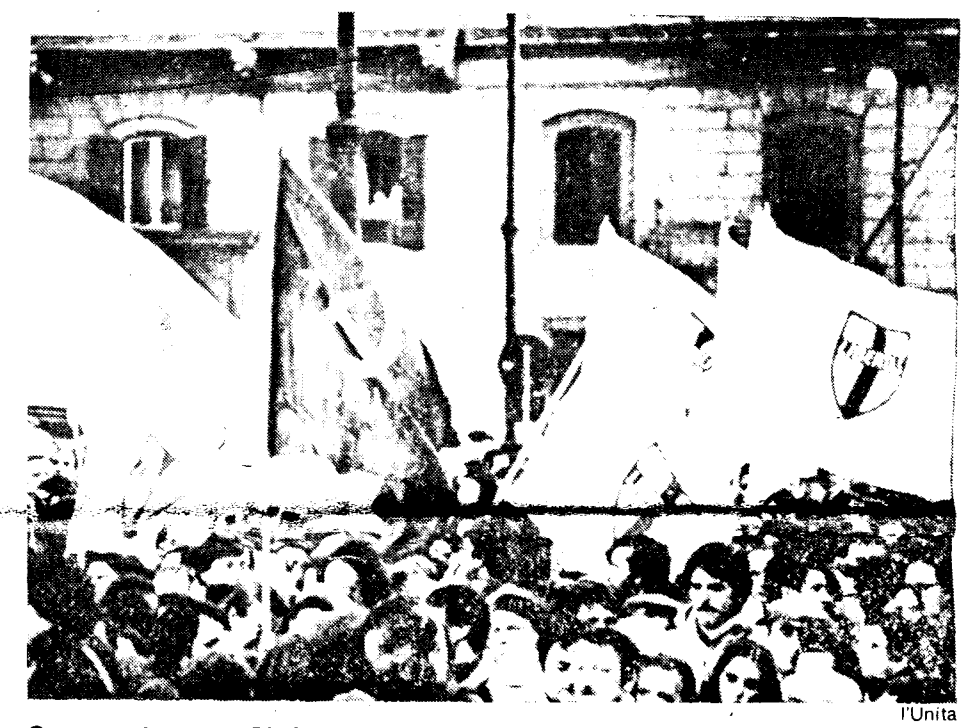
CP Hardliners for Capitalist "Law and Order"

"Historic Compromise" Sealed Over Moro's Body



UPI

Body of Christian Democratic leader Aldo Moro found in Rome. PCI refused negotiations with Red Brigades.



l'Unita

Communist and Christian Democratic flags mingle in reactionary "anti-terrorist" demonstrations following Moro kidnapping.

The spectacular kidnapping of former Italian prime minister Aldo Moro came to its grim conclusion as the anarcho-terrorist Red Brigades (BR) carried out their death "sentence" last week. On May 9 Moro's body turned up in a parked car abandoned on a small street near the headquarters of the ruling Christian Democrats (DC) and the offices of the Communist Party (PCI). After 54 days of adamantly refusing to strike any bargain with Moro's captors, the Italian government could now display the bullet-riddled corpse as proof of its commitment to the "authority of the state."

Yet the universally recognized reality is that the Italian state has no authority whatever. Unable to protect the top capitalist politician in the country—the president of the Christian Democracy and leading candidate for the presidency of the republic—it was also unable to come up with a single clue as to Moro's whereabouts after March 16. And it refused to negotiate for his release not out of strength but the opposite—fear that the impotence of the state would be bared, quickly leading to a total collapse of its already chaotic "law and order." Moro's death was due to "reasons of state"—of a state which has become the object of derision of everyone from the still numerous fascists to a band of leftist "urban guerrillas."

In his letters from captivity Moro himself pointed to the cowardice of his "friends" in the Christian Democratic leadership, long accustomed to cynically praising the "majesty" of the state which they treated as a private domain for looting. In a 21 April message to DC secretary Benigno Zaccagnini the abandoned party president wrote:

> "We are almost at zero hour.... How many dialogues over years and years with the friends in the party leadership and of the parliamentary groups?... But now in this affair—the greatest ever experienced by the DC, one heavy with consequences—we know nothing or next to nothing.... I said nothing. Sitting nightly, anguished, impatient, I appealed to the judgment of the party and the state....
> "...with what sense of justice, with what fearful retreat behind these laws of retribution, does the state with its inertia, its lassitude, its lack of a sense of history, consent to a denial of liberty, agreeing and giving in to the most serious and irreversible penalty of death?...
> "In this way the death penalty is reintroduced, which a civilized country such as ours had eliminated...from the legal statutes in the postwar period as a first sign of real democratization....
> "...having said this, I repeat that I do not accept the unjust and ungrateful verdict of the DC. I repeat: I will excuse and justify no one....
> "The DC must not believe it can solve its problems by liquidating Moro.... For this reason, because of this obvious incompatibility, I request that neither state officials nor party leaders participate at my funeral. I ask to be attended by those few who truly cared for me and are therefore worthy of accompanying me with their prayers and their love."
> —*Corriere della Sera*, 25 April

True to Moro's wishes, no DC officials were present at the funeral. As one friend of the family put it, "You didn't want him alive, so we won't let you manage his death." Instead the ruling circles were left to pontificate at a state funeral without the body.

But the bitter hostility of the Moro family did not stop bourgeois politicians throughout the West from pontificating about "defense of democracy." Washington praised the Italian government's "firmness"; Bonn called for a stepped-up war on international terrorism. Even Yasir Arafat sent a wreath of mourning, showing that he has more sympathy for this imperialist statesman than for the innocent Israeli civilians regularly killed in the random terror of PLO commandos. Most shameless of all was the statement by Italian president Giovanne Leone, praising the state as "one of the freest democracies in the world" and saying that the affair showed "the strength of our freedom." Such self-congratulatory piety about civic virtues is positively ludicrous coming from the man widely alleged to be "Antelope" of the multi-million-dollar Lockheed scandal.

As to the consequences of the Moro affair, the verdict of the politicians differed according to the policy of their party toward negotiating with the Red Brigades. Former head of state Social Democrat Giuseppi Saragat declared that "the body of the First Republic was lying near Moro's." The Christian Democratic mouthpiece *Corriere della Sera* (10 May), on the other hand, headlined a front-page analysis, "He is Dead Because This Republic Lives." But the obvious first result of the kidnapping-slaying of the man who has been the linchpin of every Italian

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WV to Go Biweekly

Beginning in June *Workers Vanguard* will become a regular biweekly with weekly supplements as needed. This step is but one of a number of cuts and adjustments to bring the Spartacist League of the U.S. and the Trotskyist League of Canada into line with current North American political, social and financial realities and to assist in the work of the international Spartacist tendency elsewhere, particularly in Britain.

We do not lightly shift *WV* back to biweekly frequency. We do so because we must and because what we hoped the weekly would be has, in its 33 months, not come to pass. From its beginning as a monthly in October 1971 through its 29 months as a biweekly and then as a weekly, *WV* has been a powerful and sometimes brilliant propagandist newspaper. Its work on the Chilean coup, Portuguese revolution, domestic labor and social struggles, in exposing and polemicizing with opponents, expounding Marxism, is notable. But as the *weekly WV* it did not and could not serve its central intended purpose—as an agitational organ of intervention into major and continuing social upheavals in America in order to help shape and direct elemental and partial class struggles in accordance with the historic aims and

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Guy Corry

Demonstrators in San Francisco protest overturn of Wichita rights bill.

Anti-Homosexual Bigots Defeat Rights Bills

Within the last three weeks voters in two Midwestern cities heavily defeated local ordinances for equal rights for homosexuals. On April 25 "traditionally liberal" St. Paul, Minnesota repealed a four-year-old ordinance by 54,096 to 31,694—almost a two-to-one rejection of democratic rights for homosexuals. Two weeks later voters in the conservative, bible-belt city of Wichita, Kansas smashed a city ordinance prohibiting discrimination on the basis of "sexual or affectional preference" in housing, employment and public accommodations. The vote was more than 46,000 against and barely 9,600 supporting the ordinance—a *five*-to-one margin!

This surge of anti-homosexual prejudice is hardly surprising in the climate of rigid repression and hypocrisy which still prevails in "America's heartland"—those thousands of small towns and ugly industrial cities with their vulgar "downtown" boosterism and wretched tucked-away slums; their pious Sunday church services after Saturday night drunken brawling and shootings; the tattered old "Impeach Earl Warren" billboards in weedy farm fields outside town; and all the hate and fear and frustration seething within these little bastions of "God, Home and Country." What should perhaps be surprising is that there are as many as 36 municipalities which still have some kind of statements of democratic rights for homosexuals on the books. But these are being picked off one by one, as happened in Wichita and St. Paul, in a well organized, well financed national assault by a coalition of religious and conservative organizations.

The recent anti-homosexual "backlash" is more than rampant rural idiocy. Even in "cosmopolitan" New York the City Council sits paralyzed with indecision in the face of this right-wing campaign. A proposed homosexual civil rights bill, "Intro 384," has been debated for months now, but the Council is split and reluctant to pass such a basic democratic rights bill. Although Mayor Koch has given the measure limp support, his campaign for office last fall centered on a call for the death penalty, thereby whipping up the reactionary frenzy which is now targetting homosexuals.

And in California, with large homosexual communities in both San Francisco and Los Angeles, right-wing Senator John Briggs claims he now has the half million signatures necessary to place an initiative on the ballot this fall allowing the firing of teachers for homosexuality.

The tactics employed by this nationwide network of bible-thumping bigots are the same everywhere—start a local "citizens committee" and raise a ruckus over the menace to children, pulling in such "pillars of the community" as fundamentalist ministers, local police and right-wing politicians. Eugene, Oregon is next on their list, and already another defeat for democratic rights is predicted in a May 23 referendum. Meanwhile gay activists blithely maintain that their defeats are really victories, since at least they're "publicizing" the issue!

It is not simply a question of that latent conservatism and primitive fundamentalist religion which have always been characteristic of Main Street, U.S.A. What has particularly emboldened Birchite right-wingers is the demonstrated contempt of the entire government apparatus, from Jimmy ("Life Is Not Fair") Carter and the Supreme Court on down, for the democratic rights of *any* oppressed group. Supreme Court decisions reinstating the death penalty; attacking desegregation, busing and abortions for the poor; and its refusal to hear the case of two teachers fired for being homosexuals have in effect declared open season on the poor, minorities and any kind of "deviant."

The other factor giving a green light to bigotry is the continued apathy and indifference of the American labor movement—enforced by its bureaucratic, conservative leaders—to these vicious assaults on democratic rights. In singling out homosexuality the right

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No. 206 **19 May 1978**

Latrobe, Pullman Workers Forced Back After Months on Strike

McBride, Sadlowski United in "No Strike" Sellout

WV Photo

USWA president McBride speaking at Latrobe strike rally in March.

"They got the same job efficiency as Hitler got when he took over Germany." That's how Bill Ehman, vice-president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1537, described the terms of a contract imposed on 1,100 workers at Latrobe Steel Company near Pittsburgh. On April 30, after nine months on the picket lines, isolated and stabbed in the back by USWA president Lloyd McBride, the steel workers bitterly accepted virtually the same terms they had rejected by a vote of 1,068-to-1 three months earlier. "They didn't vote to accept a contract," Ehman told *WV*, "they voted for their jobs."

Latrobe had issued an ultimatum threatening to close the plant if its last offer were not accepted. The ball-and-chain contract gives management the right to eliminate coffee breaks and wash-up time, to schedule lunch periods whenever it pleases and to ignore seniority in job assignments, shift preference and temporary overtime. The company also won a host of other work-rule changes aimed at boosting productivity at the steel workers' expense.

The walkout at Latrobe is the second prolonged USWA strike to end in disaster during the last month. In late April, workers at Pullman-Standard, the largest manufacturer of railroad cars in the nation, ended a 187-day strike with similar setbacks. This was the first national strike against Pullman since socialist Eugene Debs led the American Railway Union out in 1894 in one of the most famous labor battles in U.S. history.

However, the USWA leadership was concerned only with protecting their hated no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) in basic steel. As a result, Pullman workers lost their right to strike over incentive pay rates for the first half of their three-year contract. In addition, the Pullman workers were forced to accept a retiming of incentive-covered jobs that will mean steeper workloads for less pay.

Both the Pullman and Latrobe battles were among a series of strikes provoked over last year by companies breaking with their tradition of signing "me-too" contracts based on the major industry agreement covering basic steel. The precipitous decline in world steel demand has emboldened employers to hardline it against the USWA ranks. With the extension of the sellout ENA in the 1977 contract, followed by massive layoffs claiming tens of thousands of steel worker jobs, a number of smaller companies dug in their heels and demanded sweeping "takeaways."

