

The Politics of Crazy

Manson, Squeaky, SLA, Patricia Hearst, and now... admitted

FBI informer takes a shot at Ford



Patricia Hearst

UPI



"Squeaky" Fromme (center) and other Manson followers protest jailing of their "god" by carving "x's" on their foreheads.

Robert Hendrickson and Laurence Merrick

SEPTEMBER 23—Grotesque mock-terrorist excesses by pseudo-leftists appear to be becoming something of a fad. Shortly after Patricia Hearst told a California court that as an "urban guerrilla" she could be categorized as "self-employed," and "Squeaky," a Manson family acolyte dressed like little red riding hood, pointed a pistol at Gerald Ford, someone fired a shot from a short-barrel .38 calibre pistol across a four-lane street at the U.S. president. When the smoke cleared there was Sara Moore, a 47-year-old mom, self-declared FBI informer and friend of the Hearsts.

This eruption of bizarre and degenerate frenzy is a godsend to the bourgeois press, which is luxuriating in the delightful prospect of simultaneously boosting circulation and smearing the radical movement. Banks are robbed and innocent bystanders shot "to get the pig capitalists"; assassinations are attempted "to draw attention to prison reform"; and it seems as though every ecology freak in California wants to use Gerald Ford as organic fertilizer. What is behind this surrealistic carnival of fake-political "extremist" violence?

The Strange History of "Sally" Moore

Sara Moore is deranged and dangerous. She admits being an FBI informer and the FBI confirms her story. She began her "career" late in life as a volunteer bookkeeper for the People In Need program of free food distribution initiated by the Hearst family in an attempt to ransom their daughter "Patty." According to an interview given to the *Berkeley Barb* on June 20, Moore was "contacted by the FBI and agreed to spy on a man she refuses to identify other than that he was associated with a cadre revolutionary group." This she apparently did. Then she claims to have been "converted to revolutionary politics and told her control agent, Bert Worthington," of her conversion.

This spring she flooded villifying stories about "Popeye" Jackson, head of the United Prisoners Union, to various left-wing organizations. She claimed that he had struck a deal with Wm. Randolph Hearst to "receive favorable treatment from the state's parole authorities." Shortly thereafter a communiqué from the "New World Liberation Front" repeated the same allegations and two weeks later on June 8 Jackson was killed. Moore was roundly denounced by the Bay Area left as an informer and general creep; she was kicked out of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and characterized by them as "a dangerous individual and a security risk to all movement organizations."

In a letter to the *Berkeley Barb* (4-10 July) "Sally" Moore admitted her FBI involvement. The letter, which has been generally ignored by the press, is filled with class and race guilt and provides some insight into the apparent motiva-



Sara Moore

UPI

tion of her subsequent actions: guilt over her connection with the FBI following "the shock of Popeye's death." She wrote, "Whoever did it must have thought they could get away with the killing of a black man.... None of us white middle class people who were suspected of or even proved to be 'snitches' or 'pigs' has ever been physically harmed."

Sara Moore presents in classic form the double image of the erratic petty-bourgeois propelled by moralism from social-work prison reform to individual terror. Now this "revolutionary" bookkeeper, self-confessed former FBI informer, liaison between the "underground" and the Hearsts is staying at the home of LaRue Grimm, a lawyer who also represented the Manson family.

The Instant Legend of "Patty" Hearst

On September 19 Patricia Hearst was picked up in San Francisco by FBI agents. Along with Hearst they arrested Emily and William Harris and Wendy Yoshimura. Bail for Yoshimura has been set at \$250,000 and that of the Harrises at \$500,000 each; Hearst has been denied bail altogether. Since Hearst is the only one who could raise such astronomical sums, all the prisoners are effectively being held without bail. Compared to the fiery on-the-spot execution of their six comrades on 17 May 1974 by the Los Angeles police department, anything that might happen in the courtroom prosecution of Hearst and the Harrises on 18 felony charges will seem to be a model of

continued on page 10

Sixth Popular Front Government in Lisbon

Turmoil in Portuguese CP

SEPTEMBER 22 —After weeks of excruciating negotiations a new government has been formed in Portugal, headed by Admiral Pinheiro da Azevedo. Although one member of the Communist Party (CP) holds a minor ministerial post ("as an individual, not a party representative"), the CP has seen its governmental influence dwindle to almost zero. In the new cabinet there are four Socialists, two Popular Democrats and four military officers associated with the "moderate" wing of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

The Azevedo government is the sixth popular-front coalition (joining reformist workers parties together with the bourgeois MFA) to take office since the overthrow of the rightist Salazar/Caetano dictatorship on 25 April 1974. Shifting sharply to the right from his predecessor, General Vasco Gonçalves, Premier Azevedo announced in his inaugural speech that his main goals would be to restore "public order, authority, discipline and cohesion of the Armed Forces...." Ominously, the *New York Times* (21 September) reported—i.e., threatened—that "The new Cabinet is widely considered the last chance for moderately leftist democratic rule to prevent the country from going once again under some form of rightist authoritarian rule."

During the period after its resignation from the fourth provisional government in July, the Socialist Party (SP) of Mario Soares mounted an anti-government offensive which served as the spearhead for a reactionary mobilization which saw scores of offices of leftist parties burning in towns across northern Portugal. During the negotiations around the formation of the new cabinet the SP once again took the lead in demanding the stabilization of capitalist rule by calling for a massive purge of leftist elements in the MFA and dissolution of all incipient organs of workers power.

In a letter to President General Costa Gomes, Soares demanded as a condition for joining the new government that it include in its program:

"D) Reaffirm the principle that the neighborhood commissions and workers commissions are forms of people's power which must be developed, so long as they do not pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the political-administrative apparatus of the state....

"E) Promulgate legislation severely punishing the 'armed militias' which must be suppressed within a maximum of one month's time, along with the 'popular vigilance commissions' and others which have arms in their possession."

—*Portugal Socialista*, 10 September

While stating in his inaugural speech on Friday that he "reject[s] social democracy" and instead is working for the "construction of a Portuguese Socialist Republic," Azevedo in substance agreed to implement Soares' program for restoring the authority of the bourgeois state and striking down rebellious workers and leftist soldiers. In announcing his program the premier called for an end to nationalizations, "reanimation" of the private sector of the economy and "severely repressive legislation against armed groups of civilians" (*Le Monde*, 16 September).

Cunhal Under Attack

Meanwhile the Communist Party has been playing a sad charade. Frightened for its very existence, the reformist CP is trying desperately to preserve the slightest shred of influence in ruling circles. Under pressure from his members, who have spent the last month fighting off murder-



Workers demonstrate in Lisbon last week.

Vida Mundial

ous lynch mob assaults in which supporters of the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD) played a prominent role, Cunhal is playing a game of semi-opposition by refusing to sign a common program or join a formal coalition government with the PPD, and at the same time "permitting" a CP leader to join the cabinet.

The response of the CP ranks has been less than enthusiastic. *Le Monde* (18 September) reported that "On September 16 at the Campo Pequeno arena, 20,000 Communist militants listened in silence to Carlos Brito, member of the central committee of the PCP" as he "tried to justify the participation of the 'revolutionary forces' in the next government and to denounce 'certain sectors of the left' which, by refusing to participate in the negotiations, 'leave open for the right a space which the left could occupy'." Attempting to appear militant, Cunhal threatened to go into combat if the CP were kept out of the government.

Having grown rapidly from about 5,000 members to over 100,000 in 17 months, the CP is experiencing considerable turmoil both at the top and at the base. The Lisbon daily *República* (12 September) reported that Octavio Pato, head of the CP delegation in the constituent assembly, is favorable to joining a parliamentary government based on elections after the promulgation of a constitution. Opposed to this rightist "Berlinguer line" (after the head of the ultra-reformist Italian CP) are Cunhal in the center with his semi-opposition farce and, on the left, sentiment among the ranks for a revolutionary struggle for power.

Indicative of this mood was the response of the Communist Party membership to the formation of the so-called "revolutionary (or popular) united front" ("FUR") with five other leftist parties on August 25. Created at the invitation and in the presence of officers of COPCON (the elite security force) and representatives of the MFA, this class-collaborationist political bloc was explicitly committed to the Gonçalves government, the government's policies,

the "MFA-People Alliance" and a capitalist austerity program. For the ostensibly Trotskyist Internationalist Communist League (LCI) joining the "revolutionary/popular united front" and signing the August 25 communiqué represent capitulation to Stalinist reformism. However, for the CP membership it appeared a welcome shift to the left, away from playing games with the rightist generals.

The pro-Gonçalves demonstration in Lisbon called by the "FUR" on August 27 was reportedly one of the largest (50,000) and most combative in months. Yet the very next day Cunhal appeared at a press conference to abandon Gonçalves, saying that "resistance, consistent struggle and firmness are not enough" and that "flexibility" to "diminish tensions" was also necessary. He called for an immediate broad conference including the so-called "Group of Nine" rightist officers who had been leading the anti-Gonçalves, anti-CP offensive in recent weeks.

This proposal evidently provoked massive protest in the party, for in

Avante! of 4 September the CP leadership published two declarations in response to the "many questions" it had received concerning Cunhal's press conference. The "questions" give a good idea of the state of mind of the membership. Doesn't the "composition of the proposed meeting diminish the role of the revolutionary forces," they asked. Does this "contradict...cooperation with the parties who called for the creation of a revolutionary front"? Does this mean the CP is looking for "an alliance with the SP to the detriment of the left parties"? Etc. The party's propaganda and information section responded "absolutely not" to all the questions. It is doubtful that the questioners were satisfied.

MFA Breaking Up?

The rightist victory signalled by the ouster of Gonçalves has also had a tremendous impact on the Armed Forces Movement. Representing the officer corps of the capitalist army, the MFA is a bourgeois political force, something most centrist and reformist socialists in Portugal and elsewhere refuse to recognize. Simply to defend its own existence, the officer corps must defend the maintenance of capitalism, as the new "moderate" leaders of the MFA are proving despite their rhetoric of socialist revolution. To call for alliance with the MFA, even with its "progressive sectors," means to call for class collaboration, the same treacherous policy which led to the bloody debacle in Chile.

Cut off from power and threatened by an imminent purge orchestrated by the "Group of Nine," numerous leftist officers of the MFA are now beginning to have doubts about their political orientation. One of them, Captain Carlos Matos Gomes recently resigned from a COPCON commando unit announcing that "It is necessary to be able to abandon one's illusions while there is still time," and "The MFA no longer exists." But it does exist, and unfortunately so do illusions in it.

A good example of the contradictory mood at present was the meeting of delegates of workers of the Companhia União Fabril (CUF), a major trust including the key Lisnave shipyards, at Barreiro on September 10. The main speaker was Major Ramiro Correia, formerly head of the agit-prop Fifth Division of the General Staff (dissolved by President Costa Gomes earlier this month), who declared, "At the moment it

continued on page 5



New Portuguese premier Azevedo with deposed Vasco Gonçalves.

