

Spanish CP Leader Crosses Picket Line at Yale

Carrillo Scabs for "Human Rights"

NEW HAVEN — "He's a fink, he's a rat, he's a faker. He's a phony representative of the working class." These angry words from Vincent Sirabella, business agent of striking Local 35 of the Federation of University Employees (AFL-CIO) at Yale University, were not aimed at a right-wing American labor-hater or a pro-capitalist Meanyite union bureaucrat, but at Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE). On November 14 Carrillo began a ten-day trip to the U.S. by crossing the picket lines of Local 35—on strike for the last seven weeks—to accept an invitation from the university's Chubb Fellows and the Yale Political Union to speak on the political situation in Spain.

By crossing a picket line and thereby scorning the most fundamental principles of working-class solidarity, Carrillo has added to his long list of Stalinist credentials the title of scab. There could be no more graphic demonstration that the PCE leader's "Eurocommunist" talk

continued on page 4



"Eurocommunist" Santiago Carrillo escorted by Yale cops through strikers' picket lines.

WV Photo

Blood and Tear Gas at the White House

Militant Protesters Explode Carter-Shah Gala

WASHINGTON, November 15—A line of blood was drawn through Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign today by vicious attacks and repression against the most militant left-wing demonstration here since the height of the antiwar movement. On one side was the U.S. president, his "welcome guest" (the Shah of Iran), the Shah's SAVAK secret police and his paid supporters, waving American flags and chanting "We love our king"—all protected by the FBI, CIA, Secret Service and Washington, D.C. cops. On the other side were more than 5,000 outraged demonstrators, mainly Iranian students, chanting "Down with the Shah" and holding placards which read: "Carter's Human Rights Means Support the Fascist Shah in Iran."

As we go to press, UPI reports that 92 civilians and 17 cops were injured when the D.C. cops, using tear gas and riot equipment, brutally attacked the demonstration, arresting 12 anti-Shah protesters. The cops had made the capital an open city for the murderous SAVAK, watching them drag off isolated Iranians for "arrest." The Iranian Students Association (ISA) march organizers told WV that some of their members were "missing" and that ISA organizers have been barred from visiting their wounded comrades in the hospital.

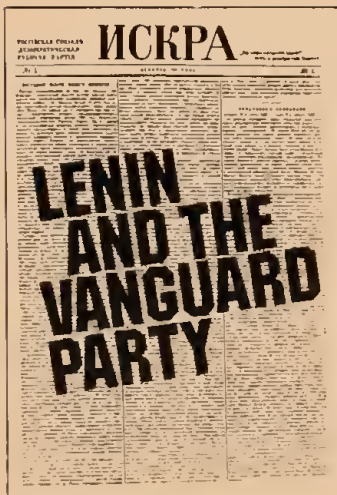
It was reported that many SAVAK agents

were brought to the area in white vans marked "property of the U.S. Navy." There were reportedly continuous assaults on the periphery of the anti-Shah demonstration. Four carloads of SAVAK thugs patrolled the perimeter with clubs and cameras. Cops stood by as provocateurs—many of whom admitted being paid handsomely by the SAVAK—using mounted police as cover hurled sticks at the anti-Shah demonstrators. But when the latter defended themselves against these provocations, the cops protected the "human rights" of the butcher Shah by cracking skulls and arresting the protesters.

The lives of the arrested opponents of the Shah are in danger. A police record in the U.S. can mean deportation and death by torture in Iran. Anyone familiar with the vengeful methods of this torture regime knows full well what the Shah has in mind for those who gave him the most hostile Washington reception of any head of state in recent memory. While Jimmy Carter apologizes to this "chic" torturer for the embarrassment and makes jokes about Washington "air pollution" (tear gas) to this "leader," the workers movement must rush to the defense of the arrested Iranian militants.

Drop the charges—No deportations! Smash the SAVAK—Down with the butcher Shah!

PART 5



The Struggle Against the Boycotters

Page 6

The Israeli Working Class and Zionist Terror

Interview with Israel Shahak

The following interview with Israel Shahak was conducted in Detroit on October 21 during a visit to the U.S. by this dedicated but non-Marxist anti-Zionist. The interview occurred before the entry of the Democratic Movement for Change into the Likud government, which gave Begin a large majority in the Knesset (parliament). This, in turn, enabled him to enact the sweeping austerity measures which produced the unanticipated explosion of working-class anger early this month. While Shahak's remarks precede these events, the exchange between WV and the eminent fighter for civil liberties in Israel on the class-struggle potential of the Hebrew-speaking workers retains its broader significance. Of particular interest also are his incisive observations—from the standpoint of one outside the U.S. political terrain—on the real import of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign.

WV: Begin's position is that Jordan is part of Greater Israel, right?

SHAHAK: Well, the land but not the people. The land is part of Greater Israel but the people are Jordanians, and therefore you can send them to Jordan. This is something that is very important. Let me elaborate on this because he really cheats in many of these things. You see, first of all he says he will not annex the land because it's already his and the people will be given the right to ask for Israeli citizenship. Those are his exact words. This trick already worked in Jerusalem, where many people applied for Israeli citizenship just to get a passport and in order not to get deported. Almost none of them received Israeli citizenship, because a non-Jew and also a man who is not a son of an Israeli citizen can apply for citizenship; but every official by the simple word "no" can deny him citizenship, and even the wife of an Israeli citizen who is married abroad cannot receive Israeli citizenship.

Begin doesn't want what I call honest annexation—meaning that he would annex both the people and the land. He already took the land but he made the people settlers or Jordanians.

WV: Well, we have a projection, that he intends to get rid of the people, that is that he intends to use the settlements as instruments of terror. Do you feel that that's correct?

SHAHAK: I have a similar position, I must say. The settlements are instruments of terror. The settlements are instruments of what I call "Sowetoization" or ghettoization to divide the people into areas in which there will be no more than about 100,000 people.

This is exactly the policy of South Africa with regard to Soweto. Soweto is a place that was built where the blacks would feel every day of their lives that they are foreigners. And I have said many times that the policy of the present government, which is of course a combination of Zionists, is to make Palestinians foreigners in their homeland. There will be ghettos where they will stay at night, and during the day they will work in the Israeli economy under conditions of servitude which have been often described.

WV: Historically one of the bases for the Israeli working class to in any way be won away from the chauvinism of Zionism is its opposition to the policy of integrating Palestinian labor into the Israeli economy at a wage level far below the average for the Israeli worker. They see that as a threat to their own wage level. Is there any opposition within the Israeli working class to these policies?

SHAHAK: There is not, and I will explain this on two levels. On the first level, there is now in Israel a consciousness that is being built—which also affects the workers—that striking workers are PLO terrorists. When workers strike in any plant whatsoever, immediately the radio and television call them terrorists and PLO and Arabs and so on. Since you have a concentrated wave of such brainwashing, the workers themselves feel it. This is shown by the reduction of the workers' solidarity to the lowest level that I have ever seen in Israel.

There is a much more important aspect to this. By now Palestinians from conquered territory have taken over whole trades of the Israeli economy: housing construction, most agricultural labor, street cleaning, of course, garbage removal, dishwashing in the restaurants, and so on. Where have the Jews who did this before 1967 gone? I will tell you: to the production of weapons. Israel has now become a major producer of weapons for export, and of course the Israeli army also needs a lot of weapons. According to the Imperial Institute for Strategic Studies in London, and according to the European press, Israel is the chief supplier of weapons to five Latin American countries: Chile, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico. It is not the leading but still an important supplier of arms to Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic. [It is also] an important supplier of weapons to Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand after the counterrevolution. Police equipment (walkie-talkies, etc.) to South Africa. Submachine guns to Rhodesia: the Rhodesian submachine gun is called "RUZI" which is the acronym for "Rhodesian UZI."

What does this mean socially in Israel? A lot of jobs were created, and the Israeli army has changed its nature. In 1967, and even to a great extent up to 1973, it was an army based on draftees and reservists. Even six or seven years ago drivers or cooks or clerks used to be people who are civilians who are reservists. All of this has changed. The Israeli army is so short of manpower that they advertise in the press and offer bonuses for those who will sign up for three years, a higher bonus for five years, and so on. Like in Prussia 200 years ago.

WV: Or the U.S. today.

SHAHAK: Yes. The same thing happens with border guards in the occupied territories, who are professionals. An enormous number of security jobs—army, police, and so on—have

been created on the one hand, and production of weapons on the other hand. The Jewish working class was sucked up into those jobs, which are of course much "nicer" than building houses, and Palestinians from the occupied territories were brought in for those jobs. By now a great part of the Jewish working class in Israel is in the position of, say, poor whites in South Africa. I don't despair of poor whites in South Africa either, but to win them over we first have to know what they are. Then perhaps we will find a way of winning them over.

WV: Well, we've always made a distinction between a settler colonial people who went to create their own self-sufficient agricultural economy, as the South African Boers in fact originally did; and a settler colonial people who go over to exploit the indigenous population. I think you would contend that this distinction is being blurred. You would say that, as in South Africa in the 1920's, today what is happening to the Israeli working class is that it is becoming increasingly a superexploitative privileged caste.

SHAHAK: Exactly. With one distinction: that this is not a local phenomenon. Israel with its working class, if it is producing weapons, has a global role. I agree with you completely in what you



Israel Shahak

WV Photo

Israel, with only two fronts, north and south. The desert to the east doesn't count. They are not worrying any more now about the subjugation of a large number of Arabs.

WV: But at the same time that this is happening—unlike in South Africa, which compacted itself in a period of capitalist expansion—in fact the Israeli economy has been in a deep crisis since the last war and there has been enormous slashing in terms of various social welfare programs, an enormous rise in the cost of living. This seems incompatible with the creation of some kind of white privileged Rhodesia, where everyone has a swimming pool. That doesn't seem to be the fate of the Israeli working class right now.



Micha Bar-Am/New York Times

Palestinians from the Gaza Strip wait for trucks that take them to work in Israel.

say. After all, I read *Workers Vanguard* every week, with a great amount of agreement, as you know. But it is now changing very rapidly, especially from 1974 to 1977, and in my opinion this is a preparation of Israeli Jewish society for a new role, that of the ruler of much bigger areas in the Middle East. Especially important is how the army is being changed from a volunteer force to professionals, which for me is very conclusive. South Africa, after all, doesn't think about war in the near future—with armies, not guerrilla forces—but Israel does. I think that Israel is being prepared to rule big areas in the Middle East in a much more direct manner than it has been doing up to now. I am speaking essentially about Jordan and to a great extent about Syria.

First of all it needs to be said that there is no doubt that Begin's Israel intends to conquer Jordan and to keep it. You know what the [Zionist] Revisionist position on Jordan is: they still sing the hymn, "The Jordan River has two banks, one is ours and so is the other." There are also very strong strategic grounds for conquering Jordan. It would make a truly Greater

SHAHAK: Not now because they do not have enough slaves. All that you said was slashed is true. You could add the enormous foreign debt. But you also have to add to this that Israel didn't carry out and didn't attempt to carry out—even under Begin—any of the normal capitalistic remedies for economic crisis. And, in fact, in Israel there is no unemployment—neither for Jews nor for Palestinians, neither in Israel nor in conquered territory. It means, in my opinion, that they are playing economic roulette for big stakes. Otherwise, being what they are, they would have employed the normal capitalistic remedies, which they have not. After all Begin is not so stupid as to go blindfolded into bankruptcy. Rabin had a government with stupid men, mainly quarreling among themselves. But not Begin. If you had economic problems and inflation under Rabin, under Begin it is worse. Begin is printing more money than Rabin; he has 60 percent inflation instead of 38 percent. Why is he doing it?

I can add something else: that Begin can probably buy peace by restoring some conquered territories, let's say, to Jordan. I am not thinking about the

continued on page 8

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Convicted Killer Cops at Large in Houston

There is a gang of convicted killers on the loose. They are Houston cops, and their crime is so unspeakably brutal that the capitalist state's legal cover-up cannot silence the demand for justice that has arisen from the city's Chicano neighborhoods. The furor has focused national attention on a police force notorious for infiltration by the Ku Klux Klan and for its routine brutalization of black and Mexican American minorities.

