

Oust Nixon! For a Workers Party!

NOVEMBER 5—If the U.S. labor movement were today under revolutionary leadership, Richard Nixon would long since have been ousted as president through a general strike against state wage controls and the imperialist war in Indochina, and a sharp struggle would have begun to decide the fundamental question of our time: which class shall rule? Instead, while the Nixon government totters, with influential bourgeois newspapers such as the *New York Times* calling for Nixon's resignation or impeachment, even simple struggles to maintain wage levels in the face of violent inflation are effectively suppressed. Chiefly responsible for this state of affairs is the reaction-

ary trade union bureaucracy which stands at the leadership of the organized labor movement and has cravenly acquiesced to every phase of Nixon's state wage control policies.

The recent decision of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to come out for the impeachment of Nixon should be seen as nothing more than rats deserting a sinking ship. These misleaders of the labor movement oppose Nixon for the same reasons as do their bourgeois masters, because of Nixon's "high crimes and misdemeanors"... against the proprieties and niceties of bourgeois democracy. Nowhere do they hold him responsible for his crimes against the working

masses, which they have either acquiesced to and/or heartily endorsed (such as Nixon's policy of imperialist slaughter of the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia). These traitors to the working-class movement place their confidence in the bourgeois U.S. Congress to get rid of Nixon who has become an embarrassing liability to both themselves and their imperialist masters. And this Congress, itself a den of thieves, is only now moving ponderously and with great reluctance to consider the question of impeachment, projecting a report by March of next year.

Dump the Bureaucrats—For a Labor Party Based on the Trade Unions!

Key to the removal of Nixon, of Congress, and of the whole capitalist state order which exists to ensure the continued exploitation of the working class, is the removal of the reactionary misleaders of labor. How to accomplish this task? The response of the ostensibly socialist left to the Watergate crisis is indicative of their respective orientations. The overwhelming majority seeks to deal with the pro-capitalist bureaucracy by ignoring it, playing up to reformist out-bureaucrats or mystically transforming it into an instrument of the working class. The ex-Trotskyist, reformist Socialist Workers Party, which by now has devoted many tens of pages and thousands of words

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NEW YORK TIMES

Nixon with Brezhnev (left) last June. Soviet commentators backed Nixon, CPUSA called for impeachment.

NEAR EAST CEASEFIRE:

More War Ahead!

The continuing war between Israel and the surrounding Arab states has been temporarily halted by a ceasefire imposed by the U.S. and USSR. Even more so than in the previous wars, this ceasefire guarantees the continuation of bloodletting in the Near East. Because of Israeli intransigence, particularly its desire to force the surrender of the Egyptian III Army after the ceasefire, war could break out again any day.

Both sides were reluctant to accept the first ceasefire of October 22, Israel only quantitatively more so than Egypt and Syria. The Meir government tried hard to get a three-day postponement in order to expand its conquests on the west bank of the Suez Canal. When the U.S. refused to accede to this, the Israeli command simply ignored the UN ceasefire and continued fighting, in what has become something of a Zionist military tradition, harking back to the innumerable ceasefires of the 1948-49 war.

With the Israeli military advances of October 22-24, the attitude of the Egyptian government toward continuing the war changed; it launched a diplomatic offensive to pressure the great powers into enforcing the ceasefire on the original October 22 lines. Sadat's appeal for direct U.S. military inter-

vention to police Israel should disabuse everyone (even the vicarious Arab nationalists so abundant on the U.S. left) of the notion that the Arab states were struggling against American imperialism. In fact, a major aim of the Arab states in going to war was to create a situation in which the U.S. would be pressured by the Soviet Union and West European powers into curbing Israeli expansionism.

U.S./USSR Détente Buried in the Sands of Sinai

With Sadat's appeal for direct great-power intervention, Brezhnev saw an opportunity to maneuver the U.S. into a joint action against Israel and apparently applied some pressure to that effect. Nixon reacted by dramatically reminding Brezhnev that Israel was after all an ally of the U.S. against the Soviet Union, not vice versa: on October 24 he ordered a full military alert. Contrary to Kissinger's pious protests, the alert was in good part for domestic consumption, a reassertion of Nixon's posture as the tough Commander-in-Chief. The most that the U.S. government could subsequently claim in justification of its world-wide "Condition 3" military alert was the "ambiguity" of

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Trucks with UN ceasefire observers entering the city of Suez.

SL Polarizes Toronto Women's Conference 4

How Arab Regimes Crushed the Palestinian Resistance 5

School Board vs. Fuentes in NYC District 1 7

25 October 1973

Dear Comrades,

The article, "No U.S. Aid to Israel!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 31), contains a statement requiring explanation. The article says that "Abdullah of Jordan even had a secret meeting with Golda Meir to see if they could reach agreement on carving up Palestine."

While Meir and King Abdullah *did* have a meeting (on 30 April 1948), no agreement was reached as Abdullah's proposal—a bi-national Palestine and Transjordan ruled as a constitutional monarchy—was unacceptable to the Jewish Agency.

Later, however, Abdullah and the former Prime Minister of Israel, Ben-Gurion, signed an agreement which gave Israel fifty percent more territory than was granted it by the U.N. Hence the episode's significance as one of the first acts of Israeli expansionism.

Comradely,
Andy S.
New York City

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October 31, 1973

WV Editor:

In WV No. 31 the article on "West Europe's Imported Labor: A Key to Revolution" was all in all excellent. A comparison was made in passing to the blacks in this country. Although certain parallels can be drawn here, much more striking are the outstanding similarities between West Europe's foreign workers and the Mexican nationals in the U.S. As super-exploited sections of the working class they share a lack of any democratic rights, are not unionized and speak a foreign language.

In Mexico farm workers earn 15 cents an hour. Corporations like Litton Industries, Fairchild Camera, Hughes Aircraft who have factories south of the border pay their workers as little as \$2.00 a day, so naturally many Mexican citizens are glad to come to this country—"land of opportunity"—in order to make 50 cents more an hour to send back to their families in Mexico. It is estimated that on an ordinary day more than 150,000 Mexicans "officially" come and go across the border. These figures do not include the millions who cross "unofficially" every year or the braceros (laborers contracted for work in the fields). Statistically these men and women are not aliens, even though they are brought across the border outside of the quotas. Agreements between the U.S. and Mexican governments render them legal even though "non-statistical." It is estimated that as many as 40,000 Mexican citizens migrate yearly to Los Angeles alone; the population of San Antonio is estimated to increase by 50,000 each year.

The Mexican national must accept the lowest jobs, live in the worst barrio and is hated by both the Chicano and white sections of the working class. In the farm work force alone, out of a total of 1.6 million in this country, "illegals" account for at least 20%. Growers knowingly employ these "illegals," let them harvest the crops, then report them to the border patrol so they can be arrested before they pay them their wages. This is also true wherever Mexican nationals are hired throughout industry—when production is low the capitalists call in the immigration department and deport all those who don't have papers. Of course this process is not restricted to the local levels but is instituted systematically by the U.S. government in collusion with the capitalists according to the fluctuating state of the economy. For instance in the period of economic recession following the Korean War, 1953-1954, there was a wave of deportations in-

fluenced by the restrictive McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952. A Special Mobile Force of the Border Patrol was put into action throughout the barrios as far north as Chicago and Spokane—called "Operation Wet-back." In this short period, 1,910,282 were deported but within a few years the project was dropped and once again hundreds of thousands of Mexican citizens migrated to the U.S.

Mexican nationals represent an unlimited source of cheap labor that the capitalists would rather hire over American workers who cause too much trouble with union organizing, which is not a problem with "illegals" who dare not speak out lest they be deported. This situation has created a real source of resentment particularly among unskilled workers who blame the "foreigners" for taking their jobs. In the interest of proletarian internationalism these national chauvinist tendencies must be fought against. Although Mexican nationals do not represent as large a section of the U.S. working class as do the blacks or are as large in proportion to the West European foreign workers, they are indeed a significant force, particularly in the Southwest, and the tasks of building a base in the working class must necessarily include organizing foreign labor. The "full rights for foreign workers" outlined in the WV article on West Europe's imported labor are indeed applicable to the domestic conditions in this country as well.

Bolshevik Greetings,
Susan Spector
Chicago

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October 25, 1973

Dear Comrades,

In the September 14, 1973 issue of *Workers Vanguard* the next to last paragraph of the article "Government Breaks Canadian Rail Strike" states the following:

"Only the Spartacist League has correctly opposed on principle all forms of state intervention in the unions."
—*Workers Vanguard*,
14 September 1973, p. 10

We are extremely upset by this statement. For it is either a sign of sloppy journalism or outright lying. The Revolutionary Workers Group stands in absolute opposition to any intervention by the bourgeois state into the workers' trade unions. This has come out in many discussions with your Comrades, particularly in Chicago, and also in our press. In the June issue of *Workers' Truth* we stated in the article "Which Way for the Trade Unions?":

"*INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THE STATE—The trade unions are mass organizations of working class defense. As capitalism continues to decay, the state, that is, the instrument of the capitalist collective, plays more and more of a direct role in all aspects of the worker's life. The trade unions can not even begin to defend the working class if they are subordinated to the capitalist state. As long as the trade unions remain under the control of the present bourgeois clique of Meany, Abel, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, etc. the trade unions will be pushed more and more into the state apparatus. The so-called working class leaders who sit on the various state commissions belong there. The trade unions do not. In struggling for trade union independence from the state the workers must strive to throw these representatives of the capitalist class out of the trade unions. Let them stay on the Pay Boards! Get them out of the unions! The state is not above classes, it is the instrument of the capitalist class. Trade union affairs must not be handled by the state, they must be handled by trade unionists."

—*Workers' Truth*, June 1973,
pp. 13-14

When we resigned from the Class Struggle League we stated in our resignation statement (which the Comrades of the SL Political Bureau no doubt have access to as a Comrade in Chicago resigned from the CSL to join the SL after our resignation statement was printed in the CSL Discussion Bulletin):

"This [critical support to Arnold Miller in the UMW election, among other things—D.R.] is a further repudiation of a trade union strategy and program which represented a strong left impulse in trade union work. It is a clear elucidation of the CSL to sink into trade union opportunism. Arnold Miller! While we will wait for the facts as to whether or not David Fender called the cops in St. Louis, we know for a fact that Arnold Miller called the cops (the govt.) into the United Mineworkers. It is to this agent of the bourgeoisie that the CSL leadership gives its critical support!"
—CSL Disc. Bul., Vol. II, No. 2, p. 1

The Spartacist League has in the past attacked the Workers League for claiming "only the Workers League..." when in fact the SL and at times other groups called for the same thing that the Workers League was claiming sole rights to. Also in your 3 August 1973 issue you corrected a statement in which you attributed support of a particular strike only to yourselves and the NCLC, pointing out in the correction that the Workers League and the Socialist Party also supported the strike.

We hope that we are simply dealing with an oversight and not an attempt to lump us (through omission of our principled stand vis-a-vis bourgeois state intervention in the trade unions) with various opportunist organizations. We expect a public correction.

Comradely,
David Ross
Org. Sec., RWG
Chicago

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October 31, 1973

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on your recent article, "No U.S. Aid to Israel." In addition to an intelligent appraisal of Arab and Israeli positions, it offers good criticism of the Palestinian Resistance and its admirers on the American Left. I would like, however, to point out two technical errors, and then to comment on the content of the article.

On p. 1, column 3, in the sentence beginning, "The land cannot simply be given back to the fellahin," *fellahin* should probably be replaced by the Ottoman term for landlord, *effendi(s)*, and *fedayeen* should be replaced by *fellahin* (peasants). Fedayeen are martyrs, and by extension resistance fighters. On p. 5, column 3, next to last paragraph: I believe the organization mentioned is usually called the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, but this is a trivial point.

In the first sentence of the third paragraph in the article, there is some stormy rhetoric about Zionist illusions that may be suitable for the "Guardian" or the "Militant," but is not on your usual literary and intellectual level. In the next column the "interesting parallel" between Zionism and Nazism is at this late date a crashing bore. There is nothing wrong with a reference to Deir Yassin, but an explanation of this significant event and its consequences might be worth the trouble. Finally, the sections on oil and Balkanization would make an excellent future article.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, I hope to see more of the same.

Fraternally,
Larry Cohen
Ann Arbor, Michigan

The Torch Sputters

The reason we bother to print below a fairly unimportant letter requires some explanation. Our letter, dated 13 October 1973, was in direct reply to one, dated 5 October, from Sy Landy of the Revolutionary Socialist League. Comrade Landy's letter, regarding the setting up of SL-RSL public debates, together with a statement that "to date we have not received a reply," was then printed in the November issue of the RSL's monthly Torch.

Presumably an early press deadline precluded acknowledgement of our letter and thereby facilitated the RSL's resounding assertion (under the proud headline "Where We Stand") that our "refusal to respond" reflects our "fear" and demonstrates our "shrill, infantile posturing."

So, perforce, we print the letter ourselves, though with little expectation of thereby shifting the RSL leadership off its macho New Left hangover—its who-is-and-isn't-chicken game-playing.

The RSL's ultimately intolerable internal political contradictions, reflected in its present conduct, are indeed sufficient justification for our discussing revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Trotskyist, politics with this group... to the purpose that some among its several score supporters might be won to the work of building the genuine and consistent Leninist party which they now abstractly proclaim and concretely deny.

13 October 1973

Sy Landy, National Secretary
Revolutionary Socialist League

Dear Comrade Landy,

With reference to your letters of 14 September and 5 October, we hope that your express willingness to have additional debate with us does not reduce itself merely to one more "national" debate in a locality. As you know it has been our express desire to have public debates on outstanding issues between us in each locality where we both have local organizations, and the Spartacist League has been seeking such confrontations. As noted in the current *Workers Vanguard* we held such a debate with your comrades on 28 September in Cleveland; and our Los Angeles comrades wrote to your local organization on 20 September seeking a similar event without, to our knowledge, having yet received a reply. We would also like to have such public confrontations in Detroit, New York and for a second time in Chicago (only a small handful of your Chicago comrades having attended the first).

It would be extremely convenient for us to have the "public debate be-

Soviet Union: State Capitalist or Degenerated Workers State

JUDITH SHAPIRO
Spartacist League

ERIC OLSEN
Revolutionary Socialist League

Friday November 16
7:30 p.m.
1910 South Vermont
Los Angeles, California

Los Angeles

tween the principal spokesmen of our two groups" in Detroit on the evening of either Friday, 23 November or Saturday, 24 November (i.e. assuming that the bulk of your membership will not be at home with their parents, as this is Thanksgiving weekend). These are the only early dates for which we could guarantee a rather large, regional, audience of SL supporters. But we also continue to set considerable store by the debates we want in the other areas so that the whole of your membership and a goodly part of ours may see our two viewpoints actively counterposed.

While you in your letter of 5 October have suggested polemically—and no doubt jocularly in the old Shachtmanite tradition—that our comrades in localities have presented in argument with you "six or seven distinct and often contradictory viewpoints", we have a *real* disadvantage in our debates with you—one which we would like to remedy before assigning a reporter for the "officially national" debate that we propose for Thanksgiving weekend in Detroit. I well recall when you and I debated in Chicago, my having to face an opponent the great bulk of whose programmatic positions consisted of "we don't know yet; we are extremely creative people; you will see, we will work out *very* creative positions." I believe that since then, you have had a national convention and that some of your positions have been condensed from ectoplasm onto the mundane printed page. For example, it is rumored that you take a defeatist ("Third Camp") position toward Stalinist Russia and presumably toward Stalinist China, Cuba and North Vietnam in these countries' military struggles against imperialism, but that you have a "self-determinationist" defensist policy toward the Stalinist Viet Cong (which is popular among domestic radicals). We would very much appreciate receiving as soon as possible any material containing the adopted views of your organization on matters of fundamental principle and basic program.

Fraternally,
James Robertson
for the Spartacist League

SL/RCY Public Offices

BAY AREA

Wednesday }
and } 1:00-6:00 p.m.
Thursday }

Saturday 2:30-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

BOSTON

Wednesday }
and } 1:00-5:00 p.m.
Friday } 7:00-9:00 p.m.

Saturday 11:00 a.m.-3:00

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Room 335
Cambridge, Massachusetts
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NEW YORK

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through } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
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260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

REVOLUTIONARY
LITERATURE

9 NOVEMBER 1973

Workers League Evades Political Debate:

What Really Happened at the Jack Tar Hotel and Why Wohlforth Calls the Cops

Continuing in the tradition of the Healy school of falsification, Tim Wohlforth's fake-Trotskyist Workers League has slanderously accused the Spartacist League of being responsible for the calling of the cops at two recent WL meetings. According to the 30 October *Bulletin* article, "Spartacist Brings in the Police," SL supporters attempted to break up the twice-weekly *Bulletin*-greeting meetings held at the Jack Tar Hotel in San Francisco and the Embassy Hotel in Los Angeles. By supposedly "attempting to provoke a fight and creating a disruption" at the door, SL supporters are held responsible for the hotel management's calling the police and threatening to close down the meeting.

In actuality the SL did not attempt to provoke a fight or disrupt in either incident. Rather, all SL supporters were prevented from attending these public meetings called by the WL. The simple presence of the SL distributing literature outside the meeting, much less trying to attend it, was all the WL needed to demand action from the hotel management, i.e., that the police be called. In San Francisco when SL supporters pressed the point to WLeRs that they were, in effect, calling the cops on us, they initially tried to blame the hotel manager. He, however, snapped in response, "Don't try to load this on me!" It was quite clear to witnesses and even to the cops who the complainant was. The plainclothes security guards who told the SL to leave the driveway entrance of the hotel explained that we were "disturbing the patrons" of the WL.