Der Spiegel

Letter:

To the editor:

Hansenite Pabloites in the United States and abroad have found once again an opportunity to confuse the workers and to justify their departure from Marxism. This is evident from Hansen's "Is Democracy Worth Fighting For?" (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 August 1975). Surely, no socialist can support anti-democratic rule of even the red bureaucrats, not to speak of the bourgeois dictatorship. But does that mean the Trotskyists, like Stalinists, defend bourgeois democracy against fascism and advise choosing the lesser evil? Never to a Trotskyist as such. But to a Hansenite Pabloist, struggle for democratic rights becomes identical with the defense of the bourgeois democrats. Thus, the PST defends Peron against the threats from the guerillas on one hand and the military coup on the other. The same logic should have led the followers of Hansen to support Indira Gandhi against the "fascist threat" from J.P. Narayan and others alleged to be CIA agents. That is how the pro-Moscow CPI has supported Indira Gandhi. Despite this inconsistency, Mr. Hansen hopes he has been able to make out a case for bourgeois democracy and the socialists must rally round the class enemies to defend democracy!

Hansen's flunkey, Dick Fidler (*Intercontinental Press*, 28 July 1975), tries to mislead his misinformed readers with a wrong impression that the Spartacist League regard the Maoist MRPP "as the best hope in the Portuguese revolution." Informed people know that is a lie. What the Hansenites attempt to hide behind such lies and slanders is their own flirting with the Maoists and what is even more monstrous, their own criminal betrayal of their co-thinkers and associates in different countries.

The case of comrade Jagadish Jha is a fine example of it. Though he was involved in more than three dozen court cases and about 150 of the supporters of the Indian section of the United Secretariat were involved, neither the Hansenites nor the United Secretariat cared to move. After writing for years to them, Comrade Jha got information that the United Secretariat meeting on September 7-8, 1974, had decided to appeal to all sections and sympathizing organizations to assemble aid in proportion with their declared membership and to ask the press of the Fourth International to publicize the continuing need for help to the comrades in Bengal. One year has passed since then and nothing has been done. On the other hand, they have shed much tears for the Naxalites, and the Bengali organ of the Communist League of India has been ever kind to them while the article by Li Fu-jen about the Trotskyist prisoners in Mao's jails, though translated in Hindi and Bengali by a comrade in West Bengal, remains suppressed. Why? Is it not because the Naxalites appear to Mr. Hansen and his associates like Tariq Ali, "as the best hope in the Indian Revolution?"

Farooq Alim

Company, Courts, UMW Tops Gang Up on Strikers

Arnold Miller Breaks Coal Wildcat



Miners at Labor Day rally in Whiteville, West Virginia.

WV Photo

SEPTEMBER 16—A wave of repression threatens the United Mine Workers (UMW) membership in the wake of a massive wildcat coal strike that lasted over four weeks. Courts and corporate owners are attacking the militant miners with fines, law suits and the threat of legislative shackles. Stepping to the capitalists' tune, UMW President Arnold Miller and the union's International Executive Board (IEB) not only sabotaged the strikers' efforts at every turn, but have now passed new regulations designed to crush "unauthorized work stoppages" by disciplining militants.

The strike, which peaked Labor Day weekend with nearly two thirds of the UMW's 120,000 members out, ended in defeat. Neither a stop to the use of court injunctions to break strikes nor the right to strike over local grievances—the issues that had fueled the spreading walkouts—was gained. By September 9 only a few thousand miners were still out in Logan County, West Virginia, where the strike originated, and there were scattered reports of miners ignoring or driving off the few remaining pickets.

This tragic break in a 50-year UMW tradition of never crossing a picket line must be laid squarely at the feet of the union leadership. Far more than Charleston Judge K. K. Hall's \$700,000 fine against the union (payable to local coal operators!), it was Miller's incessant "back-to-work" orders that broke the back of the strike. UMW Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick summarized the leadership's hostility after a Charleston meeting with 65 local presidents, when he announced that "the contract will not be re-opened. The right to strike people can strike until Hell freezes over..." (*Louisville Courier-Journal*, 31 August). The decisive turning point came on September 5, when Miller and Patrick met with over 250 local officials from District 17 and pushed through a resolution demanding a return to work, refusing support for the right to strike over local grievances and calling for "punishment of union members who have spread the strike."

As the miners returned to the portals, there was growing reliance on redbaiting to discredit strike militants, especially those in the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike. Although from its inception in 1974 the Miners Committee has never raised anything remotely resembling a radical program, limiting itself largely to the right-to-strike issue, it became a whipping boy for UMW leaders unable to solve miners' real grievances. Frank Clements, Alabama IEB member, blamed the walkout on "left leaning" people who "didn't even believe in the Constitution." District 17 president Perry "pointed a finger at a small minority of radical miners" and Local 1054 president

Frank Tucker called for the "expulsion of the radicals" (*Charleston Daily Mail*, September 8).

Taking his cue, Judge K. K. Hall reserved his harshest sentences for two leaders of the Right to Strike Committee, Skip Delano and Bruce Miller. On September 8, they were given \$500 fines and 179-day jail terms. In what must have come as a shocking disappointment to their followers, Delano and Miller secured their release after only five days in jail by agreeing to the judge's terms: not to engage in strikes, not to encourage other miners to strike, to report to work on the next shift and to obey all future court orders! Other miners refused probationary conditions and remained in jail while Delano and Miller gathered their belongings and left.

On the same day Hall was dispensing "justice," the union tops were meeting in Washington, setting their own sentence on the miners. In a resolution that passed 22 to 2, the IEB instituted a 10-point anti-strike program that included:

- nullification of the long-standing "24-hour rule," where all three shifts of a mine strike if one turn goes out;
- forbidding the use of UMW funds for the defense of miners involved in picketing mines other than where they work, or to pay fines and damages assessed against union locals for their participation in wildcat strikes;
- providing IEB authority to "try charges against members who, by their actions, in willful and deliberate defiance of International directives, seriously jeopardize the integrity of the union";
- calling for contract instruction for local officials, immediate meetings with management when strikes break out, local meetings "as soon as possible" after a strike starts, with the appropriate District officer (whose responsibility is "directing the men back to work") in attendance.

The specific provisions of this program were not accidental. Three days before the IEB met, the UMW was notified by U.S. Steel (which owns numerous coal mines) that it was filing a suit against the union in Pittsburgh. In the words of the big-business mouthpiece *Wall Street Journal* (12 September), "in several respects, Monday's action by the union's board closely parallels those requests." In addition to demanding union discipline, suspensions, fines, etc., for illegally picketing members, and a permanent injunction to prevent wildcats, the U.S. Steel suit asks for compensating damages of at least \$2 million it claims to have lost during the strike, plus \$10 million in punitive damages. It asked the court to seize "all union dues," estimated at \$1.7 million a month, in order to secure payment!

This outrageous assault is supplement-

ed by another Pittsburgh suit filed by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the industry's bargaining arm. Industry officials describe the suit as an attempt to "help" the sagging UMW administration, not hurt it. The suit does not ask damages, but seeks a court order compelling "prompt and affirmative action" by the union "using all reasonable means at its command" (including disciplining striking members and putting wildcatting locals and districts into receivership) to stop picketing and work stoppages.

If court suits and cooperative UMW bureaucrats do not suffice, the coal and steel magnates are prepared to resort to stronger means. On August 28, U.S. Steel board chairman E. B. Speer called for new legislation to place coal mine labor relations under congressional control, as in the Railway Labor Act. Reports circulating in Washington say that there is congressional and administration interest in such a proposal, using the "energy crisis" as an excuse to throttle the rebellious miners.

The entire labor movement must vigorously oppose these grave threats to the UMW's independence, mobilizing the widespread working-class sympathy for the miners' cause. For example, during the wildcat rank-and-file steelworkers in Lorain, Ohio and Gary, Indiana put out leaflets calling for defense of the miners and demanding the right to strike for steelworkers, currently saddled with I.W. Abel's "no-strike" Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

Massive government/court intervention into UMW affairs is not new, but pressure for it is sure to increase as miners fight deteriorating safety and working conditions in the rapidly expanding industry. "Reformer" Miller is not in a position to strenuously object, since his own election in 1972 was the product of a request for Labor Department and court intervention into the union. The Spartacist League did not support the Miller/Labor Department campaign and warned that his mishmash program of "democratic" homilies contained new betrayals. Our call for the construction of a new Mine Workers' leadership based on a full class-struggle program has been brushed off as "sectarian" by all brands of reformists (from the Communist Party to the Revolutionary Union, International Socialists and Socialist Workers Party), all of whom have tailed after Miller in the past (as the CP and SWP continue to do at present). But every passing day, with new attacks complemented by scab Miller's backstabbing, confirms its validity. Only a class-struggle leadership will be able to secure the UMW's complete independence from government control, a vital condition for the miners' ability to wage new struggles. ■

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UFT Ranks Inflamed Over Shanker Sellout

SEPTEMBER 21—A disastrous strike settlement forced upon the membership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) has caused broad discontent within the union. New York City teachers have gone back to work under totally chaotic conditions, knowing only that the Board of Education spent *not one penny* on the new contract while withdrawing several preparation periods and other past union gains. This loss will supposedly be compensated by a two-hour reduction in the instructional week, a cut in educational services denounced by parent groups as "illegal."

Meanwhile, the \$43 million committed to salary increases is frozen until the city becomes financially solvent, a far-off prospect to say the least. Of about 7,000 substitutes, 4,500 regularly licensed teachers, 3,000 paraprofessionals, 500 guidance counselors and 500 secretaries who have been laid off since June, perhaps 2,400 positions at most will be restored by using accumulated salaries unpaid during the strike and the matching Taylor Law penalties imposed on the striking teachers.

Smarting under this insulting "agreement," the UFT ranks are also well aware that with so many positions cut, the possibility of maintaining contractual class sizes depends on a sharp increase in each teacher's overall workload. If after several weeks of disruptive and confusing reorganization the Board of Education can't hold the line, it has a legal right (thanks to loopholes in the 1972 contract) to raise class sizes anyway! For those teachers whose layoffs are rescinded this year, there is no money in the contract or school budget to keep them next year. To top it off, several teachers reported to *WV* that layoff notices continue to be sent out after the settlement.

Shanker Pulls a Fast One

UFT President Albert Shanker put this dismal package over with a defeatist soft-sell, backed up by bureaucratic manipulation. On Tuesday he told the union's delegate assembly meeting in Madison Square Garden that "We're taking some forward steps, some side-ward steps and, in a couple of things, I'd say we're taking some backward steps. It's a mixed bag." Shanker's "clinching" argument, which he repeatedly put to the delegates, was that "in times of depression, you have to hold onto what you have.... This boss has no money." Nevertheless, a majority of the speakers attacked the pact as a sellout and 35 percent of the assembly voted against it. This represents a significant division in the normally conservative and pro-Shanker body.

Opposition from the ranks is reportedly even greater. Although 38 percent of those voting turned down the settlement, less than a quarter of the membership was able to participate due to conflicting radio reports on when and how the balloting would be done. One teacher from Brooklyn told *WV*, "At five minutes to 5:00 they closed the doors despite the fact that there were people waiting on line to vote." Among other irregularities was the fact that no one had even seen the contract they were voting to tentatively accept.

It is widely believed that Shanker deliberately intended to keep the vote down to a small core of loyal supporters. According to a delegate from a Brooklyn elementary school, "There is incredible opposition. Schools are reporting 90 percent of the people are against it." He also reported dissension within Shanker's own base: "There was one school whose chapter chairman for the last couple of years has been a Unity Caucus [the Shanker caucus] chapter chairman. That school is drafting a letter to ask Shanker to resign. There's many splits within Unity on this." The outrage runs so deep that some teachers believe the settlement may actually be rejected when a second membership vote is taken this month to reaffirm it.