As a result of the outcry, the federal government brought four of the killer cops to court October 28 where they pleaded "not guilty" to charges of "violating the civil rights" of Joe Campos Torres. Two of the murderers had already been convicted by an all-white Huntsville, Texas jury on October 7. The charge, however, was that of

turned himself and the others in. An attorney involved in the case reportedly said of the rookie cop, "If that kid hadn't cracked, nobody would ever have thought twice about it." But he did "crack," and once that happened it was difficult to handle this "incident" in the same old way.

This is Carter's America with all its hypocritical talk about "human rights." While police benevolent associations, district attorneys and law-and-order state legislators cry out for the mandatory death penalty for convicted killers of cops, they offer the cops a \$2,000 hunting license on the ghetto poor. There are 52 prisoners on death row in Texas prisons, mainly black and Chicano. The state will legally execute them in the electric chair while trigger-happy police step up their own "executions" on



Houston cop wearing klan hood covers badge as he leaves patrol car.

"negligent homicide," a misdemeanor. For this the cops were sentenced to one year and fined—at first report \$1 apiece, and subsequently \$2,000. The jury then suspended both fines and sentences and placed the cops on probation.

Just how cheap is the life of a Chicano in capitalist America? A one dollar misdemeanor? A "violation of civil rights"? The cold-blooded murder of Joe Campos Torres was far more sinister than that. Even in this racist society where police terror has become a way of death and fear for ghetto residents, this killing is startling in its bare facts.

According to eyewitness testimony, six cops beat and kicked Torres, a 27-year-old Chicano, in the early morning hours last May 6. Then they brought him to the police station, but he was so badly beaten that the desk sergeant suggested they take him to a hospital. Instead the cops tossed him off a 30-foot pier into Buffalo Bayou, one of the policemen reportedly saying, "Let's see if this wetback can swim" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 November).

The beating and even murder of Mexican Americans by the cops is not an unusual occurrence in the Southwest. Racism and chauvinist hysteria whipped up against "illegal aliens" have made this sort of brutality the rule. Even the mayor of Houston, Fred Hofheinz, says, "Our police department is white supremacist." He adds that the Torres killing "indicates to me that this kind of thing—perhaps throwing [Mr. Torres] in the bayou—is the practice rather than the exception."

What is unusual is that one of the cops who participated in the murder broke the code of "protective silence" and

the streets. At the Torres murder trial one of the killer cops explained to the all-white jury the need to "educate" Chicanos with "street justice!"

The federal court trial for "violations of civil rights" will not put a stop to the traffic ticket "punishment" which is the *maximum* that has been meted out to the few cops who are caught. (Most get off scot-free). It can only be imagined what the State of Texas would do to six Chicanos convicted of beating and drowning a Houston policeman! The kill-crazy cops will never get what they richly deserve from the courts of the bourgeois state, whose paid enforcers they are.

The family of Joe Campos Torres, and other families of the numerous other recent victims of these blood-thirsty, blue-uniformed menaces, should serve as the jury. That kind of justice, however, awaits the day when victorious proletarian revolution destroys the hideous marketplace of racist, capitalist "justice" where the lives of the poor and oppressed are bought for a pittance and contemptuously thrown away. Get this gang of killer cops off the streets! Jail the murderers of Torres now! ■

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LOS ANGELES



Demonstration in July outside hearings on Medicare funding for abortions at the Boston State House.

Labor Must Act

Oppose Abortion Fund Cut-Off in Massachusetts!

BOSTON—Taking their cue from this summer's near-total cutoff of federal funds for abortions, state legislatures across the country have passed similar measures that would prevent state money from being used to finance abortions for poor women and public employees. Frustrated by a gubernatorial veto of such a bill, the Massachusetts legislature opted for a particularly slimy legal maneuver, attaching an anti-abortion rider to a supplementary budget bill that includes \$17.5 million in scheduled pay raises for state employees.

The legislators' attempt to use the public sector unions as a pawn in their reactionary crusade has rankled state workers, and 3,000 of them rallied at the state house in Boston on November 1. The demonstration, organized by the Massachusetts Alliance of state workers unions, included contingents from SEIU Locals 509 and 285 and nearly 50 AFSCME locals, as well as supporters from the Massachusetts Teachers Association and other public employees unions. Spontaneous chants of "strike, strike!" reflected the anger of the rank and file.

The timid Alliance bureaucrats, however, dissipated this militant spirit into futile lobbying expeditions and, worse yet, completely ducked the key issue of abortion rights. Despite the fact that the Doyle-Flynn anti-abortion rider would take away contractual medical coverage of abortion costs for state employees (as well as state Medicaid funds for the poor), the Alliance flyer says that: "State workers are not concerned with any amendments to the bill." Alliance chairman Tom Sharkey emphasized this cowardly position when he told reporters that he wanted Governor Michael Dukakis to "veto any issue he thinks is distasteful to him" and sign the remainder of the bill.

In the wake of the frenzied anti-busing mobilization that has put large sections of Boston "off-limits" for blacks, abortion has become a new target for reaction. In Massachusetts, as in Washington, the driving force in the anti-abortion campaign is none other than the Democratic Party, the party of black liberals, bourgeois feminists and

labor reformists. On June 20 the Supreme Court opened the door by ruling that states were not constitutionally required to fund abortions for poor women. By month's end, the Court had vacated a district court's order restraining enforcement of last year's Hyde amendment cutting off federal funds for abortions except when a woman's life is endangered; Carter has openly solidified with this vicious attack on democratic rights of women ("as you know, there are many things in life that are not fair"); and both the House and Senate had passed new versions of the Hyde amendment. While Senatorial liberals like Kennedy, Church, Muskie and Humphrey left their mark in provisions allowing federally funded abortions in cases of rape or incest or when "medically necessary," their collusion with the ultra-reactionary "right-to-lifers" was exposed by their votes against a motion that would have lifted all restrictions on the use of Medicaid funds to pay for poor women's abortions.

The mammoth political power of the Catholic Church in Massachusetts has largely shaped the contours of the local fight over abortion rights. All four Massachusetts bishops have "urged" their parish priests to sermonize against abortion. One pro-abortion senator was denounced as "a murderer" from the pulpit in her own parish. Thousands of dollars are funneled weekly into the anti-abortion war chest from the collection plate.

The current debate typically finds the notoriously corrupt Massachusetts legislature (whose former Senate majority leader was convicted of extortion this spring) sounding like a catechism class. One of the co-sponsors of both the original bill and the budget rider, State Representative Charles Doyle (an opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment), recently told an interviewer:

"I feel I'm doing God's work on abortion. I would happily die to save the lives of the unborn children. That would be a perfect act of charity. A person who commits a perfect act of charity is assured of going to heaven."

—Boston Globe, 21 September

Doyle's cohort is fellow Democrat Raymond Flynn of South Boston, a

continued on page 9

Victory to Yale Campus Workers Strike!

The thousands of Yale and Harvard alumni who attended "The Game" last week in New Haven crossed a picket line in order to participate in their cherished annual event. For since September 29, 1,400 cafeteria and service workers in Local 35 of the Federation of University Employees at Yale have been on strike for higher wages and for job security. Now the Yale University workers strike is again in the news as Spanish Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo crossed picket lines this week to spend several days on campus as a "Chubb Fellow."

To the generally affluent alumni the picket lines were perhaps a minor irritant on Saturday. As the varsity coach put it, "It would be a shame if [the strike] did anything to affect a traditional game like this" (*Harvard Crimson*, 11 November). But to the members of Local 35, the issues behind the strike are vital. Behind the university's intransigence lies the intention to destroy their union.

The last offer by Yale to Local 35 was made on September 22, before the strike began. This proposal called for a supposed 12 to 22 percent wage increase over three years. But hidden behind these numbers, which Yale has well publicized, was a large amount of gimmickry. Of the entire Local only 34 workers were to receive the 22 percent increase, while 1,000 were to receive less than 16 percent. Furthermore the calculated increases were based on July 1 wages. Subtracting a July 9 cost-of-living increase, the actual proposed wage offer averages out to a 15-cent-per-hour increase per worker over three years (*Village Voice*, 14 November). When the union rejected this sham offer, the university broke off negotiations. No talks have been held since the beginning of the strike.

For a number of years Yale has sought to fill workers' jobs with students, and since 1971 400 full-time blue-collar workers have been replaced by part-time student help. At present 300 of these student-workers are in the union (and on strike). But while they are paid at union scale, these part-timers do not receive such "fringe" benefits as medical care and pensions. By hiring students Yale can chip away at such vital union contract gains and, ultimately, as the student component of the workforce grows, the viability of Local 35 as a union diminishes.

Also feeding Yale's tough union-busting stance is old-fashioned academic politics. Anna Gray, the university provost, is acting president while a replacement is found for Kingman Brewster, Carter's new ambassador to Great Britain. The consensus on the campus is that Gray aspires to the presidency and knows well that breaking the union would score points with well-heeled Yale alumni.

These alumni have been rather disenchanted with the university's "liberal" reputation, acquired during the Brewster and William Sloan Coffin era in the days when the campus reverberated with demonstrations against the Vietnam war and in support of the Black Panther Party. A recent \$400 million fund-raising effort has faltered, and Brewster has publicly, albeit semi-seriously, attributed this to himself. Gray would no doubt like to prove

herself a better fund-raiser.

Finally, the university feels it can survive a long strike better than its workers, who must subsist on weekly strike benefits of \$30 each. As Donald Stevens, the chief negotiator for Yale, smugly put it, "Yale isn't a business, we are not losing income; we're just losing services. We're ready to sit out a long strike."

There is more than a little truth behind Steven's obscene arrogance, for campus workers do not have the social weight of an industrial proletariat. To be successful a campus workers strike must utilize militant tactics and mobilize widespread support to shut the university down. While the Local



Pickets of the Federation of University Employees at Yale University.

leadership is in an excellent position to enlist such support (union business agent Vincent Sirabella is also head of the New Haven Central Labor Council) it has consistently led the union in precisely the opposite direction. Thus the 1971 and 1974 strikes were called to coincide with the students' summer vacation. And although the current strike does occur at the beginning of the school year, it has been run half-heartedly since the very beginning.

Thus the union leadership was prepared to accept Yale's outrageous offer for the first year of the three-year contract, and it was only the administration's refusal to go for this deal which forced the Local out on the streets. During the strike the university has been allowed to function as usual. While upper-classmen's dining halls are closed, the largest dining hall, the Yale Commons, remains open. Classes have not been disrupted.

Several recent developments point to the growing anger within the union ranks as the strike drags on. A group of Ivy League freshman vigilantes had formed a "Break-the-Strike Unit" which made a point of swaggering ostentatiously across picket lines at the Commons. Last week one of these punks received 25 stitches for his efforts. Moreover the Sirabella leadership, no doubt in response to the ranks' growing restiveness, has announced plans to picket all but one of Yale's major power plants—something that should have been done weeks ago. If such pickets are really set up, the level of struggle could intensify sharply, as happened in 1971 when workers and students attempted

continued on page 9

Carrillo...

(continued from page 1)

of "human rights" is simply pandering to the imperialist bourgeoisie. This was Carrillo's big chance to court Jimmy Carter and gain respectability at home. He wasn't about to blow it by respecting the strike of some "unimportant" group of workers.

Approximately 70 supporters of the predominantly black and Spanish-speaking Local picketed the Master's House of Yale's Timothy Dwight College where Carrillo stayed as the guest of the struck university. Initially hoping to avoid the strikers he snuck in during the night and held a press conference in an adjacent building today. Boos, jeers and cries of "scab" accompanied reporters and dignitaries who crossed the line, ushered in by University police. To their credit, an NBC television crew refused to cross.

Following Carrillo's meeting with reporters, in which he said that capitalism is "neither an evil nor a good," but rather a step in the natural evolution of social systems, he brazenly emerged from behind the ivy-covered walls and an iron fence, smirking amidst his police escort. Apparently enjoying the notoriety of strikebreaking at one of the most elite institutions in the U.S., Carrillo sauntered into the street and was instantly surrounded by incensed, shouting workers. The cops ushered him into another courtyard of the struck university, and he appeared on the next block moments later, where furious strikers again greeted him. Carrillo finally disappeared into the Beinecke Library where tunnels assured him of a stealthy escape.