That the bosses could roll back hard-won union gains at Latrobe and Pullman is due to bureaucratic treachery not only by McBride, but also by the Ed Sadlowski-led wing of the USWA bureaucracy. In last year's Steelworkers presidential election, the Spartacist League maintained that Sadlowski's "militant" posturing against I.W. Abel's handpicked successor, McBride, was a fraud. The conduct of the two bureaucrats in the defeated strikes confirms our warning. Both labor fakers turned their heads from isolated strikes whose success desperately required throwing the strength of the district and International behind them.

Sadlowski Ditches Pullman Workers...

Pullman's main plant at Hammond, Indiana is in the Steelworkers' giant District 31, where Sadlowski is executive assistant to Jim Balanoff, whom he picked to succeed him when he ran for USWA president. Sadlowski already had something of a bad name with Pullman workers even before their strike started last October. During a week-long wildcat against wage-cuts and speedup at the Hammond plant last summer, Sadlowski put in a personal appearance, ordering the workers back on the job! The "rebel" bureaucrat was reportedly booed off the picket line by angry Pullman workers but earned the praise of a local judge, who issued a back-to-work injunction and cited Sadlowski's "good faith to end the strike."

When the national strike against Pullman began, the company imported over 500 scabs from as far away as North Carolina and Connecticut to

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No Capitulation to Nationalism!

For a Proletarian Perspective in Ireland

The Irish question played an important role in the struggle of the Trotskyist Faction within Alan Thornett's workerist-centrist Workers Socialist League (WSL), which has a characteristically confusionist, semi-nationalist position on this decisive question for the British revolution. After resigning from the WSL the Trotskyist Faction fused with the London Spartacist Group in early March to found the Spartacist League/Britain. This document, originally brought out in the WSL Pre-Conference Discussion Bulletin *No. 13, February 1978, is reprinted from* Spartacist Britain, *April 1978. The first part of this document was published in* WV *No. 205, 12 May 1978.*

* * * * *

The limited, partial and deformed achievement of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution in Ireland is demonstrated by the clerical-reactionary regime in the south. We stand for the building of a Trotskyist party in southern Ireland which, based on the full Transitional Programme, must seek to lead the working class in the fight against the power of the Church, the oppression of women and the tying up of the land, a fight which can achieve victory only through the smashing of the bourgeois order.

While opposing on principle any possible future oppression of the Protestant population of northern Ireland, revolutionaries stand against the pervasive oppression of the Catholic minority in the Six Counties today. The Catholics of the Northern Ireland statelet have been systematically discriminated against in housing, employment and education, and, since the intervention of the British Army in 1968, have additionally been subjected to the brutalities of an occupying imperialist army. The response of the Catholics has largely taken the form of Republicanism, Catholic nationalism. Our unambiguous hostility as communists to all forms of nationalism does not diminish in the slightest our struggle against the oppression of the Catholics and against the institutionalised discrimination of the Orange statelet. But it is our job to take the struggle against oppression out of the hands of the Republican misleaders, and this requires unremitting exposure of nationalism as an ideology.

Part 2 of 2

Gilles Peress/Magnum

IRA checkpoint in the Bogside.

Colman Doyle

British troops pass UDA men in Belfast.

There is no justification whatsoever for the claim (put forward by Maoists, Pabloites and various other revisionists) that the nationalism of the oppressed is somehow inherently progressive. Lenin's hostility to nationalism is quite unambiguous:

> "The class conscious workers fight hard against *every kind* of nationalism, both the crude, violent, Black-Hundred nationalism and that most refined nationalism which preaches the equality of nations *together* with... the splitting up of the workers' cause, the workers' organisations and the working-class movement *according* to nationality. Unlike all the varieties of the nationalist bourgeoisie, the class-conscious workers, carrying out the decisions of the recent (summer 1913) conference of the Marxists stand, not only for the complete, consistent and fully applied *equality* of nations and languages but also for the *amalgamation* of the workers of the different nationalities in *united* proletarian organisations of every kind.
>
> "Herein lies the difference between the national programme of marxism and that of the bourgeoisie be it the most advanced....
>
> "To the bourgeoisie however the demand for national equality very often amounts in practice to advocating national exclusiveness and chauvinism; they very often couple it with *advocacy* of the division and estrangement of nations. This is *absolutely* incompatible with proletarian *internationalism* which advocates not only *closer relations* between nations but the *amalgamation* of the workers of all nationalities in a given state, in *united* proletarian organisations."
>
> —"Corrupting the Workers with Refined Nationalism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 289-90 [Lenin's emphasis]

No nationalist ideology can be progressive in an epoch when the crisis of mankind demands a socialist solution that can only be realised on a world scale. One of the main accomplishments of capitalism is that by the creation of a world market it has laid the basis for a world economy and therefore eventually for a universal culture. As an ideology the nationalism of the oppressed is a protest against this historically progressive and necessary development. To the extent that nationalist resistance movements have a progressive role to play it is despite their ideology and not because of it. For, while the imperialists' subjection of backward territories brings them into the world market and holds up the mirror of their own future, the internal contradictions of imperialism operate as a fetter on the expansion of the forces of production. In fighting against their own national oppression nationalist movements aim blows against an imperialist system that is blocking society's further advance. In this sense the national movements of the various oppressed peoples of the world contribute to the forces fighting for socialism. That they do so however has nothing to do with their ideology, which is clearly counterposed to socialism.

The Leninist position on the national question recognises *both* the objectively anti-imperialist character of certain struggles led by petty-bourgeois nationalists and the inevitable attempts at some point of these same nationalists to seek an accommodation with imperialism at the expense of other nationalities, their own popular base or both. As Trotskyists we stand on the perspective of the Permanent Revolution—and hold that only the proletariat (led by its vanguard party) and standing at the head of the peasantry and other toiling masses is capable of giving the progressive content of the national liberation movements a consistent expression through the achievement of the socialist revolution.

The Trotskyist Programme for Ireland

Finally convinced that the "Republican"-talking politicians in the South had neither plans for nor intentions of unifying the "nation," the Catholics in 1968 ended their fifty-year refusal to recognise the legitimacy of the Stormont government with a campaign for civil rights. The Protestants, whose conditions of existence are virtually as bleak and insecure, responded with an orgy of communal violence directed against beleaguered Catholic communities in Belfast and Derry.

There would no doubt have been many opportunities for principled united fronts between a revolutionary Leninist vanguard and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's in its campaign to END DISCRIMINATION IN JOBS AND HOUSING AGAINST THE CATHOLICS. While revolutionaries OPPOSE ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE CATHOLICS in the North, the reformist demands of the Civil Rights movement, which were all posed within the framework of capitalist rationality, in effect amounted to demanding that the Protestants accept more unemployment and less housing. Without such demands as A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS and A PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC WORKS the call to end discrimination can only imply levelling in an already economically depressed situation. In situations such as Northern Ireland the only prospect of transcending the vicious logic of national and communal antagonisms is through posing democratic demands against privilege and oppression within the framework of the FULL TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME.

We are resolutely opposed to the Protestant and Catholic churches as reactionary bulwarks of divisive obscurantism. The demand for UNIVERSAL, FREE, HIGH-QUALITY, SECULAR EDUCATION FOR ALL is essential to undermine the inculcation of communalism and demonstrate to the Protestants that we are as implacably opposed to the Catholic Church as we are to theirs. AGAINST RELIGIOUS OBSCURANTISM!

In 1969 British imperialism dispatched troops to Northern Ireland. It did so to prevent a massive outbreak of inter-communal warfare and so block the development of a social upheaval which might quickly have spread across the borders of the Six Counties to the Republic and into the metropolitan centres of British imperialism itself.

The British troops have no place in Ireland. Our programme starts from the

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For UAW Solidarity with Romeo Ford Strikers

Mass Wildcat Shuts Down Michigan Tractor Plant

ROMEO, Michigan, May 15—This morning over 300 chanting pickets kept Ford's Romeo Tractor plant closed down for the fourth straight day. Although the plant gates were kept open by a mob of 70 Macomb County sheriffs deputies in full riot gear, the strikers' shouts of "No Work Today!" and "Don't Go In!" kept all but one lone production worker from entering the plant.

The strike at Ford's only North American tractor assembly plant, located 30 miles north of Detroit, began last Thursday when 1,800 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 400 walked out despite their leadership's bleating objections that the action was "unauthorized." Strikers told *WV* that the walkout was preceded by a slowdown in the welding department, protesting the harassment of a worker threatened with firing unless he sped up production. When the company repeatedly refused to guarantee no reprisals against the workers, the welders walked off the job and were quickly followed by hundreds of other production workers.

Picket lines were thrown up at all four entrances to the plant, and cars were parked end-to-end blocking the gates. Only one truck carrying tractors has left the plant since, the driver brandishing a pistol against the pickets. The truck managed to get out, but only with all its windows smashed and the driver was later arrested for carrying a concealed weapon.

Ford, historically the most viciously anti-union of the Big Three auto giants, is refusing to negotiate until the strike is over and is threatening to fire up to 52 workers. The strikers reponded to the company's hardline stance at a meeting Sunday, adopting as official demands no disciplinary action for the walkout and an end to company harassment.

Though the strike has the support of nearly 100 percent of the Local 400 membership, Solidarity House refuses to sanction it, and Local officers are ordering the strikers back on the job. Tony Piezana, Local 400 recording secretary, told 200 strikers at the meeting last weekend, "It is my duty as a Local officer to tell you it's an illegal strike and that you must return to work." Last Friday, Local and International officials crossed the picket lines to "negotiate" with Ford and returned mouthing management's message. The International representative told the angry strikers that the union would not be able to get a guarantee of no dismissals for the walkout and, yelling to be heard over the pickets' jeers and hoots, said, "Our job is to tell you to get back to work."

Strikers say that the refusal of the union leadership to stand up to Ford's attacks throughout the plant's five-year history has allowed the steady build-up of arbitrary harassment, unsafe working conditions and a mountain of unsettled grievances that finally sparked the current wildcat. Though without seasoned leaders and abandoned by the International UAW hierarchy, the Romeo workers took a stand against Ford's abuse.

The impact of the courageous coal miners' strike has also been felt here. One strike leader drew heavy applause at Sunday's meeting when he said, "Everybody knows that there will be a court order for us to go back to work. But the coal miners turned down a statement from the President.... Now I think we can turn down an order from some judge sitting in some office here."

The Romeo strike is the first major wildcat in the UAW-organized plants heavily concentrated in southeastern Michigan since last summer's massive heat walkouts. UAW president Doug Fraser, with a left-of-center reputation masking his slavishly pro-company policies, has managed to keep local UAW leaderships whipped into line during one of the most intensive speed-up campaigns in the auto industry's history. He is also well versed in suppressing wildcats. After the heat walkout at the Trenton Engine Plant last summer, UAW officialdom stood aside as seven workers were fired and sentenced to jail for violating a court injunction ordering them back to work. Likewise, Fraser and his flunkies ordered an end to the Elwood, Indiana strike against the Essex Incorporated conglomerate on union-busting terms that the strikers had rejected nearly nine months earlier.

In the absence of an authoritative, class-struggle opposition to the labor traitors, wildcat strikes are always a risky business, confronting the determined opposition of the companies, union bureaucrats, courts and cops. They are often easily isolated, beheaded and ground down. Effective leadership and militant solidarity are the keys to victory in such walkouts—almost always an elemental response of self-defense against outrageous management provocations—preventing them from being ground to bits in isolation.

As one strike leader pointed out at the mass meeting this weekend, for the Romeo workers to overcome these obstacles, they must set up a delegated committee to organize the strike and appeal to other UAW locals for support, for mass picketing to shut the Ford plant down tight. UAW militants must demand that the strike be authorized, that no discipline be inflicted on the strikers and that the workers' demands be met. Victory to the Romeo strike! ■

Italy...

(continued from page 1)

government since the first center-left coalition in 1960 is a rise of popular clamor for "order," a hysteria which grips even large sectors of the working class.

Whether the large jump in Christian Democratic votes (up from 36 percent to 44 percent) in the May 14-15 administrative (local) elections, at the expense of the Communists (down from 33 to 28 percent), represents a lasting shift to the right or a temporary sympathy vote, the *dopo-moro* (post-Moro period) will see a drive to strengthen the repressive apparatus and moves toward a semi-bonapartist "strong state." Already the *Corriere* editorialist demands: "First, that the government, beginning tomorrow, act and that the Interior Ministry, the police and the security services show some signs of life." As the events of the Moro kidnapping reached a crescendo, we wrote that "it seems that the Italian Christian Democratic Communist-backed government wants Aldo Moro dead more than the Red Brigades do...." And we drew the evident conclusion:

> "If the Italian ruling class forces the Red Brigades' hand by refusing to negotiate, thus challenging them to kill Moro, the political climate will be prepared for massive repression of the 'far left.'... The only people who today have an interest in opposing the exchange proposed by the Red Brigades are those who expect to gain by murder and continued imprisonment, like the Communists and Christian Democrats who are seeking to build up the capitalist repressive forces for a crackdown on the 'far left'."
>
> —"Make the Deal!" (*WV* No. 204, 5 May 1978)

The stated aim of the BR in kidnapping Moro was to strike a blow against the so-called "historic compromise"—the PCI's class-collaborationist bloc with the DC, the main party of the Italian bourgeoisie. Yet the consequences of their particularly stupid and dangerously counterproductive terrorist action have been quite the opposite. The historic compromise, whose marriage vows were exchanged in the senate at the very moment Moro was captured, was consummated over the DC leader's still warm corpse. It is the working class and the oppressed who will pay the price.