Shanker may have trouble living down this sellout. His base in New York and his presidency of the national American Federation of Teachers are in large part due to his reputation for coming across with substantial settlements. And then there are his career aspirations: Shanker already on the AFL-CIO exec board and reportedly hopes to succeed George Meany. At least one newspaper account saw these designs behind Shanker's calling of a UFT strike when the rest of the NYC labor bureaucracy was meekly playing dead. But this year he threw away many past gains after only four days on strike.

Needed: Class-Struggle Opposition in the UFT

Greater opportunities exist now than at any time in the past to build a strong militant opposition to the formidable Shanker machine. The task is not easy, for the UFT apparatus is relatively new and vigorous (its first contract came in 1962), unlike most American unions whose hidebound, encrusted bureaucracies settled into their easy chairs in the 1930's and 1940's. Moreover, no business-unionist reformer is going to be able to crack the Big MAC austerity program or provide answers to the problems posed by the depression, as Shanker will certainly point out. At this moment the only opposition which could possibly unseat the incumbent sellout "labor statesman" would be one which does confront these vital issues, by presenting a full, political class-struggle program.

Unfortunately, however, the existing opposition groups, while all organized by radicals of various persuasions, are doing their best to appear as nothing more than "honest union militants." The thought of putting forward an explicitly anti-capitalist program, including such demands as expropriating the banks or calling for a workers party, sends shivers down their spines as they think of all the rank-and-filers who are not yet ready to support a fundamental challenge to the bourgeoisie. It requires principled Marxist leadership, not seeking instant popularity with a reformist program but rather putting forward the only program that corresponds to the objective needs of the working class, to present a real alternative to Shanker.

Of the three present opposition formations, two are tainted by past betrayals and a third, newer, group is barely able to present the appearance of a



NYC teachers line up to vote on new contract September 16 as parents call for a "no" vote.

coherent organization, much less struggle for power. The oldest is the Teachers Action Caucus (TAC), which is ballyhooed in the pages of the Communist Party's *Daily World* and affiliated nationally with the United Action Caucus in the AFT. The Rank and File Caucus (RAFC) is supported by the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and shares the latter's economist trade unionism and liberal anti-racism, but shorn of PL's ritual references to socialism.

Both of these caucuses are notorious for having scabbed during the 1968 New York City teachers' strike. Despite blatant appeals to racist sentiment by the leadership, the 1968 strike was necessary to stop forced transfers of teachers by community school boards which threatened the seniority system and very existence of the UFT. In the newspaper of the CP-supported Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), TAC member Robert Greenberg brazenly described the group's anti-union actions:

"A movement of rank and file teachers, Teachers for Community Control, opposed to the course that the Shanker leaders had taken, joined with parents in opening the schools and teaching the children during the strike. TCC was the forerunner of the present rank and file caucus within the UFT, the Teachers Action Caucus."

The RAFC also refuses to repudiate its scab role in 1968, making it easy for Shanker to dismiss his opponents as strikebreakers who "work to destroy unions." The third group, Coalition of New York City School Workers, was formed recently but, characteristically, it has no position on the controversial 1968 strike.

Democrats and Social Democrats

TAC is also compromised by its support to the incumbent David Selden in the 1974 AFT presidential election. Selden, a long-time member of the union machine, was a victim of Shanker's ambition. The political overtones of this intra-bureaucratic dispute echoed a split in the moribund American social democracy around the 1972 U.S. elections. Shanker is a prominent supporter of the right-wing Social Democrats USA which champions the sabre-rattling Senator Jackson and braintrusts for Meany, while Selden was loosely associated with the pro-McGovern Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

On the basis of his less-than-inspiring program for "the rebirth of liberalism in the AFT," TAC and the United Action Caucus backed Selden against Shanker's successful effort to unseat him. In addition to long collaboration with Shanker's sellouts and bureaucratic wheeling and dealing, Selden was severely compromised by a backroom deal he negotiated to merge the AFT with the rival National Educational Association (NEA) with a three-year trial period during which the central question of AFL-CIO affiliation would be left in abeyance. (Since the much larger NEA could obliterate teacher unionism by simply swallowing up the AFT, the

affiliation question was a focal point of the struggle against anti-union "professionalism.") TAC's "lesser evil" endorsement of one pro-capitalist bureaucrat over another demonstrates its total incapacity to build a real alternative to the present AFT/UFT leadership.

Although the Rank and File Caucus ran its own candidate, David Rosoff, against both Selden and Shanker in 1974, it too is unable to draw the class line or develop a consistent class-struggle program. Rosoff, just like Selden, was a McGovern supporter, and according to RAFC literature he was also an elected member of the New York state committee of the Democratic Party. It is not surprising that a caucus whose candidate for union president actively supports a capitalist party should also scab on a strike and threaten to take their union into the bosses' courts.

A Class Line, Not Simple Anti-Shankerism

Among the resolutions backed by the RAFC at the 1974 AFT convention was one submitted by Houston Local 2415, which said in part: "Resolved, that the AFT urge locals to establish 'watchdog' committees on preferential hiring to make sure the policy on minority teacher hiring is being carried out and to recommend legal and other action, if necessary...." When questioned by a *WV* reporter about his opinion of using court suits to settle internal union affairs, Rosoff replied: "I like that. Maybe we ought to do that to Shanker." Whatever the anti-bureaucratic rationales advanced to justify them, such suits break the cardinal principle of trade-union independence from the capitalist state and invite massive government intervention.

The RAFC's blindness on the crucial question of the state, as well as its past stands, raise the immediate question of where it will stand if Shanker is clapped in jail for leading a strike in violation of the Taylor Law. Such an attack on the union movement must be protested by militant labor action, including a city-wide general strike if necessary!

The Coalition of New York City School Workers is less hardened in its reformism than either TAC or the RAFC, but only because it lacks a coherent program and is essentially an amalgam of small groups with different histories. What elements of a program it does have do not fundamentally distinguish it from the other two caucuses. All three approach the anti-labor austerity program imposed on the city by the "Municipal Assistance Corporation" as though it were purely the machinations of a greedy bankers' conspiracy (the line taken by Gotbaum and, occasionally, even Mayor Beame) rather than an outgrowth of the capitalist business cycle.

All three UFT opposition caucuses propose as the answer to Big MAC the idea that the city should simply pay the banks less and tax them more. Leaflets distributed by them during or just before the strike show little difference on this key

question:

- TAC — "It's time for the unions to insist that the banks make some sacrifices instead of the working people."
- RAFC — "As for the banks, not only can the windfall interest be eliminated but the banks can directly contribute adequate sums for city needs."
- Coalition — "If the city TAXED banks and corporations instead of BORROWING from them, there would be no financial crisis at all."

Even "socialist" Albert Shanker occasionally employs such rhetoric! Instead of implying that the needs of working people can be fulfilled simply by pressuring the bourgeois state to adopt a populist "tax the banks" gimmick, a class-struggle leadership would put forward a real program for victory: open the corporate books, cancel the debt, expropriate the banks, form a workers party and struggle for a workers government.

Shanker tries to justify his incredible giveaway contract by pointing to the depression. Of course, he is only looking for excuses. But it is the capitalist business cycle that is responsible for the teachers' current plight, and the fact is that none of the reformist caucuses has a program to fight the depression. Their demands during the strike were strictly limited to traditional union demands (no layoffs, no cutbacks, a big wage increase) which, while absolutely vital, are insufficient for victory. (Of the three, only the Coalition consistently called for joint work stoppages with other city unions, but even it did not raise the necessary demand for a city-wide general strike against the capitalist austerity program.) So long as oppositionists fail to prepare the ranks for a general working-class assault on capitalism, the Shankers in the unions will legitimately and effectively point out that their reformist opponents can produce no more than can they, since all share a business-unionist framework. What is needed is the construction of a class-struggle opposition in the UFT. ■

SPARTACIST

edizione italiana

SPARTACIST

**Dichiarazione
per
organizzare
una tendenza
trotskista
internazionale**



**Dichiarazione di principi della
Spartacist League pag. 13**

INDICE

- Dichiarazione per organizzare una tendenza trotskista internazionale (1974)
- Verso la rinascita della IVA Internazionale (1963)
- La conferenza di Londra del Comitato Internazionale (1966)
- Dichiarazione di Principi della Spartacist League (1966)
- Genesi del Pablismo
- Conferenza internazionale provvisoria (1974)
- Le origini del Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia (1975)

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Portuguese CP...

(continued from page 2)

is not the armed forces who will keep the flame of the revolution lit." A worker was quoted as asking, "How can we continue the struggle if we feel at our backs the guns of officers who want to defeat us?... Arms in the hands of the workers? Why not now?!" Yet another of the "progressive officers" present proclaimed, "There are people in the MFA whom you can trust."

Meanwhile, on the right General Sousa de Castro called last week for dissolution of the soldiers' advisory Unit Delegate Assemblies (ADU) and a purge of the left wing of the officer corps. And among the ranks of the military the organizers of the 1,500-strong soldiers contingent at the September 10 demonstration in Porto are reportedly forming a soldiers committee independent of the MFA and against the military command structure under the name "Soldiers United Will Win" (SUV).

What Program for Victory?

The principal obstacles to socialist revolution in Portugal are the treacherous misleadership of the Stalinists and social democrats, and the masses' illusions in the MFA. Under the impact of the wave of reactionary terror during the last two months and the removal from

independence, refusing to fall into a dangerous propaganda bloc by limiting their demands to a lowest common denominator joint platform, and continuing to warn the masses against the class collaboration of the reformist workers parties and the demagoguery of the leftist officers. When the CP in desperation signed the August 25 communiqué with several "far left" groups, this was a tremendous opportunity to win the ranks of the CP to proposals for working-class independence as opposed to the Stalinists' policy of support to the bourgeois MFA which today threatens to exterminate them. But the "far left," including the self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" LCI, did not do this. Instead they adapted to Cunhal by agreeing to support for the Gonçalves government and the "MFA-People Alliance"!

Unable to perceive the bourgeois character of the MFA the centrist LCI has constantly fostered illusions about the "progressive officers" who talk of socialism while locking up union leaders and Maoists. Thus in a communiqué dated February 15, the LCI stated that the workers movement "must offer to these 'progressive officials' the effective possibilities to... accelerate their joining the struggle of the working class."

"This joining would be expressed, among other things, by their defense of the soldiers' right to organize inside the army, by their explicit refusal to participate in repression against the workers move-

tees and complete citizens' rights for soldiers. This order, which Trotsky referred to as "the single worthy document of the February revolution," was quickly extended in practice.

"The soldiers approached the committees from the opposite angle, and united around them against the commanding staff.... The situation of an officer who came into conflict with the committee became unbearable. Thus was created the unwritten right of the soldiers to remove their commanders."

—Leon Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 1, 1930

The same understanding is rapidly spreading among soldiers in Portugal as the revolutionary allure of the MFA has been tarnished. At a meeting on September 10 of the delegate assembly of the Military Police regiment in Lisbon, the Maoist-led soldiers (who a few days earlier announced in a demonstration their refusal to obey orders to go to Angola) passed a motion stating that:

"In this sense the delegates of the unit in the ADU and the popular will represented in this Assembly decide to accept the support of the unit's Command, making quite clear that since the soldiers are the only revolutionary social stratum in the barracks the Command, if it wishes in fact to be on the side of the soldiers in the struggle, must accept the direction of the soldiers."

—*Expresso*, 13 September

Meanwhile, the SUV soldiers committee issued a press statement announcing that the first weapon of the capitalists was,

"our incapacity to undertake an auton-



The "reconstituted" MFA, Generals Fabião, Carvalho and Charais.