Reportedly, Carrillo claimed that he was picketed because of his Communist Party membership, but Sirabella vehemently denied this. "It hasn't anything to do with communism at all," he said. "We're picketing him because he's a laker, one who supposedly pretends to be a leader of workers. He spit in our faces this morning by crossing the picket line. That's the issue." Despite the pickets' anger, no anti-communist remarks were heard during the protest. And as the Stalinist traitor sought to flee the pickets, a Spartacist League (SL) supporter on the line shouted after him, "Real communists don't scab!"

In an effort to defend Carrillo, journalists from the liberal *Madrid Diario 16* and the Spanish New Agency asked Sirabella if the University Employees was an anti-communist union. Although he is a business unionist who once ran as a Democrat for mayor of New Haven, Sirabella pointed to the broad political support the strike has received. "We welcome anybody to help us. There are all kinds of people on the picket line. American Communists were here this morning as well as other groups. We welcome their support of our picket line."

Indeed, on the lines with the 50 or more strikers were several Trotskyists from the SL, carrying the signs in Spanish and English proclaiming "Trabajadores de la Universidad Yale en huelga—¡No pasen!" ("Yale Campus Workers on Strike—Don't Cross!") and "Carrillo—Dirigente obrero vendido, esquirol en huelga de Yale" ("Labor Faker Carrillo Scabs on Yale Strike"). In addition, a dozen members of the Student Strike Support Committee and also four shamefaced members of the U.S. Communist Party (CP) marched in protest against Carrillo's scab speaking engagement.

Rank-and-file workers were equally disgusted with the PCE leader's action. A black woman told *WV*, "I don't think that anyone that's for the working people ever should cross picket lines." A cafeteria cook wearing a "Go to hell, Yale" button described the miserable wages paid by the university and angrily echoed the same sentiments. When Carrillo sent a representative out to ask Sirabella in to meet with him, the Local

35 official retorted that at least ten people had informed him that Yale was struck. "If Santiago Carrillo wants to sit in bed with the Yale capitalists and those who are trying to crush the workers, that's his decision." The union had cabled the PCE in Madrid ten days ago asking that their picket lines be honored, but the response was Carrillo's scabbing.

By crossing the Yale workers' picket lines, Carrillo joins former New York City mayor John Lindsay, mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark and Puerto Rican governor Richard Cooper, all of whom have crossed the lines during this strike. When Cooper crossed the lines at the Harvard-Yale football game last Saturday, his flustered chauffeur



SL sign says: "Labor Faker Carrillo Scabs on Yale Strike."

crashed into a lamppost after the governor was doused with beer and spit on by angry strike supporters. The tradition of respecting picket lines is still strong enough, however, that even Zionist leader Golda Meir and American Democrats such as U.S. senator McGovern, labor secretary Marshall and Chicago mayor Blandie have felt compelled to refuse to come to Yale in order to maintain their counterfeit "friends of labor" credentials. But not Santiago Carrillo. Sirabella likened the PCE leader to German Social Democratic Party leader Willy Brandt who scabbed on Local 35's strike in 1974.

At the press conference Carrillo remarked in response to a question about his scabbing: "That a Communist

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like myself can speak in the United States means... that human rights are really being extended and that the most diverse voices can be heard." In addition to draping himself with the banner of Jimmy Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, Carrillo tried to exude sympathy for the strikers: "I want to say that I feel solidarity with the demands of the workers who are on strike here." But still he crossed the picket lines.

Trying to justify this treachery, the PCE leader tried to bait the strikers as anti-communists. "In Spain," he said, "the feeling is that the American labor movement is more to the right than the Spanish right," adding that U.S. unions did not oppose the Vietnam war. By writing off American workers as "to the right" of the Francoist butchers and identifying them with the pro-imperialist union tops, Carrillo simply gives ammunition to the Meanyite labor hureaucracy. No doubt the AFL-CIO will soon hypocritically denounce all leftists as would-be strikebreakers in Carrillo's image.

The U.S. Communist Party was more than a little embarrassed by Carrillo's scabbing. The two CP supporters on the picket line carried signs reading, "We support Yale strikers. Don't cross their picket lines." They were signed "Communist Party of Connecticut" in nearly invisible ballpoint ink. The Kremlin-loyal CPUSA sought to distance itself from "Eurocommunist" scab Carrillo but used the same classless language of "human rights," indicating their fundamental identity. A CP press release stated:

"Yale is dragging its feet at the expense of the human rights of the workers at the university... We in the Communist Party of the United States view our task as helping unions, not breaking unions..."

Local Communist Party spokesman Joelle Fishman also said that CPUSA general secretary Gus Hall telegraphed Carrillo last week "informing him that a strike is in progress at Yale." She also claimed that any member of the CPUSA who scabbed would be chucked out of the party.

This is so much hot air. During World War II when Stalin called on the Western CPs to subordinate everything to the "anti-fascist war," the American Stalinists supported the CIO no-strike pledge. CPUSA leader William Z. Foster actually toured the coalfields in 1943 and 1944 recruiting scabs to break the strikes called by maverick Mine Workers leader John L. Lewis. As for the PCE, its record of scabbing was despicable even before it took up "Eurocommunism." In May 1937 the Spanish Stalinists engineered the provocations which led to the bloody suppression of Barcelona workers by Republican troops.

As Carrillo continues his scabbing for "human rights," he only proves that all varieties of reformism—whether social-democratic, Moscow-line Stalinist or "Eurocommunist"—ultimately serve the bourgeoisie. The workers at Yale will not soon forget this strikebreaking treachery, and it should be publicized internationally as well to scandalize these "Communist" flunkies for Jimmy Carter and Spanish king Juan Carlos. ■

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Stop the Scabs!

For Mass Picketing in Oakland Teachers Strike!

OAKLAND, November 15—The strike by over 3,000 teachers, librarians, nurses and counselors at the Oakland Unified School District is about to enter its third week. This teachers' strike, the first in Oakland's history, was voted at a mass meeting held on November 2, at which teachers rejected a school board offer of a 6 percent wage increase for the first year of a proposed two-year contract.

Since 1973 salary increases for Oakland teachers have totaled only 11.5 percent. The Oakland Education Association (OEA), which represents the majority of the striking teachers, entered the strike calling for a 15 percent wage hike for the current year. Among other demands of the strikers are the maintenance of Blue Cross coverage, establishment of a grievance procedure, extension of preparation periods, reduction of class size and more equipment materials and teaching supplies.

Although the November 2 strike vote was close (1,162 to 782), reflecting the initial anti-strike stance of the United Teachers of Oakland/American Federation of Teachers (UTO/AFT) Local 771, which also represents some of the teachers, the walkout has so far been solid. From the outset, however, the Oakland city government has been determined to break the strike and has tried to keep the schools open with scab "substitute teachers." By offering \$100 for the first day of scabbing and \$80 a day thereafter, the union-busting school board has managed to mass a force of over 1,600 scabs.

Meanwhile the board quickly settled with over 1,100 secretaries and clerks of the Oakland School Employees Association, granting them a 6.7 percent wage increase and promising to tie their wage increase to that won by the teachers if the teachers win a higher increase. The services of these workers now scabbing on the strike are vital to the school administrators, not only because they handle the recruiting and assigning of scab teachers but also because they tabulate the daily attendance figures used to determine state funding of the schools. If the schools were completely closed the city would lose all state funds—several hundred thousand dollars daily—and be under enormous pressure to settle the strike.

The other problem with the city government's anti-strike offensive has been a nauseating anti-union propaganda barrage. The population of Oakland is largely proletarian and in its majority black and Chicano. Two-thirds of the students in the Oakland Unified School District are black. The city school



Oakland teachers picket at Castlemont High School, November 4. WV Photo

system is the worst in the state of California and one of the worse in the nation. Yet the capitalists and their government responsible for these conditions suddenly have begun to worry about the plight of "children being denied their education."

A particularly despicable anti-strike role has been played by liberal black "community leaders." Alphonso Galloway, executive director of the Oakland NAACP, Larry Joyner of the Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal and various ministers are trying to set up "neighborhood watchers" to report "violence or vandalism" by strikers. Claiming concern that "the district's many" minority children would be the ones who suffer most from a strike since they are generally the farthest behind," they have sided with the very people responsible for making the Oakland schools the hell holes that they are.

Ruth Love, the arrogant anti-union superintendent of the Oakland Unified School District, has become the darling of black community "leaders" and the Hearst-dominated Oakland media. She has ambitions of becoming chief of the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, D.C. Love clearly hopes that anti-union racist Jimmy Carter will be impressed with the strikebreaking austerity campaign she is waging against the Oakland teachers (41 percent of whom are themselves non-white) and students.

Lionel Wilson, the first black mayor of Oakland, has played a similarly slimy role, demanding that the teachers return to work while the disputed issues are submitted to "fact finding." Wilson's loyal ally, the pro-Democratic Party Black Panther Party, also opposes the strike.

An interesting sidelight to the strike is an instance of scabbing on the part of the "Fight Don't Starve Committee" led by Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML, formerly the October League). The Committee actually held a meeting November 5 in Havenscourt Junior High School, a struck school. Confronted by Spartacist League (SL) supporters who urged them to hold their meeting elsewhere, "Fight Don't Starve" members cynically excused their scabbing. "This is what's wrong with education in Oakland today—these teachers going out on strike," said one committee member. A CPMLer opined, "This

meeting has nothing to do with the strike. The building is not on strike, the teachers are...it's not a factory."

Fortunately, the pro-scabbing mentality of the CPML is not widespread. The strike enjoys broad support among parents, many of them union members, and their children. Despite the massive number of scab "substitutes" attendance hovers at the 50 percent mark.

The city is desperately trying to maintain that the schools are running normally. However, conditions in the schools are far from "normal." Describing the situation at a junior high school on the first day of the strike, a striker told WV, "The principal stupidly tried to conduct classes without enough scabs. When he opened the classrooms, pro-strike students ransacked a few of them. In a panic the principal ordered the scabs to herd the students who had not already left school into the cafeteria. They then proceeded to lock the students in the cafeteria and snack bar!" Resenting being treated like criminals, hundreds of students broke out of confinement and joined the other students outside. Soon the Oakland cops arrived. They told the students to go back inside, that there was a slight problem. All the doors were locked and the principal dared not open them.

Scabbing on the strike can and must be stopped. Mass picketing at scab-infested schools backed by pro-strike parents and students along with solidarity by the Bay Area labor movement would quickly bring the school board to its knees. However, the OEA leadership has kept the strikers busy blowing off steam with almost daily rallies and occasional marches through downtown Oakland.

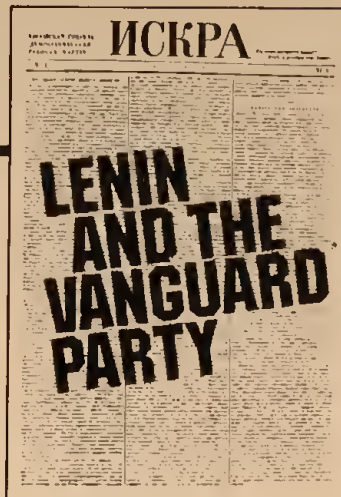
Bureaucratic infighting between the OEA and UTO/AFT is also crippling the strike. The UTO, having last May lost a representation election by a 55 to 45 percent margin, does not want to be frozen out by the OEA winning a three-year contract with the school district. At the strike vote meeting, UTO attempted to avert a strike by putting forward a "fact-finding" motion as provided under the anti-teacher no-strike Rodda Act. Since then UTO, which is affiliated to the Alameda County Central Labor Council, has dragged its feet on getting that body to support the strike, pointing out that strike sanction could only be

continued on page 9



Maoist CPML holds meeting at school building struck by Oakland teachers. WV Photo

The Struggle Against the Boycotters



PART FIVE

To understand the principle of the communist vanguard party, it is necessary to recognize the evolution of Lenin from a revolutionary social democrat to the founding leader of the Communist International. Various revisionists, notably the British workerist-reformist Tony Cliff, have attempted to deny or obfuscate the principle of the democratic-centralist vanguard party by pointing to those elements of classic social democracy retained by the pre-1914 Bolsheviks and conditioned by the particularities of the Russian situation. This series seeks to trace the development of Lenin's position on the party question. The first part (WV No. 173, 16 September) focused on the Kautskyan doctrine of the "party of the whole class" and its relevance to early Russian social democracy. Part 2 (WV No. 175, 30 September) covered the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and its aftermath. Part 3 (WV No. 177, 14 October) dealt with the 1905 Revolution. Part 4 (WV No. 176, 21 October) dealt with democratic centralism and "freedom of criticism."

The Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP), held in London in May 1907, was almost evenly divided between the Bolsheviks with 89 delegate votes and the Mensheviks with 88. At the Fourth Congress a year earlier three associated parties—the Jewish Bund, Latvian Social Democrats and Luxemburg/Jogiches' Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL)—had been incorporated into the RSDRP on a semi-federated basis. At the Fifth Congress the Bund had 54 delegate votes, the Latvian Social Democrats 26 and the SDKPiL 45.

In the course of a year's sharp factional struggle against the Mensheviks' liberal tailism and pro-Constitutional Democrat (Kadet) policy, the Bolsheviks had overcome their minority position within the Russian social-democratic movement. However, now the factional leadership of the RSDRP depended upon the three "national" social-democratic parties. The Bund consistently supported the Mensheviks. The Lettish Social Democrats generally supported the Bolsheviks, but sometimes mediated between the two hostile Russian groups. It was through the support of Rosa Luxemburg's SDKPiL that Lenin attained a majority at the Fifth Congress and in the leading bodies of the RSDRP for the next five years. The Lenin-Luxemburg bloc of 1906-11 is significant not only in its actual historic effect, but also because it reveals the relationship between evolving Leninism and this most consistent and important representative of pre-1914 revolutionary social democracy.

The decisive issue at the Fifth Congress was the attitude toward bourgeois liberalism, and specifically electoral support to the Kadet Party. With the support of the Letts and Poles (and also the left-wing Trotsky/Parvus group among the Mensheviks), the Bolshevik line carried; the congress condemned the Kadets:

"The parties of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, headed by the Constitutional Democratic Party [Kadets], have now definitely turned aside from the revolution and endeavor to halt it

through a deal with the counter-revolution...."

Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Decisions and Resolutions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

Another resolution instructed the RSDRP Duma fraction to oppose "the treacherous policy of bourgeois liberalism which, under the slogan 'Safeguard the Duma,' in fact sacrifices the popular interests to the Black Hundreds" (*ibid.*). A few months after the congress, a party conference decided to run independent RSDRP candidates in the upcoming Duma elections and to support no other parties.

While the Lettish and Polish Social Democrats supported the general Bolshevik line at the Fifth Congress, they also moderated Lenin's fight against the Mensheviks. They voted against Lenin's motion to condemn the Menshevik majority of the outgoing Central Committee. The defection of the Latvian Social Democrats and the SDKPiL also accounted for Lenin's only serious defeat at the 1907 RSDRP congress. The congress voted overwhelmingly to oppose the Bolsheviks' "fighting operations" for "seizing funds" of the tsarist government.

During this period the Mensheviks' attack on the Leninists centered on these armed expropriations. Their near-hysterical reaction to the Bolsheviks' expropriations flowed from its shocking impact on bourgeois liberal respectability. Also the expropriations gave the Bolsheviks a financial superiority over the Mensheviks. In condemning the Bolsheviks' expropriation of government funds, the Mensheviks were convinced that they had unimpeachable social-democratic orthodoxy on their side.

The Bolsheviks, however, did not face the normal situation in which such robbery would immediately trigger the repressive apparatus of an overwhelmingly powerful and centralized state. Neither did they risk the condemnation of workers who might think they were mere criminals in political garb. Nor did the Bolsheviks maintain these expropriations as a "strategy" to be carried out over an extended period with the likely result of degeneration into lumpen criminal activity.

Lenin believed that there was a continuing revolutionary situation, in which the mass of workers and peasants were actively hostile to tsarist legality. The Bolsheviks' expropriations were concentrated in the Caucasus, where armed peasant and nationalist bands regularly challenged tsarist authorities. Lenin regarded the expropriations as one of several guerrilla tactics in the course of a revolutionary civil war. The Bolshevik-Menshevik dispute over armed expropriations was thus inextricably bound up with their fundamental difference over the political and military vanguard role of the proletarian party in the revolution to overthrow the autocracy.

Lenin's position on armed expropriations was presented in a resolution for the Fourth Congress held in April 1906. He continued to uphold this position through 1907:

"Whereas:

(1) scarcely anywhere in Russia since the December uprising has there been a complete cessation of hostilities, which the revolutionary people are now conducting in the form of sporadic

guerrilla attacks upon the enemy.... We are of the opinion, and propose that the Congress should agree....

(4) that fighting operations are also permissible for the purpose of seizing funds belonging to the enemy, i.e., the autocratic government, to meet the needs of insurrection, particular care being taken that the interests of the people are infringed as little as possible...."

"A Tactical Platform for the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P." (March 1906)

Tsarist Reaction and the Ultra-Left Bolsheviks

Shortly after the Fifth RSDRP Congress, in June 1907 the reactionary tsarist minister Stolypin executed a coup against the Duma. The Duma was dissolved and a new (Third) Duma proclaimed on the basis of a far less democratic electoral system. In addition, the social-democratic deputies were arrested and charged with fomenting mutiny in the armed forces.

Stolypin's coup marked the definitive end of the 1905 revolutionary period.

The victory of tsarist reaction opened up a new, and in one sense final, phase in the Bolshevik-Menshevik conflict, over the need to reestablish the underground as the party's basic organizational structure. The onset of reaction also produced a very sharp division within the Bolshevik camp between Leninism and ultra-leftism, a factional struggle which had to be resolved before the historically far more significant conflict with Menshevism could be fought to a finish.

The conflict between Lenin and the ultra-left Bolsheviks centered on participation in the reactionary tsarist parliamentary body. Behind this difference lay Lenin's recognition that a reactionary period had set in, requiring a tactical retrenchment by the revolutionary party. The first battle occurred at a July 1907 RSDRP conference to determine policy for the upcoming Duma elections. Lenin still believed that Russia was passing through a general revolutionary period but regarded boycotting the elections as tactically unjustifiable:

"Whereas:

(1) active boycott, as the experience of the Russian revolution has shown, is correct tactics on the part of the Social-Democrats only under conditions of a sweeping, universal, and rapid upswing of the revolution, developing into an armed uprising, and only in connection with the ideological aims of the struggle against constitutional illusions arising from the convocation of the first representative assembly by the old regime;

(2) in the absence of these conditions correct tactics on the part of the revolutionary Social-Democrats calls for participation in the elections, as was the case with the Second Duma, even if



Lenin playing chess with Bogdanov (right) in Capri.

Eurpa Munich

all the conditions of a revolutionary period are present."

"Draft Resolution on Participation in the Elections to the Third Duma" (July 1907)

In presenting this resolution Lenin found himself a minority of one among the nine Bolshevik delegates to the conference. The resolution passed with the votes of the Mensheviks, Bundists and Lettish and Polish Social Democrats; all the Bolsheviks except Lenin voted against.

The Bolshevik boycotters were, to be sure, greatly overrepresented at this particular party gathering. Lenin had significant support for his position among the Bolshevik cadre and ranks and was quickly able to gain more. However, the ultra-left faction of 1907-09 was the most significant challenge to Lenin's leadership of the Bolshevik organization that he ever faced. The ultra-left leaders—Bogdanov (who had been Lenin's chief lieutenant), Lunacharsky, Lyadov, Alexinsky, Krasin—were very prominent Bolsheviks. As likely as not a majority of the Bolshevik ranks supported boycotting the tsarist Duma in this period. Only Lenin's great personal authority prevented the development of an ultra-left faction strong enough to oust him and his supporters from the official Bolshevik center or to engineer a major split.

Lenin was aided in this faction struggle by the heterogeneity of the ultra-left tendency. A not very important tactical question divided the ultra-left Bolsheviks into two distinct groupings, the Otzovists ("Recallists") and the Ultimacists. The Otzovists demanded the immediate, unconditional recall of the RSDRP Duma fraction. The Ultimacists demanded that the Duma fraction be presented with an ultimatum to make inflammatory speeches, which would provoke the tsarist authorities into expelling them from the Duma or worse. In practice, both policies would have had the same effect, and Lenin denied that there was a significant division among his ultra-left opponents.

Lenin's position on the ultra-left faction was presented in resolution form at a June 1909 conference of the expanded editorial board meeting of *Proletary*, a de facto plenum of the Bolshevik central leadership. At this conference Bogdanov was expelled from the Bolshevik organization. The key passages of the resolution state:

"The direct revolutionary struggle of the broad masses was then followed by a severe period of counter-revolution. It became essential for Social-Democrats to adapt their revolutionary tactics to this new situation, and, in connection with this, one of the most exceptionally important tasks became the use of the Duma as an open platform for the purpose of assisting Social-Democratic agitation.

"In this rapid turn of events, however, a section of the workers who had participated in the direct revolutionary struggle was unable to proceed at once to apply revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics in the new conditions of the counter-revolution, and continued simply to repeat slogans which had been revolutionary in the period of open civil war, but which now, if merely repeated, might retard the process of closing the ranks of the proletariat in the new conditions of struggle." [emphasis in original]

"On Otzovism and Ultimatism"

Bogdanov's answer to Lenin is summarized in his 1910 "Letter to All Comrades," a founding document of his own independent group:

"Some people among your representatives in the executive collegium—the Bolshevik Center—who live abroad, have come to the conclusion that we must radically change our previous Bolshevik evaluation of the present historical moment and hold a course not toward a new revolutionary wave, but toward a long period of peaceful, constitutional development. This brings them close to the right wing of our party, the menshevik comrades who always, independently of any evaluation of the political situation, pull toward legal and constitutional forms

of activity, toward 'organic work' and 'organic development'."

Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism* (1960)

Bogdanov's phrase about "a long period of peaceful, constitutional development" is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately so. As against many Mensheviks, Lenin did not regard a new revolution as off the agenda for an entire historical epoch, i.e., for several decades. By 1908 he concluded that before another revolutionary upsurge (like that of 1905) there would be a lengthy period in terms of the *working perspectives* of the party and relative to the *past experience* and *expectations* of the Bolsheviks. 1908 was not 1903. And this reality was precisely what the Otzovists/Ultimatists denied.

Philosophy and Politics

Otzovism/Ultimatism was associated with neo-Kantian idealistic dualism represented by the Austrian physicist-philosopher Ernst Mach, a philosophical doctrine then much in vogue in Central European intellectual circles. Bogdanov's *Empiriomonism* (1905-06) was an ambitious attempt to reconcile Marxism with neo-Kantianism. In 1908 Bogdanov's factional partner Lunacharsky deepened this idealism into outright spiritualism, positing the need for a socialist religion. Lunacharsky's

massive polemic against Bogdanov's philosophical views on the other, have been used to justify symmetric deviations on this question by ostensible revolutionary Marxists. That the neo-Kantian Bogdanov was an important Bolshevik leader is sometimes cited to argue for an attitude of *indifference* toward dialectical materialism, a belief that the most general or abstract expression of the Marxian world view has no bearing on practical politics and associated organizational affiliation. When he broke with Trotskyism in 1940, the American revisionist Max Shachtman justified a bloc with the anti-dialectician and empiricist James Burnham by citing the "precedent" of Lenin and Bogdanov.

At the other pole, Lenin's major polemic against an opponent's idealistic deviation from Marxism has encouraged a tendency to "deepen" every factional struggle by bringing in philosophical questions—by *reducing* all political differences to the question of dialectical materialism. This mixture of pomposity and rational idealism has become a hallmark of the British Healyite group. (The Healy/Banda group has become so outright bizarre that it can no longer be taken seriously, least of all in its philosophical mystifications.)