Picket WL's Anti-Communist Exclusionism

Wohlforth's ire was raised by the incident in Los Angeles, where the SL picketed the WL meeting protesting the anti-communist act of excluding Spartacist supporters from a public meeting. Picket signs called for the defense of workers democracy. This was not the first time such an incident had occurred. Earlier this year, on March 24, members and supporters of the SL/RCY attempted to attend a public meeting of the WL/YS in Los Angeles. When we were refused admittance, as has been standing WL practice throughout the country, a picket line was immediately set up. Some 60 SL supporters marched with signs proclaiming "Workers League Excludes Reds," "What is the Y.S. Afraid Of?" and "Defend Workers Democracy." In another incident on June 30, Dennis Brehm of the Los Angeles WL not only excluded SL/RCYers from a public meeting but asked the manager of the Embassy Hotel to have us removed from the building. Arguing lamely that "you brought this on yourselves," Brehm replied "yes" when asked directly if he realized that the threat of the management to call the cops resulted from his complaint.

These incidents are indicative of the Workers League's sneering contempt for the principle of workers democracy. When asked by SLers last spring why the WL/YS should be allowed to attend public meetings of opponent groups such as the SWP, Wohlforth's cynical response was, "We shouldn't necessarily. But if they're dumb enough to let us, we'll attend." Marxists, in contrast, support the principle of workers democracy not just when it is convenient, not out of liberalism or fetishism. The fullest possible opportunity for political struggle, without threats of physical violence, enables the labor movement to achieve the necessary clarity concerning the program which defends its true interests. It is no accident that it is the reactionary bureau-

crats, fearful of having their rotten sellouts exposed before the ranks, who suppress workers democracy in the unions, kicking out reds and militants, rigging elections and preventing the sale of socialist and labor newspapers at plant gates. The WL's practice in this regard is no different from that of these labor lieutenants of capital it constantly tails after.

Wohlforth Supports Cops

Moreover, calling on the cops to remove SL supporters not only shows the wohlforthites' cringing fear of political debate, but is also consistent with their 1971 call for expanding the New York police strike into a general strike. No, the cops are not our class brothers, but rather the armed fist of the class enemy! Presumably if the WL is willing to call the police to avoid debating the SL at public meetings it would have no compunction about calling the cops to remove opponents from a union meeting as well. This policy is likewise consistent with the policies of the WL's English mentors, the Socialist Labour League, which in 1967 beat up a socialist opponent, Ernie Tate, outside an SLL meeting and then threatened to sue him in the capitalist courts

when he publicly denounced this outrage.

While the Workers League's exclusionist tactics may enable its leaders to avoid answering questions about their constant political zigzags, they sometimes reveal in a sharp manner to WL supporters the cowardliness of their leadership. The SL had recently challenged the WL to a debate in Portland Oregon, while Lucy St. John, ostensible *Bulletin* editor, was in town. The Workers League, of course, refused. When the only people to show up at the meeting to "greet the twice-weekly *Bulletin*" turned out to be several SL supporters and friends, St. John not only refused again to debate but, unable to exclude the SL, simply walked out of the meeting! Several WL supporters present openly expressed their disgust with this political cowardice. At another "greet-the-twice-weekly" meeting in Cleveland on 27 October, a number of the ghetto youth attending expressed confusion about the exclusion of the SL.

In terms of hypocrisy where questions of workers democracy are concerned, it is interesting to note that while the WL excludes Spartacists from

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Life in Wohlforth's Workers League

In its sneering contempt for workers democracy the Workers League more closely resembles a mini deformed workers state than a revolutionary Trotskyist organization. This is shown not only by the WL's shameless exclusionist antics toward the SL, but also by a look at the internal life of the WL *itself*.

Below we reprint a motion of the Political Committee of the Workers League (*Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No.2) that will give militants a good idea of what life looks like inside the WL. The motion self-admittedly indicates that the WL is in the midst of a far-reaching, political crisis that has provoked "the most fundamental discussion in its history." The motion calls for the fullest discussion of perspectives, method and tasks, noting that such a discussion "brings forward all the questions raised in the 20-year struggle against Pabloism." But then, in the style of Enver Hoxha, Wohlforth and Co. conclude that the discussion has an "objective character" so they "cannot tolerate any factionalism of any sort." Ominously they add: "We want no disciplinary threats or actions."

So here is Wohlforth's Workers League facing "the most fundamental discussion in its history" and banning factions! Like Stalin and the Pope in Rome, Wohlforth has discovered he can dispense with "any factionalism of any sort." But for a serious Trotskyist organization the right to factional struggle is elementary. Ultimately, there is no other means of resolving fundamental political differences within the framework of a common organization.

Externally, of course, Wohlforth is very concerned about workers democracy and principled political struggle when it suits his purpose. Thus, the WL can practice the most shameless exclusionism toward the SL, while condemning Stalinist assaults upon itself, such as the recent attacks it has suffered at the hands of the RU. Likewise, to make history fit his interpretations, Wohlforth can be very solicitous about the alleged organizational abuses poor Shachtman suffered at the hands of Cannon. But internally, in the heat of political struggle Wohlforth shows himself to be the petty bureaucrat and political bandit he really is.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE MOTION 7/26/73

1. The Workers League has placed itself in the past period in opposition to the International Committee. This is the meaning of the May 28th article in the *Bulletin* on the Spartacist discussion. These are the opposites and it is these opposites which must now be held fast and fought out.
2. It is for this reason that the current discussion within the Workers League is the most fundamental in its history. There must now be the fullest discussion of perspectives, the idealist method of pragmatism and the tasks we face in turning to the working class.
3. This discussion is brought about by the development of the working class itself, created by the crisis of capitalism and the necessary preparatory tasks for the next period of massive class struggle here and in Europe. It brings forward all the questions raised in the 20 year history of struggle against Pabloism. It is this objective character of the discussions which must predominate at every point.
4. This is why we cannot tolerate any factionalism of any sort. There are no good guys and bad guys. We want no disciplinary threats or actions. There is only the absolutely necessary task of objectively confronting this new situation and the fundamental crisis it provokes in the League.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

Feminists Flee, LSA Cringes as...

SL Polarizes Toronto Women's Conference

TORONTO—Under a banner urging "Women—Unite!" the Ontario Conference of Women convened on Friday, October 26 at the University of Toronto. The week-end conference, which was formally sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Students, actually took place largely under the leadership of the League for Socialist Action (LSA)—Canadian section of the so-called United Secretariat—whose brand of reformist politics parallels that of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States.

Despite the leadership's estimate that 900 women would attend (men were excluded from all but two public sessions), the actual number was about 300, of whom the vast majority was unaffiliated and new to politics. Aside from the LSA and its youth section, the Young Socialists (YS), the only ostensibly revolutionary tendencies represented at the conference were the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), an organization which split from the LSA and which now plays the role of its loyal opposition, and the Spartacist League. (Notably absent were the allegedly Trotskyist Canadian Workers League and Labor Action Committee, whose abstention from the struggle for women's emancipation is a reflection of their tailing after the labor bureaucracy.) The SWP was also represented in the opening session in the person of the key speaker, Linda Jenness, who was billed as "a feminist and socialist." Despite this spurious attempt at dual identity, however, it was clear that when she said, "We have to build up our own independent power," it was not "we socialists" to whom she was referring.

Jenness never once identified herself as a leader of the SWP. The LSA also displayed this aversion to political identification, an aversion growing out of its terror of alienating any of the "sisters." LSA members seemed to choke on the word "socialism" on those rare occasions when they had recourse to it and they did not identify themselves in the public sessions or in the workshops they attended. It was not until the very last hours of the last session of the conference, after repeated challenges by the Spartacist League on this point and after the departure of nearly all the non-aligned women, that LSA speakers began to identify themselves as such. It was at this point that an LSA woman, still attempting to justify the practice of apologetically hiding one's support to what feminists call "male-dominated" organizations, declared petulantly, "If I go quack-quack, you can tell I'm a duck," arguing by analogy that even without explicit identification her political positions identified her as a member of the LSA—as indeed they did. The rotten, reformist politics which she proceeded to put forward were unmistakably the quackings of the LSA.

Free Abortion on Demand

Saturday morning was devoted to a special session and rally for the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician who has been charged under Canada's Criminal Code on thirteen counts of performing and conspiring to perform illegal abortions. His trial, which has already begun, could result in a sentence of life imprisonment. The defense of Dr. Morgentaler has been the LSA's single-issue substitute for politics. Limiting its slogans to "Free Dr. Morgentaler, Drop the Charges!" the LSA has opposed even linking this campaign to demands for the repeal of abortion laws. (Not to mention calling for free abortion, a demand which the LSA and SWP consistently refuse to raise, even though it is supposedly part of their programs, on the grounds that it would make impossible their desired bloc with bour-



SL contingent marching in Toronto demonstration to defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler, charged with performing illegal abortions.

geois women's groups such as NOW, which opposes socialized medicine!)

Speaking for the Spartacist League at the rally, Helen Cantor took the principled position of declaring support for Dr. Morgentaler's defense and pledging a financial contribution to the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler. However, she also pointed out the abysmal failure of the single-issue anti-abortion-law campaign built by the SWP in the U.S., which did not raise mass consciousness of the need to overthrow capitalism one iota. Cantor called for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all, not because it is a "better" reform demand, but because it is an attack on the system of production for profit and points to the need for socialist revolution.

Saturday afternoon was reserved for workshops on such topics as: women in politics (i.e., explicitly bourgeois politics—one of the designated workshop leaders was "a woman from the Toronto Mayor's Task Force on Women"), human sexuality and daycare.

Feminists: "Men Are Enemies"

The workshop leaders were virtually all bourgeois feminists and the workshops generally reflected their interests and viewpoint. The unidentified LSA members who attended certainly did nothing to challenge this viewpoint. In a workshop dealing with campus organizing, for example, the LSA put forward the position that even in co-educational schools the women students alone should be organized to fight budget cuts, because women are more oppressed by them than men.

One of the leaders in the workshop on gay women was a representative of the Lesbian Feminist Collective who initiated the session by stating that all men are the enemy and that while it was not necessary to exterminate them all at this time, extermination might well become necessary at some time in the future in order to ensure the continued existence of women!

A more or less similar point of

view was expressed by the Resurgent Feminists who distributed a leaflet entitled "Abortion—Yes, Morgentaler—No!" This leaflet, a logical and consistent expression of feminist ideology, argued that all males, including Morgentaler, thrive on the oppression of women and must never be supported under any condition. Its slogans were "Women are dying! Don't support the enemy!"

Although the Spartacist League had contacted conference leaders a week in advance and had specifically requested room to hold a workshop and to have a speaker in the panel discussion scheduled for Sunday evening, we were denied both—the workshop on the grounds that there were no rooms available; the speaker initially on the grounds that the RMG speaker would adequately represent our position and later on the grounds that this was, after all, a Canadian women's conference and we were not Canadians! Canadian nationalism was, in fact, extensive, and several women challenged the right of the SL to take part in the conference at all.

The SL delegates sought to counter these attempts of the LSA to silence them by announcing their own workshop in the corridor and by waging a successful struggle for a speaker on the panel. Other women, including the RMG representatives, also argued against nationalism and for the SL's democratic right to address the body and express its point of view. Eventually, the LSA capitulated to this pressure and the body voted overwhelmingly in favor of the SL's right to a speaker.

Speakers were given ten minutes each to present their views on the theme "Which Way Forward for the Women's Movement?" and three minutes for summaries. In addition to representatives of the YS, RMG, and SL, there were also the woman from the Toronto Mayor's Task Force; Eileen Gregory, a hard-core feminist; a representative of "A Woman's Place," which houses various service facilities for women; and Marlene Dixon, a

well-known women's liberation activist who, although not affiliated with any organization, had been specially invited to speak at the conference. Dixon is a left Maoist.

Socialism or Feminism

The presentations were initiated by the woman from the Mayor's Task Force who, after what appeared to be a monumental struggle to stay awake, correctly summed up her presentation with the admission, "I have no strategy."

She was followed by the representative of the LSA/YS who put forward all those familiar positions which have long been advanced by the SWP in the United States: our strength is in our numbers, we are feminists and socialists, we must take women where they are at and not alienate them, women must create an autonomous movement around a single, winnable issue, etc. ad nauseam. Not once did the LSA/YS representative refer to the need to link the fight against women's oppression to the struggle for socialism through raising transitional demands.

Instead of limiting the program to the most minimal reforms, which leave the basic structure of capitalist society untouched, Trotsky put forward the Transitional Program of demands which cannot be fulfilled without replacing the rule of the bourgeoisie by the rule of the working class. Thus demands such as free quality health care for all (including free abortion on demand); the socialization of housework through state-financed free 24-hour childcare facilities, dining rooms and laundry facilities; and the full integration of women into social production must be combined with demands relating to broader class struggles, such as a sliding scale of wages and hours, expropriation of industry under workers control, and for a workers government (see "Our Program" in *Women and Revolution* No. 4, Fall 1973). For the LSA/YS, however, raising such "divisive" demands is

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How Arab Regimes Crushed the Palestinian Resistance

Ever since 1948 the Arab states have piously proclaimed their support for the right of the Palestinian people to regain their territory from Zionist aggression. At the same time, the Arab regimes have given every indication that they would in fact simply proceed to carve up Palestine among themselves in case of military victory over Israel. They have all refused to integrate the Palestinian refugees in their economies, relegating them to the miserable existence of beggars and recipients of UN relief rations in the huge refugee camps. In order to keep the relatively well-educated and politically conscious Palestinians from causing too much trouble, their "host" governments occasionally arrest the suspected resistance leaders and strafe the camps.

The most brutal and vicious demonstration of the hostility of the Arab states to resurgent Palestinian nationalism was given by the butcher Hussein in the 1970 Jordanian civil war. In a matter of days the U.S.-equipped and British-trained Arab Legion managed to murder several thousand refugees and thoroughly smash the guerrilla resistance groups. In the last two years both the Lebanese and Syrian governments have followed the Jordanian example (with a little "urging" from Israel) by prohibiting any actions against Israel by the guerrillas and integrating them (i.e., subordinating them) into their own military. The lessons of this tragic history must be assimilated if militants of the various ostensibly socialist resistance groups are to find their way to the Marxist program of united proletarian revolution in the Near East.

Lessons of the 1970 Jordanian Civil War

The Jordanian civil war was only the culmination of the struggle that every Arab regime has waged in the Near East to subordinate Palestinian self-determination to its own nationalistic appetites. Only the left wing of the Palestinian resistance movement, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) led by Nayef Hawatmeh, has been able to draw any of the correct lessons from the Jordanian civil war. While providing a scathing indictment of the Palestinian resistance leadership, its strategy and ideology, the DPFLP is unable to transcend the Menshevik-Stalinist "two-stage revolution" theoretical framework of that leadership.

The DPFLP sharply attacks groups like Fatah for taking an ostensibly agnostic position on ideology and program, thus simply subordinating the resistance movement to bourgeois ideology. It attacks the Fatah slogan that the "primary contradiction is with Zionism, the struggle against Arab reaction is secondary," which completely disarmed the resistance movement before "Arab reaction" which considered the liquidation of the resistance movement primary and the struggle with Zionism secondary. The DPFLP also attacked the slogan of "non-interference in the internal Arab affairs." This, the DPFLP explained, led groups like Fatah "to practice a demagogic and misleading relation with the Palestinian and Arab masses and to give deeds of absolutism to the reactionary regimes in return for their handful of subsidies. It also led these groups to cover up for the programs of the nationalist regimes, regimes which have been un-

able to attain the objectives of national democratic liberation" ("September: Counter-Revolution in Jordan").

In a speech before the General Union of Palestinian Students in Iraq in March 1971, DPFLP head Nayef Hawatmeh attacked the slogan of "non-interference" as leading to the resistance movement's

"turning its back to the developments in the region and to the masses of the East Bank and the Arab region... Thus the East Bank masses frankly felt they had no interest in the struggle. Their unoccupied land suffered from

Palestinian resistance commandos



FREE PALESTINE

reprisal strikes and they had no democratic, social or class interests in the revolution because the revolution did not deal with their problems against the reactionary regime and the ruling forces of imperialism. Nor did it deal with democratic and social issues to solve the problems of the countryside or the urban areas. The resistance turned its back completely to the masses and the masses had to look for some other refuge for fear that this situation might continue or worsen. Unfortunately, they ended up rallying around the lackeys ruling Amman, and for the first time in the history of Jordan, the Hashemite throne came to have a popular base, thanks to our 'Palestinian' policies, those of turning our back to the problems of the East Bank masses and refusing to build a united patriotic front opposing the unpatriotic front represented by the government, Parliament, and all the state apparatus of repression."

—Palestinian Resistance Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 11

In his speech, Hawatmeh points out that the nationalist parochialism of the resistance was carried so far that exclusionist Palestinian trade unions and student organizations were set up in the East Bank: "Given a school with three teachers, two Palestinians and one East Jordanian, the two Palestinians got accepted in the Palestinian Teachers Union while the third stayed out; the same was true of workers and students."