PCI as Gendarme for Capitalist "Law and Order"

For the PCI the Moro abduction was a made-to-order opportunity to prove to the bourgeoisie that it was needed to give backbone to a "government of national emergency" whose primary task was combatting terrorism. As soon as news of the kidnapping was broadcast, the party leadership issued a communiqué which declared:

> "The criminal and barbarous act of kidnapping the honorable Aldo Moro is part of the destructive assault against Italian democracy.... It is a conspiracy of broad dimensions developed by Nazi/fascist methods....
>
> "All communists, all communist organizations are in the front line, as always, in a mobilization of united vigilance to isolate enemies of every type, to identify and insure that justice will be brought to terrorists, in order to [illegible] strengthen the Republic."
>
> —*l'Unità*, 17 March

By distorting the BR action as an ultra-rightist plot and declaring solidarity with the "democrats" of the DC, Communist leaders tried to hoodwink the workers with references to "the spirit of the Resistance." Their reactionary "anti-terrorist general strike," for example, was addressed by spokesmen of the moribund "anti-fascist committees," as were mass demonstrations on April 25, the anniversary of liberation in northern Italy from the Mussolini/German rule.

Although the PCI held off supporting the introduction of the death penalty (insistently demanded by frothing Republican Party leader Ugo La Malfa), they were in the forefront of the parliamentary forces clamoring for new repressive legislation. The fact that the clear target of this mobilization was the "far left" was spelled out by Ugo Pecchioli, the PCI's "shadow minister" of the interior:

> "The danger points of explicit complicity and connivance with terrorism are entrenched in the entire sector of autonomous unions, above all in the public services: railroads, ENEL [electricity], SIP [telephones], hospitals and certain sectors of state employees."
>
> —*l'Europeo*, 7 April

While the Communist leadership was demanding a hard line, the DC government headed by Prime Minister Giuglio Andreotti was trying to make a show of force with a state machinery shot through with corruption and intrigue. Although it unleashed 50,000 troops to scour Rome and inaugurated a series of draconian decrees, its main purpose seemed to be to save face in light of the humiliating kidnapping. Not only had five body guards been shot and Moro whisked off without a trace, but the Red Brigades (with a flair for drama) repeatedly embarrassed the authorities.

Rastelli/Epoca

PCI called rallies with Christian Democrats demanding suppression of Red Brigades.

Moro's kidnappers returned the getaway cars to the vicinity of the abduction—an area presumed to have been sealed off—and placed the Alitalia uniforms worn during the operation in garbage cans at the home of the senior police official investigating the case! Red Brigades' communiqués, all written with the same machine, were distributed simultaneously in Rome, Milano, Torino and Genova (a feat the notoriously incompetent Italian post office would be hard pressed to duplicate). In a final deliberate affront, Moro's body was left almost equidistant between DC and PCI offices—a "martyr" for the "historic compromise."

When the captors of the former prime minister proposed an exchange of "political prisoners"—Moro for 13 jailed terrorists—pressures mounted sharply on the government to make a gesture or accept the deal. Bruno Craxi, head of the Socialist Party (PSI), proposed an amnesty for certain categories of prisoners. However, the Communist Party remained adamant, ranting about the need to preserve respect for the state in almost authoritarian tones. At a May Day demonstration in the

industrial center of Torino, PCI leader Luciano Lama (the secretary of the CGIL labor federation) declared from the podium: "We must not humiliate the state by accepting an impossible exchange" (*Corriere della Sera*, 3 May). A few days later Craxi angrily attacked the "triumphalism of the saviors of the Republic."

Having had its control of key proletarian sectors challenged by the syndicalist *autonomos* in recent years, the PCI made special efforts to regain dominance in key factories such as Fiat Mirafiore in Torino and Alfa Romeo's Arese plant outside Milano. This has been done through setting up trade-union "vigilance committees" in the factories for the purpose of discovering BR sympathizers. Thus the PCI is turning the union apparatuses into adjuncts of the capitalist police! No better example could be imagined of the tendency of the labor bureaucracy to coalesce with the state in the imperialist epoch. But the efforts have not been altogether successful. BR leaflets were found on several occasions in key plants, and two days before Moro's body was found an Alfa Romeo manager's car was burned inside the factory grounds.

The main target of the reformist bureaucracy is not the Red Brigades but the substantial sectors of the workforce who sympathize with the *autonomia operaia* (workers autonomy) syndicalist movement and "far left" organizations. Italy is the country in West Europe where groups to the left of the Communist Party have the largest impact in the organized working class. This is a very concrete threat to the ability of the PCI to ensure labor peace and hold down wage demands in the next period—one of its principal jobs in the framework of the "historic compromise" and the present "programmatic coalition" government of the "constitutional arc."

Thus the Communist Party has called repeated political strikes and demonstrations "against terrorism" during the last eight weeks (March 16, April 25, May 1, May 9) in an attempt to isolate the "far left." These class-collaborationist mobilizations, in which the white flag of the Christian Democracy with its sword and shield flutters next to the red flag of the PCI and its hammer and sickle, are reactionary appeals for increased capitalist repression, giving the Andreotti regime a carte blanche to unleash the armed fist of the state. While the demonstrations have frequently not been as large as the PCI would have liked, they have involved many hundreds of thousands of proletarians in this "anti-terrorist" hysteria.

Il Mondo

L'Europeo

Left, PCI leader Berlinguer with Giorgio Amendola. Right, Red Brigades leader Renato Curcio.

Revolutionists must vehemently oppose these reactionary demonstrations for government terror! Trotskyist militants in the factories would seek to win the support of the masses of workers to *break* these strikes against left-wing terrorists *from within*, i.e., to organize departments and large groups of workers to refuse to join in the marches and if necessary remove pickets from in front of the factories. (Ironically, to "protect the workers" forced to work overtime on Saturdays at Alfa Romeo the CGIL-CISL-UIL confederation organized a mammoth 3,000-strong "counter-picket"—i.e., goon squad—following a wave of attacks on management personnel.) In a similar fashion, class-conscious unionists in the U.S. would seek to break from within the unions a racist strike against school integration, for example.

From Flirtation to Betrothal

In recent months the PCI has let out all the stops in trying to convince the Italian (and international) bourgeoisie of their usefulness—indeed, their indispensability—in restoring capitalist order in the chaotic Italian situation. After 30 years of DC rule and 40 governments, Italy is today in total disarray. An act of political terrorism occurs on the average of every four hours, and over $45 million was paid out last year in ransoms. The Red Brigades is continuing its foolhardy "war" of *gambizzazioni* ("knee-cappings") of — individual terror directed against judges, prison officials, police inspectors, management personnel, newspaper directors and capitalist politicians. Unemployment and inflation continue to wrack the workers and poor. As hundreds of leftists are rounded up for "questioning" and new austerity measures are prepared to reduce the workers' standard of living, the PCI engages in endless parliamentary hairsplitting with the major bourgeois parties and the social democrats to put together a thinly disguised coalition government, the antechamber of the historic compromise.

It is a revealing commentary on the extent of social decay in that the bourgeois figure instrumental in negotiating the parliamentary deal with the PCI had to be sacrified because giving in to the demand for an exchange threatened to bring down the entire shaky edifice. So while whipping up the anti-terror hysteria, the party of Enrico Berlinguer in effect condemned Aldo Moro to death and tied the working class hand and foot to the class enemy through its "programmatic coalition of the constitutional arc."

Following the June 1976 elections the PCI could point to its control of the municipal governments in virtually every major urban center in Italy as proof of its "responsibility." Even the bourgeoisie was forced to take notice of the stark contrast between the PCI's "clean government" and the corrupt municipal administrations of the DC. For example, in Bologna the PCI's showpiece, the vicious suppression of student protests in the spring of 1977 was upheld by the "Communist" city government as confirmation of the fact that, as the PCI expressed it, "the duty of the democratic forces of order is prevention and repression" (see "Student Strikes Rock Italy, *Young Spartacus* No. 53, April 1977). As Umberto Agnelli, the DC senator from FIAT, commented, "I cannot but admit that good administration is guaranteed in those localities where the PCI is in power."

The PCI also tried to raise its profile as the leading party of economic order. Luciano Barca, the party's leading economist, gave the following thumbnail sketch of the "remedies" for Italy's economic and political ills: cut pensions for older workers, hold down exorbitant wage demands, reduce imports to improve the balance of trade, curb student "violence" at the universities and allow Italian towns and cities to impose higher taxes (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 February). PCI trade-union leaders have also settled on a policy of wage reductions and, like their Chilean counterparts before the 1973 coup, the "battle for production."

But the Berlinguer bureaucracy in the PCI could only expect to retain control of the party's restive ranks if they delivered with some sort of government of "national unity" in which the austerity measures could be passed off as a "national sacrifice." When Berlinguer failed to come up with the promised ministerial portfolios, rumors abounded of dissent reaching into the upper echelons of the party. The rumors were given credence by Berlinguer's address to the January meeting of the Central Committee in which he reportedly called for mopping up "radical-extremist" pockets in the rank and file. Moreover, PCI chairman Luigi Longo (Berlinguer's predecessor as general secretary) spoke out in defense of "Leninism" and against excessive concessions to the Christian Democrats.

Five months ago, when the PCI began the latest round of its gentleman's joust with the DC, all parties understood it to be just so much staged gamesmanship. Both the PCI and the "pro-historic compromise" wing of the DC were holding off on any official lash-ups until the French parliamentary elections—which were expected to be the watershed of resurgent popular frontism in Mediterranean Europe. But internal pressures within the PCI, growing working-class unrest over the worsening economic crisis and the ensuing collapse of the thirty-ninth government since the war brought about the first formal paliamentary accords between the DC and PCI since 1947.

The parliamentary intrigues surged to the fore when the PCI formally withdrew its support to the ruling DC coalition on January 12. Andreotti's government, which came close to toppling last summer, had previously been resuscitated by the "pact of the six"—an agreement reached last July in which the major parliamentary forces, including the PCI, would have "consultation" rights in exchange for not bringing down the government. No sooner had this pact come into being than the bloc partners began to chomp at the bit over Andreotti's noted ineffectuality—even by the standards of Italian Christian Democracy.

Beginning last November the pact of the six began to falter. Ugo La Malfa, president of the small Radical party, demanded that the PCI be "put to the test" by bringing it into the government in exchange for a "rigorous and severe program along the lines of a social pact worthy of the name" (*la Repubblica*, 24 January). The Radicals were quickly joined by the PSI which refused to take any responsibility for a government without PCI participation.