Diário de Notícias

power of the left wing of the officer corps, important opportunities have arisen for revolutionary Trotskyists to split the reformist parties and break the most conscious layers of the working class from the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement. To accomplish this, recourse to the Leninist tactic of principled united fronts is indispensable.

Only by creating organs of soviet power can the working people of Portugal decisively crush counterrevolution. For this it is necessary to unify all workers commissions, neighborhood commissions, workers militias, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, "people's assemblies" and similar bodies into a unitary, democratically elected representative national council of workers and soldiers deputies. In addition to agitating in the workers' and soldiers' organizations for this program, the ostensibly socialist parties should be challenged through united-front proposals to undertake the construction of soviet bodies. And in the face of the threatened purge and crackdown on leftists in the military by the rightist generals, a Marxist leadership would propose to the other left parties and even to sectors of the MFA a temporary united military bloc.

In undertaking such initiatives, the Trotskyists must maintain their political

ment, against revolutionary demonstrations, etc."

—*Combate Operario*, March 1975

But comrades, benevolent actions toward the workers and soldiers will not change an officer from an agent of the bourgeoisie into a member of the workers movement!

Split the Army!

The armed forces are the heart of the bourgeois state apparatus and the officer corps is the structure around which the military is built. The task of the communists is to *split* the army, by extracting the soldiers from the control of the officer corps, and to *smash* the bourgeois state. Thus the condition for individual officers to come over to the side of the working class is not good will but breaking with the military command structure and submitting themselves to the discipline of the soldiers committees.

Soon after the February 1917 revolution which toppled the tsar in Russia, soldiers were already demanding an end to control by the commanding staff. They forced the nervous reformist leaders of the Petrograd Soviet to sign "Order No. 1" calling for elected committees in all military units, soldiers' deputies in the soviet, political control by the soviet, control of weapons by the commit-

tees and complete citizens' rights for soldiers. This order, which Trotsky referred to as "the single worthy document of the February revolution," was quickly extended in practice.

"We must know how to confront this danger with our class organization intimately linked inside and outside the barracks, thereby breaking the military hierarchy of the army and globally challenging the power of the bourgeoisie's state apparatus of which the army is a part."

This is correct. Truly "revolutionary officers" must submit themselves to the direction of the soldiers, and the soldiers committees must break with the MFA and the military command. But while the LCI reportedly played a role in organizing the SUV, its signing of the August 25 communiqué and joining the class-collaborationist "revolutionary/popular united front" directly contradicts this and constitutes a betrayal of Marxism and the proletariat. With its centrist gyrating and illusions in the "progressive officers" the LCI has shown itself incapable of providing revolutionary leadership to the Portuguese workers and soldiers. What is urgently needed is a break from the capitulationist tailism of this Pabloist perversion of Trotskyism, and a fight to build an authentic Trotskyist party in Portugal, constructed in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

Gunpoint Elections in the Fields

Grower Vigilantes Terrorize Farm Workers

Pacifist Chavez Relies on State Arbitration

SAN FRANCISCO, September 14—As the first wave of voting returns in union representation elections came in this week, it was clear that the survival of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union hangs by a very slender thread. Though the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act which governs the elections was hailed as the vehicle which would finally bring labor peace to the fields, it is proving to be one more tool to debilitate the farm workers, putting their fate into the hands of the courts and executive hodies of the class enemy. It is extremely urgent that the labor movement across the state take action in defense of the UFW.

Though the UFW has won about 24 elections covering 4,500 workers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' (IBT) 14 victories covering 4,000 workers (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 September), many of the larger and most important ranches remain, at least for the moment, in Teamster hands. Last spring as Governor Brown's agricultural labor bill was being agreed to by the UFW, IBT and agribusiness interests, we warned that this measure would permit a state arbitration board to decide whether the farm workers' union would live or die, and that class-conscious workers should therefore oppose it. Most of the left remained silent on this crucial question and UFW leader Cesar Chavez assured his ranks that everything would turn out all right since the Teamsters had no support.

The voting has shown that the UFW retains the loyalty of most agricultural workers in California, but it also shows that Chavez' pacifism and impotent boycott strategy continue to imperil the very existence of the union. The Farm Workers' election defeats appear to come from ranches where there was massive intimidation by gun-toting company goons during the voting, and from the oldest targets of UFW-led consumer boycotts. Over the years vineyards like Gallo and Giumarra have built up an entire labor force of scabs.

"A Climate of Fear and Intimidation"

Last week's important vote at E. & J. Gallo concerns not simply the 450 workers directly employed by the winery. The bulk of the grapes for this largest wine producer in the country are bought from numerous small growers. It is generally recognized that the vote at Gallo will determine the union affiliation of the supplying vineyards. Furthermore, the UFW boycott against Gallo and the latter's expensive anti-UFW advertising campaign give the vote a considerable symbolic importance.

The election results were a stalemate settling nothing. The Teamsters, who have checked off union dues at Gallo ever since stealing the contract in 1973, got 223 votes to the UFW's 131. However, 198 votes are contested, the bulk of them

being ballots of "economic strikers" who have been on strike since the time of the IBT takeover. This could mean an eventual UFW victory, as they are entitled to vote according to the law's provisions, but each individual case must be ruled on by the five-man governor-appointed Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) charged with implementing the elections.

Long-time labor organizer Fred Ross, who is aiding the UFW during the representation elections, declared that never in his 30 years of union experience has he seen "anything which begins to approach the climate of fear and intimidation" around the Gallo elections. His was one of a number of depositions submitted in a series of unfair labor practice charges the UFW has filed with ALRB. Among the charges are the fact that Teamster organizers and Gallo security guards (whose head served with the State Department in Vietnam) followed, photographed and recorded the names of workers talking to UFW organizers.

As if this weren't enough, these same security guards cast ballots (challenged by the UFW) in the elections. The hired goons of the capitalists have no place in a farm workers' union or any other labor organization. They are strikebreakers by definition and enemies of the labor movement!

The pattern in other Teamster "victories" was similar. Both at Giumarra, largest U.S. table-grape grower, and Egg City, the nation's largest producer with three million eggs a day, the contested ballots could turn these UFW election defeats into victories. Even so, the UFW is in serious trouble and cannot afford to give away elections. At the small Dalton Richardson vineyards south of Bakersfield the UFW handed victory to the IBT by refusing to even get on the ballot because a UFW organizer was shot and killed at the ranch in 1973.

The Growers' "Rights"

The intimidation tactic is not limited to Gallo. The results of the September 9 election at McSweeney Farms, a produce grower, were not certified by the ALRB pending resolution of unfair labor practice charges. The election is significant in that it was the first to produce a vote for no union representation. Two known UFW supporters were fired and the owner threatened to shut down his entire operation if a union were voted in. The UFW got two votes and 45 workers voted against having a union. A Board agent pointed out, however, that the UFW "had to get 51 per cent of the workers to sign cards indicating they wanted an election in the first place so something peculiar must have occurred" (*New York Times*, 10 September).

The most graphic example of the contrived character of the legislative "solution" to "California's farm labor problem" is the growers' defiance of the Board's ruling that UFW organizers can enter ranch property for three hours per day to speak to workers—before and after work and at lunch break. The ALRB



Elizabeth Sunflower

Above: Cesar Chavez with UFW organizers. Below: Member of gun-packing vigilante "citizens posse," which has been trying to keep UFW organizers away from tomato pickers, being arrested after shooting incident with police.



Daily World

access ruling was immediately reversed on September 3 by U.S. District Judge M. D. Crocker of Fresno, who, coincidentally, owns about 75 acres of row crop land near Chowchilla. On September 10 Crocker's ruling was upheld by a Fresno County Superior Court judge, who found the union access rule to be "unconstitutional and excessive," i.e., a violation of the capitalists' holy of holies: the "right" to private property. Again, resolution of the question awaits a decision before the appropriate capitalist body, this time the U.S. Supreme Court.

The growers have made clear that they claim the "right" to defy, with violence if necessary, a ruling against them. Armed vigilante groups calling themselves "Sheriff's Posse Comitatus" have appeared in the fields carrying guns, "citizen's arrest" forms and their own badges, to keep UFW organizers out of the fields. In the Stockton area such a "posse" of right-wing thugs (many of whom also belong to anti-income-tax and anti-gun-control organizations), repelled UFW organizers from tomato fields September 3 and 4. When questioned about the "posse," a tomato grower sarcastically answered, "Why guns? It's their right to carry guns.... You know, dove season opened Monday." When UFW organizer Jim Drake approached a nearby sheriff's

deputy for protection, the answer was quick: "We are not escorting you into the fields" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 September).

Capitalist Hypocrisy

Such is the hypocrisy of capitalist "law and order," which makes blatantly evident the bankruptcy of Chavez' legalistic pacifism. To look for salvation to the capitalist state disarms the workers politically and in every way. While the growers organize private armies, the sheriff's deputies and police spend their time assaulting and arresting UFW members (as occurred at Merced in August). According to Chavez' defeatist line, farm workers must passively "turn the other cheek" and rely on the bosses' courts to stop this brutal intimidation.

In a telegram to U.S. Attorney General Levi the ALRB chairman, Bishop Mahoney, this month accused the Border Patrol of interfering in the conduct of the elections. Under the guise of enforcing laws against "illegal aliens," the Patrol is responding to employer "tip-offs" by selectively arresting and deporting undocumented workers who sign petitions for secret-ballot elections under the agricultural labor act. Bishop Mahoney said that "potential voters may be

continued on page 10

Communal Terror in Lebanon

SEPTEMBER 22 In the small Near Eastern state of Lebanon (about half the size of New Jersey and with an estimated population of between 3 and 3.5 million), some 2,500 persons have died in "confessional" warfare since April. In the last eight days alone communal strife has resulted in 400 casualties, with major areas of the capital, Beirut, bombed and burned out. The recent wave of violence was sparked by a fight between two taxi drivers in the streets of Tripoli over the right-of-way, resulting in a full-scale civil war between a 3,000-strong army raised from the Moslem populace of Tripoli and a force of 2,000 from the nearby Maronite Christian village Zgharta. That trivial squabbles can unleash such murderous ferocity reveals deeply rooted social antagonisms that give the lie to Lebanon's reputation as the "Switzerland of the East": peaceful, prosperous, democratic and conciliating its several minorities.

Certainly Lebanon resembles Switzerland in being the banking and commercial center of the Near East, although this role has been diminished since its largest bank, Intra, crashed in 1966. In 1969 financial services contributed almost 22 percent of the country's gross national product and commerce 31 percent, compared to 13 percent for industry and handicrafts and less than 10 percent for agriculture. Lebanon is relatively prosperous. Excluding Israel and the oil sheikdoms, Lebanon has the highest per capita income (\$500 yearly) on the Asian continent. Of course, this income is extremely unevenly distributed, with both class and communal disparities, the poor being concentrated in the Moslem population (and in particular among the Shi'ite sects).

Lebanon also presents a facade of bourgeois democracy. Elections are by secret ballot, there is universal adult suffrage and women have had the right to vote since 1952. The press is comparatively free and newspapers numerous. In 1962 there were reportedly 49 daily political newspapers, 38 weekly political magazines plus 112 weekly non-political magazines in this small country. Beirut is currently the only Arab city where there can be published an ostensibly Trotskyist journal, *el Mounadil* (The Militant), organ of the Revolutionary Communist Group which is affiliated with the United Secretariat.