Although not explicitly stated, it is clear from the DPFLP literature that the June 1967 war created such a deep economic crisis (the West Bank ripped off by Israel produced one third of Jordan's gross national product) and so badly discredited the monarchy that a pre-revolutionary crisis existed in Jordan. The inability of the Palestinian resistance movement to present a revolutionary program meant that when the final showdown came between the resistance and the Hashemite army, the Jordanian masses, including the Palestinians who make up the majority of the population, sided with the king against the guerrillas. However, the situation was still so unstable that Hussein was forced to liquidate Jordan's embryonic trade-

union movement, the General Union of Workers in Jordan (GUWJ) which had 20,000 members, in order to consolidate the monarchist September victory.

Even more incisive and damning is the DPFLP's critique of the resistance position toward the Jordanian army and the interlocked agrarian question. The DPFLP pamphlet, "September: Counter-Revolution in Jordan," states: "The September Campaign attested to the cohesiveness of the State institutions as an effective instrument in the hands of imperialism and monarchic reaction." The pamphlet goes on to recall how each resistance group, including the DPFLP, expected the army to split, with a section coming over to the resistance. The pamphlet proceeds to a class analysis of the composition of the Jordanian army and, noting the rural origins of the ranks, concludes that the road to winning over a viable section of the monarchist army is through "a democratic program for the rural areas." However,

"the conspicuously sectional policy of the Resistance and the exploitation of this tendency on the part of the regime, pushed the village into the lap of its national and class enemy (reaction and imperialism) and made it fight on their side...."

Hawatmeh's March 1971 speech also contains a rather accurate description of the petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes

"which call themselves socialist in spite of the fact that they have emptied socialism of all its democratic, political and organizational content, as well as all that this implies in terms of economic, military and agricultural programs. They make the masses see in socialism an ugly face that does not belong to it. They make them see it as oppression and repression, a Bonapartist rule (of a small group from a specific class, i.e. the petty bourgeoisie, which claim to represent all the classes in society)....

"...by taking radical, economic, military, political and cultural stances, the petty-bourgeoisie would have had to tighten its belt. But it was not ready to tighten it because of its class interest... Actually, its ambition and admiration of bourgeois life was endless."

Hawatmeh extends his analysis of the petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes to the equally petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships of the resistance movement, but only in a partial manner. For it can be said equally of men like Arafat, leader of Fatah, and even those like Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), who mouth "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric that their "ambition and admiration of bourgeois life is endless."

Bonapartists Out of Power

Yasir Arafat's career was typical of most of the leadership of the Palestinian resistance movement. From upper-class Palestinian parentage, Arafat along with the other children of formerly rich Palestinian families disenfranchised by the 1948 war went on to study engineering at Fuad I (now Cairo) University. There Arafat organized the Union of Palestinian Students in Egypt, through which many of the future leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement passed. During their student days, Arafat and many of his future colleagues fell under the influence of the extremist Moslem Brothers. After graduating with their engineering degrees they joined the

ranks of educated Palestinians who were flocking to join the burgeoning technocracies of the oil-rich Persian Gulf countries. Arafat went to Kuwait, where his brother got him the job of road engineer in the government's Department of Public Works. After two years of working for the government, Arafat opened a private contractor's office and amassed a modest fortune.

Kahlil el-Wazir, mentioned in the *New York Times* (12 October 1972) as a possible leader of the Black September group, was at Alexandria University at the same time Arafat was at Fuad I. They both worked together in the Union of Palestinian Students and the Moslem Brothers, and both met again in Kuwait. Most of the future leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement ended up in Kuwait, a motley crew of wealthy contractors and merchants, with comfortable lives but embittered at being politically dispossessed of their "rightful" place as the ruling class of a Palestinian state, an ambition of which their nationalism is the ideological expression.

Paralleling the career of Arafat, although several years his senior, PFLP leader George Habash was born at Lydda—site of the PFLP's 9 May 1972 hijacking and airport massacre two weeks later. After studying medicine at the American University in Beirut, Dr. Habash graduated the same year Arafat entered Fuad I University, in 1951. Like Arafat, Habash laid the foundations for his organization—which

was called the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM)—among university students. The ANM was more Nasserite than Nasser, more Pan-Arab than the Ba'athists and always more adventurous than any of the commando groups. When Arafat was still an unknown student activist, Habash was the head of a large underground movement spread throughout the Arab world, which was putting into practice its modification of the Ba'athist slogan ("Unity, Liberation, Socialism") into the slogan of his group: "Unity, Liberation, Revenge." When Fatah began its terrorist operations in 1965, Habash, financially backed by Nasser, set up a competing sabotage organization: the Heroes of the Return. The very name recalls Trotsky's condemnation:

"Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission."

Another organization emerging prior to the June War was the Palestinian Liberation Front, led by Ahmed Jibril, a graduate of Sandhurst (the British military academy) and a former officer in the Syrian Army. Following the June war the PLF fused with the Heroes of the Return and another Habash organization, the Youth of Revenge, to form the PFLP. However, Jibril was still closer to the Syrian Ba'ath than to Habash, and when the latter was arrested by the Syrian government at the beginning of 1968, Jibril split. During Habash's imprisonment, Hawatmeh, (who had been an ANM activist since his youth) organized a left faction within the PFLP which captured the leadership of that group at its August 1968 convention. Habash launched a campaign against Hawatmeh culminating in shoot-outs in the Amman suburbs. Hawatmeh was forced to split and set up the DPFLP.

Petty-Bourgeois Frenzy and Mass Terror

Both Fatah and the PFLP drew their own conclusions from the September war—"relying on the Arab regimes rather than the Arab masses," to paraphrase the DPFLP critique. Following the Hashemite slaughter of hundreds of commandos and 5,000 civilians, Arafat flew off to embrace both Nasser and Hussein and sign the "Cairo Agreement," which essentially marked the end of Fatah's commando operations. Instead of an "armed struggle" which Arafat realizes he can never win, he

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Mass picketing during recent strike at Ford's Chicago Heights Stamping Plant.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Score Three for Woodcock!

Harvester Strike Called Off

CHICAGO, November 3—The UAW bureaucracy's treacherous policy of one-company-at-a-time "pattern bargaining" (as opposed to industry-wide bargaining) is currently being used to extend the defeat at Chrysler to the other union divisions. Thereby Ford, GM and agricultural implements workers will be restricted to the sellout terms of the Chrysler contract, so that even hard-won past gains are to be adjusted downward. Woodcock now faces the difficult task of convincing angry union members throughout the industry that the new contract is not the complete sellout of the ranks that it is, and avoiding by all possible means a militant strike that might spark a UAW-wide explosion.

In spite of all his efforts, there has been widespread rejection of the Chrysler pattern by auto workers. Spontaneous wildcats and unauthorized strikes over local issues swept through Ford plants around the country on the contract deadline day (26 October) despite Woodcock's announcement of a settlement and ban on local strikes "until they are authorized." Workers at Ford's Chicago Heights Stamping plant (Local 588) were among many who walked out in a body amid complete and justifiable disbelief about the possibility of Woodcock's International producing anything but one more sellout. The feeling was so widespread that the Solidarity House gang made no attempt to discipline the Local 588 leadership, which was acting under tremendous pressure from the ranks over mounting safety, noise-level and other working-conditions grievances.

Historic Gains Threatened

The Ford workers' rebellion came during the International Harvester strike, which began on 18 October because the company demanded a reversal of a major historic gain of IH workers—voluntary overtime—on the basis of the Chrysler settlement! The strike continued when local leaders rejected a proposed settlement negotiated personally by Woodcock and agricultural implements head Pat Greathouse (*Chicago Tribune*, 29 October). As we go to press the UAW has announced a settlement with Harvester which retains voluntary overtime but commits the union to disciplining members who "conspire" to use the right to refuse overtime as a weapon against the company. (This completely arbitrary clause enables the company to take action even against workers who try to organize a group to attend a Saturday ball game!) The members of Local 6 (Melrose Park, Illinois), a key IH plant, ratified the agreement today by a vote of 780 to 270. According to

workers interviewed after the ratification meeting, Local President Roth opposed the settlement, but was careful to avoid sparking a drive for rejection and to assure the International of his willingness to play ball with the Woodcock bureaucracy.

The agricultural implement section of the UAW has long been a strong section of the union, consistently winning higher wages, better working conditions and fringe benefits for the membership. The wages at John Deere, leading U.S. manufacturer of farm equipment, are among the highest in the UAW, about \$1.00 an hour higher than the average auto worker's wage; overtime has been voluntary at IH since 1941. These gains are the result of militant struggle against the employers and in large part a product of the tradition of militancy established by the old Farm Equipment Workers, a Stalinist-supported union which was partly destroyed by the post-war witch-hunt and the Reutherite UAW. The remnants of the FEW merged with the UAW in the 1950's.

When contracts for all three major agricultural implements companies expired on 1 October, the UAW chose Deere as a "pattern" company for the division and negotiated a settlement virtually identical on all major issues with the Chrysler pact. The settlement was announced only hours before the strike deadline, and ratification was rammed through before any opposition to the new contract could be organized. Typical of the bureaucratic manipulation used by Woodcock to suppress opposition from the disgruntled ranks was the ratification meeting for the local at Deere's largest plant in Waterloo, Iowa, where union members were not even informed of the specific provisions of the contract they were voting on! Militants demanding a new ratification meeting set up a picket line the following day, shutting down the plant completely on the second and third shifts. An emergency meeting was called at which an International Representative claimed that since the contract had already been "ratified" no new meeting could be held.

The strike at IH was quite in line with the Deere "pattern." It was provoked by the company which—in line with what the other bosses in the industry had been given in the Chrysler settlement—demanded a complete return to compulsory overtime. For IH workers, who alone among UAW members had voluntary overtime, Woodcock's much touted "victory" of "voluntary overtime" (after 54 hours a week!) would be a giant step backward. Only because the Chrysler pattern led to an attack on a long established gain for Harvester workers was the

Woodcock leadership forced into authorizing a strike. But afraid of the possibility of a militant struggle in which the ranks might get "out of hand," the bureaucracy consistently ran the strike in a consciously sloppy, low key fashion, keeping the ranks completely in the dark about the status of the negotiations.

Picketing was poorly organized at the IH Melrose Park works near Chicago, reportedly inspiring the company to call people to report to work on Friday, the second day of the strike, saying that there were no picket lines. There was no attempt at mass picketing, while some truckers and workers for outside contractors were forced to enter the plant against their will because the UAW local issued them passes, putting their jobs in jeopardy if they refused to cross picket lines! Salaried personnel were freely allowed to enter the plant and do bargaining unit work. At the IH plant in San Leandro, California, this led to a police charge to break a mass picket set up when workers learned that salaried workers were performing union work.

Fake Lefts in Local 6

Responding to widespread rank-and-file sentiment, newly elected Local 6 (IH Melrose Park) president Norman Roth called the Chrysler pattern a "two-bit offer" and called for its rejection by Chrysler workers. In an article in the local's paper (*Union Voice*, 28 September 1973) Roth focuses his criticism on government wage controls: "Just so long as our Union and the rest of the Labor Movement tolerate the Nixon Wage Controls will we be robbed in our demands. No one in his right mind would want to play in a card game in which the deck was stacked against him. That is what we are doing! The purpose of the Nixon programs is to guarantee profits for his big business buddies." But Roth's failure to organize a militant strike is a total capitulation to Woodcock and Greathouse; and his failure to call for industry-wide bargaining and for the ouster of the Woodcock leadership reveals his militant-sounding stand to be empty rhetoric.

Roth represents more than opportunist trade-union militancy; he adheres to a broader program of social reform, which does not challenge the capitalist system of wage slavery but instead relies on a political coalition with sections of the employers themselves. Roth's caucus, the Solidarity Caucus of Local 6, supports Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), a bureaucratic pan-union grouping backed by the Communist

Party. TUAD support of class collaboration is demonstrated by its uncritical support of McGovern in the 1972 elections and its physical exclusion of left-wing opponents at the June 1972 TUAD conference. Roth proposed at a recent membership meeting that Local 6 endorse the program of Jesse Jackson's and Woodcock's Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice, which consists of a call to lobby Congress for a series of legislative reforms, thoroughly consistent with the continued existence of capitalism. Roth's failure to provide leadership to the IH strike accords fully with his reformist politics, shared by the CP, and exposes once again the bankruptcy of Stalinist class collaboration.

The syndicalist Workers Voice Committee at the Melrose Park works has occupied the position of left pressure group on Roth since his election last summer. Workers Voice as well as Roth endorsed Reverend Jesse Jackson's government-financed PUSH coalition, although with some criticisms of its program. Workers Voice has called for rejection of any settlement that does not meet five conditions, which include a wage increase of \$1.25 an hour; reinstatement of the right of the union to impose an overtime ban; racial equality in hiring, placement and upgrading; and access to skilled trades. Workers Voice (embarrassed in the last contract period when its wage demand turned out to be the same as the bureaucrats') has followed a policy of simply demanding "more" than the International leadership. The result is spontaneous trade-union militancy substituting for a program expressing the necessity of sweeping away the decaying capitalist system in its entirety. The condition for achieving even these limited demands is an industry-wide strike, the elimination of pattern bargaining and a political struggle to replace Woodcock/Greathouse with a union leadership committee.

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"Community Control" in NYC District 1—

School Board vs. Fuentes: Cesspool of Ethnic Politics

NEW YORK—The current dispute between the white-racist local school board and the anti-union pro-community-control district superintendent in School District 1 on the Lower East Side is a demagogic fight over administrative spoils in which neither side offers anything to working people. On both sides the intent is to inflame racial hostilities in order to divert attention from the continuing crisis of the school system and the need for a program of united working-class struggle to answer it.

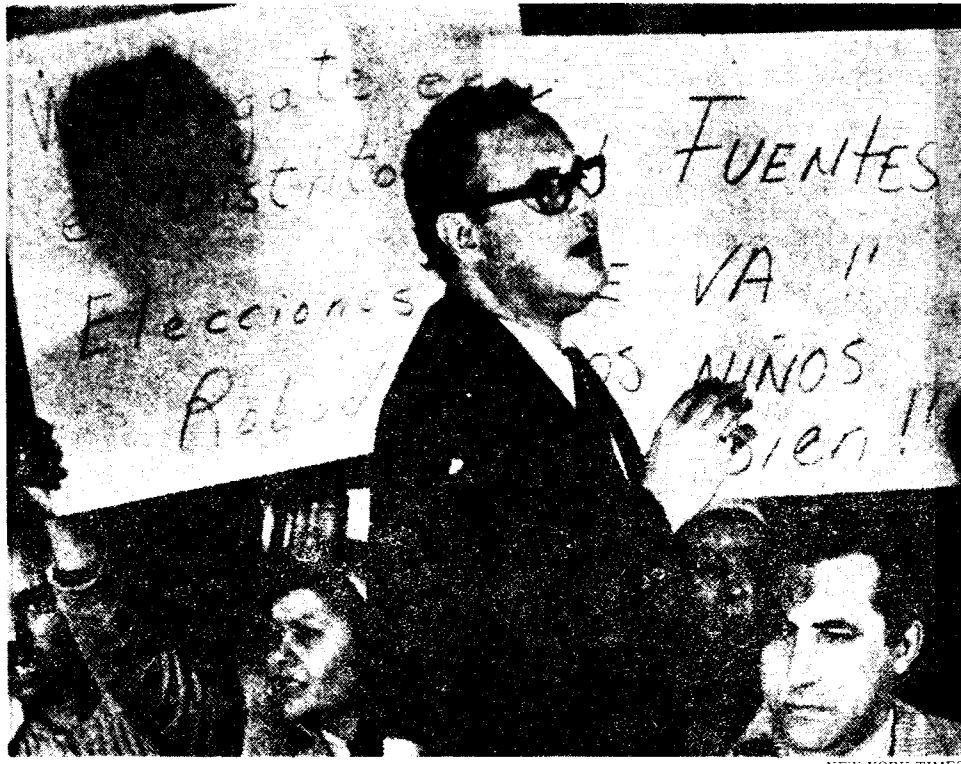
The fact that the United Federation of Teachers backs the school board, while several ostensibly revolutionary organizations are mobilizing forces behind Fuentes (the superintendent) is only another proof of the reactionary implications of support for reformism and nationalism. While the lines of the dispute accurately reflect the political blocs which have dominated the city in recent years (the conservative leadership of the organized labor movement vs. the oppressed minorities, with big-business-backed liberals playing the mediating role), the task of revolutionary socialists is to shatter this pattern and polarize the situation on class, not racial lines. The fight over who controls the patronage of a few appointed administrative posts must be transcended by the struggle for worker-teacher-student control of the schools and for a class-struggle leadership of the unions.

School Board vs. Superintendent

Opposing each other in District 1 are the UFT-backed school board elected last May and the district superintendent, Luis Fuentes, who was suspended indefinitely and without pay on October 16 by the school board and then reinstated following a six-day boycott of the district's schools. The UFT campaigned for the election of the new school board for the express purpose of ousting Fuentes (*New York Times*, 15 July), whom the UFT correctly characterizes as an anti-union demagogue. But the UFT-backed school board seems less concerned with Fuentes' union-busting tactics than with his tolerance toward the use of nationalist and radical texts in the schools and his associations with black and Puerto Rican political organizations.

The board itself is a racist and conservative bunch, largely white although the school population and parents are not. This is in part a reflection of the changing racial composition of the area. About 95 percent of the elementary and junior high students in District 1 are Spanish-surnamed, black or Chinese, with Puerto Ricans making up a large majority. But half or more of the adult population is white, many of them elderly people who have no children in the public schools (*New York Times*, 25 October). All registered voters as well as parents are eligible to vote in the school elections.