The collapse of the Andreotti government brought on a spate of intricate negotiations. In early December, the PCI demanded an emergency government to deal with the "social crisis." However, right-wing Christian Democrats balked at direct PCI partici-

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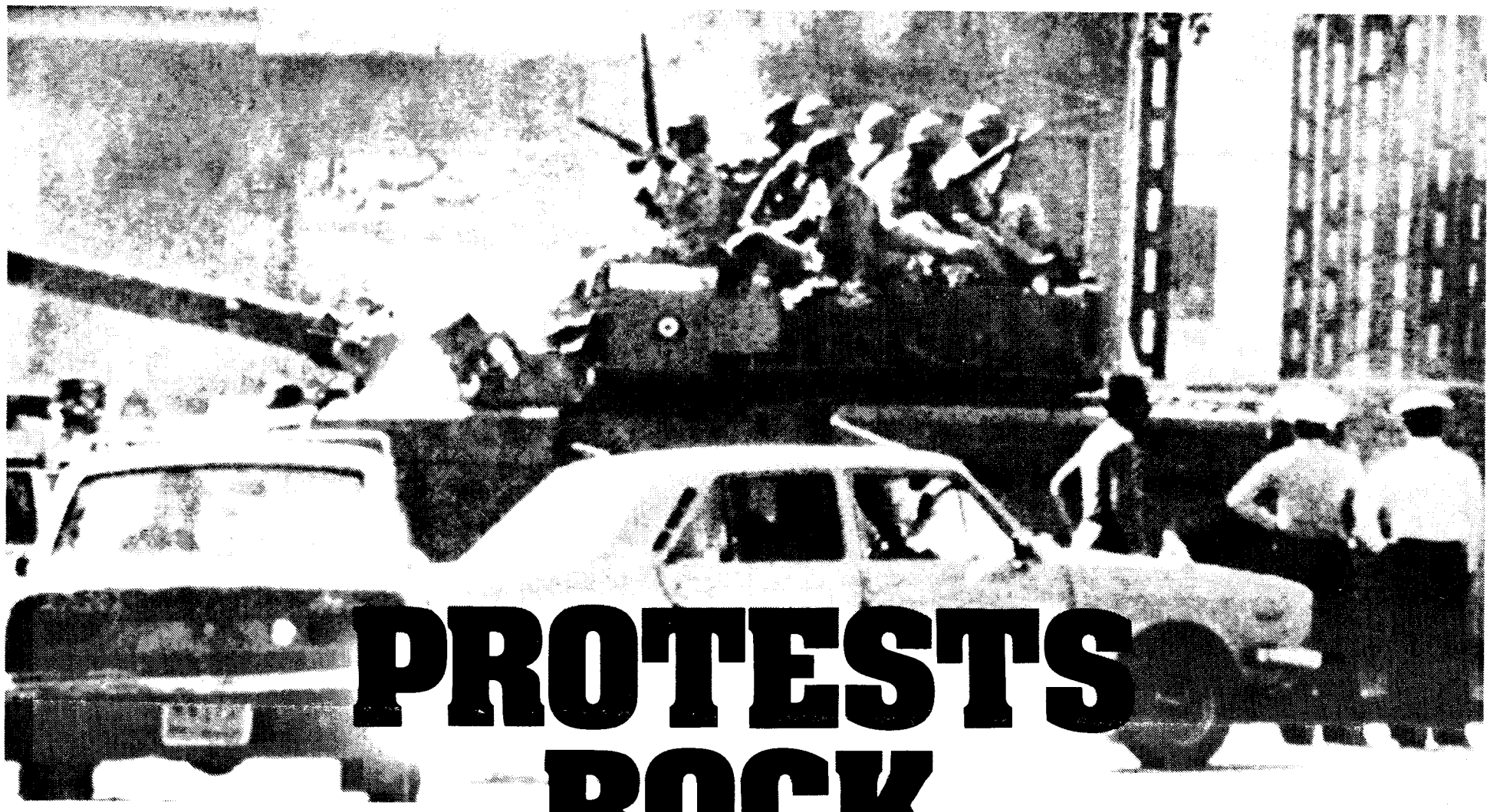
Cambio 16

Cops line up suspects in search for terrorists.



AP

PROTESTS ROCK TEHERAN

The greatest revolt of the Iranian masses against the Pahlavi dictatorship since 1963 continues to rage unchecked as demonstrations and street fighting erupted across the country in the second week of May. The fragility of the regime and the extent of the upsurge can be gauged by the Shah's postponement of a scheduled trip to Eastern Europe on May 11 to take personal command of the army.

Shi'ite Muslim leaders had decreed May 10 as a day of mourning for the victims of the Shah's white terror killed in April, following the traditional practice of praying for the dead 40 days after their death. In the days preceding the commemoration, plainclothes SAVAK (secret police) goon squads repeatedly clashed with student protesters at universities in Teheran and Tabriz. Street fighting began in the southern city of Shiraz on May 8, while the universities of Kerman and Isfahan were closed down. On the 9th, students took to the streets of Qom and battled police for ten hours, halting buses and trains, burning shops and erecting barricades. In the course of the fighting, which continued into the night, the demonstrators reportedly assaulted a police station.

Wednesday, May 10 saw religious ceremonies take place across the country, often in the largest mosques, while bazaars throughout Iran were closed by striking artisans and merchants. Attacks on bars, movie theaters and banks were reported from Shiraz, Babol, Isfahan and Tabriz, and there was renewed fighting at Qom. On Thursday, May 11, troops tear gassed then fired on protesters chanting "Down with the Shah!" when they marched on Teheran's telecommunications center. The shutdown of Teheran's central bazaar continued for several days afterward.

The regime has blamed this massive popular upheaval on a "minority consisting of a few thousand" and claims that nationally a total of no more than a dozen protesters have been killed. The real figures are undoubtedly many, many times higher, since the dictatorship has continually attempted to conceal the true number of victims of its vicious repression. After the revolt at Qom in January, for example, many corpses were simply dumped into a nearby salt lake. Similarly, although Amnesty International estimates that tens of thousands of prisoners languish in the Shah's dungeons, the regime claims that only a few thousand "terrorists" have been jailed.

The current upsurge is now almost a year old, beginning with the struggles of shanty dwellers outside the capital against eviction last summer. The student protests of November and December increasingly gathered popular support and participation until the police gunned down hundreds at the holy city of Qom on January 9. The bazaars of Teheran, Isfahan, Abadan, Mashad and Rasht were closed down in protest January 19-20.

Forty days after the Qom massacre, the most massive revolt so far erupted at the northwestern city of Tabriz, in which thousands of protesters moved through the city in four columns, wrecking police motorcycles and cars, banks, movie theaters and government offices. According to several accounts, some troops refused to carry out orders to fire upon the protesters and even shot their officers. On-the-spot executions were necessary to restore discipline.

The savage repression at Tabriz did not prevent renewed protests at the end of March when strikes and demonstrations once again took place across Iran. At Khomain, south of Teheran, crowds reportedly attacked the governor-general's office, while at Yazd demonstrators fought the police with stones and knives.

The targets of the protesters indicate the heterogeneous nature of the movement. Attacks on government buildings and offices of the Rastakhiz party, the regime's mouthpiece and Iran's sole legal party, indicate a current of popular hatred for the Shah's despotism. Also hit were shops which did not honor the bazaar strikes and banks, such as those of the Saderat firm, which have particularly close ties to the government.

The bars, movie theaters and Pepsi Cola trucks also attacked by the demonstrators, however, testify to a confused mixture of anti-Americanism and Muslim fundamentalist puritanism. Politically the nearest analogy to this spontaneous mass upheaval is the 1900 Boxer Rebellion in China, which similarly combined traditionalism with a primitive anti-imperialism.

The Shah's propagandists have claimed that the regime is under the assault of a reactionary "Islamic Marxist" conspiracy opposed to the alleged gains of his "White Revolution." In reality, decades of Pahlavi rule have brought only increased oppression and misery for the peasants and workers of Iran (see "Anti-Shah Protests Erupt in Iran," *WV* No. 200, 7 April). But the reactionary strains present in the opposition are not merely an invention of the Shah's propagandists.

It is certainly true that the leadership of the current revolt is a religious one. One of the dominant forces involved appears to be the Movement for the Liberation of Iran (MLI), followers of the exiled *ayatollah* (Shi'ite religious leader) Khomeini. Khomeini's reputation is derived not only from the traditional religious prestige of such figures, but from his outspoken criticism of the Shah's methods of rule, for which he was jailed in 1963. Khomeini stands in the tradition of religious support for a parliament and a constitution, and of *ulema* (scholars, teachers and jurists of the Islamic hierarchy) support for the bourgeois revolution of 1906. Furthermore, Khomeini embodies the current movement's anti-American sentiments, for he was exiled from Iran in 1964 for criticizing a bill which exempted all U.S. citizens in the country from the jurisdiction of Iranian law courts.

According to UPI, red flags and placards reading "Workers Unite" were carried by some of the demonstrators, and the Iranian left has undoubtedly entered the movement. Revolutionary Marxists would seek to use the turmoil to overthrow the Shah, advancing democratic demands aimed at splitting the Muslim traditionalist-led movement, rallying sections of the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat on the basis of the call for the abolition of the monarchy and a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. At the same time, they would seek to combat Islamic fundamentalism and populism, which could only lead to an oppressive regime of the type of Pakistan or Libya. Even the most "radical" among the various Muslim oppositionists, for example, remain committed to traditional Islamic society's hideous oppression of women, indicating their essentially reactionary politics.

Supporters of the Khomeini in the U.S. have reprinted a statement of the Organization of the Mojahedin [Combatants] of the People of Iran (OMPI) from the period when the OMPI still considered itself Muslim, stating that Reza Shah, the father of the current Shah, "went so far as to assault our mothers and sisters by his barbaric action of tearing off their modest apparel..." (***The Statement of the Organization of the Mujahedin Khalgh-e Iran***, October 1972, reprinted March 1977). This attack on Reza Shah's attempt to end the medieval practice of wearing the veil among Iranian women exposes these self-styled "Islamic revolutionaries" as sharing the most backward prejudices of the *ulema* and their petty-bourgeois followers.

Marxists, by contrast, criticize nationalist bonapartes like Kemal Atatürk or Westernizing monarchs like Reza Shah, not for their attempts to carry out such secularizing bourgeois-democratic measures, but for their pitiful inadequacy in doing so. Only proletarian dictatorship can carry out revolutionary-democratic tasks in the imperialist epoch.

The 1975 split between Muslim populist supporters of Khomeini (now organized as the MLI) and ostensible "Marxist-Leninists" within the OMPI testifies to the incompatibility of Marx and Muhammad. (In *WV* No. 200 we incorrectly identified the Islamic side of this split as continuing to claim the label "Islamic Marxists." As supporters of the MLI have vehemently asserted to us, they now want nothing at all to do with Marxism and simply hark back to the teachings of Shi'ite fundamentalism.) However, the split will not deter misguided or demagogic attempts to fuse the two, for "Islamic socialism" has been a frequent strain of Middle Eastern nationalism.

Furthermore, "Islamic Marxism" lives on today, insofar as the Iranian left capitulates to the religious illusions of the masses. Thus the "Marxist-Leninist" OMPI wrote:

> "In fact, we believe that Islam, and in particular *Shiism*, will contain those progressive and fighting elements which can provide the explanation for the struggle of these groups and strata against the dominant imperialist oppression. The historical revolutionary traditions in a religion that since its inception in the 7th century A.D. was, in the form of an underground party, a gathering place of fighters and rebels

against the oppressive regimes of the time... are the backings which have still maintained their anti-oppression and progressive political-social concepts within this ideology."

Manifesto of the Ideological Positions of the OMPI, November 1975

Because the struggles of the Iranian masses were waged under the banner of Shi'ism in the Middle Ages is no justification for conciliation of religion in the 20th century. As Lenin wrote in a letter to Gorky:

"There was a time in history when, in spite of such an origin and such a real meaning of the idea of God, the struggle of democracy and of the proletariat went on in the form of the struggle of one religious idea against another. But that time too, is past. Nowadays in both Europe and Russia, *any*, even the most refined and best-intentioned defence of the idea of God is a justification of reaction."

—*Collected Works*, Vol. 35

Those who tout Khomeini as a "progressive," taking as good coin his declarations of support for land reform, the emancipation of women and "anti-imperialism," should note his statement in an interview with *Le Monde* (6 May) that no alliance between Muslims and communists against the Shah could be permitted. He announced that he has always "forbidden all on-going collaboration with communist elements," and "we will not collaborate with Marxists, even to overthrow the Shah." When asked about land reform he replied vaguely, referring only to "penalizing landowners who have gone against Islamic law" and confiscating "ill-gotten wealth."

They should further note the career of an earlier "progressive" *ayatollah*, Kashani, whom Khomeini resembles in many ways. Kashani came to prominence by campaigning against the establishment of the Zionist state and for the nationalization of Iranian oil. His Mujahedin of Islam became an important component of Mossadeq's National Front. Yet this "anti-imperialist," together with others of the *ulema* broke with Mossadeq in 1953 because they feared this bourgeois nationalist was fostering "irreligion" and the growth of the Tudeh (pro-Moscow Stalinist) party. In fact, Kashani supported the CIA-engineered coup which overthrew Mossadeq in August 1953. In any class polarization, today's "progressive" Muslim leaders will soon discover that their true allegiance is to the Shah as a bulwark against communism.

Down the Road of Mossadeq?

The current upsurge directly challenges the previous assumptions of much of the Iranian left, who believed that the traditional opposition to the Shah had been discredited after the failure of the revolt of 1963. While the National Front and the Tudeh party have indeed stagnated, the fact that leadership of the movement has fallen to Muslim religious leaders calling for the overthrow of the Shah, rather than to the guerrillaist and Maoist groups has led to new debates within the Iranian left concerning the nature of the Iranian revolution and reconsiderations of the guerrilla strategy.

The debate has been largely focused on the proponents of the classical Menshevik/Stalinist alliance with the "national bourgeoisie" (including both the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists) on the one hand, and Guevarist-inspired guerrillaists on the other. While the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party Abroad (ROTPA) and other hard-line Maoists initially criticized the Tudeh party's position of a "united front against the dictatorship," which meant the reform rather than the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime, China's alliance with the Shah has led them to take political positions paralleling those of the Tudeh party. They now argue that toppling the Shah is secondary to supporting the regime as a bulwark against "Soviet social imperialism."