"Confessionalism" and Imperialism

But while Lebanon is the *only* Arab country to have a secular constitution, it is by no means a secular state. Instead politics at all levels are based on traditional apportionment of various posts among the 17 religious communities. The dominant Christian sect, the Maronites, are inevitably elected to the most powerful office, the presidency, by a necessary two-thirds vote of the chamber of deputies. The president, who appoints all ministers, is obliged to nominate a Sunni Moslem as prime minister. A Shi'ite (from the next most numerous Moslem sect) is by tradition elected president of the chamber of deputies, and so on.

This confessional representation grows out of the medieval Ottoman empire which ruled through religious communities. The latter were permitted wide-ranging local autonomy so long as they paid allegiance and taxes to the Sublime Potentate in Constantinople. But as the mountains of Lebanon had provided refuge for persecuted religious minorities throughout history, this area proved particularly troublesome for the Ottomans.

Following World War I Arab nationalists demanded immediate independence for a united Greater Syria including Lebanon. However, in the secret Sykes-



Lebanese army patrols the streets of Beirut during communal fighting last week. AP

Picot agreement of 1916 for splitting the former Ottoman holdings between French and British imperialism, France took both Lebanon and Syria. (This imposition of colonial rule was subsequently legitimized in the guise of a League of Nations "mandate.") Using the traditional imperial policy of divide and rule, France created a separate Lebanon in order to maintain a base of support in the Christian communities which feared persecution as a tiny minority in an independent and predominantly Moslem Greater Syria. In order to cut across pro-independence and unionist sentiment, the French constitution of 1926 created a chamber of deputies and a quota system for government jobs based on confessional representation.

This system was, in the main, retained after independence in 1946. While ostensibly an evenhanded means for preventing tyranny by the largest minority or the splintering of the state, the confessional system is inherently discriminatory and anti-democratic. For example, representation is based on the 1932 census which found six Christians for every five Moslems. The Christian political predominance continues to this day, although it is well known that the Moslem population has outstripped the Christian. Thus one of the key demands of the Moslem militants is simply for a new census!

The Excluded Palestinians

In a country too frightened to take a new census, no place can be found for the 300,000 Palestinian refugees, as their enfranchisement would jeopardize upper-class Christian predominance. The right-wing Maronite parties grouped together in the Triple Alliance (Phalange, National Bloc and National Liberals) call for expulsion of the Palestinians, while the Moslem-based parties give the refugees lip-service support. And whenever the

Israelis launch a terror raid into Lebanon (carefully including both the Palestinian camps and Lebanese towns and villages), the army "retaliates" by attacking the refugees.

A typical Lebanese crisis scenario takes the pattern of events following an Israeli commando operation in the heart of Beirut on 10 April 1973. The response of the government headed by Moslem prime minister Franjich was "Black May" (named after "Black September" of 1970 in Jordan, when King Hussein wiped out Palestinian commandos and massacred 5,000 refugees). The Christian-officered Lebanese army attacked refugee camps



Para-military commando of the fascist Phalange in Lebanon. Sathani/Sygnma

outside Beirut and in the southern section of the country, killing 300 and wounding 600. This in turn provoked massive Moslem demonstrations against the government.

Although the Palestinians have an armed militia of 10,000, following Fatah's slogan of "non-interference" (the same slogan which beheaded their movement in Jordan) the militias did not come to the aid of the worker-student demonstrators. Under the Cairo Agreement signed in 1969 to end a previous round of fighting between the Lebanese army and the commandos, the Fatah-dominated Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreed to subordinate the militia to the army and to police the refugee camps. In the current communal strife select units of the Palestinian militia are interceding essentially as adjuncts of the Lebanese army.

The Ultra-Right

The confessional system in Lebanon enforces the political hegemony of the Christian businessmen and ecclesiastics, the Moslem sheiks and muftis, the Druze tribal leaders, the *za'ims* (Mafia-like urban bosses) and landlords over the masses. A non-believer is politically disenfranchised and, with the exception of the extremely reformist and overwhelmingly middle-class Communist Party, political movements are drawn along communal lines. Moreover, the inflammation of religious and ethnic hatreds has tremendously strengthened the extreme right wing of the political spectrum. Lebanon counts not one but several fascist and ultra-rightist formations.

The best-known is the predominantly Maronite Christian Al Kataeb, or Phalange, founded by Pierre Gemayyel after he returned from the 1936 World Olympics in Berlin, and modeled on the Hitler Youth movement. Another founder of the Phalange, Charles Helou, was president of Lebanon from 1964 to 1970, and today the movement has seven deputies in parliament and an armed paramilitary force of 6,000 which has been responsible for most of the anti-Moslem terror and provocations. It was the Phalange that massacred 22 unarmed Palestinians on a bus in April, precipitating the current wave of violence.

But the Maronites have no monopoly on fascist parties. In 1932 Antun Saadeh launched the fanatically pro-Nazi Syrian Nationalist Party which found its greatest support among petty-bourgeois Greek Orthodox. The Armenians, refugees from Turkish terror, have taken their political movements with them into exile, dominant among them being the fanatically anti-communist Dashnak. In 1958 when Lebanese president Camille Chamoun called in 10,000 U.S. Marines to help him suppress a rebellion by Moslem political opponents, he was backed by only three parties: the Phalange, the Syrian Nationalists and Dashnak.

The closest thing to a left in the Lebanese electoral system is personified by Kamel Jumblatt, member of a leading Druze political family. Originally aligned with pro-French forces, Jumblatt broke with the colonial government in 1943 after the French arrested most of the elected Mandate government. While organizing the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), founded in 1949, he was simultaneously negotiating with the Syrian Nationalist Party. Jumblatt supported Chamoun in the 1952 elections and only broke after Chamoun backed the "Eisenhower Doctrine" for U.S. intervention in the Near East. The PSP continues to be based on the Druze community but has evolved a utopian

continued on page 9

39½ for 40

UAW "Shorter Work Time" Hoax

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Delegates of the United Auto Workers (UAW) National Ford Council meeting in Washington September 9-11 routinely approved the only resolution to come on the floor, a proposal from the leadership making "Shorter Work Time" a key demand in the 1976 auto negotiations. This token gesture seeks to translate the strong sentiment among auto workers for a shorter workweek to combat layoffs into a bogus "time bank" plan, whose impact on unemployment will be paltry, if not counterproductive.

After two days of exhorting the assembled local bureaucrats to "go visit your congressmen" (along with the telling admission that "nothing happened" after the union's February 5 pressure-the-Democrats jobs rally), UAW's Ford Division Director and Vice President Ken Bannon introduced the resolution. He largely repeated a "program" outlined in a July 1974 Ford Council motion: less time on the job, more leisure time, reduced unemployment, no increase in overtime. Though purposely vague, the actual intent is revealed by the inclusion of a quote from a 6 June 1974 news conference by UAW President Leonard Woodcock:

"Well, you talk about the question of a four-day week—the bonus hours plan is a method of shortening the individual's work time. It's true it's only in a small way—half an hour per week in the agricultural implement contracts. But building on that, it is possible to shorten the individual's working time by periodic weeks off but still maintaining the basic 40-hour week...."

The "bonus hours" or "time bank" plan won initially at John Deere Company in

1973 has become increasingly popular with auto executives plagued by high absenteeism and faced with current reduced production needs. The one-half hour paid time off per week—only about three days per year!—for perfect attendance was originally proposed by Bannon to curb *absences*, not unemployment. And indications so far from the agricultural implement companies are that, to the limited extent it has been an incentive, the plan *reduced* the number of jobs available! With less absenteeism, fewer surplus workers are needed to fill in vacancies.

The fraudulent guise of a job-producing "shorter work time" label is required now because of the depression-level unemployment in auto. Last winter nearly 300,000 production workers (38 percent of the total) were on indefinite or temporary layoff. Even with the current upturn in production (caused more by balancing out of the 1975 models and introduction of the 1976's than by increased sales), 84,000 remain on the recall lists. As Bannon pointed out, these figures do not even include the workers who have lost their recall rights—nearly 20,000 just at Ford—or those whose jobs have been eliminated by attrition and speed-up. Bannon estimated that 138,000 jobs had been lost in the industry during the last two years.

Pressure for union action for jobs has been building up, especially since the GM and Chrysler SUB funds ran out of money this spring, sharply increasing the misery of those sacked. Several Detroit-area locals have erected billboards supporting "30 for 40." During the last depression and again following World

War II, the Trotskyists popularized "30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay" as a concretization of their slogan for a "sliding scale of wages and hours" to spread available work to all. The UAW's paper program has included "30 for 40" since 1936, but it has never been seriously bargained for.

Some pressure, albeit timid, is also coming from the "National Short Work Week Committee" headed by Cadillac Local 22 president Frank Runnels. Aspiring to higher office and seeking a power base, Runnels has sought to group around himself other local-level UAW leaders. He recently held a Detroit meeting drawing representatives from over 60 UAW locals, many of whom had previous connections with the "30 and Out" campaign for "early retirement." The insufficiency of Runnels' call for a meager four days/nine hours is underlined by reports that he is even willing to compromise on that! Perhaps he, Woodcock and Bannon can all agree on "39-and-a-half for 40."

This meeting of the Ford Council, which as usual produced no concrete accomplishments, did emphasize the necessity of a new class-struggle leadership for the UAW. Not one of the 146 voting delegates—mostly local presidents and paid officials—uttered a peep in protest over the resolution's advance billing of an obvious sellout. The motion was read by an administrative assistant to Bannon and passed unanimously with no discussion.

What is shaping up as the "Great Short Work Time Hoax" is strikingly reminiscent of the fate of "voluntary overtime," billed as a key demand in the 1973 auto

negotiations. The pro-capitalist UAW tops settled for 60 hour workweeks at Ford, 54 at GM and Chrysler—which just happened to be the standard overtime already being worked at the respective companies!

The exigencies of periodic capitalist crises—and the profit-hungry companies' preference for paying fewer workers time-and-a-half for overtime, rather than incurring additional "fringe benefit" expenses by more hiring—mean that the lives of auto workers are punctuated by grueling overtime and long layoffs. Even the 40-hour week, center of bitter labor battles in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, is a myth for auto workers except during economic slumps (and then only for those who avoid the layoff list). Securing an end to unemployment means preparing the ranks of labor for sharp class struggles, beginning with the fight for a massive reduction of the workweek at no loss in pay and factory occupations of shut-down plants.

But it is the capitalist system itself that is the cause, and the fight for jobs must aim at expropriating the companies and vastly expanding production in a rationally planned economy under a workers government. Those who pretend that something less will suffice—whether "36 for 40," lobbying for the Democrats' drop-in-the-bucket jobs bills or some other reformist panacea—are only trying to fool the workers. If successful in winning office on their gimmick programs, they will only replace the Woodcocks and Bannons with more of the same. The fight for a consistent, class-struggle leadership of the workers movement is the key to victory. ■

OL Supports Meany's Grain Boycott

Maoism and Anti-Communist Protectionism

George Meany and Teddy Gleason, the arch-reactionary AFL-CIO chiefs who recently called a short-lived boycott of grain shipments to the Soviet Union, are not alone. On the same side in the "struggle" to blame U.S. food-price inflation on trade with the Soviet Union stand the Maoist October League (OL) and the ex-Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL), both of which recently endorsed the anti-communist, protectionist grain boycott.

In a leaflet announcing a demonstration against President Ford in San Francisco on September 22, a coalition put together by PL included the demand, "Stop the U.S.-Russian Grain Ripoff." Nowhere in the leaflet or in the pages of *Challenge* was PL's policy on the grain deals explained, however.