Fuentes, who is a pork-barrel patronage politician in the hallowed American traditions of ethnic politics, became the first Puerto Rican principal in New York City when he received an appointment in 1967 in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental district in Brooklyn. His first bid for the District 1 superintendency was turned down in 1968 when it was discovered that a letter of recommendation on his behalf had been forged. He later won the post in 1972 after a series of appointments to fill vacancies on the



Luis Fuentes

district school board had changed its composition from a white to a Puerto Rican majority.

Ethnic Politics and the Schools

During the 1968 city-wide teachers' strike Fuentes had been a vociferous critic of the "Jewish" UFT and now continues to carefully cultivate his image as the embodiment of the hopes and desires of the doubly oppressed Puerto Rican and black population in the city for improvement of their present intolerable conditions by maneuvering within the present system. In this respect he is no different from other demagogic bourgeois ethnic politicians such as Herman Badillo, Adam Clayton Powell and, in an earlier period, Boss Tweed or Carmen DiSapio. A necessary part of this game is skillful maneuvering to maintain ethnic identifications and hostilities at a high level among all sections of the working class. Fuentes has several times been accused of being anti-Semitic and anti-Italian, and the American Jewish Congress and Anti-Defamation League have been pushing for his removal for a long time. Last year Fuentes was charged with making anti-Semitic statements while he served as principal in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. A city hearing subsequently ruled that there were insufficient grounds to dismiss him from office because the remarks had been made too long ago to be considered as evidence.

Fuentes strives to maintain his popularity—and thereby his \$37,000/year job—by posing as the champion of "community control," pushing the idea that the major barrier to Puerto Rican and black advancement is the political power and high wages demanded by organized labor. UFT President Albert Shanker charges Fuentes with opposing union contracts because they provide "good paying jobs for suburban middle-class professionals" and "make change extremely difficult" (*New York Times*, 8 July 1973). The shrinking school budget is blamed on yearly increases in teacher salaries. In an interview with the SWP's *Militant* (27 April 1973) Fuentes stated:

"I have a commitment to hire community people who will be responsible to that community and respect its problems. Shanker would like me to only



Albert Shanker

hire members of his union. That's patronage!"

In fact, union control of hiring and the expansion of the teachers' union to include all school personnel below the administrative level (paraprofessionals, custodial and service employees, etc.) is a powerful weapon against just that kind of pork-barrelling patronage that Fuentes dispenses. At the same time there must be a struggle within the UFT against the bankrupt Shanker bureaucracy on a class-struggle program which points beyond the limiting confines of capitalism, and for educational programs dealing with the special needs of oppressed sectors of the population (blacks, Puerto Ricans, etc.) who make up a majority of the city's students. Such an approach could transcend the present internecine racial-ethnic warfare with a united class struggle for worker-student-teacher control of the schools.

Community Control: A Capitalist Plot

Fuentes, a hollow demagogue whose program does not even call for such minimal reformist demands as "more schools," can maintain his posture as the champion of oppressed minority populations only because of the left cover provided him by radical groups and because of the UFT leadership, which does everything possible to line

up minority populations against the union. Rather than fronting for fakers of the Fuentes/Shanker stripe, the task of socialists must be to expose the slogan of "community control" as a reactionary, divisive, union-busting capitalist hoax as well as to struggle within the union against the reactionary Shanker leadership.

Community control is at best useless and at worst a reactionary scheme which, if it could really be carried out, would slice up the cities into isolated ethnic ghettos, relegating the oppressed groups to the worst schools and housing, freezing them into a permanent sub-subsistence welfare-rolls existence, further than ever from full integration into the American proletariat which represents their only hope of liberation from the racist oppression of bourgeois society. Under capitalism, community control means nothing more than the illusory freedom of ghetto residents to manage their own poverty.

Community control itself was a conscious plot on the part of the bourgeoisie, particularly Rockefeller and the Ford Foundation (under its president McGeorge Bundy, the man who invented "Vietnamization" as a cover for U.S. aggression in Indochina), to throw a sop to ghetto militancy while lining up unemployed populations against the teachers' union in a period when the ruling class was faced with an upsurge of municipal strikes. The 1969 school decentralization law (which created 31, now 32, decentralized school districts in New York City) followed close on the heels of the 1968 teachers' strike.

Unlike 1968, when nationalist political ideology in the ghettos was almost universally dominant, today there exists an opening for a decisive shattering of nationalism among the black and Puerto Rican minorities, as well as illusions in community control as a solution to racial oppression. New York has now experienced four years of "community control" of the schools, complete with separate elections and separate local budgets, the only result being the continued degeneration of the material situation of the black and Puerto Rican populations.

The reading achievement rate for New York City students has been dropping steadily for ten years with 66.3 percent of elementary pupils and 71.3 percent of junior high and intermediate students reading below grade level. With the additional burden of language difficulties, some 86 percent of Puerto Rican students are reading below grade level (*New York Times*, 17 March 1973). The drop-out rate in New York City schools was 57 percent for Puerto Ricans, 46 percent for blacks, 29 percent for others (May 1972), as opposed to 11.1 percent for blacks and 7.4 percent for whites nationwide (June 1973).

Such abysmal statistics reflect the increasing financial crisis in the public sector besetting the advanced capitalist countries, particularly the U.S. On the one hand, essential services are limited by budget cuts. Thus last June \$27 million was cut from the school lunch program necessitating the firing of 665 employees and eliminating hot lunches for the students. On the other hand, widespread crime and violence in the schools led to a doubling of the number of armed security guards (cops) in the schools last January.

To the manifest crisis in the city's schools, whose root cause is the capitalist system itself, Fuentes' only program is to channel the anger of Lower East Side residents against the UFT. And when the pathetic results of community control could now be easily exposed, the left (such as El Comité, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization—formerly Young Lords Party—and the SWP) not only tails after but today provides the main organizational momentum for community control.

Community Control as a Means of Union-Busting

The state administration is now seeking to extend the union-smashing

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New Left Maoism: Long March

THE OCTOBER LEAGUE

In the early months of its existence the October League attempted to pose as a left opposition to the openly right-Maoist Revolutionary Union. The subsequent evolution of the OL, however, revealed the differences between the two organizations to be at most quantitative and temporary. United by the reformist logic of their Stalinist politics, their desired roles as running dogs of the Chinese bureaucracy and their iron determination to tail after every available left-talking faker in the unions and elsewhere, the RU and OL are today separated only by the organizational ambitions of their respective leaders. Nevertheless, these ambitions are quite ferocious, and we will undoubtedly soon see new "theoretical" justifications for the continued separate existence of two right-Maoist national organizations. In the ensuing competition the OL is likely to come off the worse, partly because of the RU's larger size, and partly because of the inherent irrationality of trying to build a tendency around the politically footloose Mike Klonsky.

Los Angeles: Left Maoism?

The present October League is the result of a fusion in May 1972 of Klonsky's Los Angeles October League and the Georgia Communist League headed by Lynn Wells. Both of these local collectives originated in the RYM-II section of 1969 SDS (see article on the RU in *WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973 for more details). Klonsky, son of a CP bureaucrat, was earlier an anarchist, then head of pre-split SDS and the leading RYM-II spokesman in 1969. Wells was a leader of the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

In the course of his elaborate maneuvers to "Stop PL" at all costs, Klonsky became a leading spokesman for the RYM-II fetish of "white skin privilege." According to this remarkable "theory," first put forward by Ted Allen (leader of the Harpers Ferry Organization), white workers, although not directly part of the camp of the class enemy, as Weatherman argued, are a labor aristocracy. Consequently, they could be won to class consciousness only after somehow metaphysically "renouncing" this privilege. Just how this would be accomplished in practice was never explained, although in his inimitable "dumb-worker" style Klonsky would declare that anyone who didn't recognize the existence of a black nation was a "mother-f---in' racist"! Klonsky solved the problem of how to "give up" this privilege for himself by dropping the theory a few months later, along with his youth-vanguardist "revolutionary youth movement" strategy, in favor of more orthodox Maoism.

Noted in SDS for his Mafia-style organizational techniques, Klonsky reorganized his closest clique partners from SDS days (i.e., his wife, sister-in-law and brother—no wonder the OL defends the family as a "fighting unit for socialism"!) into the Los Angeles RYM-II collective. LA RYM-II attacked the Revolutionary Union from the left by claiming (accurately) that Avakian's "strategic united front against imperialism" was in fact a cover for a two-stage revolution theory essentially identical to the reformist Communist Party's "anti-monopoly coalition":

"The 'Statement of Principles' [of the RU, in *Red Papers* No. 1] separates imperialism from monopoly capitalism instead of recognizing imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism, as the highest stage of capitalism, with no intermediate rungs between imperi-

alism and socialism. The position, therefore, is simply a carefully veiled resuscitation of the CPUSA(R) anti-monopoly coalition, the "two stage" theory of the American revolution."

—Marv Treiger for the LA RYM-II collective to the RU executive committee, September 1969



Mike Klonsky

Treiger, one of the founders of LA RYM-II, split from Klonsky in late 1969. While the latter formed the OL in the fall of 1970, Treiger joined the California Communist League (CCL), now the Communist League, which was emerging at the time. Treiger and a number of comrades soon split from the CCL over the question of Stalin's crimes and joined with ex-RUers to form the Communist Working Collective. The OL's development generally tailed the CWC until the two collectives set up a joint study group on Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin in early 1971. Klonsky and family dropped the project after the first session, however, where they insisted on studying Maothought as a precondition to studying anything about the history of the international communist movement. If 600 million Chinese think Mao is right, they argued, that's



Lynn Wells

good enough for us! (The CWC went on to break decisively with Maoism and, after consolidating around Trotskyism, to fuse with the Spartacist League.)

Atlanta: Party-Building

The other principal component of the OL is the Georgia Communist League. Among the various remnants of RYM-II, the GCL represented the

opposite pole to the syndicalist Sojourner Truth Organization (Chicago) on the question of the party. In a May 1971 document, "The Vanguard Party: Invincible Weapon of the Working Class," the GCL noted:

"In reviewing the practice of our group and that of other collectives and organizations, we have found that opportunism has manifested itself principally in the form of the reformist theory of spontaneity and its practice of tailism....

"This [tailism] was the predominant view in our group for the first 6 months of existence. During that time we developed the theory and practice of 'gazing with awe upon the posteriors' (quote from Plekanov [sic] printed in *What Is To Be Done?*) of the working class to a high degree....

"Our shop work was considered to be the most important part of our work."

In response to the RU's "strategic united front" and platonic reference to the desirability of a party in the great by and by, the GCL wrote:

"On the other hand, it is not simply a matter of 'uniting all who can be united' around the need to build a party....

"Specifically, a new party must not just be a collection of revolutionaries, but a clearly defined and solidly united organization. This unity must be built around a political program, based on these fundamental principles of scientific socialism applied to the particular situation for revolution in the United States."

OL Turns to the Right

The early militancy of the GCL and the Los Angeles OL was reflected in their fusion statement. Thus while the RU quotes Lin Piao's statement that "the contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world" (*Red Papers* No. 2), the OL tries to make a fundamental distinction between the backward countries and the U.S., claiming that in the latter "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction" ("Statement of Political Unity of the Georgia Communist League [M-L] and the October League [M-L]," May 1972). Consequently, while two-stage revolution was

the same turf soon sobered up the OL. Enough of such "ultra-leftism"! Thus while the fusion statement of the OL had stated that the "new communist party" must be built around the slogan "workers of all countries, unite," the OL sharply opposed PL's attempts to have this slogan adopted by the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, a local anti-war coalition. The OL's preference: "People of the World, Unite"! (Against whom—the Martians?)

On the question of party-building the ex-GCLers are now quite apologetic for their earlier emphasis on the centrality of the struggle for the Leninist vanguard party. At a conference of the NCLC in North Carolina in October 1972, James Skillman of the OL repented: "[we] wanted to build a party, and *thought* we were building a party, but we saw party building in isolation from mass struggles and *in isolation from the united front*. You can't build a party without taking part in the United Front Against Imperialism." So much for the "fundamental" OL-RU differences on this point! This retreat from earlier "leftism" has reached the point that last spring the OL could declare, in an article on "Building a New Communist Party in the U.S.":

"However, while modern revisionism, or right opportunism is the main ideological enemy which confronts the world revolutionary movement, within the newly-emerging communist movement here, the main danger is 'leftism' and sectarianism."

—*The Call*, April 1973

OL-RU on the Woman Question: Share the Housework

One of the areas where sharp differences between the two major right-Maoist organizations supposedly exist is on the struggle for the emancipation of women. In a recent issue of *The Call* (July 1973) the OL levels the profound accusation that the RU is "down on the women's movement." The article summarizes the discussion among various Maoists at the May 25 *Guardian* forum on the Equal Rights Amendment as showing two attitudes toward the women's movement, one (the OL's) "that it is a progressive movement" and the other (presumably the RU's) "that it is a hopelessly confused middle-

class movement which should be opposed."

The Revolutionary Union opposes the ERA as allegedly "part of the attack on the proletariat" while the OL correctly supports it, calling for struggle to preserve gains represented by some of the special protective laws for women workers. However, in typical fashion, the OL takes this stand because "millions of working women and men have

correct for Mao it is wrong for Klonsky. The unity statement goes on to proclaim that "the creation of a new communist party—one of a Leninist type—has become the principal task for all communists in the U.S." To the RU's emphasis on "united-front work" the OL counterposed "party-building."

But the right zigzag of Mao internationally and the necessity of competing domestically with the RU for

to Peaceful Coexistence



Top: Picketers at support demonstration for 1972 Mead strike. Bottom: Sherman Miller, head of strike committee and a member of the OL.

struggled [for these gains]—i.e., because this is a popular position. The Spartacist League, in contrast, supports the ERA as a general democratic right, while calling for struggle to maintain beneficial protective legislation and extend it to cover men (see "ERA and the Struggle for Women's Equality," *WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973).

Despite occasional differences the RU and OL are essentially united in offering nothing but pious pro-worker, men-and-women-must-unite homilies, failing to raise a revolutionary proletarian program which offers a class-struggle road for women's liberation. Neither the RU nor OL carries on the crucial and necessary political fight against the divisive bourgeois ideology of feminism, nor do they seek to follow the early Comintern in calling for a communist women's movement. Instead their philistine comments about homosexuals and abortion amount to a capitulation to the present backward consciousness of many women workers:

"Because of its narrow emphasis on abortion and often on homosexuality, many people have gotten the idea that the movement for women's liberation is just an anti-children, anti-family and anti-social movement."

—*The Call*, March 1973

While correctly criticizing the limitations of the SWP-led WONAAC and the single-issue campaign to legalize abortion, the OL simply calls for a multi-issue reform movement focusing on childcare. And on the question of alliances with bourgeois feminists such as NOW, the OL accuses the RU of "rul[ing] out any alliance between working women and such organizations as NOW, even though it is presently fighting for many democratic women's rights..." The RU replied to OL attacks by mouthing a few words about "tactical alliances" with NOW, while denying it a place in the RU's "united front against imperialism."

In their efforts to show that as good Maoists they would not refuse to ally with the "democratic" NOW, the OL and RU fail to pose the struggle for women's liberation as necessarily tied

to the struggle for socialism. The concept of a transitional program of demands which would further the emancipation of women—the call for the socialization of housework (and thereby for an end to centuries of female bondage to the home), for full and equal integration of women into the work force (and into the trade unions)—is totally foreign to Stalinists raised on the reformist methodology of a minimum and maximum program. Thus when the OL and RU speak of "tactical" alliances with NOW, they do not mean a demonstration to legalize abortion but an ongoing political bloc on the basis of "democratic" (i.e., non-socialist) demands.

Like the opportunist ex-Trotskyist SWP, which has already followed NOW down the primrose path to bourgeois feminism, the RU and OL will reserve their platitudes on socialism for obscure passages in their turgid pamphlets on the joys of raising children in China, while in their political practice limiting themselves to what is acceptable to the capitalists. The SL, in contrast, has consistently fought in the women's movement for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all and has opposed such mini-popular fronts as WONAAC, which seeks to build a class-collaborationist alliance of ostensibly socialist groups and bourgeois politicians such as Representative Bella Abzug and the Women's Political Caucus.

Perhaps the most disgusting aspect of the RU-OL workerist pandering to the present backward consciousness of the working class is their back-handed defense of the bourgeois family. Instead of showing how socialization of household work and childcare would liberate women from the slavery of unpaid labor and domestic bondage, and why this requires a united proletarian revolution, the RU comes up with the stunning proposal that "we have to encourage sharing household work at home, especially if the wife, as well as the husband, is working outside the home" (*Red Papers* No. 3): Not

even sub-reformist, such proposals are utterly apolitical. If the sole problem lay in convincing men to do housework, the millions of women now chained to home and family could presumably be liberated simply by enrolling husbands and wives in encounter groups!

In line with this defense of the family, the OL relates that in Mao's China one factory worker "told me that all her housework was done by her children, two daughters and a son, because both parents worked" ("Women Hold Up Half the Sky," 1972). What a stunning achievement! Of course, the OL neglects to mention that this is (unfortunately) already the situation for many working-class families under capitalism. Marx and Engels, at least, were not so pusillanimous when faced with the widespread bourgeois idealization of the family among backward workers:

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement [prostitution] vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital. Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty."
—"The Communist Manifesto"

Soul Power or Workers Power?