The Organization of Communist Revolutionaries (OCR) and Iranian Maoists in the U.S. who are aligned with Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party have balked at following every aspect of Chinese support to the Shah and continue to call for the overthrow of the dictator. But they also justify their strategy in the very same terms of alliance with the "national bourgeoisie." All three tendencies (Brezhnevite Tudeh, Peking-loyal ROTPA et al. and "critical Maoist" OCR) stand counterposed to the guerrillaist organizations' formal denial of such an alliance, albeit in favor of a more militant version of the "two-stage" revolution strategy.

Shah Reza Pahlavi seated on Peacock Throne. PMA

Troops of the butcher Shah.

Yet the consequences of the Stalinists' program are starkly illustrated by the fate of the Mossadeq government. Mossadeq was lifted to power by a mass movement demanding the nationalization of Iranian oil. Yet this "anti-imperialist" did not expel the American military mission. The Mossadeq nationalizations, like Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal, should have been defended from imperialist attack by revolutionary Marxists, but represented only an attempt to improve the Iranian bourgeoisie's bargaining position vis-à-vis its imperialist overlords, rather than a fundamental break from imperialism.

Above all, Mossadeq, a typical representative of the colonial bourgeoisie, feared the mobilization and arming of the masses, necessary to the defense of the nationalizations. He opposed the call for a republic until the last days of his rule, when the Shah attempted to overthrow him, and unleashed the police on mass demonstrations against the visit of U.S. special envoy Averell Harriman. The Mossadeq government not only passed in October 1952 the law of "social stability" forbidding strikes on penalty of imprisonment, but in the days before the August 1953 coup sought to use the army against the Tudeh party. Instead, at the behest of U.S. imperialism, the generals turned on Mossadeq.

Those who seek an alliance with the "national bourgeoisie," the Mossadeq and Chiang Kai-sheks, must also seek to strangle the proletarian mass movement, for the colonial bourgeoisie is well aware that any serious struggle against imperialism requires an upheaval of the revolutionary masses that would rapidly become a menace to itself. Such a course not only derails the proletariat's struggle for power, but opens the door for the victory of reaction, dooming any successful implementation of the bourgeois-democratic tasks. The strategy of coalition with the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie is thus a recipe for bloody disaster, from China in 1927 to Iran in 1953 to Indonesia in 1965.

"Peoples Democracy" or Permanent Revolution?

The superficially more leftist formulas of the guerrillaists actually represent no alternative to Stalinist popular frontism. The Organization of the Iranian People's Fedayeen (Self-Sacrificing) Guerrillas (OIPFG) was formed in the late 1960's by militants who consciously rejected both the Tudeh party and the Maoist groups in favor of a perspective of guerrillaism based in large part on Regis Debray-style Guevarism. The OIPFG's founders also contested the ROTPA's analysis of Iran as a "semi-feudal, semi-colonial country" necessitating a bloc with the bourgeoisie against feudalism. After studying the "White Revolution," which introduced capitalist relations into Iranian agriculture, the OIPFG concluded:

"With the establishment and expansion of imperialist domination... the national bourgeoisie, not yet developed and weakened by the pressure of foreign capital, loses the possibility of organizing as a class and in the end gradually dies out. The struggle against imperialist domination (i.e. international capital) contains some elements of the struggle against capital itself."

Armed Struggle: Both a Strategy and a Tactic, 1970 (reprinted August 1977)

Thus, the OIPFG "avoided" the question of blocking with the bourgeoisie by declaring that they had disappeared! Yet Jazani of the OIPFG wrote, "We regret the weakness of the forces and groups connected with the national and petit bourgeoisie more than their power" (*Armed Struggle in Iran*), indicating that the OIPFG opposed the strategy of coalition on an empirical rather than a principled basis.

The now "Marxist-Leninist" OMPI, which due to its Muslim origins was not politically formed through debates with the Tudeh party and the Maoists and thus lacks the theoretical sophistication of the OIPFG, nevertheless arrived at a similar position, although it believes that the liberal bourgeoisie exists. The OMPI calls for a "democratic revolution" under the "hegemony of the proletariat." That such calls for the "growing over" of the democratic into the socialist revolution are only a left cover for Menshevism was demonstrated in Trotsky's critique of the Comintern's defense of its disastrous course in China in 1927:

"The Stalinists say that the democratic dictatorship, as the next stage of the revolution, will grow into a proletarian dictatorship at a later stage. This is the current doctrine of the Comintern, not only for China, but for all the Eastern countries. It is a complete departure from the teachings of Marx on the state and the conclusions of Lenin on the function of a state in a revolution. The democratic dictatorship differs from the proletarian in that it is a *bourgeois*-democratic dictatorship. The transition from a bourgeois to a proletarian dictatorship cannot occur as a peaceful process of 'growing over' from one to the other. A dictatorship of the proletariat can replace a democratic, or a fascist, dictatorship of the bourgeoisie only through armed insurrection.

"The peaceful 'growing over' of a democratic revolution into a socialist revolution is possible only under the dictatorship of one class—the proletariat."

—"Manifesto on China of the International Left Opposition," September 1930

The conceptions of the OIPFG and OMPI are thus counterposed to the Bolshevik strategy of Lenin and Trotsky. The Kerensky government demonstrated that no such separate "democratic" stage was possible. The same was shown in China, where after years of seeking a "united front" with the butcher Chiang, Mao's armies were finally forced by the intransigence and decay of the Kuomintang to take power in 1949. What resulted was not a "democratic dictatorship" but a bureaucratically deformed workers state. In both Russia and China only the proletarian conquest of state power could ensure the granting of land to the

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Iran...

(continued from page 7)

peasants and the other tasks of the democratic revolution.

Guerrillaism and the Working Class

In recent years the two groups have increasingly moved away from the guerrilla road, and the OMPI now claims to be "devoting all the organization's forces and capabilities to political consciousness raising work among the working class, work among the laboring classes and participation in their daily struggles" (*Message of the Organization of the Mojahedeen of the People of Iran to the Militant Students Abroad*, March 1978).

An examination of the OMPI's and OIPFG's guerrillaism, however, exposes the reformism behind their advocacy of "armed struggle" as opposed to parliamentarism. Without a revolutionary program firmly based on a proletarian perspective, the "mass work" undertaken by the OMPI or OIPFG will in no way differ from the reformism of the Tudeh party or the Maoist circles.

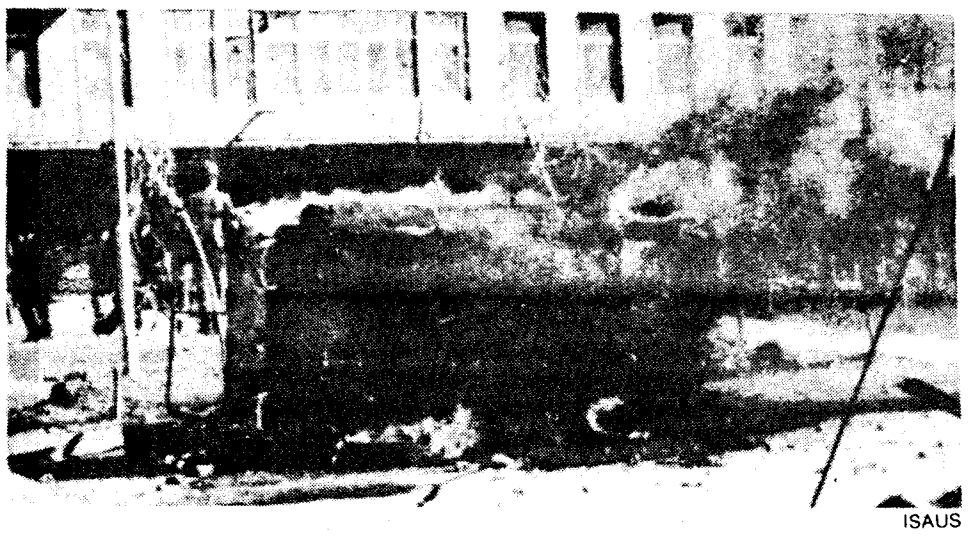
In 1973 the OMPI attempted to "sink roots" in the working class by a "series of armed actions that could specifically support the daily struggles of the workers and contribute to a closer association between the vanguard armed movement and the spontaneous movement of the working class." However,

> "We decided that these actions, while maintaining their armed agitational character, should specifically not be at a level too much higher than the content of the specific demands of the workers...."
>
> *Ghiam-e-Kargar* [Workers Insurrection], December 1975

Although in its documents the OMPI paid lip service to the need to avoid reducing its politics to the level of the spontaneous economic struggles of the workers, it is clear that its only talisman against such economism was "vanguard armed agitation." But such "exposures" cannot organize the proletariat around a revolutionary *program*.

As for the OIPFG, the guerrilla strategy was explicitly seen as a means of submerging the proletariat among the petty bourgeoisie in an "anti-imperialist" struggle.

> "The extreme strain and repression, on the one hand, and the fact that the secondary contradictions of our society, such as the specific contradiction between labor and capital, have, on the other hand, been overshadowed by the principal contradiction between the people and imperialism have caused any movement to assume a political and mass character from the very onset; thus the independent movement of the proletariat has fewer manifestations.... The armed struggle, initiated today by the groups, must set itself the goal of mobilizing the masses and not the proletariat. It must rely on the whole people and express their general demands."
>
> *Armed Struggle: Both a Strategy and a Tactic*



ISAUS

Overturned car burning in Tabriz during anti-Shah protest demonstrations in February.

In fact, in order to arrive at a revolutionary alliance with the peasantry and other strata of the petty bourgeoisie, it is first of all necessary to separate the proletarian vanguard, and the proletariat as a whole, from the petty-bourgeois masses. The struggle of the Bolsheviks was precisely to aovid dissolving itself among the amorphous petty bourgeoisie, through the medium of the Social Revolutionaries or some other "democratic" party, which in turn would have meant the subjection of the proletariat to bourgeois leadership.

The heroism of the miltiants of the OMPI and OIPFG in the face of the vicious repression of the Shah's regime cannot be questioned. But the example of a similar formation, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), should be carefully studied by Iranian revolutionaries. Like the OMPI and OIPFG, the EPRP maintained a Guevarist "left" version of the two-stage revolution, calling for a "new democratic revolution" and a "people's democratic republic" neither proletarian nor bourgeois.

In pursuit of a bloc with "all anti-feudalist, anti-imperialist parties" (EPRP Program, August 1975) the EPRP initially hailed at least part of the Derg (the military junta) as "progressive" and capitulated to the Derg's bourgeois nationalism by refusing to call for independence for Eritrea. However, the Derg spurned these offers of support, since it was hostile to any independent organization of the masses which might threaten its bonapartist rule and began a savage attack on the EPRP and the leftist-led trade unions. In similar fashion to the Chinese Communists' treatment by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927, the EPRP's class collaboration brought only a murderous campaign of extermination against them.

It is possible to betray a revolution "gun in hand." The road forward for Iranian revolutionaries is the construction of a Leninist vanguard party based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, which would mercilessly expose the class collaborationism of the Tudeh party, the Maoists, the dead-end of OMPI and OIPFG Narodnism and the populist/fundamentalist "radicalism" of the Islamic oppositionists. The proletarian cadres of such a party would be forged through intervention in the

WV Photo

Demonstrators protesting repression in Iran during the Shah's Washington visit last year.

struggles of the growing Iranian proletariat, who are forced to confront the dictatorship in demanding the simplest wage demands and the most basic democratic rights.

Above all, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard would raise the transitional program necessary to connect the immediate democratic aspirations of the masses with the struggle for workers dictatorship. Acting as a tribune of the people, the party must struggle for full legal equality for women, for the right of self-determination for the national minorities, and most importantly, for land to the tiller to draw the peasantry to the side of the proletariat. Against the white terror it must struggle for the abolition of SAVAK and the overthrow of the Shah and for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, while simultaneously fighting for organs of proletarian rule (soviets), which alone can guarantee the victory of the democratic revolution. Only such a program, conducted with the methods of the class struggle, can steel the proletariat in action on the road to the workers and peasants government. ■

Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

demands FOR THE IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BRITISH TROOPS FROM IRELAND! FOR TRADE-UNION BLACKING OF TROOP TRANSPORT AND ALL GOODS AND SERVICES TO THE BRITISH ARMY IN IRELAND! Failure to emphasise these demands in our real work in the mass organisations of the British working class would constitute a major betrayal of revolutionary politics. The removal of the troops, unless a class-conscious proletariat led by a revolutionary party is able to intervene, may well be the occasion for enormous sectarian slaughter (as occurred in India after independence) but as Marxists we must reject out of hand the reformist proposition that imperialist troops can ever be a fundamental guarantee against barbarism. The continuation of British imperialism's military occupation of the North is even more inimical to the prospect for socialism than the slaughter which might follow its departure. We reject the right that petty-bourgeois nationalism (Provisional Sinn Fein) grants to imperialism to set its own time for a phased withdrawal. No less do we oppose calls to restrict the troops to barracks or to leave the working class areas. While a Red Army that is the product of a successful proletarian insurrection in Britain might well turn out to be the only force capable of resolving the communal conflict in the northeast of Ireland in an historically progressive fashion, we deny the right of the British imperialist army to be in any part of Ireland. Revolutionaries place no prior conditions on the demand for BRITISH TROOPS OUT NOW!