The Healyites justified their 1972 split from their erstwhile bloc partners, the

reaction was *not* against Bogdanov's ultra-left Bolsheviks, but against the Menshevik Liquidators. In this latter struggle, philosophical questions played no particular role.

The Healyites also falsify Lenin's relationship with Bogdanov. When Bogdanov became part of the Bolshevik leadership in 1904, he was *already* a well-known neo-Kantian (Machian). Lenin and Bogdanov agreed that the Bolshevik tendency as such would take *no* position on the controversial philosophical issues. Lenin explains this in a letter to Maxim Gorky (25 February 1908) wherein he endorses his past relationship with Bogdanov, despite the latter's philosophical deviation:

"In the summer and autumn of 1904, Bogdanov and I reached a complete agreement, as *Bolsheviks*, and formed the tacit bloc, which tacitly ruled out philosophy as a neutral field, that existed all through the revolution and enabled us in that revolution to carry out together the tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy (= Bolshevism), which, I am profoundly convinced, were the only correct tactics." [emphasis in original]

It was the right-wing Menshevik Plekhanov who brought the question of dialectical materialism versus neo-Kantianism to the forefront in order to discredit and split the revolutionary Bolshevik leadership. In defending the Bolsheviks against Plekhanov, Lenin went so far as to deny that the issue of neo-Kantian revisionism was at all relevant to the revolutionary movement in Russia. At the all-Bolshevik Congress in April 1905, Lenin stated:

"...Plekhanov drags in Mach and Avenarius by the ears. I cannot for the life of me understand what these writers, for whom I have not the slightest sympathy, have to do with the question of social revolution. They wrote on individual and social organization of experience, or some such theme, but they never really gave any thought to the democratic dictatorship."

—"Report on the Question of the Participation of the Social-Democrats in a Provisional Revolutionary Government" (April 1905)

In part as a result of his later fight with Bogdanov, Lenin modified his 1905 position, which drew too arbitrary a line between political and philosophical differences. He came to realize that fundamental differences among Marxists over dialectical materialism will likely produce political divergences. However, for Lenin program remained primary in defining revolutionary politics and associated organizational affiliation. Lenin never repudiated his close collaboration with Bogdanov in 1904-07. And he was absolutely right to ally with the revolutionary social democrat, albeit neo-Kantian, Bogdanov against the pro-liberal social democrat, albeit dialectical materialist, Plekhanov. Only when Bogdanov's neo-Kantian conceptions became associated with a counterposed, anti-Marxist political program did Lenin make the defense of dialectical materialism against philosophical idealism a central political task.

Against the Mystification of Dialectics

The Marxist program as the *scientific* expression of the interests of the working class and of social progress is not derived simply from a subjective desire for a socialist future. The Marxist program necessarily embodies a correct understanding of reality, of which the most general or abstract expression is dialectical materialism. However, as Marx himself wrote in 1877 to the Russian populist journal, *Otechestvennyye Zapiski*, he does *not* offer "a general historical-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being supra-historical" (Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence* [1975]). Dialectical materialism is a *conceptual framework* which permits, but does not guarantee, a scientific understanding of society in its concrete historical development.

continued on page 8

Anatoly Lunacharsky



Librairie Hachette

"god-building" was, needless to say, a great embarrassment for the Bolsheviks as a whole, and even for the Otzovist/Ultimacist faction.

Bogdanov's sympathy for neo-Kantian philosophical doctrine was both well-known and long-standing. As long as Bogdanov functioned as Lenin's lieutenant, and did not in himself represent a distinct political tendency, his neo-Kantianism was considered a personal peculiarity among both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks alike. But once Bogdanov became the leader of a distinct and for a time significant tendency in Russian social democracy, his philosophical views became a focus of general political controversy. Plekhanov, in particular, exploited Bogdanovism to attack the Bolshevik program as the product of flagrant subjective idealism. Lenin thus spent much of 1908 researching a major polemic against Bogdanov's neo-Kantianism, *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, in order to purge Bolshevism of the taint of philosophical idealism.

Lenin's close political collaboration with Bogdanov despite the latter's neo-Kantianism on the one hand, and his

French neo-Kautskyan Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), by positing the primacy of "philosophy." They appealed to Lenin's 1908 polemic against Bogdanov as orthodox precedent:

"Lenin tirelessly studied the ideas of the new idealists, the neo-Kantians, in philosophy, even during the hardest practical struggle to establish the revolutionary party in Russia. When these ideas, in the form of 'empirio-criticism,' were taken up by a section of the Bolsheviks themselves, Lenin made a specialized study and wrote against them a full-length work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*."

"Lenin understood very well that the years of extreme hardship and isolation after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution exposed the revolutionary movement to the greatest pressure of the class enemy. He knew that the most fundamental task of all was the defence and development of Marxist theory at the most basic level, that of *philosophy*. [our emphasis]

International Committee, *In Defence of Trotskyism* (1973)

This passage is a complete falsification at several levels. To begin with, Lenin's historically more important political struggle in the period of

The Struggle Against the Boycotters...

(continued from page 7)

ment. In other words, an understanding of the dialectical nature of social reality guides a complex of historical generalizations (e.g., that the state apparatus under capitalism cannot be reformed into an organ of socialist administration, that in this epoch a collectivist economic system represents the social dominance of the proletariat) which underlies the Marxist programmatic principles.

The Healyite mystification of the Marxist attitude toward philosophy is a product of their degeneration into a bizarre leader-cult. In the early 1960's Healy's Socialist Labour League understood that dialectical materialism was nothing other than a generalized expression of a unitary world-view, and not an abstract schema or method existing independently of empirical reality. Cliff Slaughter's 1962-63 articles of Lenin's 1914-15 studies of Hegel, reprinted in 1971 as a pamphlet, *Lenin on Dialectics*, contain a trenchant attack upon the idealization of dialectics:

"Lenin lays great stress on Hegel's insistence that Dialectics is not a master-key, a sort of set of magic numbers by which all secrets will be revealed. It is wrong to think of dialectical logic as something that is complete in itself and then 'applied' to particular examples. It is not a model of interpretation to be learned, then fitted on to reality from the outside, the task is rather to uncover the law of development of the reality itself...."

"The science of society founded by Marx has no room for philosophy as such, for the idea of independently moving thought, with a subject-matter and development of its own, independent of reality but sometimes descending to impinge upon it."

Slaughter then quotes Marx's judgment on a concept of philosophy in *The German Ideology*: "When reality is depicted, philosophy as an independent branch of activity loses its medium of existence."

But by the late 1960's the Healyites had "rediscovered" a medium of existence for philosophy as an independent theory. Dialectical materialism was presented with much fanfare as "the theory of knowledge of Marxism," as an expression of the philosophical category known as epistemology. Thus in a collection of documents on the split with the OCI (*Break With Centrism!* [1973]), we read:

"What was most essential in the preparation of the sections was to develop dialectical materialism in a struggle to understand and to transform the consciousness of the working class in the changing objective conditions. This means the understanding and development of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism...."

"We are certainly saying that dialectical materialism is the theory of knowledge of Marxism, of the path of struggle from error to truth—not to a 'final' truth, but continually making advances through contradictory struggle to real knowledge of the objective world...."

This Healyite notion of dialectical materialism is both enormously restrictive and is an idealization of knowledge. There is no valid, separate theory of knowledge. At the level of individual cognition, a theory of knowledge is derived from biological and psychological scientific investigation. At the level of social consciousness, a theory of knowledge is a constituent part of an understanding of historically specific social relations. Thus, central to the Marxist understanding of knowledge is the concept of false consciousness, the necessary distortion of reality associated with various social roles.

The traditional philosophical category of epistemology (in both its empiricist and rationalist forms), by separating the conscious subject from nature and society, is itself an ideological expression of false consciousness. Dialectical

materialism criticizes the various traditional concepts of epistemology as well as other philosophical concepts and categories. But Marxism does not criticize traditional philosophy by positing itself as a new, alternative philosophy, which likewise exists independently of a scientific (i.e., empirically verifiable) understanding of nature and society.

The Healyite mystification of dialectical materialism—"the path of struggle from error to truth"—is primarily a justification for the infallibility of a leader-cult. The program, analyses, tactics and projections of the Healyite leadership are thus held to be exempt from empirical verification. For example, to this day the Healyites claim that Cuba is capitalist! Critics and oppositionists are told that they don't understand reality; this capacity being monopolized by the leadership, which alone has mastered the dialectical method. The similarity between the Healyite view of dialectics and religious mysticism is not coincidental.

To summarize, the systematic rejection of dialectical materialism (e.g., Bogdanov, Burnham) must lead sooner or later to a break with the scientific Marxist program. But to believe à la Healy that every serious political difference within a revolutionary party can or should be reduced to antagonistic philosophical concepts is a species of rational idealism. Such philosophical reductionism denies that political differences commonly arise from the diverse social pressures and influences that bear down upon the revolutionary vanguard and its component parts, and also differences in evaluating empirical conditions and possibilities.

Significance of the Struggle Against Otzovism/Ultimatumism

The end of the factional struggle between the Leninists and Otzovists/Ultimatists occurred at the previously mentioned June 1909 conference of the expanded editorial board of *Proletary*. The conference resolved that Bolshevism "has nothing in common with otzovism and ultimatumism, and that the Bolshevik wing of the Party must most resolutely combat these deviations from revolutionary Marxism." When Bogdanov refused to accept this resolution he was expelled from the Bolshevik faction.

As we pointed out in Part I of this series, in justifying Bogdanov's expulsion Lenin clearly affirmed his adherence to the Kautskyan doctrine that the party should include all social democrats (i.e., working-class-oriented socialists). He sharply distinguished between the Kautskyan "party" and a faction, the latter requiring a homogeneous political program and outlook:

"In our Party Bolshevism is represented by the Bolshevik section. But a section is not a party. A party can contain a whole gamut of opinions and shades of opinions, the extremes of which may be sharply contradictory. In the German party, side by side with the pronouncedly revolutionary wing of Kautsky, we see the ultra-revisionist wing of Bernstein. This is not the case within a section. A section in a party is a group of like-minded persons formed for the purpose primarily of influencing the party in a definite direction, for the purpose of securing acceptance for their principles in the purest form. For this, real unanimity of opinion is necessary. The different standards we set for party unity and sectional unity must be grasped by everyone who wants to know how the question of internal discord in the Bolshevik section really stands" [emphasis in original].

"Report on the Conference of the Extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*" (July 1909)

After Bogdanov's expulsion he and his co-thinkers established their own group around the paper *Vpered*, deliberately choosing the name of the first Bolshevik organ (of 1905). The *Vperedists* appealed to the Bolshevik ranks in the name of true Bolshevism. Though

many Bolshevik workers supported the Otzovist/Ultimatist position on participating in the Duma, they were unwilling to split from Lenin's organization on this question. Thus Lenin had to combat diffuse ultra-left attitudes from the Bolshevik ranks for the next few years until the Otzovist/Ultimatist tendencies completely dissipated.

The Otzovist/Ultimatist claim to represent the true Bolshevik tradition, and that Lenin had become a Menshevik conciliator, could not be dismissed out of hand as ridiculous. Bogdanov, Lyadov, Krasin and Alexinsky had been among Lenin's chief lieutenants, the core of the early Bolshevik center. Lunacharsky had been a prominent Bolshevik public spokesman. The Mensheviks thus baited Lenin over the defection of his best known and most talented collaborators. Through the 1907-09 factional struggle against Otzovism/Ultimatism, a new Leninist leadership was crystallized from among the more junior Bolshevik cadre—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Tomsky and a little later Stalin. This was to be the central core of the Bolshevik leadership right through the early period of the Soviet regime.

How does one account for the fact most of the first generation of Bolshevik leaders defected to ultra-leftism, giving way to a second generation which assimilated Leninism in its developing maturity? The Bolsheviks originated not only as the revolutionary wing of Russian social democracy, but were also empirically optimistic about the perspectives for revolutionary struggle. And this self-confident optimism was borne out by events. The period 1903 to 1907 was in general one of a rising line of revolutionary struggle enabling the Bolsheviks to become a mass party. It is understandable therefore that a section of the Bolsheviks would be unwilling to face the fact of a victorious reaction which required a broad organizational retreat. These Bolsheviks reacted to an unfavorable reality with a sterile, dogmatic radicalism which at the extreme took the form of socialist spiritualism. It is a mark of Lenin's greatness as a revolutionary politician that he fully recognized the victory of reaction and adapted the perspectives of the proletarian vanguard accordingly, though this meant breaking with some of his hitherto closest collaborators.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Shahak...