Lacking any strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S., the OL leaders (like the RU, IS and various ostensibly Trotskyist groups—SWP, WL, RSL, CSL, etc.) have instead tailed after the dominant trends of petty-bourgeois opinion. In 1969 Klonsky and Wells were spouting youth vanguardism and white race-guilt; in 1970, at the height of the feminist movement, Los Angeles RYM-II was calling for exclusionist women's caucuses. With the upsurge of working-class militancy in recent months, the OL has distinguished itself in the labor movement chiefly through its capitulation to black nationalism and reformist out-bureaucrats.

The former is especially evident in the OL's misleadership of the wildcat strike by workers at the Mead Packaging Corp. in Atlanta. Begun during the summer of 1972, the strike lasted for seven weeks and involved several hundred black workers in a struggle against racial discrimination. The strike ended with a victory for the company, which refused to grant the workers' demands and fired some 40 militants. Throughout the struggle, the biggest weakness was the scabbing by white workers, which the OL strike leaders could not combat with their emphasis on "soul power" and alliance with the black-capitalist Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The union (Local 527 of the International Printing Pressmen) had a typical history as little more than a dues-collecting agency. In early August of last year OL members in the plant called together militants to form the Mead Caucus of Rank and File Workers whose demands centered on "unfair treatment and oppression of the black workers." When management refused to meet the demands, a wildcat strike was proclaimed only 12 days after the caucus was formed. This in itself was a stupid, adventurist action, for a successful strike requires a recognized, capable leadership and strong organization of the ranks.

As the strike continued it was seen by white workers as solely a "black affair." Even the OL recognized that "only a small minority of the white workers [have] taken part in the strike while most have scabbed" (*The Call*, November 1972). In an interview with OL member Sherman Miller who headed the caucus, it is admitted that lack of work among white employees was partially responsible for the sharp racial division, as was the widespread opinion that the caucus was trying to break the union and hesitancy of whites

to support special demands around discrimination against blacks. The OL makes a show of recognizing these errors, calling for black-white unity, stating that it is not anti-union, etc. But it ignores two of the principal reasons for the racial divisions which ultimately scuttled the strike.

In the first place, the OL did not fight black nationalism, instead trying to combine "soul power" with "workers power." Despite the undoubted justice of the complaints against racial discrimination, a strike built around the slogan of soul power will not enlist the support of most white workers. Admittedly it is difficult to overcome centuries of racism, but it is for this reason that it is crucial to place the struggle against racial discrimination in the framework of a class-struggle program which defends the interests of the entire working class. Instead of tailing after the greater militancy of the black workers, the OL should have fought to win the most advanced black workers to such a proletarian program as the minimum condition for a successful strike.

Secondly, the OL tried to implement its new enthusiasm for the "anti-imperialist united front" by appealing to and working closely with the SCLC. Black-power demagogue Hosea Williams was extremely effective in channeling the struggle into racial lines, as well as trying "to influence the workers towards reformism and relying on a few leaders instead of their own initiative. [The SCLC has] also fostered pacifism and a totally negative, one-sided attitude toward the whole union" (*The Call*, October 1972). Despite this indictment the OL still insists that "SCLC's support has been helpful"—yet the subsequent effective dispossession of the OL from leadership of the strike toward its conclusion by the SCLC with its reformist-nationalist demagoguery was a main factor in the defeat that ensued! Again the OL displays the wisdom of hindsight: "The workers are learning that to insure success they must win allies in the community but keep their own independence and insure that control of the struggle rests in their hands." Not surprisingly, these battle-tested leaders conclude that "the strike was a victory in several ways"—mainly because 700 workers stuck it out for seven weeks before returning to work. With "victories" like this, who needs defeats?

Possibly as a result of sobering up after this fiasco, the OL has since flipflopped to a policy of wholeheartedly endorsing every left-talking bureaucrat who promises to win a few more cents an hour while mouthing empty phrases about "democracy." Thus *The Call* recently criticized the RU sharply for giving Arnold Miller of the Miners for Democracy only "critical support" in last December's UMW elections! The fact that Miller and the MFD were relying on the courts and Labor Department officials to win the election was naturally not mentioned. Even more directly this policy was seen in the October League's enthusiastic support, along with the RU, for the opportunist Brotherhood Caucus at the Fremont, California GM plant. If there is any difference between the OL's uncritical support and the RU's "critical" support for fake militants, this can be only in the former's closer ties to the out-bureaucrats who dominate the caucus. However, when their erstwhile allies decide to turn on these embarrassing "radical" cheerleaders, both the OL and RU will be given an object lesson in the price of capitulation to reformism.

Faced with the increasing combativeness of the U.S. working class, the OL and RU appear to be reacting in different directions. Thus the former pretenders to "left-Maoism" of the OL are trying to get as close to the bu-

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More War Ahead!

Brezhnev's messages—so ambiguous, in fact, that not even the Administration's usual apologists could come up with "leaked" accounts of the nature of the supposed Russian threats.

Nor was the direct "hot line" connection between the White House and the Kremlin used in the alleged "worst crisis since the 1962 Cuban missile showdown." That the Soviet government had no intention of unilateral military intervention in the Near East was clearly demonstrated when, on the same day as the U.S. alert, it voted for the UN resolution barring inclusion of contingents from the major powers in the forces policing the ceasefire. Even hard line cold warriors are now openly nervous about Nixon's finger on the button which could set off nuclear world war.

Immediately after Brezhnev's visit to the U.S. last June, when U.S.-Soviet relations could not have appeared rosier, a *Workers Vanguard* (6 July) headline proclaimed "U.S./USSR Détente Doomed." A scant four months later, the American government orders a world-wide military alert to "forestall Russian aggression." But even before the latest Arab-Israel war the détente had been heavily eroded, in part because a section of the American ruling class was trying to strengthen Israel by encouraging massive emigration of Russian Jews, in part due to evidence of significant advances in Russian military technology (the Soviet MIRV tests). With the Arab-Israel war, the Meany-Lovestone leadership of the AFL/CIO did its bit to revive the Cold War by threatening a maritime boycott of Russian trade, attempting to blackmail the Soviet government into ceasing arms shipments to the Arabs. (In the entire trade-union movement, only the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union sought to organize workers to oppose the anti-Soviet boycott [see *WV* No. 31, 26 October].) And recently the Nixon administration has gone back on its pledge to support lower tariffs on imports from the USSR, making tariff cuts conditional on Brezhnev's "behaving himself" in the Near East.

While conditioned by the particular irrationality and vulnerability of the Nixon administration (which are by no means unrelated to capitalist society), the events of October 24 reveal the thin edge preventing the American bourgeoisie from plunging humanity into a nuclear inferno. The Kremlin bureaucracy, however, has repeatedly shown its inability to understand this and the basic class contradictions in the world today. Its vain hopes to continue the wartime alliance of the U.S., USSR, Britain, France and China led to the American Communist Party's call for a permanent no-strike pledge after World War II; the French and Italian CPs' participation in bourgeois popular-front governments, their disarming of the anti-Nazi partisans and initial failure to oppose the Marshall Plan; Stalin's agreement at Yalta to cede Greece to the British; and his opposition to the drive to power by Tito's Yugoslav partisans and the Chinese guerrillas led by Mao. In the Near East the Russian leaders have for years acquiesced in the suppression of the local Communist parties by their Egyptian, Iraqi and Syrian allies, with the excuse of a supposed anti-imperialist alliance with the nationalist bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries. More recently, Brezhnev's illusions in détente have led the Russian government to openly support Nixon even while the American CP was calling for his impeachment.

The parasitic bureaucrats in the Kremlin are constantly looking for alliances with the "peace-loving" bour-

geoisie, even at the risk of threatening the basic achievements of the October Revolution. This is a logical consequence of their role as the transmitters of the pressure of imperialism and of their Stalinist ideology of class collaboration. The Chinese Stalinists are, of course, no better, although they have conflicting national interests. Thus Chou En-lai sees only "great-power ambitions" dividing the USSR and the U.S. and goes so far in a bid for a U.S.-Chinese alliance as to openly endorse NATO as a weapon against "Soviet social imperialism" (*New York Times*, 30 October). Thus both Russian and Chinese bureaucracies have backed Nixon just as Moscow backed Johnson before him, as a supposed force for peace. The October 24 U.S. world-wide military alert unmasks the Moscow-Peking dreams of peaceful coexistence as the dangerous—and deadly—illusions they are.

The fundamental hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Russian degenerated workers state tends to drive them into military conflict, even in situations where the leaders of the two nations want to avoid such confrontations. For that reason, it is necessary for revolutionary socialists faced with the local wars, such as the present Arab-Israeli conflict, to warn the working masses of the danger of World War III and the need to defend the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Brezhnev regime's unashamed support for bourgeois and feudal Arab nationalism and its lack of any sense of proletarian internationalism are major obstacles to mobilizing the American working class in defense of the Soviet Union should there be a direct clash with the U.S. in the Near East.

NATO—or the U.S.-Portuguese Alliance

Not the least important result of the fourth Arab-Israel war is that it demonstrated and reinforced the weakening of American world power through *imperialist* rivalry. U.S. imperialism expected and is temporarily reconciled to the pro-Arab neutrality of France and Britain; it was unsettled by the rigid neutrality of its most important and loyal ally, West Germany; and it was humiliated by the presumptuous neutrality of the two-bit generalissimos running Spain, Greece and Turkey. Twenty-five years after the founding of NATO, the U.S.' only dependable European ally in this conflict of world importance is that great sixteenth-century imperial power, Portugal.

The objectively pro-Arab neutrality of the European bourgeoisies reflects both oil diplomacy and more fundamental imperialist conflict. In the long run, the attempts of the militarily, socially and politically weak—but oil-rich—sheikhdoms at economic blackmail of the capitalist powers will be met with force, probably in the form of the Iranian army. However, given the present balance of forces, the European powers are prepared to conciliate Arab nationalism. From the bourgeois standpoint there is no reason why West Europe should freeze this winter because Dayan wants to control ten more miles of Sinai desert.

The pro-Arab policies of Britain and France reflect far more than a means of securing fuel supplies for the next few months. The Near East has been the only major colonial area where these old imperialist powers seriously competed with the U.S. in the post-war period. After the fiasco of their 1956 Suez invasion, France and Britain sought to take advantage of the political vacuum produced by the U.S.' pro-Israel policy on the one hand and the reluctance of the Arab bourgeois nationalists (not to mention the feudal reactionaries like Faisal) to excessive dependence on the Soviet Union. In presenting the Arab regimes with a third option between accepting the Zionist state and a full-blown alliance with the Soviets, Britain and France have sought a sphere of influence in the Near East by essentially diplomatic methods. However, the combination of a lengthy Arab-Israeli war

and a weakened U.S. imperialism could well transform the British and French diplomatic intervention into direct military involvement.

The U.S. Protects and Polices Israel

Sadat's appeal for U.S. forces to police Israel should have convinced even political idiots (even the Socialist Labour League's Gerry Healy and the Workers League's Tim Wohlforth, the only people in the world who believe the Arabs were victorious in this war) that Israel is something other than an American base in the Near East. That Israel is today entirely dependent on the U.S. for heavy military hardware is not open to question. As Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said in the Knesset last week, "anyone advocating we run the war in a state of rupture with the United States is advocating we can't possibly win... I'm not sure the soldiers know it but the shells they are firing today were not in their possession a week ago" (*New York Times*, 31 October). But while Israel is now act-

torted by the significant Jewish population in the U.S., which possesses a certain weight in the bourgeoisie proper and a disproportionate influence in the cultural establishment. The widespread pro-Zionist sentiment of American and European Jews in part reflects an insecurity stemming from their emplacement in a historically hostile gentile society, an insecurity greatly strengthened by the Nazi experience. Thus the Zionism of non-Israeli, overwhelming petty-bourgeois Jews is in part the chauvinism of the oppressed, albeit of a vicarious and projective sort.

The vocal and visibility of the American Zionist lobby should not blind one to the fact that the American ruling class is not composed of Jewish nationalists. In fact, the hysterical desperation of American Zionists arises from an awareness that the pro-Israel policies of the U.S. government are contingent, not fundamental. Even more so than their American supporters, Meir and Dayan understand the limited and brittle nature of U.S. imperialism's commitment to Israeli na-

WV PHOTO



SL/RCY demonstrate in Boston against U.S. aid to Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

ing as a client state of the U.S., in reality, the alliance between the American ruling class and Zionism is complex and breakable.

The U.S. first supported Israel in the late 1940's as a counter to the British client states of Abdullah's Transjordan and Farouk's Egypt. With the rise of Ba'athism and Nasserism in the 1950's the U.S. looked to Israel as a military ally against a possible alliance between Arab nationalism and the Soviet Union. In the most general sense U.S. support for Zionism is part of the standard imperialist policy of Balkanizing ex-colonial areas, inflaming local nationalisms in order to divert mass struggles away from proletarian socialism.

However, with the passage of time Israel has become a handicap to the objective interests of U.S. imperialism. While the Zionist-Arab conflict has certainly arrested revolutionary class struggle in that area, the state of Israel has also served as a pole for Arab unity and Soviet diplomatic gains. Israel's value as the gendarme of the Near East is effectively offset by the profound hatred it inspires among the Arab masses. The U.S. is clearly grooming Shah Reza Pahlavi's Iran as the cop of the oil fields. And as Kissinger rightly said, the U.S. ruling class really has no desire to pull the nuclear trigger simply because Dayan and his generals want five more miles on the Golan Heights. For these reasons, in 1967 and even more so in the present war, the U.S. has acted as Israel's military ally while simultaneously curbing the dangerously inflated ambitions of the Zionist regime. This was the essence of the 1970 U.S.-proposed and Soviet-backed Rogers Plan, calling on Israel to return to the pre-1967 borders. The Arab regimes are well aware of this dual role of the U.S. in regard to Israel, hence their calls for U.S. intervention in the current battle.

The strategic interest of U.S. imperialism in the state of Israel is at once powerfully reinforced and dis-

tionism. Thus when some American Zionists wished to attack Nixon for his insufficiently pro-Israel stance, the Meir government instructed them not to risk antagonizing the president:

"Until now, according to the sources, the Israeli Embassy has made a special effort to deter Americans from lobbying the Nixon administration. The fear is that public pressure would displease the President and Mr. Kissinger... American businessmen called Israeli officials in Jerusalem to ask whether they should place calls to senatorial friends. According to the two[sources] they were told to be quiet and raise money."

—*New York Times*, 1 November

Dayan is certainly aware of the fact that one of Israel's few "Third-World" supporters, Chiang Kai-shek, could deliver a fine lecture on the fate of U.S. client states, like Taiwan, which become a serious hindrance to the strategic interests of American imperialism!

Return to the 1949 Truce Lines

As communists, in both the 1967 and present wars we called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides—the Hebrew and Arab peoples have nothing to gain from these wars! We demand that the Israelis give up the fruits of their armed conquests and return to the 1949 truce lines. But the demand that the Israelis unilaterally yield the territory conquered in the 1967 war in no way justifies the Arab side in the present war.

Unlike 1967, when the Arab regimes openly boasted about destroying the Zionist state, in the present war they proclaimed the more modest war aims of only recapturing their "lost" territories. However, in most wars between bourgeois states one side claims it is seeking "only" to reverse the defeat it suffered in the previous war. For revolutionary socialists, the claims of Egypt and Syria that they are fighting to recover conquered territory no more

sanctify their war effort than the French claim to have been fighting for Alsace-Lorraine in World War I or Hitler's claim in World War II that he "only" wanted to undo the Versailles Treaty.

The Arab states' demand that Israel return *their* territory rings particularly hollow since the population occupying that territory (in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank) is composed overwhelmingly of Palestinians, who have suffered national oppression for years at the hands of these same Arab regimes. Thus in the 1948 war and again in 1967 their war aims were not to liberate but to carve up among themselves the former Palestine. A precondition for the present war was the physical destruction by these regimes of the Palestinian resistance movement in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Not a few of the Palestinian commandos fighting in this war were released from Arab jails.

Currently the Egyptians and Syrians do not even make a pretense of fighting for the Palestinians' right of national self-determination and instead simply call for the return to the 1967 boundaries. (In other words the Gaza refugee camps would be administered by Egypt rather than Israel.) Jordan, on the other hand, shows no eagerness to recapture the West Bank, since Palestinians already constitute a majority of its population and the addition of several hundred thousand more would directly threaten the viability of the Hashemite monarchy. The military defeat of Israel, today as in 1967, would mean for the Palestinian people nothing but the replacement of one national oppressor by another.

And that is the central reason why the Arab side is not supportable. The only genuine national liberation struggle against Israel, one that revolutionary socialists can support, would be an uprising of the Palestinian masses themselves. However, such an uprising could hardly succeed unless linked to an internationalist movement among workers in the neighboring territories. A victory by the existing Arab regimes would mean the forcible subordination of the Hebrew people to the Arab majority—i.e., simply the reverse of the present unjust situation. More than anywhere else in the world today, the struggle between Arab and Hebrew nationalisms demonstrates the impossibility of achieving genuine national emancipation on a truly democratic basis except by united proletarian revolution.

For a Bi-National Palestinian Workers State! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The total domination of Hebrew and Arab nationalisms in the Near East over the past 25 years has effectively suppressed revolutionary proletarian struggle in that area. (Significantly, the only country in the area which experienced revolutionary working-class struggle has been Iraq, which is not involved in direct military confrontation with Israel.) Only a proletarian socialist revolution can produce a genuinely democratic solution to the national conflict in the Near East—a bi-national Palestinian workers state, with full guarantees of the rights of both Hebrew and Arab peoples, as part of a socialist federation of the Near East. While this is at all times our fundamental program, we must also oppose genocide or national oppression on either side. Thus it is obligatory for socialists to uphold the right of both Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking population to self-determination—that is, to secede and form their own separate states—no matter how difficult the resulting territorial division.