The October League made the mistake of trying to justify its support for Meany/Gleason anti-communism. "Soviet capitalists are all too glad to buy Western grain," says the OL's *Call* (September 1975), since they are strapped by stagnation in agriculture. This is allegedly because "the revolutionary enthusiasm of Soviet peasants which was responsible for the great advances in agriculture under Lenin and Stalin, has been wiped out" under Khrushchev and Brezhnev!

It is impossible to keep a straight face after reading such assertions. To begin with, even official Russian historians now admit that peasants slaughtered over 50 million cows, sheep, goats and horses in response to Stalin's forced collectivization. Far from producing great advances,

Stalin's autocratic arbitrariness set Soviet agriculture back for decades. Furthermore, it was Stalin who for half a decade was a leading opponent of Trotsky's call for gradual, voluntary collectivization!

Denouncing Meany for "demagogically using" the boycott which he and ILA head Gleason called and ended by bureaucratic fiat, the OL proclaims that "thousands of longshoremen took a militant stand" against "Soviet manipulation" of U.S. prices. But workers who, against their real class interests, are enlisted in a protectionist, anti-communist crusade will not stop to distinguish Mao's China from Soviet "red bosses." One sign on the Houston docks during the boycott read, "Let Commies Starve"! The mind boggles at this attempt to defend Stalin's worst crimes while in the same breath "critically" supporting the anti-Soviet ploy of the most reactionary elements of the American union bureaucracy.

The OL's contradictory position is, however, consistent Maoism—that is, the nationalist world view of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy as opposed to the internationalist interests of the proletariat. In order to improve their position against the rival bureaucrats in the Kremlin, Peking leaders call for strengthening NATO forces in Europe and continued U.S. military presence in Asia, while grasping the bloody hands of "Third World" despots like Bandaranaike and Mobutu in warm friendship. To support the same ends, the October League lines up with the worst anti-communist elements of the labor move-

ment (and through them with U.S. imperialism) in an unholy alliance against the USSR.

And what about these "Soviet capitalists"? The puerile "theory" that the USSR was above reproach under Stalin but then somehow reverted (unnoticed at the time) to capitalism under his successors in 1956 not only makes the question of which class rules dependent upon the mere whims of a few top policymakers, but above all it serves as a cover for the innumerable betrayals of the Maoist bureaucracy. Trotskyists, in contrast, defend the still-existing economic conquests of the Russian Revolution (nationalization of the means of produc-

tion, planned economy, etc.) against both the mismanagement of the Stalinist usurpers and the aggressions of imperialism.

The real interests of the international working class lie not in protectionism but in an end to all restrictions on trade with the bureaucratically deformed workers states. In the imperialist countries it is the obligation of the class-conscious workers to oppose all protectionist trade barriers. The longer that Arab countries are blamed for oil price increases, the Soviet Union is blamed for inflation of food prices, etc., the longer the real culprits—the monopolistic corporations—will get off the hook. ■

PDC Campaign for Jagadish Jha a Success

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, reports that the defense campaign waged on behalf of Jagadish Jha has been very successful and that substantial funds for his legal fees were raised by this effort. Jha, a veteran Indian Trotskyist, has suffered repeatedly at the hands of the Indian government for organizing West Bengal peasants and agricultural workers beginning in the late 1940's. He and 150 fellow union militants were hit with a lengthy series of court battles after leading a successful agricultural workers strike in the Bankura district during late 1969. Jha became a focus of PDC defense support in March of this year, after it was learned that the "United Secretariat," with which he is associated as a member of the Communist League of India, had criminally neglected this valiant militant in favor of more "popular" cases and issues. The Partisan Defense Committee thanks readers of *Workers Vanguard* for their generous support of Jagadish Jha.

Lebanon...

(continued from page 7)

non-sectarian program calling for civil marriage, free education and ultimately a "socialist" society based on early marriage, family life and religion.

Communalism and Genocide

Historically the formation of nation-states was a bloody process in which the dominant nationality suppressed weaker "remnants of peoples" left over from feudal times. The more completely this obliteration of minority peoples was carried out (e.g., the annihilation of American Indians in the U.S.) the less the national question is a burning topic today. But in building their colonial empires Western imperialist powers used the classic "divide et impera" methods of setting different subject communities against each other, arresting the process of national consolidation. While greatly developing a few export-oriented economic undertakings, a great many social holdovers from feudalism were maintained, among them communalism. Thus some of the most intractable national and communal conflicts today occur in ex-colonial areas where the different communities are relatively evenly balanced in strength and extensively interpenetrated, as in Lebanon.

Lebanon is not a nation but a state composed of numerous religious-ethnic-national communities permanently teetering on the brink of pogroms and confessional warfare. Under the capitalist social order the prospects for even a modicum of inter-communal harmony are bleak, for even if the historic discrimination and exclusion of the Moslem populations is reversed, it would simply lead to victimization of the formerly dominant Christian sects. There is a solution under capitalism, namely the Cyprus solution of civil war and massive population transfers. (Last week the last 8,000 Turks caught behind the lines in Greek areas of Cyprus were transferred, thus completing the brutally painful and necessarily discriminatory social redivision of the island by the Turkish army begun with the invasion of August 1974.)

Radical Arab nationalists have held out the goal of a pan-Islamic "nation" united through struggle against Western imperialism. But so long as there is not a socialist economic organization permitting the cooperative development of resources there will be endless battles over who controls the Jordan River or Arabian oil. And to the extent that the bourgeois nationalist program is not openly for genocide of minority communities, in regions of interpenetrated peoples it will lead in practice to pogroms and communal warfare. At the same time, it fosters the most extreme reactionary politics among the more privileged groups—witness the multiplicity of fascist groups in Lebanon and the growth of the extreme nationalist right in Israel.

In regions of intermingled peoples—Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus among others—there is no equitable solution to national and communal conflicts short of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this does not mean that communists can raise no immediate demands during the "confessional" violence. On the contrary, it is necessary to defend the right of communal self-defense; to call for non-sectarian militias of workers, poor peasants and Palestinian refugees to disarm the ultra-rightist terror squads; and to demand the right of return for all Palestinian refugees and full citizenship rights for those who choose to stay in Lebanon.

- Smash "confessionalism"—For a democratic constituent assembly in Lebanon!
- Down with Zionism—Israel Out of the Occupied Territories! For the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew Peoples!
- For a socialist federation of the Near East!■

Basque Nationalists and Maoists Face Death Sentences in Spain

Free All Victims of Franco's Terror!

SEPTEMBER 22—In its desperate efforts to crack down on the increasing mobilization of working people in Spain, the Franco regime has during recent days sentenced eleven ETA (Basque nationalist) and FRAP (Maoist) militants to death by garroting. According to today's news reports, eight of these sentences may be carried out within the week. The use of this barbaric medieval form of execution accompanies recent arrests of 200 persons and a renewed attack on the press. The wave of state terror unleashed by the reactionary dictatorship in Spain must be met with immediate international protests!

The past ten months have witnessed continued weakening of Franco's already minuscule social base of support and an increasing class polarization. In December 200,000 Basque workers struck to protest convictions of two ETA militants. Repeated political strikes led to the halting of production and finally the lockout of the SEAT auto works in Barcelona. The January strike upsurge was highlighted by the erection of barricades in the industrial city of Pamplona. The death sentences meted out to two Basque nationalists accused of murdering a policeman, Jose Antonio Garmendia Artola and Angelo Otaegui Echeverría, resulted in a protest strike by 130,000 workers three weeks ago.

In response Franco's henchmen have resorted to their traditional solution: more violent repression. The hysterical police reaction was codified in a draconian August 27 law which makes the death sentence mandatory for persons convicted of killing policemen, soldiers or government officials. But despite the regime's vicious terror, opposition continues to grow as the masses' hatred for their exploiters deepens.

The FRAP and ETA militants must not die! Free all political prisoners of the bloody Franco regime! For a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula!

FORUM—

Building a Revolutionary Party in Canada

Speakers:

Tom Riley

Trotskyist League of Canada
Central Committee

Michael Cranston

Trotskyist League of Canada

Fishermen's Hall/138 East Cordova
Friday, 26 September 8 p.m.

VANCOUVER

Leadership Isolates Strike

Berkeley Firemen Defeated After 25-Day Walkout

BERKELEY, September 20—A first-ever firemen's strike here is over after 25 days. In what was aptly described as "a decisive victory for the city's position" by the conservative *Berkeley Gazette*, the firemen voted 119 to 18 to accept the original pre-strike offer which they had twice previously rejected. Under the settlement, firemen's wages will increase by 16 percent over a two-year period. The only improvement is that the wage increase will now be "front loaded," with an immediate 10 percent hike retroactive to July 1. As was the case in the previous contract, this agreement contains no cost-of-living (c-o-l) protection, meaning that the measly 8 percent yearly increase won't even keep up with inflation.

A week before the strike ended, the union (Local 1227 of the Fire Fighters Association) launched into a short-lived "truck blockade" to stop Teamster-driven trucks from delivering goods into the city. The "blockade," which lasted only three days because it was "too effective" according to union president Jack Rinne, was reminiscent of militant union tactics used during the 1930's when roving pickets—"flying squads"—would tie up the city to ensure complete labor support. This time 85 percent of all trucks failed to make their deliveries.

When asked in an interview this week with *Workers Vanguard* why the tactic was called off, Rinne said:

"It was called off primarily because there was no desire on our part to injure any citizen of Berkeley. If the strike had continued with that tactic much longer, we would have had people at different plants laid off because there would be no materials to work with. The stores would have been out of supplies that weren't being delivered. It would have produced hardships on a lot of people that we don't feel should be damaged by this type of action in that manner. I guess it's just a case of trying to be a nice guy again. Basically our fight is with City Hall and not with people out in the homes. As far as using that or similar tactics again, if it becomes necessary we will use them again."

Brother Rinne is right about one thing: "nice guys" don't win strikes, especially when *correct* tactics are given up so easily!

Faced with an adamant Berkeley city council composed of such "darlings" of the radical community as Ilona Hancock, Ying Lee Kelly and Mayor Warren Widener, backed by the local Chamber of Commerce, the union leadership capitulated to mounting pressure to end the strike following a fire which threatened the lives of three persons. The fire came on the heels of another unsuccessful attempt by the union to extend the picketing to include city refuse collectors and local government workers who belong to Public Employees Union Local 390.

While morale seemed to be high (the previous city offer for a 9 percent immediate increase was turned down by

120 to 4), the only possible way forward for the union was to link the strike with other strikes in the area, in particular the Berkeley teachers' strike, and to call for a city-wide shutdown by all municipal employees. At the same time, the liberal politicians sitting on the council should have been exposed as *strikebreakers*, and a fight waged to break labor from supporting either Democrats or Republicans, to call instead for a workers party.

In a period of rising inflation the firemen have no cost-of-living protection whatsoever. *Workers Vanguard* asked Local 1227 president Rinne why the union wasn't demanding a full c-o-l escalator. He replied: "The city just absolutely refuses to discuss the cost of living.... It's never gotten that far. I do know that it would be turned down." Rinne admitted that since 1971 the union has gotten only a 13.5 percent wage increase, while in the same period the rate of inflation was 23 percent. "In seeking the wages we are asking for," he said, "we are just seeking to get to where we were in 1971." In other words, in order to have a "reasonable" image, he was willing to accept defeat in advance. The union leadership reduced its original wage demand of 22 percent for one year (itself too low) to 16.5 percent over two years, as an "indication of good labor negotiating!"