(continued from page 2)

Palestinians. But if he were to restore half of the West Bank to King Hussein, don't you think the American Congress would give him \$10 billion with great delight? Well, he isn't doing this.

WW: Clearly with Begin's electoral victory there must be a rightward shift in the country. How does that affect the anti-Zionist left in general and a person like you in particular?

SHAHAK: First of all most of the shift occurred in 1974-76. Israel was "Beginized" before Begin. One of the main reasons the Labor government fell was that its own officials were "Beginistic" and conspired against it, quite apart from internal quarrels. The generals, too.

Now to your question. The social forces are against us in any case, Begin or no Begin. I will explain this in the most directly economic terms. As the economic militarization of the Israeli economy increases—as jobs are offered in industry that produce weapons, or spare parts for weapons or other services—how can you obtain a job in such conditions? From the engineers to the man who sweeps the courtyard, the answer is: you have to fulfill two conditions. The first is, you have to be willing to serve in the Israeli army. This excludes most of the Palestinians, who are not Israeli citizens. The second is, you must obtain what is called here a security clearance from the Shin Beth [Israeli secret police]. Now if you open your mouth, if you go to a meeting of Avangarde or of Matzpen or even of Rakah, you will be photographed and lose your security clearance.

To illustrate this, let me tell you a story. For me it is a good story with a successful end. More than two years ago I met a man in Israel, not a political person, who was under a five-year contract with an electronics factory that was apparently producing weapons. But he wanted to open a television sales and repair shop in Beersheba instead. So he asked me how to break the contract. I told him to buy an issue of *Matzpen* and bring it back to the factory and to walk up and down in the dining room and wave it in front of people. He was dismissed with full compensation that same afternoon, and after this he gave me one of the best dinners of my life. I am now completely guaranteed a free lunch every time I pass through Beersheba and a good time because he became very rich with his TV shop.

WW: Have you been subjected to any harassment personally?

SHAHAK: Not recently; in the past two and a half years a lot of the general harassment has stopped. I am in a most privileged position, being older and a university professor.

People who are trying to organize workers will be subjected to much more numerous call-ups to the army as reserves. It's perfectly legal; the army now has an almost unlimited right to call up people for service. There were several instances when people who were organizing strikes—shop stewards, strike committees—had to spend three days in the army doing nothing. They were put inside a camp, given a place to sleep but nothing to do. Before, they were given some work to do—like painting the trees white or something like that. People who are trying to establish a common front with the Palestinians are sometimes called into the Department for Special Duties, the branch which connects Shin Beth with the ordinary police. They aren't arrested, just called in for a "talk." Or they may be arrested for twenty-four hours. This applies to Israeli citizens (in the conquered territories it is worse). They are pulled in and asked questions about their friends. About a year and a half ago thirty, forty, fifty of my remote friends (people whom I know socially)—not political people—were visited at their workplaces by Shin Beth

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agents and given an enormous questionnaire which required yes-or-no answers to the stupidest questions. One which I remember was whether Israel Shahak is in the habit of cursing the Israeli government.

WV: What happened to the Revolutionary Communist Alliance prisoners? There was a news blackout after a certain point.

SHAHAK: They remain in prison. I have contact with several of them, especially with Udi Adviv because he was married in prison and his wife is a friend of mine; she translates for me. There is no hope of them getting free, no hope even of a determinate sentence.

WV: Another question that is not clear from American sources: what is the source of the Gush Emmunim?

SHAHAK: This is interesting. This is a very peculiar organization. It is formally not an organization at all. Parties, even fake parties like Herut, have membership rules, elections, even if they are fake elections. Gush Emmunim does not have any of this. You don't know how members are accepted, you don't know even if there is a membership. You don't know how the leadership is nominated, where the money comes from—and by now even the Israeli newspapers don't ask. I can't even guess except negatively—that it does not come from any of the sources one can think of.

But in real social terms one knows, of course. Gush Emmunim is a movement of a particular brand of Yeshivot—Talmudic academies. In Israel we have many Yeshivot of different types, anti-Zionist, non-Zionist and several kinds of Zionist. One is a particularly virulent Zionist sort which believes that the Messiah is really coming now and they are bringing him. Completely apocalyptic.

The Gush Emmunim are really very small. When they were asked for a list of settlers by Sharon about three months ago they provided only 2,500 names. They are limited in two ways. First, since they are fanatically religious, they will not be influential among most Israeli Jews who are very irreligious—who go every Saturday to watch soccer matches, which is of course a terrible violation of the sabbath, or who go swimming or picnicking on Saturday, which again is a mortal sin. Also they come only from the middle class; they do not have any influence even in the religious working class. This is because they come from the strata of Yeshiva pupils; the working class does not send its sons to those institutions.

They are important for several reasons. First of all they are dedicated and honest financially. They have 2,500 settlers but no other movement or party has even 250. And in an apathetic population, which most of the Israeli population is, people who demonstrate, people who do something, are respected. They also dominate the National Religious Party, which has 10 percent of the seats in the Knesset [parliament].

WV: Would you agree with most of the reasons that are put forward in the press for Begin's victory—that it represents mainly alienation from the Zionist establishment? Or was this a genuine ideological commitment to the policies of Herut, the support that Begin has among the Sephardim? Was it a protest vote?

SHAHAK: It was a vote for Begin but not for the Begin who wants to conquer Jordan, but for the Begin who promised them economic plenty and who was sold to them like they sell Coca-Cola. They had another choice: they could have voted for the Democratic Front of Change nonsense. But they voted for Begin because Begin was really sold by the mass media as the savior. They will, in my opinion, easily change their stand in a year for one reason or another. But it was not alienation from basic Zionism; it was alienation from the rotten apparatus of the Labor Party.

WV: What do you think is going to happen to this constituency under the

continued on page 11

Abortion...

(continued from page 3)

ubiquitous speaker at anti-busing rallies. Doyle and Flynn's concern for the so-called "right to life" extends only to the unborn fetus. Their bill, embodied in the rider passed by the state legislature, is actually more stringent than the Hyde amendment in that it does not even allow public funds for abortions to save the mother's life.

While the racist, chauvinist legislators drape themselves in Catholic obscenity, their supporters are less circumspect, more open about the sinister instincts that lie behind this "moral" crusade to drive indigent women into the hands of back-alley butchers. One Rita Warren of Brockton, a prominent advocate of mandatory recitation of the pledge of allegiance and school prayers, managed to shock a state house hearing on the Doyle/Flynn bill when she declared:

"We have the gall to criticize Hitler for slaughtering 6 million Jews. At least Hitler made them die with dignity—he made them walk into the ovens."

After this bizarre and loathsome tirade, she turned to the legislators and said: "If you kill this bill, this is what you'll be doing." She then took a paper bag and emptied the dismembered pieces of a rubber doll onto the podium (*Boston Globe*, 28 July).

Abortion rights are not the only target of the self-serving bigots in the state house. When a bill prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in public employment was voted down last month, Representative Richard Finnigan arrogantly proclaimed: "It's coming to the point where if you're female, black, gay, and blind, why, you could almost be governor." When a patently unconstitutional bill requiring school teachers to lead the pledge of allegiance to the flag was passed over a gubernatorial veto, senators waved small paper American flags and House members burst into a chorus of "God Bless America." Even Dukakis' publicity-stunt "exoneration" of Sacco and Vanzetti elicited a resolution of condemnation from the Massachusetts Senate!

This mounting wave of reaction represents a deadly danger to the Massachusetts labor movement. The attachment of the Doyle-Flynn rider to the supplementary appropriation bill including the state workers' pay raise is a deliberate slap in the face to the public employees unions. The refusal of the "liberal" Alliance bureaucracy to come out unequivocally in defense of abortion rights for Medicaid recipients and its own members is a disgraceful surrender to anti-labor forces. By allowing reactionary politicians to rip up their contract, they are setting a precedent for the elimination of other contractual rights at the whim of an increasingly rabid legislature.

The Spartacist League (SL) has intervened in the struggle for abortion rights, raising an independent working-class perspective which runs counter to the narrow legalism and reformism of both the Alliance leadership and the liberal Abortion Action Coalition. At a demonstration outside the July 27 State House hearing on the Doyle-Flynn bill, an SL contingent carried signs for "Free Abortion on Demand," "Free Quality Health Care for All," "No Reliance on Capitalist Politicians; Build a Workers Party" and "Women's Liberation

through Socialist Revolution."

In an incredible display of ostrich-like parochialism, a spokesman for the Abortion Action Coalition (supported by the Socialist Workers Party, among others) demanded, without success, that the SL comrades remove a sign denouncing "Anita Bryant's Bigotry Crusade" and calling for "Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals." The feminist organizers of the demonstration found the slogans objectionable since homosexual rights were not "the issue" on that day. Such a sectarian-particularist approach is as egregious as the Alliance leadership's attempt to focus exclusively on the pay raise while leaving the question of the anti-abortion rider to the dictates of the governor's "conscience."

As the SL has repeatedly stressed, democratic rights are indivisible. The social force to turn back the reactionary offensive in Massachusetts and around the country lies with the labor movement, which must mobilize to defend its own rights and those of all the oppressed. ■

Yale Campus Workers...

(continued from page 4)

to halt fuel deliveries. At that time several confrontations occurred with Teamster drivers respecting the picket lines while the university purchased its own fuel truck and used supervisory personnel to ram it through.

As the strike goes on support for the union is increasing. Recently Labor Secretary Ray Marshall and Senator George McGovern were pressured into refusing to cross the picket line for scheduled appearances. A strike support rally drew 400 people, and 2,000 students and faculty signed a petition circulated by the "Committee for a Just Settlement." Unfortunately most of this "support" is for the union's proposal for non-binding arbitration.

Perennial Communist Party candidate Joelle Fishman has focused on demanding that the liberal mayor of New Haven step in, arguing that the city "has a responsibility to take an active role in seeking a just resolution to the Yale University strike" (*Daily World*, 4 November). But Democratic Party politicians are no more "friends of labor" than liberal university presidents. Mobilizing the whole of the New Haven labor movement and making an active appeal for student-faculty solidarity by mounting militant mass picket lines is key to victory for this drawn-out strike.

Faculty, student and public pressure, even for so innocuous a demand as arbitration, may have marginal impact on the administration. Yale is a giant corporation with an endowment of \$560 million. Its administration has one constituency, and that is the rich alumni who constitute a significant segment of the top levels of the U.S. bourgeoisie. This wellspring of bourgeois ideology has not only consistently dealt with both its own workers and the New Haven population in a highhanded manner, but it has played a not inconsiderable role in enabling U.S. imperialism to run roughshod over the face of the earth.

In a concrete sense Yale represents even more than an important training ground for a scientific-technical and political elite. It is a bastion and a symbol of bourgeois class privilege. While the children of Local 35 workers can look forward to a few years in an underfunded community college at best, the children of the bourgeoisie attend Yale and Harvard as a matter of birthright. There are periods like the late 1960's when imperialist war and domestic social unrest radicalize the younger, educated, volatile elements of the petty bourgeoisie concentrated on the campuses. Such periods of student radicalism even extend to elite institutions like Yale and Harvard. But in a period of rightward social motion like the present, Yale's hard line against its

workers union has a reactionary ideological, and not merely dollars-and-cents, motivation.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has become known on the campuses for its advocacy of student support to campus workers strikes, including in particular strict respect for all picket lines. A picket line means "don't cross!" And that goes for everybody—whether students and teachers going to class, alumni attending ball games or pseudo-communists like Carrillo looking for their big chance to hobnob with liberal braintrusts of the Carter administration.

Victory to the Yale Campus Workers Strike! Nationalize the private universities under worker/student/faculty control, and open their doors to all on a tuition-free basis! For mass picketing to shut Yale down tight! ■

Oakland Teachers...