Only the working class—Arab and Hebrew alike—can overcome the endless cycle of war, oppression and revenge through united class struggle and the creation of the proletarian vanguard, a unified multi-national Trotskyist party whose program would uniquely express the most general and historic interests of the working class. ■

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Palestinian Resistance

looks to the diplomatic agility of his Moslem brothers in Cairo and Amman to solve the Palestinian problem.

The PFLP, on the other hand, started up its campaign of terrorist spectacles: hijacking airplanes and holding the passengers as ransom for PFLP prisoners, publicity and of course cash, to supplement its share of Saudi Arabian, Kuwaiti and Libyan oil royalties. But the Lydda airport massacre, where three Japanese sympathizers of the PFLP indiscriminately machine-gunned airline passengers, killing 26 and wounding 72, demonstrated that PFLP terrorism has another objective: rekindling the Arab-Israeli war. In such a confrontation, the PFLP believes, either Israel will be destroyed or the Arab regimes will be discredited and the authority of the resistance groups enhanced, as was the case following the June 1967 defeat.

All the resistance groups, including the DPFLP, write off the Israeli working class as a force for revolutionary change in this period. But groups like the PFLP and "Black September" actually desire to shore up Zionist chauvinism and drive the Israeli working class straight into the arms of right-wing Zionists like Menachem Begin and his Herut Party. Begin and Habash represent the most extreme expressions of their respective nationalisms, most eager to embrace the genocidal conclusions which follow from nationalist ideology. The extreme Arab nationalist believes that all Israelis must be Zionists, just as ultra-Zionists believed that all non-Jewish Germans had to be Nazis. By whipping up Zionist chauvinism within the Israeli working class and reinforcing popular support within Israel for the expansionist and revanchist policies of the Zionist government, PFLP adventurism renders a valuable service to the Israeli rulers.

The DPFLP

The DPFLP properly condemns those "forces whose programs and practices are influenced by petty-bourgeois adventurism," even though they espoused Marxist, socialist and progressive slogans. But the DPFLP can offer no alternative to Fatah's capitulation to the butchers of the resistance movement or to PFLP and "Black September" adventurism. The DPFLP claims to recognize the limitations of the resistance movement "with a subjective structure that contained all the class and ideological contradictions present among our people." But its own call for a "patriotic" or "national united front" can only be a call for a similar class-collaborationist formation which is either subordinated to the "patriotic" bourgeoisie (who, as Hawatmeh himself pointed out in the same speech in Iraq, are themselves tied to imperialism like "brokers") or else destined to tear itself apart in its first confrontation with the reality of the class struggle.

Unlike the PFLP and Fatah, the DPFLP knows better than to rely on the Arab regimes to fight its battles. But it is unable to recognize the Israeli working class as a potential ally in the struggle for Palestinian self-determination through socialist revolution, as the "Trojan horse" within the Israeli state. The DPFLP is incapable of seeing that if the Zionist state is to be smashed—not in a reactionary and genocidal fashion by some revanchist Bonapartist Arab regime, but as a step toward the socialist federation of the Near East—then the burden necessarily falls to the working people of Israel under the leadership of the Arab-Hebrew vanguard party. The DPFLP's failure to recognize

this elementary necessity is as debilitating as the "sectionalism" of Fatah which could not see the need for Palestinian-Jordanian class unity.

The guerrilla groups, from Begin's Zionist Irgun (which carried out the infamous Deir Yassin massacre of Arab villagers in the 1948 war) to the Palestinian nationalist "Black September" (responsible for last year's indefensible terrorist kidnapping of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics), represent bonapartism out of power. Other groups like the Syrian Sa'ika or Iraq's "Arab Liberation Front" are simply the armed extension of the Ba'athist regimes—i.e., bonapartism in power. No matter how spartan the guerrilla experience, no matter how self-sacrificing the individual cadres, the guerrillas in power would constitute a conservative privileged elite whose "ambition of and admiration for bourgeois life is endless."

Guerrillaism and Socialist Revolution

Guerrillaism is no strategy for socialist revolution, as the Guevarists and Maoists would have us believe. The experience of the colonial revolutions



Yasir Arafat, head of Fatah. After the 1970 massacre of Palestinian resistance fighters by Jordan's King Hussein, Arafat signed Cairo Agreement shutting down Fatah guerrilla operations, preferring instead to hold onto his subsidies from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other reactionary Arab regimes.

attests to the fact that while the guerrillas in power may, in exceptional circumstances, be forced to expropriate the bourgeoisie and replace capitalist with working-class property relations (although with considerable reluctance both in China and Cuba), the economic expropriation of the capitalist class takes place within the context of the political expropriation of the working class. The trade unions are stripped of their independence and subordinated to the bonapartist bureaucracy and, likewise, the workers parties are either merged with the state (as was the case with the Cuban Stalinists) or suppressed (the Cuban, Chinese and Vietnamese Trotskyists). Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution—confirmed positively by the Russian Revolution and negatively since in scores of cases from China to Bolivia—demonstrates that the democratic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be consummated only when the revolutionary proletariat, supported by the peasantry, seizes state power for its own, socialist, aims. The just and democratic solution of the Palestinian question, a bi-national Hebrew and Arab state, entails the victory of the proletarian revolution in the Near East led by a multi-national vanguard party.

Most of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations today have in fact abandoned the proletarian internationalist program of the Fourth International. Instead they chase after various petty-bourgeois nationalists in the name of a mythical "Arab Revolution." They all have their favorites, of course. Thus

the U.S. Socialist Workers Party praises the Fatah to the skies, Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League in England for many years chased after the PFLP and the French Ligue Communiste showered its favors on the DPFLP.

The DPFLP, however, has seen through this vicarious Arab nationalism and, in a crude way, captured the essence of the Pabloist liquidationism of these fake Trotskyists: abandoning the struggle for the Fourth International and its program of working-class independence and instead acting as cheerleaders and left pressure groups for various petty-bourgeois forces. Responding to the Ligue's enthusiastic hosannahs, the DPFLP wrote: "These movements find no justification for their existence, but to quickly adopt the developing revolutionary movements in different regions of the world, and project them as if they were new Trotskyist currents" (*Palestine Resistance Bulletin*, June 1971). Instead of challenging the nationalism, guerrillaism and Maoist two-stage revolution theories of the DPFLP and other Palestinian left-nationalists, the Pabloists simply aid their present confusion by uncritically tailing after them.

For a Bi-National Palestinian Workers State!

The democratic solution to the Palestinian question begins with the recognition that there exist two nations with equal rights to the same land: both the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking population of present-day Israel have nowhere else to go. Most of the resistance movement, including the DPFLP and Fatah, recognizes that there are two nations which must share the same land; what they deny is that both nations have equal rights. Socialists must steadfastly put forward the need for a bi-national workers state in Palestine as a part of a socialist federation of the Near East. But this cannot be achieved by forcing a single state on peoples divided by decades of communal strife and national conflict. It must be freely chosen. To guarantee this, proletarian internationalists must recognize the right of self-determination both for Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking population, their right to form separate states.

Of course we should argue that the decision to form such a separate state would be foolish, impracticable, even reactionary. Of course we demand that any such state must be democratic, not semi-theocratic as is present-day Israel. Of course such a state would occupy far less territory than Israel currently does. But nonetheless, to deny the Hebrew nation the right to say no to a merger of peoples is not a democratic solution. To shove a bi-national solution down the throats of the Jewish workers in Israel is to push them into the arms of the Dayans, the Meirs and even the Begins.

But when equal rights are conceded, the burden of proof of goodwill rests with the Israeli worker, for it is the Israelis who have acquiesced to the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs by the Israeli bourgeoisie. The Palestinian Arabs, driven off their land and into refugee camps to receive their seven cents a day in UN rations or to be used as coolie labor in Israeli industries, are the oppressed nation. Unlike the guilt-ridden U.S. New Left, we are not moralists who would punish the Israeli worker for the sins of history by depriving him of his national rights. But all the same the Israeli worker must demonstrate to his oppressed class brothers that he will fight his government politically—that he will fight its colonialism, its racism, its clericalism, its expansionism. Such a fight requires the construction of a multi-national vanguard party, which can be built only through the struggle to assimilate the theory of the permanent revolution, and on that theoretical and programmatic basis to regroup the best militants from organizations like the DPFLP. ■

... Women's Conference

sectarianism.

The LSA traitor to Trotskyism was followed by Eileen Gregory, who criticized the preceding plenary session for having followed *Roberts' Rules of Order*—since Roberts was a man—and who declared that women need their own Marx and their own Lenin.

When during her presentation a two-year-old boy wandered into the auditorium, she denounced him from the podium in obscene language and, although even the feminists in the audience protested that he was only a baby, insisted that it was necessary for women to recognize their enemies—at any age! The "enemy" was quickly carried out of the room.

The next speaker was Marlene Dixon, who was angry. She confessed that she had come to the conference with the intention of being "Miss Cool," but that she had found it impossible to maintain her equanimity in the face of the atrocious positions being put forward. She then launched into a clear and convincing delineation of the essential differences between socialism and feminism and the necessity of breaking with feminism and drawing a class line. It was evident from her remarks that she was in agreement with the Spartacist League on many points, although some differences were expressed as well. The most notable of these was her contention that this is a transitional period in which women must form autonomous organizations. She also failed to raise the concept of transitional demands and a transitional program.

The case for autonomous women's organizations was also argued by the representative of the RMG on the basis that such organizations would bring pressure to bear on the workers movement. The RMG, which demonstrated its failure to break from its tailist LSA heritage by refusing to raise the question of male exclusionism, criticized the Spartacist League for its "sectarian tone" and charged that the SL was trying to substitute the vanguard party for the women's movement.

Consistent Feminism Leads to Anti-Communism

D.L. Reissner, speaking for the Spartacist League, discussed the historical roots of the conflict between feminism and socialism and attacked both "radical feminism," which seeks a synthesis of these mutual exclusives, and ostensibly revolutionary organizations such as the LSA and SWP which understand the distinction perfectly well, but have nevertheless latched on to the feminist movement in an opportunist attempt to exploit it politically.

These remarks gave rise to a great outpouring of declarations of sincerity on the part of the LSA women who indignantly insisted that they really and truly were both socialists and feminists. Reissner replied that her charge of cynical opportunism had rested on the assumption that the LSA was actually familiar with the Marxism, Leninism

and Trotskyism it claims to espouse, among whose fundamentals is implacable opposition to male exclusion, class collaboration and feminism. However if the LSA women were in fact sincere in their adherence to these anti-Marxist positions, then perhaps they were not even cynical opportunists, but merely incredibly ignorant reformists, totally divorced from their ostensible political heritage.

Reissner also pointed out that the absurd SWP contention that "the most consistent feminist must be a socialist" has been very clearly exposed in the much-discussed writings of Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James. These women are nothing if not consistent feminists and their consistent feminism has led them not to socialism, but straight to the most blatant and vicious anti-communism and anti-trade unionism in recent feminist literature.

In discussing the Bolshevik approach to work among women, Reissner quoted a Bolshevik speaker who on International Women's Day, 1914, had said that the women's movement must not bring about any split in the proletarian front, but must rather reinforce it: "If the workers movement is a mighty flowing river, the women's movement is a tributary stream increasing and enriching it with new forces." For many of the hard-core feminists in the audience who had been restive throughout the Spartacist presentation, this quote was absolutely the final, unendurable blow. They shouted and hissed and about 25 of them stomped angrily out of the hall. As they left, Reissner observed that the SL's Bolshevik practice of presenting itself as a left pole of attraction had as its object the winning of the most serious militants for revolutionary struggle and the repulsion of unserious and counterrevolutionary elements. The abrupt departure of the man-haters was in fact an indication of the essentially class-counterposed elements subsumed under "sisterhood."

Class-Struggle Strategy for Women's Liberation

In response to the various arguments which had been offered in support of autonomous women's organizations, Reissner advanced the position of the Bolshevik party and the Third Congress of the Communist International that the interests of women workers are the interests of the working class as a whole. Marxists have always held that the working class cannot emancipate itself without liberating all oppressed sections of society. What was needed for a socialist revolution, which alone could make possible the emancipation of women was not a collection of "vanguards" with distinct and often counterposed interests, but a unified vanguard party, tested in struggle and solidly rooted in the working class as a whole. Such a party must embody and transmit a consciousness which has transcended women's consciousness (and black consciousness, gay consciousness, etc.) and has achieved class consciousness. She also pointed out, however, that while condemning autonomous women's organizations, the Third Congress of the Communist International did insist on special commissions for work among women within all communist parties in every country and on every level.

Reissner concluded her remarks with the slogan, "Women's liberation through international proletarian revolution!" She also put forward the SL's

four-point resolution demanding: 1) Defend Dr. Morgentaler! 2) Break with single-issuism; for a class line, not a sex line in the women's movement! 3) End male exclusionism! 4) Free quality health care for all, including free abortion on demand, free distribution of contraceptives, no forced sterilization!

This motion was defeated with the LSA opposing it and the RMG abstaining on the vote. Many friends of the RMG who were present, however, supported the motion.

In the general discussion which followed the presentations the SL was roundly condemned for its "sectarianism" by the LSA and the RMG, both of which lamented the departure of the anti-communist, man-hating feminists. The RMG explained that its concern for the departed "sisters" was based on the fact that an opportunity to recruit these feminists to socialism had been lost. In contrast to these hypocritical lamentations, the SL delegates seized this excellent opportunity to politically confront the remaining women (who were ostensibly socialists and the most advanced women at the conference), engaging them in sharp and vigorous floor debates.

Socialism or Barbarism

The LSA position of peaceful co-existence between feminism and socialism was stated most graphically by a woman who said that if the feminists proved to be correct they would earn the right to gloat over the socialists—and vice-versa—but in the meantime feminists and socialists should collaborate around their many areas of agreement.

It was to this widespread sentiment that Comrade Reissner addressed her summary. She pointed out that the questions under discussion were of utmost seriousness not only for women, but for the future of humanity as well. The real alternative, she said, did not lie in the struggle between socialism and feminism, but, as Trotsky correctly stated, between socialism and barbarism. And should the socialists lose this struggle, the consequence would not be a feminist victory; the consequence would be the annihilation of millions through fascism and nuclear war! If you succeed in sowing illusions

and misleading women as to where their real interests lie and who their real enemy is, she warned, then the responsibility for the subsequent working-class defeats and the delay in the genuine emancipation of women will be yours. The Spartacist League does not intend to share that responsibility.

These sentiments were closely echoed in the summary of Marlene Dixon who, in addressing herself to the women of the LSA, remarked that 40,000 workers presently lie dead in Chile and that it was incumbent upon the LSA comrades to read their own press and rethink their political positions in order to understand the responsibility which they bear for these deaths. (The LSA-supported United Secretariat's Chilean affiliate failed to oppose Allende's popular-front government.) Dixon's solidarization with the SL's position on Chile also implied a counterposition to the line of the RMG, which likewise supports the USec.

Turning to the non-aligned women, Dixon defined herself as the "unhappiest Marxist-Leninist in North America," because she was a Marxist-Leninist without a party. She stressed the absolute necessity of constructing a revolutionary vanguard party and the responsibility of serious women militants to struggle for socialism and women's liberation as part of such a party. She urged the audience to read the press of the various ostensibly revolutionary organizations and to begin the arduous but necessary process of political education preparatory to making a decisive revolutionary commitment.

The remaining speakers (with the exception of the woman from "A Woman's Place," who disappeared and the woman from the Mayor's Task Force, who declined to speak) made a few final, ineffective noises—the LSA speaker whined that much of what had transpired "had no place at a woman's conference"—but with the feminists and most of the non-aligned women gone and the reformists thoroughly exposed, the conference was unmistakably over and the battle-lines clearly drawn: Either socialist women will take their place in the ranks of those fighting for international proletarian revolution and for the rebirth of the Fourth International, or they will contribute directly and indirectly to the forces of capitalist reaction. ■

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Fremont UAW

pression that the dispute was an irrelevant one between two "outside" groups who should come to an agreement between themselves. Mays linked the question to the goon attacks in Detroit and elsewhere by saying that such "outside groups" around the country had been attempting to "interfere" in the union during the contract period. When the discussion revealed that members of the union had been involved in the incident Mays' attempt to duck the issue collapsed and he was ultimately pressured into reluctant support of the motion.

But Mays' basic position remains the same as Woodcock's. It was the bureaucratic leaders of the labor movement, with Reuther in the lead, who permitted working conditions in the plants to deteriorate while repeatedly selling out the members' interests at the bargaining table. They prepared for these betrayals by driving "reds" and militants out of the unions during the purges of the McCarthy period. Today the same bureaucracy allows the bosses to get away with firing "trouble-makers," i.e., reds, militants, indeed virtually anyone who criticizes the cozy collaboration between the union tops and the bosses.

The trade-union bureaucracy, from Chavez, Mays and Woodcock to Meany, maintains that the workers are better off with the present system and should simply rely on the bureaucrats to improve things a bit at contract time. But if this were true, why is the bu-

reaucracy so concerned to prevent the membership from reading socialist newspapers, and why does it find it necessary to blame "outsiders" for the militant actions of the union membership? Could it be that the rigid, archaic bureaucracy is beginning to worry about losing its stranglehold on the labor movement, which has enabled Nixon to drive down real wages through galloping inflation without a single serious challenge from the unions?