Berkeley firemen and workers in general do not have to be "good guys" when it comes to defending their needs against the capitalists and their government agencies. Full c-o-l protection must be included in every labor contract, whether it be with General Motors or with the city administration. The workers are not responsible for inflation and should not have to suffer for it. When the government claims it has no money, the union must demand the cancellation of the municipal debt and expropriation of the banks without compensation. Public services such as education, transportation and the cost of urban upkeep must not be sacrificed to hankers profits. In addition, the federal government must be forced to create a massive public works program to provide jobs for all.

The seeds of defeat for the Berkeley firemen's strike were planted at the beginning. Throughout the strike, eight fire chiefs, all members of the union, scabbed for the city. Such supervisory personnel, whose loyalties are clearly revealed, have no place in the labor movement and should be expelled from the union. Without a militant class-struggle leadership committed to a winning program and strategy—including demanding a full cost-of-living clause and extending the tactic of "roving pickets," leading to a city-wide shutdown—strikes such as these will remain ineffectual and isolated, resulting in continuous defeats for the working class.■

Boston Teachers... Crazy...

(continued from page 12)

students, black and white. This, of course, is consistent with the NAACP's sole reliance on the bourgeois courts and racist cops to protect the rights of black children.

The path to victory is not the weak-kneed bargaining of Robinson, who delayed the strike for two weeks hoping for Garrity to pressure the School Committee into offering him some face-saving compromise. To win its fight the BTU must mobilize community support from black and white poor and working people, who will suffer from the cutbacks in social services, and seek support from the rest of the labor movement.

Only by linking their strike to the fight for immediate implementation of busing and defense of the democratic rights of oppressed minorities can teachers begin to defuse the self-defeating racial conflicts of the urban poor and launch a struggle against those who are really responsible for the hellish conditions in the schools—the capitalist class!■

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(continued from page 1)

judicial propriety.

Though the prisoners are no doubt grateful for the fortunate coincidence by which they were not present in the house in south central Los Angeles (now a vacant lot) where the televised massacre took place, they are in serious trouble. Conviction on just one of the charges (kidnapping with the purpose of robbery) could result in life imprisonment. Among those who have it in for these adherents of the degenerate cultist Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) are the bourgeoisie's most powerful agencies and institutions of repression, including the FBI which resents being made the fool for so many months.

It is of course "Patty" Hearst who makes the capture front-page news. Since 4 February 1974—when Hearst was pulled from her Berkeley apartment, stuffed in the trunk of a car, held for ransom and then "won over" by the SLA—the story has been given sensationalist coverage by the media. The press has followed with cloying attention her parents' trail of tears from a \$2 million food giveaway to their consultations with psychics and mobsters to the recent "family reunion." There is no small delight taken in the return to the fold of the "Patty" who in April 1974 called her parents the "pig Hearsts" and vowed to "stay and fight."

The prodigal daughter myth is only one of the many best-selling "Patty" stories that has emerged. The most lurid is the inverted Horatio Alger myth: the beautiful young heiress, granddaughter of

Farm Workers...

(continued from page 6)

intimidated" by the appearance of Border Patrol agents at election sites to "inquire about alien status of voters." UFW organizer Eliseo Medina has also charged that employes arrested in raids following the filing of election petitions have been fingered by Teamsters and farm managers. Furthermore, according to a *New York Times* (9 September) account, "a source close to the situation" said that one of the deported workers telephoned him from Mexico to say "a Border Patrol agent had told the workers while they were at the Border Patrol detention center that 'we will call lawyers for you if you go with the teamsters'."

In the past, Chavez has repeatedly asked this same Border Patrol to remove "illegals," a demand which not only stabs fellow workers in the back but also facilitates the present union-busting activities of U.S. Immigration officials. The UFW has nothing to show for this treacherous finking, nor for its endless appeals to the courts against the cops and vigilantes. When California AFL-CIO leader John Henning recently appealed to the state attorney general, Evelle Younger, to help the local San Joaquin sheriff disarm the "posses," Younger answered that he thought the sheriff "has things under control."

Whatever the rulings of the ALRB, union representation in the California fields clearly belongs to the UFW. Labor must demand: Teamsters out of the fields! For a massive state-wide farm workers' strike—defend the picket lines! Militant workers in all unions must push for labor support to the embattled farm union: For the formation of union defense squads to smash the "posses"! Hot-cargo scab produce—For a California general strike in defense of the UFW! And once again the farm workers' struggle demonstrates that the working class must place no faith in the phony "neutrality" of the capitalist government: Dump the sellout union bureaucrats, break with the Democrats—Form a workers party to fight for a workers government!■

"Citizen Kane," transformed by wild metamorphosis into an "urban guerrilla" and, latest, tragic prisoner. Perhaps in a period of economic decline America needs to run the rags-to-riches scenario backwards.

The Hearst family is so filthy rich that the spotlight on "Patty" is making those charged with administering "justice" uncomfortable. Bourgeois "justice" ranges all the way from cop terror on the streets of the ghettos through the wrist-slapping of the perpetrators of the My Lai massacre to negotiating "deals" with the Spiro Agnews and pardons for the Richard Nixons. In an editorial statement, the *New York Times* (20 September) tried to present differential justice as if it were an open question: "Will justice be blind to the social and economic background of the defendant, or is there indeed one form of justice for the poor and another for the rich?" Even the *Times* knows the answer to this question!

Under bourgeois democracy both the rich and the poor have an equal "right" to hire millions of dollars worth of legal counsel. Not surprisingly, the Hearst family has engaged a small army of lawyers. There is pervasive speculation that the rich-kid-come-home will get off with a year or so as a "brainwashed" mental patient. Today in court speculation about Patricia Hearst's legal strategy ended as the heiress' lawyers read her sworn statement claiming she was locked up, starved, tortured and forced to rob banks by the SLA. Now that "Tania's" slumming adventure is over, her battery of lawyers is moving to separate her from the other defendants and setting up a case to claim that she acted under duress. It will no doubt have occurred to her lawyers that one way to prove Patricia's

"sincerity" and her wish to be "normal," again would be, in the finking tradition of Jane Alpert, to supply the names and addresses of other fugitives she may have met while in her "trance."

But the point is not to put Patricia Hearst in a frame house in LA and invite crazed cops to burn it down in order to provide equal "justice" for the black lumpens and the daughters of the bourgeoisie. "Patty" Hearst should get her legal rights—and with her money she probably will.

Not with a Bang but a Squeak

The comic-strip exploits of "Sally" Moore and "Patty" Hearst have all but crowded out of the limelight the saga of the third in a trio of "weird sisters," "Squeaky" Fromme, Charles Manson's administrative assistant who on September 5 pulled a gun on President Ford in Sacramento. The incident catapulted Lynette Fromme's freckled face onto the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* as the media recalled with horrified fascination the sadistic Tate/LaBianca murders by the "Manson family" five years ago. "Squeaky" embodied the childish, simple-minded vacantness for which Manson's "girls" became notorious as she demanded, "What are they mad about? The gun didn't go off."

According to Prosecuting Attorney Vincent Bugliosi's well-documented account in *Helter Skelter*, "Squeaky," though not personally a participant in the orgies of murder that took place at the Tate and LaBianca residences on 9 and 10 August 1969, was integral to the operations of the Manson cult and generally served as Manson's second in command. During the period of the clan's squalid existence at the Spahn ranch, staging ground for the murders, "Squeaky" handled such business matters as selling autos and other accumulated loot. She was also assigned to be the trusted companion of the 81-year-old owner of the ranch. While George Spahn permitted the "family" to occupy the ranch, Manson preferred to own it and, according to the plan, "Squeaky" was to become Spahn's heir by virtue of the sexual services she performed.

"Squeaky's" arrest record ranges from drug possession to murder, though her convictions have been for relatively minor offenses. The "family" has on different occasions claimed to have committed at least 35 murders, and the circumstantial evidence surrounding unsolved murders and attempted murders of "family" associates is indeed chilling.

In 1971 "Squeaky" was sentenced to 90 days in the near death of witness Barbara Hoyt. That a murder attempt had been made could not be sufficiently proven. Likewise in 1972 the body of 19-year-old Lauren Willett, who had fallen out with the "family" (as had her husband, who also disappeared) was found buried under the house occupied by Manson "family" members. "Squeaky" was among those charged with the murder, but the evidence was again insufficient for conviction.

Witnesses were understandably reluctant to testify at the Manson trial, for less than a dozen members of the "family," which at times claimed more than 100, were behind bars. The rest, led by "Squeaky," executed Manson's will on the outside with well-coordinated energy. She led the Manson followers who maintained a vigil outside the Los Angeles Hall of Justice throughout the trial, shaving their heads when Manson shaved his, carving crosses into their foreheads when he did. Ever the chief cheerleader of the Manson cause, "Squeaky" explained that "We have Xed ourselves out of this world." The mutilations became a ritual for new members, "complete to tasting the blood that ran down their faces." Since Manson's imprisonment "Squeaky" has waged a crusade for Mansonism, attempting to recruit new members and to prevent members from deserting the group.

The blood fetish, the god/devil worship of Manson's person, the slavish self-

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negating servility achieved through personality decomposition are all part of Mansonism. Manson espoused an ideology as consistent even in its contradictions as it was demented. The murders were part of a strategy for achieving his megalomaniacal ends, to which "Squeaky," like the others, fully subscribed.

As "revealed" to Manson in personal messages in the lyrics of Beatles songs and the Book of Revelations, he had a historic mission to carry out: to lead the chosen through a cave in Death Valley to a paradise in the center of the earth where all the other "tuned-in tribes" that had ever existed had escaped to avoid extinction. There they were to wait out the Armageddon that was imminent on earth in the form of a race war whereby the entire white race would be exterminated by the black, who were believed to be biologically inferior and would therefore have to turn to serve the real leader: Charlie Manson and his followers. The murders—the more shocking the better—were to be blamed on blacks, thus precipitating "Helter Skelter," a holocaust triggered by the whites' retaliation.

Known for this racist filth, it is little wonder that Manson refused to leave his cell in Folsom prison out of fear for his life, and does so now at San Quentin only since he has reportedly found a protective home among the reactionary fascist seum of the Aryan Brotherhood.

In recent months "Squeaky" and her roommates proclaimed a new "religious order" to pray for Manson's freedom. She told an interviewer:

"We're nuns now, and we wear red robes. We're waiting for our Lord [Manson], and there's only one thing to do before he comes off the cross, and that's clean up the earth. Our red robes are an example of new morality. We must clean up the air, the water and the land. They're red with sacrifice, the blood of the sacrifice."
—Time, 15 September

According to her roommate, "family" member Sandra Good:

"Squeaky is very, very gentle, and that's why all this monstrosity out here hurts her. It's on her back; she carries that weight. Every day we would wake up and think, 'How many whales did they kill today?'"
—New York Daily News, 8 September

This summer a xeroxed letter was sent to the *Sacramento Bee* and an LA television station, headlined "Manson is Mad at Nixon" and signed with a backward swastika. It indicated that Manson was still angry over Nixon's public declaration of Manson's guilt during the trial and went on to say, "If Nixon's reality wearing a Ford face continues to run this country, your homes will be bloodier than the Tate-LaBianca houses and My Lai put together."