In line with our position to the British troops' presence in Ireland, we call for the smashing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and stand FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH IMPERIALISM'S APPARATUS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION IN NORTHERN IRELAND—THE COURTS, THE GAOLS AND THE BOURGEOISIE'S ARMED BODIES OF MEN: THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY, AND THE ULSTER DEFENCE REGIMENT.

We support the actions of the IRA directed against British imperialism without in any way supporting their programme, which in application would violate the democratic rights of the Protestants. Only programmatic independence from the political bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois nationalism and terrorism allows Bolsheviks to uncompromisingly solidarize with their struggles against imperialism and to defend them against imperialist repression.

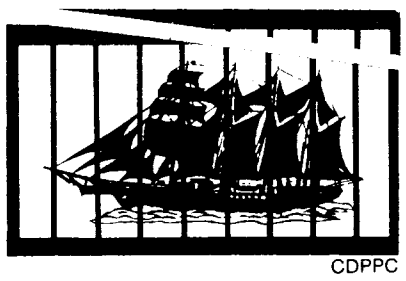
The fact that sectarian terror stalks the northeast of Ireland, "checked" only by brutal and illegitimate imperialist might, means that the call for INTEGRATED, ANTI-SECTARIAN, ANTI-IMPERIALIST, WORKERS MILITIAS, which could exist only under the leadership of a revolutionary party, can be extremely powerful. While organised initially for the purpose of defending the oppressed from the violence of imperialism and its agents, these militias will provide the nucleus of the Red Army of the Workers Republic.

The situation of mixed peoples can only be resolved in a thoroughly democratic way within the perspective of Permanent Revolution. It is not possible to say in advance what role the Protestants will play—so that while the call for a "united socialist republic" may *seem* to be the best solution to the problem, in fact its objective effect would be to exacerbate the existing tensions between the Protestants and their Catholic class brothers. In advancing the fight for the revolutionary programme it is our duty as communists to seek to address the national question in such a way as to neutralise national or communal antagonisms in order to bring to the fore the fundamental class conflicts in society. Thus, developing a revolutionary programme for the Irish revolution, we must take account of the Protestants' deeply felt alienation from the Catholic nation and raise the more flexible call for A WORKERS REPUBLIC AS PART OF A SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES, IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

FOR TROTSKYIST PARTIES TO SMASH THE BOURGEOIS STATE POWERS OF THE BRITISH ISLES! FOR THE RE-CREATION OF A DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIST FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Paul Lannigan (West London Branch; Irish Commission; Trotskyist Faction)
Joe Quigley (Manchester Branch; Irish Commission; Trotskyist Faction)
Jim Saunders (West London Branch; Irish Commission; Trotskyist Faction)
8 February 1978

Protest the Esmeralda! Don't Handle Chilean Cargo!



CDPPC

—From "Longshore Militant" No. 38, 12 May 1978

The Chilean junta's torture ship *Esmeralda* will be docking at Treasure Island starting May 16 to help "celebrate" Armed Forces Week. The U.S. government's invitation to the *Esmeralda* shows again the vicious anti-working-class nature of Carter's "human rights" campaign and is a provocation aimed at the U.S. labor movement. The ship's presence must be met with massive protest and demonstrations of labor solidarity with the Chilean workers.

The ILWU International has been on record for over three years for a boycott of Chilean cargo. The time to implement it is now! Should any cargo for the *Esmeralda* pass through civilian hands, the ILWU and all maritime transport unions must refuse to move it.

To give real teeth to the action, for the duration of the *Esmeralda*'s stay on the West Coast, the ILWU must refuse to handle any Chilean cargo at all. The *Río Abaucan* is scheduled to leave Pier 27 on the 18th with Chilean cargo while the Prudential Lines' *Santa Mercedes* is scheduled to leave Pier 30 the same day. Longshoremen coastwise should refuse to work both ships!

("Longshore Militant" is a class-struggle opposition newsletter, published by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, in Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.)

"No Strike" Sellout...

(continued from page 12)

situation mutual strike support between the two dockers unions has become even more important in view of the importance of the newly developed "land bridge" transportation system (expedited transcontinental freight shipment by rail and truck), which has diminished the strategic value of the Panama Canal for the American bourgeoisie. The objective basis for a single dockers union in the U.S. has been reinforced by this "land bridge," but a class-struggle leadership in the two existing unions is required to point the way.

More of the Same vs. Class Struggle

The class-struggle program of the "Longshore Militant" group in Local 10 contrasts sharply with the no-strike, no-jobs program which emerged from the top-heavy Coast Caucus of April 10-19. According to the latest "Longshore Militant" (12 May), the new Negotiating Committee has *no* demands designated as bottom-line strike demands, and the Caucus abandoned some of its paper positions even before negotiations began on May 8! The Caucus went along with the Officers Report for a beefed-up PGP as the "cornerstone of our job security program." As another gimmick to create jobs, the Caucus will fight for a Container Royalty Tax—a variation of the give-away-jobs-for-money idea, with the new twist that the union will actually return money to the PMA to subsidize fringe benefits!

As the "Longshore Militant" correctly notes, what is needed is preparation to strike for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, combined with a serious joint effort with the Teamsters to organize unorganized container stuffing operations in California, Nevada and Utah. But at the Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) convention in April, which was supposed to take up the question of organizing, Herman spent his time attacking the Militant Caucus for publicizing an International Executive Board motion for a one-day work stoppage in solidarity with striking coal miners against Taft-Hartley. Despite this pressure from militants in the union, the International officers were able to turn the motion into a dead letter.

The Coast Caucus also dropped militant positions taken by various locals. For instance, the Seattle Local's call to eliminate arbitration entirely was abandoned with the help of the Seattle leadership; instead, the Caucus will let stand the contract-writing powers of the arbitrator. While the Caucus felt enough pressure from the ranks to demand elimination of all steady men (workers who are not hired through the hiring hall), it abandoned Local 10's demand to make this a non-negotiable issue and a strike issue, thereby making clear it was only a paper position.

Local 10 secretary-treasurer Herb Mills emerged at the Caucus as one of Herman's slicker toadies. Coming to the defense of his master, Mills attacked the "Longshore Militant" by noting:

> "Jimmy Herman is rightfully pissed off at people detecting the stakes by hindsight. Hindsight should be introduced in a brotherly fashion and with humility. It is shameless to look back, detect a mistake, and then assign disloyalty to the rank and file to those who made mistakes."

Mills is in no position to lecture about "humility." As the "Longshore Militant" correctly pointed out, the "mistakes" of Bridges, Herman and Mills are not accidental, but are the consequences of their program of class collaboration.

Recently, the local bourgeois press printed a long story about Mills and his academic writings on the "effects of mechanization on men working the Bay Area docks" (*Sunday Examiner/Chronicle*, 19 March). According to this very friendly article, Mills—who graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Michigan, got a Ph.D. at the University of California at Davis and taught at UC Berkeley—is now writing a series of articles on the above topic, occasionally soliciting the opinion of Harry Bridges. So while helping to engineer the latest sellout, Mills is simultaneously feathering his future academic nest by writing about this sellout's disastrous consequences!

But while Mills wins his Ph.D. in class collaboration hands down, there is no escape for the longshore ranks. To prevent another betrayal in the upcoming contract battle, the ILWU membership must implement the "Longshore Militant's" call to elect rank-and-file strike committees up and down the coast to conduct the necessary strike action and prevent a sellout at the bargaining tables. In broader terms the ILWU membership must be united behind a fighting leadership to oust the sellout bureaucracy, which is tied to the strikebreaking Democratic Party, and instead take up the fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

WV to Go Biweekly...

(continued from page 1)

possibilities of the working class. The problem is not some *absolute* overextension of our capacities, but rather one *relative* to the quiescent period through which we are passing. Given evident urgent need, any rational group half our size could produce a weekly (and others a quarter our size do so). The inner capacity of the weekly *WV* to do its job has been well shown by its work in the recently ended miners' strike. However, our appetites as revolutionary Marxists have run too far ahead of recent objective possibilities and for too long. Valuable as the weekly has been in other ways, the continuing discrepancy between intention and realization brought the few hundreds of the SL/U.S. right to the brink of a major breakdown.

Excessive Pressures Threaten Breakdown

Though centered and most grinding on the press, the excessive pressures have been across the board in the organization. It has been felt in all the undermanned Central Office departments, not just the press. Our cadres—typified by the executive committees of too small local committees, the heads of inadequate trade union fractions, those going in spirals trying to forge a black cadre component, the incomplete leadership of the Spartacus Youth League—have been repetitively faced with urgent tasks often hopelessly beyond the means and forces available. Our membership as a whole has responded to our needs and priorities superbly, not least in the relentless sales of the weekly *WV* and in our highly successful subscription drives. But the members too find themselves in an increasingly untenable situation. While the size of our membership has as yet remained stable, it has been ground down doubly by the impact of continuing inflation. The SL's schedule of minimum sustaining pledges for members is rightly highly progressive and new schedules over the years have been heavier and steeper (largely to finance international work). So as wage rates rise, but lag behind the cost of living, the portion of our members' wages going to the party has automatically risen very steeply and to the point where an auto or steel worker must have a very high communist consciousness indeed to stay in the SL. But to inadvertently create an organization of peacetime martyrs is very likely the road to extinction, not revolution.

For a Limited and Orderly Retreat!

The central party leadership and senior cadre generally were hardly immune to these component disintegrative processes. For a couple of years as first human resources then financial ones were exhausted, it had to impotently witness weaknesses as the organization slowly ulcerated. Individual responses drifted toward frenzy or passivity, depending. What requires explanation is why we were not then faced with some kind of self-serving revisionist factional upheaval, akin to that of Cochran-Clarke in the SWP of the early 1950's. Two observations may suffice: ours is a rather young senior cadre, mainly in the 25-35 age range. If it were ten years older an explosive exodus would have been more likely. Objectively, too, this period is not one of deep, witchhunting reaction as then, and today many of the truths of Marxism are visible in America for all to see.

So instead and after a precipitous break in the *WV* Editorial Board, there followed several months of discussion also involving the leaderships of other sections internationally. With the approval of the international organization as a whole, several measures are being taken to try to rectify the situation. As stressed here, *WV* is to go biweekly. We expect our subscription base to be weakened and correspondingly aim to increase single copy sales, especially bundle placements. Moreover, the frequency of the English language theoretical organ of the international Spartacist tendency, *Spartacist*, will be increased. We are cutting back our work in a couple of localities in North America. And we have instituted sustaining pledge reductions centered in the range that most affects our industrial workers.

Successful Emergency Fund Drive Concluded

In the midst of grappling with these problems and other difficult and even sinister threats to our organized existence, we found ourselves in an immediate and desperate cash crunch in which the underlying weakening of our position through constant increase in fixed expenses intersected very heavy temporary expenses, partly around the miners' strike and the processes of international consultation, but especially over the breakthrough in Britain and the launching of *Spartacist/Britain*.

We turned to our U.S. members, sympathizers and comrades in other sections with a non-public four week fund drive, noting in the PB circular (of 4 April) announcing the drive:

> "Since we have never undertaken such an emergency (or any) fund drive before, we do not know how much to expect from it. Five thousand dollars would be poor; twenty thousand dollars would be good. Your leadership has let us drift into this mess; maybe the membership can help us get out."

This fund drive is now being completed. At the same time that Sustaining Pledge donations held firm and windfalls increased, the comrades paid in on the fund drive, not $5,000 or $20,000, but more than $57,000! We can only agree with the FBI investigation summary on the SL of 25 August 1976, the most recent in our file secured through "Freedom of Information" channels:

> "As noted earlier, the SPL, though small, is determined to ultimately carry out its revolutionary objectives. It has a hard core of educated, disciplined, articulate, and highly motivated individuals. They are deeply involved in the world-wide communist-Trotskyist movement."

And we will come back to a weekly *Workers Vanguard* when either continuing sharp class struggle demands it or simple bulk growth of the SL/U.S. readily permits it. But beyond that stands our perspective, involving communist daily papers, in this country too; of a revolutionary workers party, section of the reforged Fourth International.

Editorial Board, *Workers Vanguard*
Political Bureau, SL/U.S.
Interim Secretariat, iSt

Anti-Homosexual Bigots...

(continued from page 2)

wing has chosen a target most susceptible to inflaming deep passions. Former Nixon speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, a nationally syndicated conservative columnist, recently put forward a "program" on homosexuality that suggests Hitler's "final solution" for the Jews: "In a healthy society, it [homosexuality] will be contained, segregated, controlled and stigmatized, carrying both a legal and a social sanction" (quoted in *National Review*, 17 March 1978).