Any political organization, regardless of its members' status as being "in" or "out" of the union, which stands on the side of the workers against the bosses is a legitimate part of the labor movement. Only through free and informed discussion of all alternatives, with participation by all tendencies, can the workers arrive at a clear understanding of their real interests as a class. It is because these interests lie in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism that the reformist bureaucracy, fully committed to the maintenance of the capitalist system of which it is a part, persecutes reds and strangles workers democracy.

The Spartacist League has consistently defended the principle of workers democracy for all legitimate tendencies within the labor movement because it knows that only in such an environment will Marxist clarity triumph not only over the already-discredited pro-capitalist Woodcock/Meany bureaucracy but also over all those reformist fake lefts whose capitulation to the labor movements' present misleaders drives them to employ the methods of Stalinism—exclusionism and violence—in self-defeating attempts at the physical elimination of opponents against whose criticism their own political bankruptcy renders them helpless. ■

Women and Communism

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- Jan. 7 The Trotskyist Transitional Program
- Jan. 14 The Vanguard Party

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OCTOBER LEAGUE

reaucracy as possible, while the RU is making a mini-left turn by suddenly discovering the danger of "uncritically" supporting out-bureaucrats. RU leader Bob Avakian could thus remark in a recent speech:

"We've also seen a number of caucuses that have developed around the spontaneous struggle of the workers, but the leaders of these things often have degenerated into opportunism—not because they started off dishonest, but because they don't have a broader political perspective.

"And we have to beware of what we in the Revolutionary Union call the 'Triple O's' in the unions—that is, the 'Opportunists Out of Office.' These people within the unions who are looking for a way to get into union positions, and they feel that rank and file militancy is the way to ride their way in..."

—*Revolution*, September 1973

That, of course, is a perfect description of the Brotherhood Caucus leadership. And no one can deny that they received a little help from their Maoist friends in riding into office on a wave of rank-and-file militancy! The RU may, like the OL after the Mead strike defeat, some day make a pretense of "self-criticism" for supporting the Brotherhood. But the fact remains that at the crucial point these Stalinist policies led the RU to capitulate to the same "Triple-O's" denounced in the abstract months later in their press.

Right-Maoist Fusion?

Earlier this year there were rumors of impending fusion of the RU and OL; however, during the summer the two right-Maoist organizations appeared to be moving apart for reasons that have not been explained. As a principled-sounding cover for this petty maneuvering the RU is now claiming that its strategy of building the united front (in reality a strategic popular-front-from-below) is "diametrically opposed to the [OL] line that says that the central task is party building..." (*Revolution*, September 1973). As we

have shown above, this sharp distinction is a hoax, since the OL has for all practical purposes adopted the same line as the more consistent RU in tailing after reformist labor bureaucrats, black nationalists and just about any other popular movements or leaders that present themselves.

Rather than engaging in obscure semi-polemical shadow-boxing over issues whose only purpose is to mask the basic cliquist appetites dividing the equally cynical, equally reformist RU and OL leaderships, those struggling to crystallize a revolutionary vanguard party must grasp the fact that the U.S. Maoists' class collaboration, like their repeated capitulation to the reformists, is simply the expression of their Stalinist policies. A real understanding of such betrayals as the support to the Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont GM or the capitulation to the SCLC in the Mead strike can be gained only by understanding the origin of the far more costly capitulation by the Indonesian Maoist CP to Sukarno, which prepared the way for the massacre of 500,000 Communists in 1965. The Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country" denies the need for a revolutionary

international, for policies of intransigent proletarian internationalism to spread socialist revolution throughout the world. Instead the agents of the Peking bureaucracy must follow a strategy of peaceful coexistence, fundamentally identical to that of the apologists of the Kremlin, not simply in the case of the tinpot despots of Ceylon, Indonesia or Pakistan, but even toward the arch-imperialist U.S. bourgeoisie.

From the failure to fight feminism by advancing any but the most minimal reform demands in the struggle for women's liberation to the failure to fight for a class-struggle opposition to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy of the unions to the apologies for Mao/Brezhnev's various "deals" with sections of the imperialist bourgeoisie, Stalinism stands directly counterposed to the interests of the world proletariat. In contrast, the Trotskyist program of independence of the working class from the capitalists and their agents stands revealed as not merely the direct continuation of the Marxist-Leninist tradition but as in fact the only program which can rescue mankind from the horrors of nuclear war and barbarism. ■

Continued from page 3

Jack Tar Hotel

its meetings, it criticizes the Stalinists and their SWP partners (*Bulletin*, 26 October) for throwing the SL out of a forum on Chile, recently held in Cleveland, featuring liberal academic apologists for the Chilean popular front. The WL supporter present at the meeting, however, failed to criticize the Chilean CP/SP policies and furthermore did nothing to fight the exclusion of the SL.

Political Bandits

The Spartacist League intends to continue exposing these fake-Trotskyist poseurs who are afraid to defend their own past political positions and even their current line before opponents. We will point out that the Stalinist organizational practice of excluding opponent tendencies from meetings otherwise open to the public is necessary only for groups who have something to hide. Let Wohlforth defend now his earlier praise of Huey Newton as a great dialectician while Newton is now defending black capitalism, the black church and the Democratic Party. Let him explain to the

ghetto youth how the Workers League hailed the 1971 New York City police strike. Perhaps oppositionists in the SWP/YSA would be interested to hear WLers publicly defend their sometime line that "the road to the American working class" is through the rotten, reformist YSA. Rank-and-file union militants, likewise, would no doubt be interested in hearing Wohlforth's fake dialectics explain how calling on the arch-reactionary cold-warrior George ("I've never walked a picket line") Meany to form a labor party can advance the class struggle. With positions like these it is no wonder that Wohlforth refuses to debate the SL. Only once in the last seven years has the WL dared to debate the SL on an equal-time basis, in Los Angeles (see *WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973).

The 30 October *Bulletin* article concludes with a hardly veiled threat: "The actions of the Spartacist League are anti-communist in character and are open provocations. This is why the Spartacist League is barred from all our public meetings." The facts are just the opposite. It is the WL's anti-Leninist practice of excluding opponents from public meetings which denies the principle of workers democracy and is responsible for the SL's picketing. Such protest, including the tactic of picketing exclusionist meetings, is not anti-communist, but a defense of communist principles. ■



SL supporters picket WL exclusionism in Los Angeles, March 1973. WV PHOTO

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Harvester Strike

ted to pursuing the class struggle. As syndicalists opposed to struggling for the leadership of the unions, *Workers Voice* in practice falls prey to reformism and is thus incapable of providing an alternative to that of Roth and TUAD/CP.

The United National Caucus (UNC), an opportunist grab-bag of bureaucratic hopefuls such as Roth and Jordan Sims (Local 961, Detroit) has flickered into some renewed activity with the contract betrayals. The UNC is activated by its bureaucratic leaders only when they feel it serves their purposes, not when it gets in the way. Thus neither Sims, a UNC co-chairman, nor Roth, who merely supports it occasionally, raised it or its alleged "program" during their recent successful campaigns for local presidencies. It is the fake leftists such as the International Socialists who try to give the UNC a facade of legitimacy as a "radical" grouping to fool would-be oppositionists looking for a serious group. Thus UNC leaflets appearing at Melrose Park have no alternative to Roth's reformism, despite the supposed "radicalism" of their authors. One such leaflet on the Chrysler settlement was completely apolitical, failing even to call for UAW-wide solidarity. Instead, it merely urges, "...let's put Harvester workers back out in front of the Big 3 by voting down the contract."

for breaking the unions politically from this commitment to the preservation of the system can only serve to regenerate confidence in the fundamentally insufficient program of simple trade unionism. Roth, while he continues to mouth a militant line, offers no real alternative to Woodcock on the critical issues and thus merely perpetuates the bureaucracy in which he himself is trapped.

A class-struggle opposition in the UAW can and must be built, but not with the apolitical and tailist methods of "radicals" such as *Workers Voice* and the International Socialists, both of which caved in to bureaucrats of the Roth/Sims ilk during the last elections (see *WV* No. 25, 20 July 1973). Militant caucuses must be based on a full political program leading to struggle against the system, including UAW-wide mass strikes; a shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40") with full cost-of-living protection; strikes against the wars and foreign adventures of imperialism as well as against layoffs, plant closures, etc.; struggle against all forms of racial and sexual discrimination; proletarian internationalist opposition to protectionism in trade war; workers control of production at all levels; expropriation of major industries; and a workers party based on the trade unions, to break the grip of the two capitalist parties and fight for a workers government. Simple trade unionism, without the struggle for these goals of the working class as a whole, is merely a struggle for the illusion of "partnership" in capitalist exploitation. Militant caucuses based on a full working-class program are an expression in the unions of the struggle to emancipate the working class and all the oppressed. And the fight to replace the present sellout union bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership is a crucial and necessary part of the struggle to build the revolutionary vanguard party, to which the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■

For a Class-Struggle Union Leadership

Simple, militant trade unionism based on cheap "fight the bosses" rhetoric, such as represented by Roth and his "leftist" supporters, is not enough to replace Woodcock's bureaucratic class collaborationism. Merging ever more closely with the bourgeois state apparatus, reformist union leaderships have become a central prop of the entire capitalist system in the imperialist period. Fake leftists and militants who lack a complete program

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Dump Nixon!

in its press to detailing "Watergate crimes and corruption" hardly mentions the labor bureaucracy and only inadvertently slips in vague references to a labor party. This is hardly surprising considering its years'-old practice of uncritically tailing after liberal bureaucrats who will make an occasional antiwar press statement and its refusal to permit its members to organize anti-bureaucratic caucuses in the unions.

The fake-Trotskyist political bandits of the Workers League, on the other hand, continue their time-honored policy of calling on the bureaucracy to make the revolution, thereby capitulating to the illusions of militant trade unionists as to the nature of their present leadership. The current WL tactic (amid hysterical announcements that Nixon has abolished the executive branch of government and established a one-man dictatorship), is to call on the Meany bureaucracy to call a "Congress of Labor" to build a labor party. At a time when there is no powerful opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of the existing union leadership, such a program can only mean calling for a reactionary, anti-communist "labor party" dominated by the same Meanyite filth.

In the absence of mass reformist workers parties in the U.S. (unlike France, Britain, Germany, Italy, etc.), the struggle to build a labor party based on the unions is a key tactic in breaking the workers from the two capitalist parties and a necessary complement to the struggle within the unions against the pro-capitalist Meany-Woodcock bureaucracy. The call for a workers party serves to emphasize the essentially political character of the struggle in the unions. The goal is not to create militant shop-floor committees (although these may appear as mass formations at a certain point in the struggle), which in themselves represent nothing more than simple trade unionism, but to achieve a revolutionary, communist leadership of the organized workers movement.

We do not seek a reformist workers party in the firm grip of the present parasitic misleaders of labor. Rather we call for a workers party based on the transitional program, i.e., to break with capitalism in favor of representing the historical interests of the working class. Thus, in contrast to the Workers League, we do not call on the arch-reactionary Meany bureaucracy to create a labor party in its own image. Nor do we call for a workers party based on the rank and file, a slogan which seeks to "solve" the problem of the bureaucracy by ignoring the existing mass workers organizations, the unions, under its control. Instead, we demand "dump the bureaucrats, for a workers party based on the unions." This expresses the correct relation of the fight for a labor party as a tactic to break the stranglehold of the bureaucracy over the organized labor movement. (This does not preclude the tactic of calling on reformist

left-talking bureaucrats to form a labor party in a period of mass upsurge when their power could be easily shattered by an awakened rank and file.)

Watergate and the Workers Movement

We are presently in a situation in which the ostensibly socialist left can respond only in an essentially propagandistic manner to the Watergate crisis, indicating the main tasks ahead and the means of accomplishing them. Far from ignoring questions of bourgeois democratic rights, we must utilize the opportunities provided by the revelations about Nixon's illegal, Gestapo-like methods to press for full disclosure of the Watergate events, for the elimination of the secret political police (FBI and CIA), for the abolition of the standing army and its officer corps and for immediate presidential elections. Given the need of the leading imperialist power for a "strong state," insulated from the pressures of the shifting domestic political balance of forces, the defense of democratic rights, even for the bourgeoisie, has a powerful thrust against the stability of capitalist rule—which is why Congress has been so hesitant to do anything about Nixon, even when it is itself the object of his attacks.

The call for impeachment is another democratic demand of obvious importance at the present time. When this demand was repeatedly raised by the CP and WL during last May-June, we pointed out that in the absence of a mass upsurge of the working class, a campaign for impeachment expressed the desire for another bourgeois ruler and in effect to restabilize bourgeois democracy (WV No. 22, 8 June). As the bourgeoisie has itself moved hesitatingly toward removing Nixon, we indicated in August and again following Nixon's dramatic firing of Special Watergate Prosecutor Cox last month,

that socialists should support a congressional move to impeach the president (WV No. 31, 26 October).

But this is different from a campaign calling for his impeachment. In fact, the call for impeachment is counterposed to the call for new elections, since the impeachment process accepts the structural framework of the present bonapartist Constitution. We seek, rather, to remove this criminal in a manner which to the maximum extent disorganizes the bourgeois state and organizes the proletariat as a class in struggle for a workers government. A class-conscious labor leadership would organize a general strike to force new elections, an end to the wage freeze and cessation of U.S. aid to Israel in the current Near East war.

It is crucial to forge a working-class political alternative to the rule of the two capitalist parties. This is embodied in the propaganda demand of a workers party based on the unions. The principal means for working toward the formation of such a party remains the struggle to build caucuses in the trade unions based on the transitional program (see "The Only Choice: Build a Workers Party!" WV No. 13, November 1972).

And while the slogan of a workers party based on the unions is a key tactic in the struggle to break the stranglehold of the reactionary labor bureaucracy, it must not be confused with the struggle to build the Trotskyist vanguard party which is at all times our strategic orientation and principal task. Thus if the Trotskyist vanguard were successful in winning leadership of an embryonic mass labor party, basing itself on the transitional program of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie and successfully smashing the bureaucracy, it would immediately seek to transform the labor party movement into a Leninist vanguard party, the necessary instrument for socialist revolution. ■

Continued from page 7

School Board vs. Fuentes

provisions of the decentralization law. The "Fleischmann Commission Report on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in New York State" released last fall suggests that community districts should run their schools with the power to hire and fire personnel, determine wages and decide curriculum, vesting great power in school principals. Despite the miserable condition of the schools and its own findings on the high correlation of academic failure to poverty, the Commission recommends that the teachers should be held accountable for students' test scores with pay raises and continuing employment dependent on this. Class sizes would be raised from 20 to 22 students (taking into account the use of non-teaching personnel the actual class size in New York City schools is 30-35 students).

The Commission suggests four new categories of teachers: interns, classroom teachers, special teachers and master teachers. Interns would be newly-graduated teachers who would be required to teach for two years with full responsibilities at below-union-level wages. If performance (based on "accountability" schemes) was held satisfactory, the intern would then become a classroom teacher. But if the locally controlled school system chose not to rehire the intern, it would simply hire another, ready to begin his two-year stint at reduced wages. The plan provides for the expanded use of paraprofessionals, volunteers and even students in the classroom. The report also found teacher pensions "unacceptably high."

Fuentes supports the state's decentralization schemes and charged that the UFT precipitated the recent events in District 1 to discredit decentralization at a time when the state legislature is considering changes in the decentralization law.

The UFT condemns the Fleishmann report, pointing out that its support for community-control forces is simply a cover for vicious union-busting. But ironically, the Shanker leadership, which campaigned for the present District 1 school board on a get-Fuentes program, accomplished exactly the opposite of what it intended. The net result has been to generate anti-unionism, lining up the Lower East Side behind Fuentes.

Not Cops—But Worker-Teacher-Student Control of the Schools

New York City schools can hardly be called schools at all, but are largely day-time prisons whose conditions trap both students and teachers in a debilitating atmosphere of fear, crime and racial oppression. The number of assaults on teachers rose to 634 in 1972 and assaults on pupils to 511. Despite contemptible playing on the popular image of "black crime" by UFT leaders, violence and crime in the schools is a serious problem. Its main victims are, in fact, the oppressed students. According to Board of Education statistics, students are the most frequent victims of robberies, shakedowns and assaults by strangers entering school buildings. Safer schools would benefit everybody.

Also, demands to improve teachers' working conditions like smaller class size, new schools and better equipment are the same as demands for better education for students. Yet instead of a program to unite students and teachers, the UFT has only one solution: more cops. Last year Shanker criticized the board's planned allocation of \$6 million to hire more guards as insufficient and called for a minimum of 4,000 to 5,000 aides merely to regulate the flow of outsiders.

Bringing the cops into the schools,

WORKERS VANGUARD

Sub-Drive Success!

The success of the just concluded *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive is a tribute to the revolutionary determination and hard work of the cadres of the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth. By the conclusion of the six-week sub drive, which ended November 1, every area had overfulfilled its quota. The Editorial Board of *WV* wishes to extend special thanks to the Buffalo local organization (which triply fulfilled its quota) and to the Buffalo sub drive coordinator, as well as to the individual comrades. The individual leader in sub drive points is Comrade David C. of Buffalo, with 69 points; the runner up, with 64 points, is Susan S. of Chicago.