We wept no tears over the death of John Kennedy, and class-conscious workers are not concerned to protect the physical safety of the chief imperialist warmonger, Gerald Ford. But the assassination of the president by a member of the Manson family spouting semi-political verbiage would have been far from funny, and the left in this country should heave a sign of relief at "Squeaky's" failure. The Mansons help create the atmosphere of "law and order" crackdown and generalized repression that Nixon dreamed of.

Just as Bernardine Dohrn and others had earlier sought to make Manson's murderous band into counter-culture heroes, some groupings on the left, titillated by the chance to shock bourgeois sensibilities, were willing to claim a kinship on the basis of SLA "serve the people" rhetoric. The media are delighted to identify the SLA with the leftist movement. But the SLA, the Mansonites and self-confessed former FBI informant Moore are not part of the left. The SLA's killing of an obscure black school administrator, Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster, was simply an indefensible criminal act; its "hit list" of people to be shot on sight was evidently compiled on the basis of personal vendetta. As *Workers Vanguard* explained at the time, "the essential charac-

ter of the SLA is clear: the SLA is an irrational and cultist expression of lumpen-proletarian rage having nothing in common with the struggle of the working class for socialism" (*WV* No. 43, 26 April 1974).

Some left-wing terrorists, while dangerously derailed from the path of socialist revolution, nevertheless exhibit a distorted anti-capitalist impulse. While their acts are often stupid or vicious, falsely personalizing the struggle of classes, organizations like the Weathermen, or petty-bourgeois left-nationalist groups like the IRA and sections of the Palestinian resistance movement, express in a deformed way the aspirations of the oppressed. The left must defend such people against repression by the capitalist state, in order to defend itself. But such people must be carefully distinguished from the SLA and the Mansonites who engage in criminally degenerate ritual killings.

Among the recently arrested SLAers only Wendy Yoshimura can be defended from a class perspective. Linked to the SLA by the alleged discovery of her fingerprints in the Pennsylvania farmhouse where the fugitives may have lived some months ago, Yoshimura is accused of having explosives said to have been used in blowing up an ROTC building in 1972, before she became associated with the SLA. Born in a detention camp for Japanese-Americans, the daughter of a Fresno gardener, Yoshimura is the only one who sits in the Santa Rita prison farm and speaks to her family through barbed wire.

Counter-Culture Fungus and Left-Wing Morbidity

The crisis of mankind, said Trotsky, can be reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership. That crisis is demonstrated not only in great historic events like Chile and Portugal, but also by the terroristic exotica and other strange fruit grown on the political soil of the U.S. That a disturbed crackpot like Lynn Marcus, for instance, can gain a following of hundreds of youth (some of whom want to see a socialist society) is an expression of the extreme weakness of the U.S. left and the present quietism of its misled and racially torn working class.

It is a Marxist commonplace to note that petty-bourgeois elements are driven to frenzy by their inability to influence events which affect their lives. Sealed off from the great social forces of history, petty-bourgeois currents express a world view so narrow and special that they often maintain only a tenuous grip on reality.

With the break-up of the New Left many young people became convinced that they could not change the world, and began to act as though the world itself was not real. The rapid spread of obscurantist religion, as well as deep political cynicism among a significant layer of youth, provides the culture medium in which the Mansons and Marcuses recruit. Both the Mansonite and Marcusite milieu shelter alienated, disoriented and despairing elements of the petty bourgeoisie.

But the Manson "family" and Marcus' Labor Committees are not the same; the former is a criminal cult, while the latter is a political cult. There is a significant difference between the left-wing reformist scientology of the Labor Committees and the wanton murderous activities of the Mansonites. Although Marcus can torture his membership and accuse his "comrade of great dignity" of "sucking and actuating a pig," the Marcusites, unlike the Mansonites, are not committed to a program of genocidal race war.

Although both exhibit behavior that can best be described only by a competent clinician, the Labor Committees express (and are part of) a weak left movement. This can be judged by its two most important split-offs, the Socialist Labor Committee and the International Workers Party, which defined themselves as political and leftist when they broke with Marcus. After the proletarian revolution we would try to win over elements of the cult of Marcus, while simply protecting society from the cult of Manson.

There are also political cults on the far right, such as the Ku Klux Klan, in which (unlike the Mansonites) the political component prevails over ritual criminality. The workers movement will deal with such groups on the way to and during the revolution.

During the Spanish civil war a venerable old professor, Unamuno, who had

cultivated a sophisticated vision of the absurd, was grief-stricken to discover his students outside his window chanting the fascist slogan, "Down with Intelligence—Long Live Death!" From Jacques Barzun and R. D. Laing to Manson, the cult of the irrational nourishes petty-bourgeois frenzy.

While the SLA projects shadows to the left, at points it overlaps the Manson cult as well. Petty-bourgeois cultism may contain a political component, but it is not usually clear where such groups and individuals floating above solid political terrain will touch down. These amorphous hodies revolve on an axis of their own, ungrounded by a stable connection to the material world and the realities of its social dynamic, and cannot simply be analyzed on a linear political continuum from left to right.

The political shading off into lunacy and criminality becomes even more difficult to separate in a social-cultural milieu in which it is not difficult to imagine someone joining the Revolutionary Union, then Venceremos and then the SLA. "Squeaky" at points can sound like any residual California dreamer who cares more about whales than wars. Sometimes the most misguided individual can be won to the cause of proletarian revolution, but the traffic goes both ways.

Marxists look carefully at the motives involved in terrorist acts. We have sympathy for the rage of the oppressed. It is also understandable that a petty bourgeois, confronted with the brutal oppression of capitalist institutions, could be guilt-shocked into social work, mad bombing or both. We care for the human creature who wants to answer the terror of capitalist society with a terror of his own, but we do not support the acts. Equally importantly, just because someone takes aim at a prominent capitalist politician or robs a bank, that act does not make him automatically part of the left and defensible as such.

Individualist terror is a stupid petty-bourgeois self-indulgence, the flip side of the "self-made man." Political assassination is a particularly stupid act. It is also fundamentally negative—that is, against something but not clearly for something else. Ford could just as easily be lined up in the rifle sights of some right-wing nut who thought Helsinki was a sellout to the "commies." The most obvious point is the correct one: Rockefeller is no better than Ford.

Wealthy individuals or their children must not be considered "fair game" for maniacal hunters who espouse a hatred of capitalism. Class war is exactly that—a war between classes in which the question of terror is subordinated to the military strategy of the class. Individual American anarchists are famous for botching military matters; Alexander Berkman, who served 20 years in prison for missing industrialist Frick, used a cheap second-hand pistol. At the time it was correctly noted that, typical of anarchists, "Berkman couldn't shoot straight or think straight." The connection is organic.

The painful social relations of an exploitative society in its death agony can only produce more and more "insanity," and more grotesque symptoms of its social decay—pimps and pushers. But a Marxist does not call on the cops to fight the evils of the social order they violently defend, not even to bring the most vicious and wholly indefensible mad-dog killers to "justice." The LA cops in burning out the SLA proved again that capitalism's mad-dog killing is systemic, organized and infinitely more dangerous than the SLA.

Predictably, the newspapers are once again howling for gun control. Such control has as its aim the further concentration of the means of violence as the monopoly of the state. Not the bourgeoisie, but the organized and powerful future proletarian movement, will overwhelm "the politics of crazy" as a by-product of the destruction of the bourgeois order. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mike Andersen/Boston Herald



Enthusiastic strike vote at Boston Teachers Union meeting Sunday.

Smash Racist Anti-Busing Drive!

Victory to Boston Teachers' Strike!

BOSTON, September 22—Members of the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) went on strike today in defiance of a court injunction rather than accept the paltry wage increase, elimination of class size restrictions and undermining of job security contained in the School Committee's "offer." A solid 94 percent of the teachers and aides stayed out (unlike the last strike in 1970 when many elementary school teachers scabbed), and the School Committee's plans to keep the schools open fizzled.

The strike follows two weeks of extreme tension in the schools as Phase Two of the desegregation program went into effect. A fragile calm was maintained only by the presence of a small army of 1,800 state and city police. Even this massive force did not prevent a rash of fights and racial confrontations in the schools. A black student described to the *Boston Globe* the ugly atmosphere at South Boston High School: "In a way things are worse than they were last

year....I'm afraid that when something happens the whole school is just going to explode."

It is widely believed that the School Committee pursued a deliberate policy of provoking the teachers' strike as a last-ditch effort to stop Phase Two. By tossing the teachers into the middle of the busing conflict, the committee hoped to simultaneously disrupt school integration and to squeeze the militancy out of the union.

However, on the picket lines today the extreme racial polarization of the city did not infect the strikers. The strike is strongly backed by black teachers and aides who, as newer members of the union, have a particular stake in fighting layoffs and maintaining class sizes. This in fact represents the first time that these non-white members have been drawn into the life of the union, and consequently the atmosphere at BTU meetings has been sharply altered. At a meeting of several thousand strikers this morning, a teacher who demanded that the union take a

position against "forced busing" was met with jeers and hoots. Even President Henry Robinson felt compelled to respond that his son is happy to be part of the busing program.

The unity of black and white teachers against the School Committee's attack is not, however, the result of any principled anti-racist stand taken by the BTU leadership. Robinson and his predecessor, John Doherty, were responsible for past attempts to isolate the aides, who are mainly black and Latin, in separate meetings, and for a BTU resolution calling for a year's delay of Phase Two busing.

The strike represents an important opportunity to fight for militant united working-class struggle which alone can cut across the hard race lines in Boston. Fighting unity can be forged in defense of the teachers and all public employees threatened by budget cuts and in the struggle for quality, integrated education. This requires the union to reverse its past stand and unequivocally support the immediate implementation of busing and that it take the lead in mobilizing for labor/black defense against racist terror.

The union faces a hard battle. Boston's liberal Mayor Kevin White set the tone when he labelled this a strike "against the people of Boston." Already Robinson has been subpoenaed to appear in court and face charges of violating an injunction issued under a state law banning public employees' strikes. In addition, liberal black groups like the NAACP and the Black Educators Alliance have petitioned Arthur Garrity, the judge who ordered the busing plan, to issue a federal injunction against the strike.

Such a short-sighted policy (supposedly to protect the desegregation program) reveals the true loyalties of these petty-bourgeois liberals. They prefer to line up with the mayor and School Committee rather than support the BTU which, despite its wretched position on busing, is fighting for smaller classes, more nurses and librarians, remedial reading and other special programs to benefit all

continued on page 10

Free Pat Swinton!

SEPTEMBER 23—The trial of Patricia Swinton began this week in Federal Court in New York. Swinton is alleged to have participated in a conspiracy in connection with the bombing of several military installations and banks in 1969. Communiqués issued at the time of these bombings indicated that the actions were intended as acts against "the corporate state" and in solidarity with the NLF.

David Hughey, an indicted co-conspirator along with Sam Melville, Jane Alpert and Patricia Swinton, refused to testify at Swinton's trial; in 1970 Hughey pleaded guilty to the charges and served two years in federal prison. Jane Alpert also refused to testify yesterday—not in solidarity however, but rather on the grounds that testifying would "put my life in danger." The *Daily News* reported that, "many radical groups have accused her [Alpert] of giving information that led to Mrs. Swinton's capture last March in Vermont."

The case against Swinton rests entirely on the blanket charges of conspiracy and on the trumped-up testimony of George Demmerle, a self-proclaimed infiltrator and informer with no credibility.

The PDC has contributed to the Pat Swinton Defense and demands that the charges against her be dropped immediately. Inquiries about the case may be sent to: Shoshana (Pat Swinton) Defense Committee, 339 LaFayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.