(continued from page 5)

obtained if UTO/AFT is the teachers' bargaining agent.

More treacherous were the antics of the Fremont OEA. Fremont teachers, out on a bitter strike since October 17, settled four days after the Oakland teachers went out. Here was a chance to link the strikes of the two largest school districts in Alameda County. Instead the Fremont OEA stabbed the Oakland strikers in the back by issuing a despicable leaflet to the Fremont scabs on the second day of the Oakland strike that urged "Scabs go to Oakland!" Indeed many had already done so.

Bay Area teachers unions have struck or threatened to strike at least six area school districts since the school year opened. The road to victory—a Bay Area-wide teachers strike supported by the entire Bay Area labor movement—has been scuttled by the competing bureaucratic cliques. Clearly the need is posed for a single industrial union of all teachers and related workers, committed to fighting for the real needs of the entire working class. Such a union, however, will only be achieved by ousting the present bureaucratic misleaders and replacing them with those committed to a strategy of class struggle.

For mass picketing—Shut the schools down tight! No to "fact-finding"! Down with the Rodda Act and all anti-union legislation! For full sanction of the strike! For a single industrial union of all teachers and related workers! ■

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VANCOUVER

Israel...

(continued from page 12)

withdraw most, if not all, of its forces. The recent bombing raids represent further Israeli defiance of their U.S. imperialist military and financial backers, who are pressuring their Zionist client state to reach an accommodation with neighboring Arab regimes. The state of Israel, based on a racist ideology of expansionism and genocide, requires for its stability another senseless and bloody war with the Arab regimes, a war which it may well provoke in southern Lebanon.

But expansionist aspirations are

vinism. At the same time the Sephardim are second-class citizens in Israel, concentrated in unskilled and menial work and alienated from the Zionist establishment. In a country run by Jews of European origin, 29 years of "Labor"-dominated governments have only exacerbated this alienation. In order to propitiate this base and set it against the organized labor movement, both the "new economic policies" and earlier austerity measures in July were coupled with higher welfare, pension and family allowances for the poorest members of Israeli society.

The Liberals are the party of Israel's nouveaux riches, the nascent bourgeois-

Washington, but his assault on the Israeli working class received the imperialists' endorsement. The International Monetary Fund, those imperialist usurers who extract political tribute through loans rather than gunboats, congratulated the Israeli government for its "impressive and courageous" policy. And Milton Friedman, the Chilean junta's minister of destitution, hailed the Zionist "shock treatment" as "one of the greatest things that has happened to Israel since it was founded."

But even bourgeois commentators in Israel were less confident. Meir Merhav, economic editor for the *Jerusalem Post*, wrote a brutally frank article in the 1 November international edition: "The system that emerged in Israel 29 years ago may indeed have been—and still be—paternalistic and bureaucratized to the point of ossification. But it has never been anything but a capitalist system." He continues, "The new economic freedoms now held out to us as the glittering prize of the new economic era are both largely irrelevant to the majority whose shrunken paychecks will soon disclose to them that they have become less free than before."

Davar, organ of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Labor), pledged "to show public responsibility" even though "the new policy has laid the basis for a resumption of the class war." The ever-responsible Histadrut secretary-general, Yeruham Meshel, was particularly miffed that he had not been "consulted" either in July or in November before the austerity plan was announced. The NEP will produce an immediate 12 percent price inflation, which will totally wipe out the entire cost-of-living raise granted the Histadrut in October.

Following Erlich's announcement, the Histadrut set up an "Emergency Protest Committee" which initiated a week of scattered and often partial walkouts and demonstrations supposed to culminate in a massive demonstration in Jerusalem on Sunday. Strikes in such cities as Haifa and Beersheba were solid. At a militant rally of 25,000 in Tel Aviv on Thursday, several thousand workers broke through a police cordon and marched on Begin's office.

But in many places strike calls were not heeded, indicating how discredited the Histadrut is and that many of the poorer workers now support Herut. Begin's vicious ravings against "the Bolshevik-like tones heard these days" found support among a significant section of the Israeli working class. Years of denouncing strikes as against the "national interest" by the chauvinist leadership of the Histadrut clearly took its toll in the mixed response to the call for protests and strikes against Begin's austerity measures. The most tragic incident occurred in Ashdod, Israel's second-largest port and often a center of labor militancy. While 12,000 workers in the city went out, the port workers voted to go to work.

The Histadrut leadership called off the demonstrations after a week, without having won anything in return. Gideon Ben Yisrael, head of the Emergency Protest Committee, whined: "We hope the government means what is said about preserving real income. If, heaven forbid, it turns out not to be so, we will resume the protests." But in fact the Begin government has already announced its intention to only partially compensate workers for the cost-of-living increases.

Yet the timidity and cowardice of the Histadrut leadership notwithstanding, the strikes are an important confirmation of the class contradictions that underlie Israeli society. Unlike the majority of the left, who as vicarious cheerleaders for Third World nationalism have characterized the Jewish population of Israel as a homogenous oppressor caste, the Spartacist League has always pointed to the existence of a Hebrew-speaking proletariat which shares the same class interests as the oppressed Arab masses.

At a demonstration outside the prime minister's office in Jerusalem on November 6, strikers were joined by hundreds of Arabs from the Jordanian sector of the city who chanted in unison "Begin Go Home!" A unique opportunity has arisen to break Israeli workers from Zionist chauvinism. The savage bombing of innocent Arab villagers in south Lebanon is coupled with brutal attacks on the living standards of Israeli working people. Now a class-struggle and internationalist program is timely as well as necessary.

For trade-union independence! For a national conference of works (shop stewards) committees to call a general strike to smash NEP and Erlich's "Shock Treatment"! Israel out of the occupied territories and Lebanon! For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian, Arab and Hebrew-speaking people! For the dictatorship of the Hebrew and Arab proletariat! Towards a socialist federation of the Near East! For a Hebrew and Arab revolutionary proletarian party, section of the reborn Fourth International! ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Mandel's Unwanted Children" (WV No. 180, 4 November) we reported that "the 'Weiss Crispie' candidate members of the MEC had their applications for full membership 'tabled.'" The individuals in question have informed us that they are not members of the CRSP; instead they were kept out of the disintegrating Marxist Education Collective because MEC guru Arthur Felberbaum *thought* they were Crispies.

In WV No. 179 (28 October), the pictures accompanying the article entitled "Jury Declares Bennie Lenard Innocent" were inadvertently labeled WV photos. The photographer is Cliff Burress. In WV No. 177 (14 October) the article "Down with Bakke!" contains a political error in the call for open admissions with special preparatory programs, state stipends for living expenses and "full scholarships." Of course, the demand for scholarships accepts tuition; the correct slogan is for the abolition of tuition.

And in WV No. 176, the article "French Popular Front on the Rocks?" contains a quote from Trotsky and a brief commentary which are open to serious misinterpretation. The quote refers to the possibility of social-democratization of the Stalinized Communist parties, noting that the result would be analogous to *pre-1914* social democracy. (The quote is from 1928 when Trotsky still considered the Communist parties centrist.) The commentary adds that the French Communist Party (PCF) "has gone a long way down this road"—which could imply that it had not yet faced its August 4 and definitively gone over to support of the bourgeois order. As the rest of the article repeatedly points out, the PCF has long been reformist, and its present "Eurocommunist" orientation does *not* represent a qualitative change.

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LOS ANGELES



Rescue workers at Lebanese town of Azzlye—destroyed in recent Israeli air attack.

exorbitantly expensive for the little *schmorrer* (Yiddish for beggar) Zionist state. Further, Israel's benefactor in Washington has become increasingly disenchanted with these aspirations. As we pointed out in "Begin-Carter Rift over West Bank" (WV, No. 171, 2 September 1977) Begin sees himself as another Marshal Thieu, abandoned by a weakened U.S. imperialism. The Zionists admire the South African Boers who have established their state as a relatively independent sub-imperialist power in defiance of their original imperialist sponsors. Thus the recent UN Security Council arms embargo is rendered irrelevant by the fact that South Africa has developed a nearly self-sufficient arms industry.

However, there is a fundamental distinction between the South African white supremacist economy, which is based on the super-exploitation of black labor, and the Zionist economy where the super-exploitation of Palestinian labor is decisively subordinate to the exploitation of the Hebrew-speaking working class. South Africa was able to become an independent power and massively enhance the living standards of its white population at the same time. On a much weaker economic base and with a smaller population, Israel's aspirations to become an independent power can only be realized (and then at most partially realized) at the expense of its own working class. This is the fundamental lesson of Begin's "New Economic Policies" and the strike wave they engendered.

Herut for Genocide; Liberals for Profits

Begin's Likud is a bloc with two major components: Herut and the Liberals. Herut is the political heir of the fanatical Zionism of the so-called Revisionists and their armed gangsters in the Irgun, which Begin led in the 1940's and which was responsible for the infamous massacre at Deir Yassin. In his six months in power, Begin has repeated the atrocity at Deir Yassin many times over in southern Lebanon. The electoral base of Herut is the Sephardic Jews, who emigrated from Arab countries and whose memories of persecution in their native countries fueled anti-Arab chau-

sie and rising professional class, who resent the restrictions and regulations of a highly bureaucratized and corporatist Israeli capitalism. The Liberals' main spokesman in the Begin government is Finance Minister Simha Erlich.

"Shock Treatment" for the "Promised Land"

After the Likud electoral victory, Erlich announced he would make drastic cuts in government services and real wages and would seek the advice of reactionary economist Milton Friedman—crony of Pinochet and notorious for his "shock treatment" therapy for sick Chilean capitalism. Soon after Friedman's visit to Israel in early July, Erlich announced a 25 percent increase in the price of subsidized goods, which include basic foodstuffs, public transportation and fuel. The current price increases come *on top* of the July increases. In July Erlich also announced a freeze on public employment including state-supported enterprises and institutions, a freeze which has yet to be lifted.

Begin would probably not have moved so quickly to escalate his attack on working-class living standards or his raids into southern Lebanon were it not for the entry of the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) into his last government. The DMC was a fake-oppositional electoral grouping led by archaeology professor and former military chief of staff Yigael Yadin. It claims to be for some vague "democratic" change and to be opposed to the eronymism and opportunism of the Labor Party, although it is primarily made up of careerists defecting from the increasingly unpopular Labor Party. It includes some so-called "doves" on the Palestinian question although its platform was indistinguishable from "Labor Alignment." Its economic policies placed it close to the Liberals. By taking the DMC into the government, Begin gained 15 votes in the 120-seat Knesset, raising his voting bloc to 78. This is an unprecedented majority within Israel's highly splintered and clique-ridden capitalist politics.

Begin's bombing raids over Tyre may have annoyed his erstwhile allies in

CLP: Back to "Lesser Evil" Democrats

During the past few years the Communist Labor Party (CLP) of Nelson Peery has become something of a prodigal son for the pro-Moscow Stalinist movement in this country.

Originating as a pro-Stalin split from the American Communist Party (CPUSA) after the "de-Stalinization" of the late 1950's, the Peery tendency for nearly two decades sided with the Chinese and Albanian Stalinist bureaucracies. But two years ago the CLP left the Maoist fold and began seeking its own "rapprochement" with the Kremlin and its American lap-dog party. Beginning with its sudden endorsement of U.S./USSR "détente," the CLP since then has gravitated ever closer to the wretchedly reformist line of the CPUSA, for example supporting "friends of the Soviet Union" such as the bloody Ethiopian junta and uncritically endorsing "progressive" trade-union bureaucracies such as Cesar Chavez' Farm Workers.

Evidently the "long march" back to what it once denounced as "revisionism" has been a rocky road for the CLP. For the current issue of the CLP theoretical journal *Proletariat* reprints a recent speech by Peery bemoaning the "crisis in our party" and emphasizing "we're fighting against our sectarianism....we're making connections." However, this new "turn" turns out to be an attempt by the CLP to "make connections"...with the Democratic Party!