In addition to expanding the regular readership of *Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution*, the sub drive included regional trail-blazing tours to many cities in the U.S. and Canada. The drive introduced *WV* to new readers at dozens

of plants and campuses where the *SL* press had never previously been available, resulting in doubled and tripled sales of individual copies in virtually every local area.

On behalf of the *SL/RCY*, the *WV* Editorial Board would like to thank the members and supporters whose hard work made the sub drive a success and to welcome our new readers.

	Quota	Sold	Percent of Quota
Buffalo	100	318	318%
Detroit	120	294	245%
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turning the schools into armed camps, only increases racial hostility. A class-struggle union leadership would instead raise demands that could really unite teachers and students around a program of worker-teacher-student control of the schools which could easily solve the problem of violence and crime in the schools through joint efforts of the union and students. In the process, these two forces could be united against the school administrations ("community" and city-wide), who are responsible for the present ghastly conditions in the schools, and the bourgeois politicians who foster racial antagonisms as the lifeblood of their careers.

"Get Fuentes"

In its drive to oust Fuentes and his supporters the UFT-backed school board has undertaken a series of heavy-handed "junta-style" maneuvers guaranteed to win the hatred of practically everybody. Its first act since taking power in May was to put forward a motion to move the district office out of the Puerto Rican neighborhood to a Jewish one. The board was forced to back down after a wild melee broke out at the July meeting between the parents, the board, the cops and the Jewish Defense League. Next the board threatened to cut back the budget by \$1-1/2 million which would have virtually eliminated all the staff jobs and special programs, but backed down because many of the coordinators were in various municipal unions.

The school-board rules call for board meetings to be public, a regulation which the new board observes in gross bureaucratic fashion by refusing to call on anyone from the floor. One member said the board couldn't call on the opposition because it would have been "murdered" by the audience if it had. This is true. The board is so unpopular that to carry out its last public meeting on October 16 it had to meet in the glass-walled projection booth in the school auditorium, further protected from the parents by a line of cops! At this meeting the board filibustered until midnight, then took up an unannounced agenda point and voted to suspend Fuentes on 31 charges of insubordination, incompetency and softness on anti-Semitism.

The attempt to suspend Fuentes provoked a six-day boycott which was about 60 percent successful throughout the district. The boycott was called off after Fuentes' supporters succeeded in obtaining a temporary restraining order against his suspension, pending decision on a suit filed in federal court by the NAACP and the SWP-inspired and dominated Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDel) to declare the May elections illegal. The suit charges that campaign literature was not available in Spanish and Chinese, and that the polling places were not properly equipped and were changed at the last minute.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Although the lineup of forces in District 1 is basically the same as that in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968, the current dispute is essentially different. In 1968 the "community control" demonstration school board, the parents, the New Left, the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist SWP were lined up behind the bourgeoisie in a campaign to smash the teachers' union. The UFT in District 1 is not under direct attack except in the sense that, given a shift in the balance of forces, Fuentes would undoubtedly like to do away with the UFT.

Both sides in the fight demonstrate depravity to a similar extent. In fact it is hard to tell whether the board/UFT/JDL coalition at any one moment is being more racist than the Fuentes/SWP/poverty buzzards gang is being anti-union. Class-conscious workers must give no support to either side! We stand against the wilfully undemocratic operating procedures of the school board, oppose all cutbacks, oppose the election rigging which no doubt went on, but in no way can this indicate support for the Fuentes slate.

Despite the anti-democratic way the board is going after Fuentes, his hiring as well as his firing is a routine consequence of a shift in political machines in the manner in which administrators in bourgeois politics tend to come and go. In fact, the UFT argues that the only reason that Fuentes is superintendent now is because the outgoing board bureaucratically extended his contract by two years to ensure one of its supporters' remaining in power.

The support for Fuentes comes from contradictory desires. On the one hand it reflects the appetites of a petty-bourgeois layer within the oppressed strata—the "poverty pimps" and hustlers, who look to the preservation and extension of the "special minority programs" as tickets to a few comfortable jobs. On the other, it reflects in a distorted way the legitimate aspirations of the population for the decent education, bilingual teaching and special training programs necessary to enable blacks and Puerto Ricans to integrate into American society.

Community Control or Class Struggle

Along with the Maoists (RU) and black and Puerto Rican nationalists (El Comité and the PRRWO), the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party strive to further the illusion that "community participation" in school affairs is sufficient to reform the system. The SWP not only uncritically supported Fuentes but actively campaigned to put him in office. Having lost NPAC to the Vietnam "peace treaty" and WONAAC after the Supreme Court's abortion ruling, the SWP is currently building an even more reformist (if that is possible!) mini-popular-front group, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, whose sole function in District 1 is to tail after Fuentes' opportunism.

The SWP seeks to build CoDel on two issues only: rescind Fuentes' suspension and declare the board elections illegal. After pointing out that even prominent community-control advocate Kenneth Clark opposes Rockefeller's latest schemes, without a single word of criticism the 27 April 1973 *Militant* printed the following statement by Fuentes on decentralization: "To reject it now would be like criticizing a baby at six months for not being able to run. But with the right encouragement, and enough time, the baby will mature." The SWP thus gives back-handed support to the union-busting Fleischmann report, which comes as no surprise from these scabs of the 1968 teachers' strike and long-time touters of community control.

The position of the Communist Party-supported Teachers Action Caucus in the UFT is indistinguishable from the SWP's, i.e., wholehearted support to Fuentes and the community control forces. A resolution adopted by TAC stated:

"The Teachers Action Caucus (TAC) wholeheartedly supports the parent boycott of the schools of District 1.

We fully support their demands:

"—The reversal of the suspension of Fuentes...

"—Removal of the present board, which does not represent the parents of the community and was illegally elected..."

"The parents are fighting for the educational survival of their children and must be fully supported by teachers who are interested in the children."

—Daily World, 24 October

As long as the just aspirations of the doubly oppressed minority populations are channeled into the dead-end "solutions" of ethnic politics, the bourgeoisie will be guaranteed the continued racial division of the working class and ready pools of unskilled, unemployed workers. This is the logical consequence of the nationalist and ghetto-particularist politics pushed by the CP, SWP, El Comité, the PRRWO and other fake-lefts in the District 1 dispute. "Community control" represents only the self-administration of poverty, the isolation of the most oppressed sections of the proletariat in economically depressed pockets and the complete dependence of these oppressed sections on liberal politicians and occasional crumbs from the bourgeoisie. Rather than a fight over who

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will receive a handful of administrative patronage positions, a struggle for working-class power is required.

The Shanker-style union bureaucracies and Fuentes-style ethnic patronage politicians are today principal instruments by which the capitalists ensure the continued dominance of false consciousness among the workers and oppressed as to their true interests. The first demand of socialists must be the ousting of these agents of the bourgeoisie and the transformation of the unions from the chief means of disciplining the work force in the interests of the capitalists into the instruments of a class-struggle program of the entire working class, including its specially oppressed ethnic/racial minorities: Fight the special oppression of minorities—no budget cuts—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to smash unemployment! Turn the unions into instruments of working-class independence: unconditional defense of the unions against the employers and bourgeois state—organize all school workers into a single educational workers

union—dump the Shanker bureaucracy, for a class-struggle leadership of the UFT!

Despite the tactical centrality of the labor unions as the only existing mass organizations of the class, Marxists do not myopically limit their focus to the struggle in an arena which represents a minority and relatively privileged section of the working class. A revolutionary vanguard party, together with its youth section, would fight for a working-class program in all arenas of the oppressed in order to win political hegemony of the entire class as a prerequisite to the seizure of power.

As against the divisive and impotent schemes of "community control," Marxists must seek to polarize the existing struggles on class rather than racial lines by calling for worker-student-teacher control of the schools. Such a program provides the only real possibility of fighting crime and violence in the schools, and must be combined with struggle against racial abuse and discrimination, and for educational improvements (smaller classes and work loads; training and hiring, under union control, of more teachers; bi- and tri-lingual courses of instruction where linguistic minorities constitute a significant percentage of the student population; etc.) which could transform the schools from day-time prisons into instruments for the cultural emancipation of the working class.

To hope that such a program could succeed under capitalism is ludicrous. The schools in urban ghettos are vastly inferior not because of inadvertent neglect, but because of the real need of the bourgeoisie for an industrial reserve army of uneducated, unskilled workers. Thus the struggle against the existing misleaders of the unions and minority populations, and for worker-teacher-student control of the schools, must be directly linked to the political struggle to build a revolutionary vanguard party uniting the entire working class and all the oppressed. As the most advanced elements of the most exploited and oppressed sectors of the working class, young militants among Puerto Rican, black and other minorities have a vital role to play in the construction of this party.

In the U.S. today a key task is to struggle to build a workers party based on the trade unions, as an integral part of the fight against the bureaucratic misleaders of the unions. To carry the class struggle forward, such a party must break sharply with capitalist politics and adopt a transitional program in the interests of all the workers and oppressed. At the same time, the struggle to unite all the oppressed around the leadership of the organized and class-conscious proletariat would have as a direct consequence the elimination forever of the racist fakers of the Fuentes ilk and their reformist/racist/pro-capitalist counterparts in the union bureaucracies. Not community control but workers power! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Condemning RU Attacks on Left Salesmen at Plant Gate...

Fremont UAW Upholds Workers Democracy!

A sharp reply has been made by an important Local of the United Auto Workers to the recent wave of physical assaults on left-wing paper salesmen outside auto plants. By an overwhelming vote, against only isolated opposition, Local 1364 (Fremont, California GM) defended the right of all "labor-socialist" groups to sell and distribute literature at the plant. The motion was raised by rank-and-file militants at the regular monthly meeting on October 28 in response to assaults by the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) on salesmen of socialist newspapers at the Fremont plant. *Workers Vanguard* salesmen had been attacked on June 12, while the latest instance of the RU's Stalinist gangsterism was an assault on salesmen of Workers League's *Bulletin*. The motion is clearly counterposed to the entire Woodcock bureaucracy, which has been encouraging a wave of goon-squad attacks on left-wing paper salesmen in an attempt to intimidate the membership and silence criticism during the contract period.

WV reporters verified the motion with Shop Chairman Earlie Mays and received a copy of it from the local's recording secretary. According to workers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard*, an amendment made by defenders of the RU, to the effect that "if these groups interfere with union business they will be prevented from their sales and distributions," failed for lack of a second. The passage of the motion represented a split among supporters of the Brotherhood Caucus, since the handful of RU supporters broke from the leaders of the Brotherhood to oppose the motion. The RU has in the past been uncritical in its support for the Brotherhood, which emerged victorious in the last local elections.

The meeting was attended by UAW Western Regional Director Jerry Whipple, whose introduction at the outset of the meeting occasioned a chorus of boos and hisses. His attempts to defend the recently-signed Chrysler and Ford contracts, which "set the pattern" for what the Woodcock gang is now trying to do to GM workers, only increased his unpopularity. Lambasted with criticism from all sides, Whipple was also attacked by the local leadership, headed by Earlie Mays. The Brotherhood Caucus has reportedly voiced the intention of expanding to other locals and is, despite its own do-nothing policies, attempting to build support by using the International as a scapegoat.

This is the age-old policy of would-be bureaucrats: attack the incumbents, regardless of program, principle or one's own record. Ex-Western Regional Director Paul Schrade is also reportedly attempting to make a comeback by getting into the act against Whipple. Despite his own clear record of down-the-line support for every traitorous policy of the Reutherite bureaucracy (including calling on the cops to crush the militancy of Fremont workers in the 1970 strike), despite having sabotaged the struggle for the shorter work week and other demands in the interests of black workers and unemployed, Schrade is now supposedly attempting to establish his leftist credentials

through denouncing Whipple as a racist for having fired a black staff member!

RU Atrocities: "Kick Ass"

After Whipple finally escaped from hostile workers' questions, which detained him longer than he would have wished, the question of attacks on paper salesmen was brought up in connection with an incident in September when, according to the *Bulletin* (24 September) RU supporters assaulted its salesmen with tire irons and other lethal weapons. But this was just the latest in a long series of such attacks. Impelled by the basest opportunism, the RU has repeatedly attempted to demonstrate its fealty to one or another leftist emanation from the trade-union bureaucracy (the Brotherhood, Cesar Chavez and their likes) by practicing physical gangsterism on such principled opponents as dare to criticize its bureaucratic allies or for that matter seem in any fashion to pose a political threat. Thus last June, supporters of the *Bay Area Worker*, a reformist local paper supported by the RU, attacked *Workers Vanguard* salesmen outside the plant. When the SL mobilized to protect its salesmen, attacks on them ceased, though salesmen of the fake-Trotskyist *Bulletin* remained targets, the Workers League's own established opportunism and tail-ending of trade-union bureaucrats notwithstanding.

After the September incident the SL informed the RU that further attacks on Workers League salesmen would be treated as attacks on the SL. Despite lack of cooperation from *Bulletin* salesmen, the SL mobilized to protect their next sale, appearing at the plant with a large sign reading "Workers Vanguard Defends *Bulletin's* Right To Sell" (see WV No. 30, 12 October 1973). This demonstrated defense of the principle of the right of all tendencies to exist and freely propagate their views within the labor movement did not go unnoticed by either the RU or the workers entering the plant. Thus when the issue came up at the October meeting, the defenders of the RU were totally isolated.

The RU supporters claimed that the *Bulletin* salesmen had been interfering with their collections of money for the United Farm Workers union. A defender of the RU's actions reportedly threatened to "kick ass" if anyone interfered with his performance of "union business." This self-righteous bombast met with boos and catcalls. (Such sanctimoniousness is typical of the RU, especially in regard to the UFW where it functions as the pacifist, sellout Chavez bureaucracy's chief apologist on the left. Thus a second RU supporter reportedly attacked as "anti-union" a *Workers Vanguard* leaflet on the Farm Workers, which had circulated widely in the plant. This charge, too, fell on deaf ears, since the SL leaflet had very clearly supported the UFW against the Teamster/grower alliance, criticizing only the bureaucracy's substitution of impotent consumer boycotts for labor boycotts, self-defense of picket lines and other militant strike policies.)

A worker who had been going into

UAW LOCAL 1364 RESOLUTION

No member of this union shall attempt to prevent the sales or distribution outside the plant of the literature of the various labor-socialist groups, since this violates the basic traditions of this union of free and open discussion within the labor movement.

—October 28, 1973

work at the time of the incident then got up to denounce the RU story as a lie, saying that the *Bulletin* salesmen were not interfering with collections, but had kept their distance. She said that she had overheard an RU supporter making threats, whereupon she had warned him against any assault. She then pointed out that although she considered the *Bulletin* to be "reformist garbage," no one had the right to deprive her of the right to buy it.

Several additional members of the local also spoke in favor of the motion. The one local supporter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), the reformist trade-union grouping backed by the Workers League, chimed in hypocritically to support the motion—in defense of the rights of all labor-socialist groups—despite the exclusionism and physical gangsterism practiced by the Workers League/TUALP against their opponents on the left. Despite an occasional pretense to principle in its press in practice the WL supports only its own right to existence. Thus in the case of the *Workers Vanguard* salesmen beaten in Parma, Ohio, the WL failed to respond to the Spartacist League's call for a united-front picket of UAW Solidarity House in Detroit. The WL (of course without acknowledgement in its press)

accepts Spartacist's defense of the WL's right to sell. At the same time, in a futile attempt to justify its cowardly exclusion of SL supporters from meetings advertised as public, it conducts a vicious, lying slander campaign against the SL, in its maliciousness stooping even to deliberate fabrication of the charge that the SL was responsible for the calling of the cops to break up a WL meeting (*Bulletin*, 30 October and 2 November).

Official Goon Squads

It was to smash militant opposition to their sellout, class-collaborationist policies—which resulted in the "pattern-setting" Chrysler betrayal—that Woodcock and Co. initiated the wave of goon-squad attacks. After a series of wildcat strikes in August, one month before the contract expiration, the leadership formed a 1,000-member goon squad of local officials in Detroit to break the Mack Avenue strike and to beat up left-wing paper salesmen. A special denunciation of reds was published in *UAW Solidarity*, and similar local goon squads began to spring up all over the country. It was in this context that on 27 September *Workers Vanguard* salesmen were brutally assaulted by a standing 18-man goon squad outside the Chevrolet plant in Parma, Ohio—the SL being the fourth group to be so attacked in two weeks (see WV No. 30, 12 October).

Aping the bureaucracy's violence against the left, the RU fronts for reformism by denouncing the bureaucracy's worst enemies—those who criticize class collaboration and betrayal—as "anti-union" outsiders with no legitimate voice in the labor movement. That the RU fails to distinguish between the Marxism of *Workers Vanguard* and the hypocritical "reformist garbage" of the *Bulletin* is immaterial: Woodcock, Chavez and Co. seek to label all their opponents illegitimate "outsiders." By such actions the RU is however digging its own grave, since such McCarthyite treatment of reds as illegitimate outsiders weakens the position of all militants and oppositionists in the unions, leaving the field clear for a general purge of both real and pretended communists. To bureaucrats like Chavez and Mays the RU is useful so long as it is capable of siphoning off rank-and-file militancy, but as a potential pole of criticism and opposition it will be discarded as soon as it is no longer needed. Already the RU has been the victim of the same bureaucratic goon squads (such as the Parma, Ohio gang) which have attacked other radicals.

It is indicative that in the discussion of the motion Mays at first withheld support on just this pretext that only "outsiders" were involved, trying according to reports to create the im-

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