More explicitly, Buchanan argued that the defeats of democratic rights for homosexuals in St. Paul and Wichita proved that "the traditional prerogative of school officials, landlords and employers should be maintained" ([New York] *Daily News*, 30 April 1978). It is precisely those traditional prerogatives"—the "right" to exclude, to oppress, to exploit—which are at issue. Consensual sexual behavior should be none of the government's business, but for the bourgeoisie defending the interests of private property certainly *is*—indeed, it is at the very heart of the capitalist state. And tied to private property is the institution of the family, as well as religion which glorifies and upholds it and the state authority. These are the roots of the backward prejudices being whipped up by ex-orange-juice salesman Anita Bryant and other anti-homosexual crusaders.

The reactionary religious bigotry directed against homosexuals will be finally overcome only with the replacement of the family under socialism. But it is imperative that the labor movement and all those who defend democratic rights understand the very real threat which this reactionary anti-homosexual campaign poses *now*. If the "prerogative" of the landlord and employer to pick off and isolate "deviants" is not smashed in this case, where will it end? The next targets are not hard to guess—racial minorities, union organizers, socialist militants.

The social power to stop this vicious assault lies with the labor movement. In the past liberals have traditionally looked to Washington to defend the rights of minorities from attack by local reactionaries. But now the federal government has demonstrated its open complicity in reversing many of the limited gains won over the last decade by the civil rights movement (e.g., the defeat of busing), as well as anti-discrimination measures for women, protections against judicial/cop frame-ups, etc. The working class must defend itself, and the rights of all the oppressed and exploited, by smashing the anti-homosexual crusade, an opening salvo in a general assault on democratic rights! ■

USWA...

(continued from page 2)

keep production going in Hammond. When mass picketing was attempted in the first week of the strike, 60 scab-herding cops showed up. In the face of this strikebreaking attack, neither Sadlowski nor Balanoff did anything to bring the thousands of District 31 steel workers onto the picket lines to keep Pullman shut down. Balanoff's only "contribution" was to jump into the negotiations at the eleventh hour, agree to the sellout and order the Pullman workers back on the job without even a ratification vote or having seen a copy of the new terms! So much for Sadlowski/Balanoff-style "union democracy."

...while McBride covers Latrobe

As Balanoff and Sadlowski were allowing the Pullman workers to languish on the picket lines, McBride was taking care of the Latrobe strikers. With over $100 million in the USWA strike fund, McBride *refused* Local 1537's desperate plea for a $750,000 loan to enable the strikers to hold out longer. The pitifully meager $30-a-week strike benefits made available by the International were entirely consumed in paying the strikers' life and health insurance premiums. No cash payments were made during the entire nine-month strike. Though McBride hinted at a March 19 rally that drew nearly 3,000 strike supporters that financial help would be forthcoming, no money was ever received.

The Latrobe strike was also undermined by the refusal of the USWA bureaucracy to mobilize the union's ranks to refuse to do Latrobe work contracted out to neighboring firms during the strike. "Brother and sister unions within our district were doing our work," vice-president Ehman told *WV*. "The International accepted the situation. It was more inaction than action. Our International made no policy statements to their staff or to union officers to tell their people to refuse our work. You can't win that way."

Ehman told *WV* that all steel workers should have contracts with the same expiration date with basic steel. "It's the same as the mine workers," he said. "You have to put them all out at the same time to have any clout."

For real labor solidarity to prevail in the Steelworkers, however, the McBrides and Sadlowskis must be replaced with a class-struggle leadership. These misleaders fence with each other at election time only to join hands in strangling the workers' struggles during the next three years. There will be more Latrobes and Pullmans as long as the McBride and Sadlowski look-alikes are at the helm of the USWA. ■

Italy...

(continued from page 5)

pation. For one thing it threatened a wholesale revamping of the patronage system, the lifeblood of the DC. The DC rightwingers also evidently went to their godfather in Washington, for soon a State Department statement against direct PCI participation in the cabinet was forthcoming: "We do not favor such [Communist] participation [in the government] and would like to see Communist influence in any Western European government reduced." (*New York Times*, 13 January).

Given the powerful U.S. role in Italian politics ever since it bought the Christian Democrats' 1948 election victory, this set an upper limit to the bargaining which could not be exceeded without splitting the DC: no direct Communist participation. Then, with negotiations stalled and the caretaker government withering on the vine, the PCI decided to up the ante. On January 27 Berlinguer offhandedly announced his alternative "hypothesis": if the Christian Democrats did not like a government of national emergency there was always the possibility of a "government made up of the parties which stand for a change in the political framework"—toward which the DC should adopt "a responsible attitude analagous to the one we had adopted." However, this was only a feint to set a fire under the immobile DC.

A few days later PCI leader Napolitano presented the party's fallback position: an "explicit, recognized and contracted majority." Given his cue, Andreotti thereupon declared that the DC was "amenable to a political majority in which the PCI would be a member." The PCI promptly labeled this an "emergency pact," and despite reservations about its "ambiguity" prepared for: "an agreed programme which expresses a common undertaking and the joint responsibility of the parties that adhere to it, and which shall be guaranteed by a clear and recognized majority" (*Economist*, 11 February).

Everything seemed set when the DC right wing insurrected against any "political majority" with the PCI. Thereupon Moro went into action and after several weeks of political haggling all parties finally agreed to drop the "political majority" in favor of a "programmatic majority" in which the PCI would, for the first time since the beginning of the cold war, vote as part of the governmental bloc. In exchange for downgrading the PCI from "political" to "programmatic" partner (!), the Andreotti government also agreed to bring pro-PCI "technicians" into the Cabinet.

Corriere della Sera (12 March) wrote, "Only Moro can hold together his party.... He is the only guarantee against early elections. For the Communists he is their only interlocutor.... At times, Aldo Moro, more than president of the Christian Democrats, seems to have become the supreme moderator of all Italian parties." Four days later, shortly after learning that Moro had been kidnapped on his way to the investiture ceremony, the new PCI-supported Andreotti government was sworn in with a genuine "national emergency" on its hands.

Delivering the Trade Unions

The key question facing the PCI as it made its move for greater governmental participation was whether it could clamp down on the restive ranks of the unions. Despite the double-digit inflation which has wracked Italy over the past years (it currently stands at 20 percent), the militant working class has fought tooth and nail against every DC attempt to undermine their wage rates. In fact, real wages have consistently risen in part as a result of the improved cost-of-living escalator won in the past three years. But for the PCI the slashing of wages as part of government-backed austerity programs is a touchstone for proving the merits of the "historic compromise" in action.

Thus in 1976, after the PCI had amassed over one-third of the total votes in the June elections, the party tried to mobilize working-class support for the vicious Andreotti austerity plan (the *stangata*). Despite PCI declarations that "the gravest danger is inflation" which "threatens the democratic regime itself," the party's mass base bolted. Even before the terms of the *stangata* were announced, 8 million workers walked out on a two-hour protest strike (see "Revolt in Italian Communist Party," *WV* No. 131, 29 October 1976). Sensing that the austerity line could not be shoved down the throats of union militants, PCI leaders responsible for

Der Spiegel

Giorgio Napolitano

maintaining control over the trade unions backed off. In an article in the PCI organ *Rinascita* (17 November 1976) Lama, the head of the Communist-led CGIL union federation, wrote in defense of the cost-of-living allowance:

> "What is at stake is not only the workers' living condition and consumptive levels.... There are forces in Italy that intend to use the crisis to push us back to take back at least part of the power that the workers have succeeded in wrenching out of their [the bosses'] hands with great struggles...."
>
> —reprinted in *Italian Communists*, November-December, 1976

This year, however, the PCI leadership has brooked no opposition from the unions. On the contrary it has gone out of its way to underline the "sacrifices" the workers will be forced to make in exchange for a PCI role in setting government policy. In the midst of the governmental crisis CGIL leader Lama dropped a bombshell when he announced his program for "labor peace" over the next three years. In an interview with *la Repubblica*, Lama aired the following "proposals":

- "When labor makes unemployment the No. 1 point on its program all other goals must be sacrificed to this problem. For instance the goal of improving the conditions of the employed must move down to second spot. Our wage policy in the next few years must be very restrained."
- "Workers' sacrifices should not be marginal but substantial."
- "Firms in a state of economic crisis should have the right to fire workers."

—quoted in *Corriere della Sera*, 25 January

Lama, of course, wanted in return a government with direct PCI participation.

Publication of the Lama interview immediately touched off an uproar in the joint CGIL-CISL-UIL labor confederation. While the heads of the other federations bitterly complained of not having been consulted and worried about controlling their ranks, loud opposition was heard even within the highly bureaucratized CGIL. At a February CGIL meeting one quarter of the delegates from the Milano region voted against Lama's report to the assembly. PCI trade unionists busied themselves denouncing the "conserva-

tism" and "sectoralism" of workers who refused to accept unemployment and wage cuts. But union leaders from the traditionally militant metal workers reacted as if they understood that they had little chance of pulling the "Lama line" over on their membership.

Lama's control over the trade union is expected to be put to the test in the fall when the next three-year contract is scheduled to be negotiated. The PCI/CGIL tops have profited extensively from the anti-terrorist hysteria which has been whipped up by the killing of Moro and the isolation of the "far left." Nonetheless, come next spring the three-year contract will have to be presented to the union ranks. Even the *Economist* (1 April) is openly predicting, "Communist leaders are unlikely to be able to contain the restlessness of their rank and file much beyond this year.

Demise of the "Far Left"

Italy today is overripe for the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party capable of breaking the combative proletariat away from the chains of PCI misleadership. During the last decade the Italian workforce has been in constant ferment with strike actions and mass meetings often going well beyond the confines of the Berlinguer straitjacket. The standard of living has been defended against the ravishes of stagnating Italian capitalism, and what the union heads were too cowardly or corrupted to fight for the workers themselves have often taken care of through wildcat strikes.

Since 1969 there have been a number of major splits to the left from the PCI creating large Maoist/syndicalist groups. By the time of the 1976 elections these centrist and left-reformist formations—Lotta Comunista, Avanguardia Operaia (AO) and PdUP/

L'Espresso

CGIL leader Luciano Lama

Manifesto—numbered in the tens of thousands. On the central question facing the Italian proletariat, the Communist Party's popular-front "historic compromise" with the DC, these parties proved themselves to be no more than the left appendages of PCI class collaboration. While Berlinguer hoped to rope in the largest of Italy's bourgeois parties, the three centrist groups together with the fake-Trotskyist Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR) created the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) slate to urge the PCI to "compromise" a little less historically and establish a popular front with lesser bourgeois parties (á la Allende's Unidad Popular).

These "far left" formations, including the GCR, failed to take the revolutionary position of proletarian opposition to the popular front. Only the international Spartacist tendency upheld the Trotskyist position that the PCI's incipient coalition with the DC precluded any electoral support, and that as a basic precondition for critical support in the elections the PCI must break not only with the "historic compromise" but with popular frontism.

In the aftermath of the June 1976 elections the three large "far left" groups entered into a period of rapid organizational decomposition—reflecting the inability to present a consistent line against the PCI. AO suffered large splits; PdUP/Manifesto lost many of its key cadre and was reduced to an organizational shell for a newspaper; Lotta Continua disintegrated completely into a myriad of feminist, high school, gay liberationist and syndicalist circles. In the current wave of anti-terrorist hysteria, the remaining shells of these organizations have been completely overwhelmed by the right-wing political climate and the PCI's efforts to police the Italian bourgeois state.

When the PCI led thousands of demonstrators at the traditional April 25 celebration of the Resistance's victory over the fascists in "law and

Gamma

Soldiers at roadblock outside Rome during fruitless search for Moro kidnappers.

order" demonstrations, the "far left" marched in Milano under the slogan "Against the state, against the BR, for mass democracy" (*Corriere della Sera*, 26 April). While the "far left" kept its demonstrations separate, the slogans of "against the terrorist provocations of the reactionary forces" were well in keeping with the reactionary spirit of the larger protests. Lotta Continua, which maintains the position of "Neither with the state nor with the Red Brigades," has voiced its fear of being submerged by having "everything overshadowed by the obligation to be for or against the Red Brigades" (quoted in *Rouge*, 22-23 April).