During the last two months the CLP climbed aboard the electoral bandwagon of "progressive" Democrat Coleman Young, the incumbent mayor of Detroit who was easily re-elected on November 8, using the identical "fight-the-right" code phrases which are the stock in trade of Gus Hall's CPUSA. In a recent issue of its press, the *People's Tribune* (15 October), the CLP advises, "Where he [Young] has taken progressive positions, he should be pushed to do more; where he has taken positions contrary to the workers' interests, these should be exposed and criticized." But the article concludes with an unmistak-

able call for electoral support to Young: "Those candidates who have taken decisive progressive positions in the past need be supported and pushed to represent the workers even more so [!] in the coming years."

Even more explicit was the CLP's electoral support to Democrat Bella Abzug during September's mayoral primaries in New York City. "Abzug's candidacy is the only one with the potential to halt the disastrous policies



Coleman Young

WV Photo

of the political hacks and bankers who presently run New York," trumpeted the *People's Tribune* of 15 August.

Seeking to cover its naked class collaborationism the CLP has now seized the withered fig leaf of "lesser evilism" long used by the Brezhnevite CP. Thus, the CLP has made much ado about how "progressive" Democrats are allegedly the "people's choice" while their opponents are backed by reactionaries. The *People's Tribune* of 15 August stresses that Coleman Young has "received support from the organized labor movement, particularly from the Negro population," while his opponent Ed Browne is backed by "racist segregationists and the Detroit Police Officers Association. Similarly, the CLP bolsters its backing of Abzug by contrasting the reactionary forces behind her rivals with "the forces behind Abzug—the honest workers and progressives of New York."

But these "lesser evil" apologetics of

the CLP don't wash these days when even the so-called "progressive" Democrats are scurrying to the right. Coleman Young earned the endorsement of such prominent bourgeois establishment figures as Henry Ford II and real estate tycoon Max Fischer by his attacks on the organized labor movement of Detroit, particularly the municipal workers, and his commitment to strengthening the police force through his "affirmative action" program. Simi-



Bella Abzug

UPI

larly, CP/CLP darling Bella Abzug ran on such a strident "law-and-order" platform that she won the backing of none other than Ken McFeely, the well-known former top cop of the Police-men's Benevolent Association.

In an attempt to distinguish himself from Gus Hall, Peery has raised the call for an independent "third party." Denouncing the CP for remaining chained to the Democratic Party, the CLP has attempted to pose as a "left" alternative by championing the idea of a "pro-socialist, non-socialist" (!) party based on the trade unions (*People's Tribune*, 1 August 1977). Currently, Peery and his friends have been enthusiastic over a so-called "anti-capitalist, pro-labor caucus" in the Michigan Democratic Party. "It is this growing movement [within the Democratic Party!] that sets the base for building the united front based in the depth and breadth of labor," announced the *People's Tribune* (15 October). In fact,

this so-called "labor" caucus is the creature of none other than former Vietnam war supporter and State Department socialist Michael Harrington.

While the CLP's small size means it cannot act as the Communist Party did in the '30's as a broker between the Democratic Party and combative sectors of the working class, its support for Democratic politicians is a real betrayal of the former aspirations of one-time subjectively revolutionary militants. In Detroit, the CLP recruited a section of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which contained many black cadre who had come through the civil rights movement and community struggles of the 1960's and broken from the liberal pro-Democratic Party leadership of the civil rights movement. Many went through the Panthers and black nationalism and came to a pro-working class stance. Now "Nelson Peery/Joseph Stalin thought" has brought these militants back to the Democratic Party.

Nelson Peery's CLP is the most rigidly orthodox Stalinist organization on the American left. How many other organizations in the world reprint Beria! When the Maoist-Stalinist tendencies originated in the late 1950's-early 1960's, they represented a left impulse against the pro-Soviet liberalism of the CPUSA. Gus Hall's open support to the liberal wing of the imperialist ruling class, particularly electoral support to the Democratic Party, was condemned as Khrushchevite revisionism and a rightist ("Browderite") deviation from Stalinist orthodoxy. But the notion that support to the Democratic Party is a break with orthodox Stalinism is complete nonsense. Stalin's support for Roosevelt was far more open and positive than Khrushchev's for Kennedy. It is wholly appropriate that the most perversely Stalinist organization in the U.S. is now demonstrating that support to the principal political organization of American imperialism, the Democratic Party, is orthodox Stalinism. ■

Shahak...

(continued from page 9)

impact of what will necessarily be increasing hardship?

SHAHAK: I suppose that Begin will simply make preventative war. Begin knows that they will turn against him in a relatively short period of time. More time, perhaps, than it took some blacks to turn against Carter, but not very much more, for economic reasons. Before this happens he will make his war—otherwise, they will return to the fold and vote for the Labor Party, if the Labor Party is clever enough to get rid of Rabin and Peres and take somebody younger and unknown.

WV: On the question of human rights, I am sure you have been following *Workers Vanguard* and our attitude to Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign, and the adaptation to that campaign on the part of a great deal of the "left"—how do you feel about this?

SHAHAK: I am very firmly opposed to this. I have felt from the beginning that this is sheer hypocrisy and everything since then confirms this. It is not only sheer hypocrisy, but it is even worse: human rights are being used as an instrument to combat the Soviet Union pure and simple. Of course we have to be for human rights everywhere, but we cannot use this political instrument. Perhaps you know that I have even rebuked the [SWP's] *Intercontinental Press* on these grounds; perhaps you have seen the articles. I think that support of such reactionaries as Bu-

kovsky or Solzhenitsyn when they are outside Russia is a very terrible mistake. The "human rights" policy of Carter is simply an instrument to support American imperialism and this should have been completely clear to everyone. After Carter's speech in the United Nations where he said that the U.S. and Israel have the same attachment to human rights, it should be clear to everyone. A forceful argument should be made that Israel serves Carter as his instrument in some policies that even he doesn't want to make because of his stand on "human rights." Instead of his sending arms to Chile and police equipment to South Africa directly, he uses Israel for this and since many so-called radicals in the U.S. will not dare attack Israel, Carter and Andrew Young can succeed. Carter has no attachment to human rights anywhere, even in places like Chile and South Africa, and he uses Israel as his fig-leaf. This to me is a very important point.

WV: If you were doing this interview, what would you ask yourself?

SHAHAK: Very good. There is something very important and little-known that I wanted to introduce: the treatment of the Palestinians from the conquered territories who work inside Israel. I won't mention that they have no trade unions and no possibility of trade unions, that they can be hired and fired at a moment's notice. What I want to tell you about is their treatment under the curfew regulations.

First of all, any Palestinian from the conquered territories who is not an Israeli citizen commits an offense is he

is within the State of Israel between 1 and 3 a.m. if he doesn't have a pass. This is a good proof of the Carter "human rights" policy which is supported by the American mass media—nobody has said a word about this, although it is very well known in Israel. Since there are so many Palestinians from the conquered territories in Israel—in Tel Aviv alone, according to its police commander in an interview on 9 September, there are 70,000 so in the whole of Israel there must be 200,000—you cannot bring so many criminals to court. You cannot compel them to go back and forth every morning and night; it would take too much time. They are faced with two choices.

The official choice is that if they will agree to be locked in their bedrooms from the outside, action will not be taken against them. This is very well known in Israel; even the bourgeois press like *Ha'aretz* has made a campaign against it because if there is a fire those people are trapped in their rooms. There were cases where they were burned to death. There were cases of dramatic last-minute escapes, firemen arriving to break down the door, etc. There have been other cases where they have had to jump from windows. The authorities always answer that it is "voluntary." Of course, if the landlord does not lock them in he will be prosecuted, he also commits a crime.

Those who will not agree "voluntarily" to this are harassed every night—but, as the Tel Aviv police chief says, in sufficient numbers to make it harassment but not so much that they will run

away from Tel Aviv because, he says, the city will come to a halt without them. Several hundred a night are taken from the places where they are staying—the unfinished houses which they construct themselves, or other places which you can imagine—and are made to spend the night in a police courtyard, or actually the courtyard of an Israeli elementary school, because some of the places which are schools by day become bases of the Civil Guard at night. In such places they spend the night and in the morning they are let go. There is nothing that can better describe the nature of the system in Israel and the conquered territories: there is a difference between an Israeli citizen and these people.

The situation is now better than two years ago when they were beaten in addition. But this image gives you the real nature of the society. ■

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Massive Strikes Against Likud Devaluation

Begin's Israel: Wage Slashing and Terror Bombing

NOVEMBER 10—These two "past weeks the genocidal terrorist who heads the Israeli regime, Premier Menahem Begin, has demonstrated unequivocally what his foreign and domestic policies will be: the provocation of another Near East war and savage attacks upon the living standards and social services of Israeli working people. On November 9 Israeli air strikes massacred over 100 Arab villagers in and around the southern Lebanese port of Tyre. On October 28 the right-wing Zionist government announced so-called "new economic policies" (NEP) which eliminated subsidies and raised the price of 150 basic commodities by an average of 11 percent, increased the value-added tax (equivalent to a sales tax) on all goods by 50 percent and floated the



Menahem Begin

L'Express

Israeli pound, generating a devaluation of 45 percent and fueling a rate of inflation which already tops 40 percent.

But despite the myth of Israel as a solid reactionary Zionist mass, this attack on the working class provoked an angry outburst from its intended victims. Begin's austerity program was greeted by a week-long wave of protest demonstrations and strikes in which well over half a million workers participated. The work stoppages, at various points, closed the port of Haifa, half the nation's hanks and Ben Gurion National Airport; disrupted railway and postal services; and shut down scores of industrial plants from Beersheba in the south to the Galilee in the north.

Southern Lebanon: Israeli "Sphere of Influence"?

Israeli intervention in southern Lebanon did not begin with the election of the new government in May. The previous "Labor Alignment" regime supported the Maronite Christian militias against the Palestinian-Muslim alliance with military training, arms



Israeli workers protest Begin's austerity plan.

Rubinger/Time

supplies, artillery support and a naval blockade of southern Lebanese ports throughout Lebanon's 18-month communal war. This disastrous war, which devastated much of Lebanon and left 60,000 dead (out of a total population of 3 million), was suppressed only by an invasion of 40,000 Syrian troops.

Ruling a mosaic of ethnically and racially mixed peoples, the bonapartist Syrian regime did not want Lebanon's communal conflagration spreading eastward. Nor would the Ba'athist colonels in Damascus tolerate a Palestinian-hated, radical Muslim competitor. They wanted social stability in Lebanon, albeit under the reactionary status quo of polytheocratic communalism. Israel preferred instability, a continuation of the bloodbath until the Palestinians were decimated. The Zionists backed the Syrian invasion, however, when it looked as if the war in Lebanon would go in the other direction with the Maronite militias being driven into the sea. Ultimately Jerusalem and Damascus' interests were antagonistic, and the Zionists made it clear that they would not allow the Syrian troops to cross the Litani River, 15 miles north of the Israeli border.

Hence the communal war continued in southern Lebanon as did Israeli support for the Maronite militias. Southern Lebanon was the last territory

contiguous with Israel that the Palestinian commandos could use for raids into occupied land that was once their own. Israel intended to use the Maronite militias as border guards to clear the Palestinian refugees out of the area south of the Litani.

The Syrian solution for southern Lebanon is the so-called Shtura agreement of July 25 between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the self-proclaimed but very tenuous "Lebanese government" of Elias Sarkis. Under this plan the 4,000-5,000 troops of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) would withdraw in stages from the Israeli border, and southern Lebanon would be policed by the reconstituted Lebanese army. U.S. imperialism backed the Shtura agreement by pledging \$100 million in military credits to

recreate the Lebanese army. But the Lebanese armed forces are completely polarized by the communal warfare. The former officer corps of the army fractured and now heads the various ethnic and tribal militias while continuing to draw their pay from the Lebanese state!

The Begin regime has escalated the interventionist policies of the previous "Labor Alignment" government in southern Lebanon. In late September it sent Israeli combat troops through its "good neighbor fence" with Lebanon to fight side-by-side with the Maronite militias. Israeli incursions embarrassed Washington, which for its own reasons seeks a return to stability and the reactionary status quo in Lebanon. The U.S.-imposed ceasefire forced Israel to

continued on page 10

The Israeli Working Class and Zionist Terror

Interview with Israel Shahak...2