Livio Maitan's GCR, the Italian section of the United Secretariat, took on its familiar role as left-wing cover for the PCI during the governmental crisis. While the PCI was preparing itself for government as the only force capable of imposing the austerity measures, the GCR swallowed the Berlinguer "hypothesis," declaring that "we should fight for a government of the workers parties, of the PCI and PSI" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 15 February). The GCR declares that the DC is incapable "of fulfilling its talk of order" and describes a parliamentary lash-up of the PCI and PSI (what it terms a "workers government") as a "PCI-PSI government to satisfy the needs of the workers"! (Presumably such a government *would* be able to impose capitalist "order" just as Berlinguer promises.) And as soon as the PCI began whipping up the "anti-terrorist" hysteria over the Moro kidnapping, the inveterate, disgustingly tailist GCR declared the BR attack "bears the stamp of the right." As we wrote in "Anti-Terrorist Hysteria in Italy":

> "The GCR, which for years recruited on the basis of unadulterated Guevarism...now unveils its true political appetites. Enthusiastic advocates of terror elsewhere, when it occurs closer to home they rush headlong into the arms of their 'own' bourgeoisie as soon as the predictable 'anti-terrorist' demagogy begins."
>
> —*WV* No. 200, 7 April

Politics of Decay

Italian life today shows rampant social decay in every aspect. Inflation roars at 20 percent yearly; 1,700,000 are officially unemployed out of a total workforce of 20 million; schools are vastly overcrowded as university graduates with their diplomas find only unemployment lines waiting. While terrorism increases astronomically, non-political crime (particularly robberies and kidnappings) is also rising dramatically. In the major cities urban planners studiously designate areas for parks, hospitals and new housing only to find that "abusive housing" has occupied the site—"abusive housing" being the term given to apartment complexes built illegally on state-owned land by private speculators assured that the state won't catch on for years. Television stations find themselves competing with uncontrolled small "pirate" stations which defy the Vatican-conscious networks with their showings of "Deep Throat" and amateur strip tease contests.

Over the last thirty years there has been a massive migration from the poor, rural South to the major cities. But for the new migrants there is often little work. Instead those with connections find a way to the patronage system which provides the backbone for the DC. To give just one example, there are an estimated *5 million* state-supported invalids in Italy—more than the number of old age pensioners. And yet there have been no wars in over 30 years. And for 30 years the massive bureaucracy of redundant officials and pensioners has kept in office the equally corrupt and ineffectual Christian Democrats.

The DC's sordid rule seemed manageable only so long as the "Italian miracle" of the 1960's economy withstood inflation and plant inefficiency. But by the 1970's the Italy which the postwar *Economist* described as a capitalist's dream for its cheap labor and rebuilt industry was in the throes of an economic crisis. The end of "the miracle" was sealed during the OPEC oil boycott and the ensuing quadrupling of petroleum prices.

The Italian bourgeoisie is gripped with a sense of resignation, seeing no clear-cut avenues for ameliorating the situation. Amid repeated rumors of coups in the offing, Italian capitalists try to siphon their funds off to numbered Swiss bank accounts as they await word of whether the latest West German loans required to avoid insolvency will be forthcoming. In the words of popular author Luigi Barzini, "What is the solution? There isn't any. It is like interviewing a Byzantine commander as the Turks are swarming over the walls and asking him 'What is the solution?' I think that we all must accept that there are not always happy endings in life" (*Newsweek*, 22 May).

Forty years ago Trotsky, in the Transitional Program, wrote of the options available to the bourgeoisie:

> "'People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution. From the historical point of view, however, both these resources are stopgaps. The decay of capitalism continues...."

In the current crisis, the Italian bourgeoisie has accepted the PCI's offer to act as its gendarme in the name of the "historic compromise." The activity of the Communist Party around the Moro case ominously points to a popular front coalition dedicated not only to anti-working-class austerity but to increased police repression. From every leader of the new governing "programmatic majority" has come the clear indication that increased bonapartist powers are to be accorded to the bourgeois state.

The PCI has already run up against the utter failure of "clean government" and "emergency pacts" to remedy basic social ills. In Naples, for example, after three years of running the city PCI administrators talk of "the slide into savagery" (*New York Times*, 5 April). One third of the labor force is unemployed while 40,000 people are believed to earn their livelihoods from smuggling. With the PCI entrenched as the administrators of the scarce social services, protests by workers and the poor immediately go beyond any party control.

Not only in Naples but throughout Italy, the PCI stranglehold on the working class could be severely shaken by restive proletarian ranks confronting the hat-in-hand party leadership. But the Italian "far left" and the "Trotskyists" of the GCR have shown their abdication of any pretension of speaking for the interests of the working masses. Unable to confront the treachery of the PCI, they have left the field open to the *autonomos*, the Red Brigades and even the lumpen rage tapped by the Metropolitan Indians. And as the "social order" rapidly disintegrates, the stage could be set for a bonapartist "solution" or the resurgence of fascism promising "to make the trains run on time."

Yet Barzini is wrong. There is no solution to the "Italian problem" *under capitalism*, but the militant working class holds the potential for economic rationality and social order under proletarian state power in a Socialist United States of Europe. A genuinely internationalist Trotskyist party must be forged in Italy to lead the proletariat away from the hellhole of capitalist rot to the proletarian revolution—the only path of salvation. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Grape Growers Get What They Want

Chavez Sells Out UFW Hiring Hall

LOS ANGELES—The contract signed on May 8 by Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers of America (UFW) and seven Delano, California table grape growers has thrown away the most important gain won by the farm workers and the one factor which had made the UFW contracts clearly superior to the rotten sellouts negotiated by the Teamsters—the union hiring hall. The new contract, which covers about 20 percent of the 8,000 grape field workers in the area, establishes a precedent for future contracts and opens the door to the return of the hated labor contractor system.

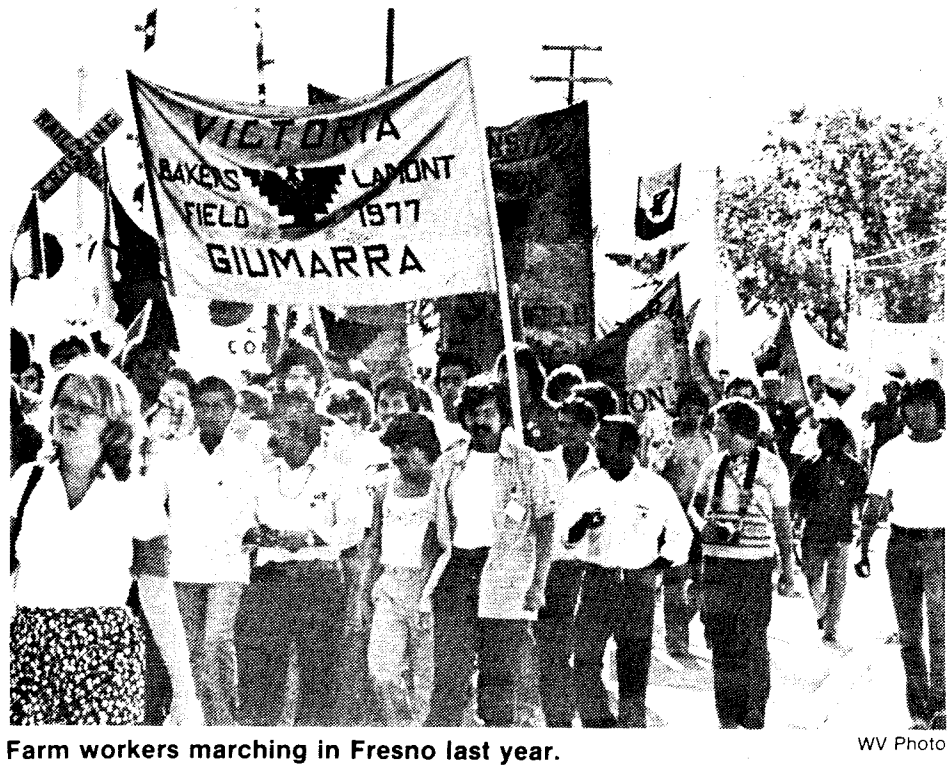
Particularly in agriculture, where employers have been notorious for dividing workers by playing off ethnic and national groups against one another, union control of hiring is a key demand. Such hiring halls, combined with demands for pay increases and a shorter workweek to create more jobs, can cut through the divisions fostered by the growers among agricultural workers and raise their standard of living. The hiring hall had been a central plank in the UFW platform in its initial battles against the Delano growers in 1965. With the 1970 grape contract, the union hiring hall replaced the often slave-like conditions of the labor contractor system with union control of hiring based on seniority, under which workers were sent out to available jobs on an equitable basis.

In 1973 it was the issue of the hiring hall which prompted the growers to refuse to renew the three-year grape contract and which led them to call in Teamster goons in an attempt to break the UFW. The Teamster contracts obligingly restored the labor contractor system. But Chavez, while not yet formally abandoning the hiring hall, indicated his willingness to be obliging too. He suggested a "compromise"—a hiring hall administered *jointly* by growers and workers. To which the Spartacist League responded:

> "A UFW which exists on the tolerance of the Teamsters and has abandoned the gains of the early UFW contracts (especially the union hiring hall) is just as thoroughly defeated—and just as acceptable to the growers—as if it had been completely smashed."
>
> —"Defend the Farmworkers!" *WV* No. 27, 31 August 1973

Always wedded to liberalism, pacifism and class collaboration, the Chavez regime's organizing strategy is now focused exclusively on pressuring the capitalist state through its Agricultural Labor Relations Board, its courts and its Democratic Party. After a purge of critics from the union staff last year and the calling off of the moribund grape, wine and lettuce boycotts (at which a spokesman for the Western Growers Association commented: "We're glad they announced it was over—otherwise we wouldn't have known they'd stopped"), the present UFW-grower deal reaffirms Chavez' determination to allow nothing to stand between him and an expanded dues base—certainly nothing as dispensable as a union hiring hall.

The new contracts, he says, "put the burden of hiring workers directly on them [the employers] where it really belonged in the first place." He explained to an interviewer that this "saves the union the time and the resources and money we were using to operate the hiring halls" and that "the employers are much happier now."



Farm workers marching in Fresno last year. WV Photo

No doubt they are. It has cost them a meager 25-cent-per-hour wage increase (to $3.50 per hour) to enforce the control over hiring which the farm workers had sought to wrest from them through years of bitter struggle. The contract also allows them "limited subcontracting." The only difference from the labor contractor system is that now the ranch operators will do the hiring...and firing.

Chavez, the darling of liberals and fake-leftists of every stripe, has bargained away the most precious gain of the UFW. The farm workers have been defeated by their own leadership—forced to fight gagged and bound by the pacifism, clericalism, anti-communism and legalism which the Chavez bureaucracy imposed. From its abandonment of the 1973 strikes to its reliance on the impotent consumer boycott "strategy" and its subordination to George Meany's AFL-CIO, the Chavez leadership of the UFW has been the main barrier to victory for the farm workers. What is needed is a leadership capable of organizing an all-out struggle *to mobilize the entire labor movement* in militant solidarity with the UFW against the growers and the capitalist state. ■

Longshore Contract Due As Job Threat Grows

Herman Continues ILWU No-Strike Policy

SAN FRANCISCO—As the 12,000 West Coast longshoremen of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) approach the July 1 contract expiration date, it becomes increasingly obvious that union president Jimmy Herman is doing everything possible to avoid calling a strike against the bosses of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). Just before the elected Coast Caucus met to draw up contract demands on April 10, Herman openly declared his continuity with the previous regime of Harry Bridges, who traded away thousands of union jobs and the right to strike for a paltry Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP):

> "We have every hope of negotiating a new contract without having to hit the bricks. The historical record—one strike in the last thirty years—shows that collective bargaining in the West Coast longshore industry works."
>
> —*The Dispatcher*, 7 April

Indeed the no-strike giveaway strategy of Bridges/Herman *does* work—for the bosses! As Herman himself noted in regard to the impact of containerization on the docks: "Since the mid-1960's total tonnage has about doubled while longshore man-hours have been cut in half." Instead of a struggle for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, which would maintain the strength of the union, Herman proposes to allow the union to be further undermined in exchange for "greater pay guarantees" and maintaining jurisdiction over the steadily shrinking number of jobs remaining on the docks.

As is usual at contract time, Herman went through a fake unity ritual in April with Teddy Gleason, president of the East Coast International Lonshoremen's Association (ILA). Gleason promised "all out total support." But longshoremen remember the infamous 1971 "strike alliance" between Gleason and Bridges. With the help of government-imposed Taft-Hartley injunctions, these sellout artists engineered a game of musical chairs, so that the East Coast ILA strike and the West Coast ILWU strike did not overlap for any lengthy period. In the recent period both Gleason and Herman have made noises about seeking a "common expiration date" for their contracts—but even this sop was abandoned at the Coast Caucus, where Herman defeated a Local 10 (Bay Area longshore) resolution for it even though guest speaker Gleason supported it!

The "mutual aid" talk is clearly just a lot of hot air to fool the ranks—Herman's quick retreat from supporting the ILA strike last October was a telling example of how much working-class "solidarity" there is between the two bureaucracies. (Herman's failure to seek an alliance with the West Coast seamen's unions, and the National Maritime Union, whose contracts expire June 15, is further evidence of his hypocrisy.) But clearly, in a strike

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WV Photo

ILA picketed Oakland terminal last October.