

## As Beirut Smoulders...

# For Class War, Not Communal War in Lebanon!

JANUARY 27—Since the Maronite Christian Phalange (Al Kataeb) militia ambushed and massacred a busload of 27 Palestinian commandos last April 13, the official estimate is that more than 9,000 Lebanese have been killed in the sectarian strife. Recently over 100 people a day have been killed and 200 wounded in this country with a population of only 3 million.

Watching his 21st "ceasefire" go down in flames, Muslim aristocrat Rashid Karami of Tripoli submitted his resignation as prime minister on January 19. In the face of several Muslim military successes, the temporarily overextended and exhausted right-wing Christian militias and Lebanese army have acceded to a Syrian-imposed ceasefire, and Karami withdrew his resignation. But the ceasefire is based on a "political reform" which the ultra-rightist Christians reject. For the Phalangists the ceasefire is only a breathing space to permit them to regroup their forces for another round of communal terror.

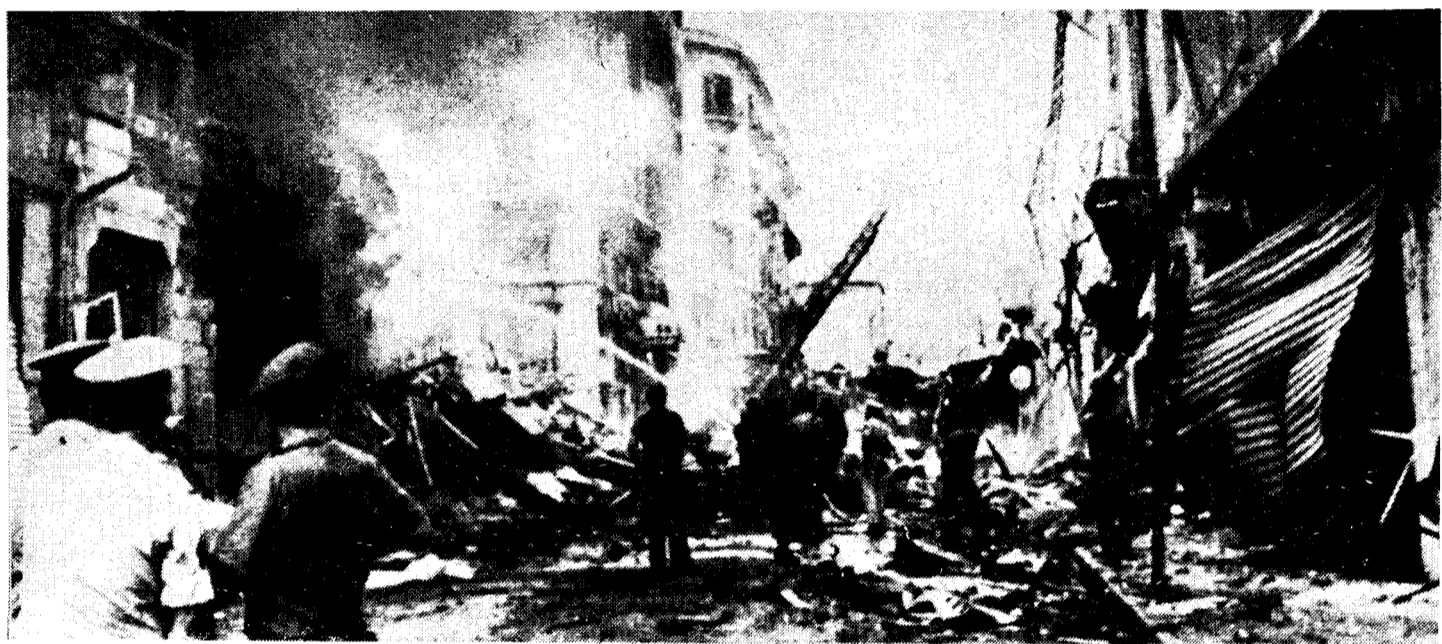
The current civil war in Lebanon is the legacy of Ottoman and French imperial domination and the interpenetration of a myriad of religious communities, combining to retard capitalist development and prevent the consolidation of a modern nation state. Like medieval Europe, Lebanon is divided into various fiefdoms lorded over by tribal chieftains with private armies and divided along "confessional" lines. The country is not so much a bourgeois democracy as a pluralistic theocracy, with Maronite Christian hegemony.

### A "Confessional" State

The Maronite community, an outpost of Roman Christianity in the Arab East, has been the patron of French interests since the time of the Crusades. When French imperialism carved out its share of the dismembered Ottoman Empire, it created a "Greater Lebanon" by incorporating large Muslim areas together with traditional Maronite strongholds of the Lebanon Mountains in such a way that the various Christian sects (of which the Maronites were the largest) outnumbered Muslims by six to five.

The unwritten "National Covenant" of 1943 doled out ministerial posts, parliamentary seats and government jobs in post-independence Lebanon according to a proportional representation of the religious communities, while

*continued on page 9*



Results of a rocket attack in downtown Beirut.

UPI

## Angola: U.S. Liberals Angle for Deal with MPLA

JANUARY 26—Western press correspondents reporting from Angola and Africa experts in the U.S. State Department have teamed up with nervous Congressional liberals in an effort to decipher the handwriting on the wall for the myopic policymakers of the Ford administration. Their message to Ford and Kissinger is short and simple: the U.S. has backed a bunch of losers in Angola and had better shift gears in order to make a deal with the other side.

This is the friendly advice written between the lines of recent newspaper articles describing the chaos and corruption in southern Angola, controlled by the U.S./South Africa-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and contrasting it with the stability and confidence of the Luanda regime of the Soviet-backed People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). After routing the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in the north, MPLA troops are now reportedly moving south

in force, preparing for a showdown with UNITA.

### Hard Times in Huambo

A *New York Times* dispatch on 23 January described the ghost-town gloom of Huambo, the "capital" of southern Angola:

"The streets are nearly deserted, except for a few cars racing recklessly, their tires squealing. Most shops are closed;

those that occasionally open have little to sell.

"The banks are locked; the post office does not function. The city water supply stopped running a month ago."

Right next to this was another story from MPLA-controlled Luanda which began, "This is now a self-confident city." After listing well-stocked stores, efficient police and refugees returning from Portugal, the *Times*' message to

*continued on page 2*



MPLA forces on parade.

Gente

### From Bandung to NATO

## Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal..... 6



Cleveland

New York

WV photo

# Pro-MPLA Demos in NYC, Cleveland, L.A.

## Stalinoids Attempt to Suppress Revolutionary Criticism

Under banners ranging from "Victory to the MPLA!" and "Support for the People's Republic of Angola" to "End U.S. Support for South African Invasion," a series of demonstrations have recently been held in major American cities against the imperialist drive on Luanda. True to form, the Stalinists, Stalinoids and assorted "Third World" cheerleaders did their best to suppress Marxist criticism of their latest "revolutionary nationalists" the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Loudest among the MPLA's apologists in this round of demonstrations was the Workers World Party Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP-YAWF). YAWF mobilized supporters from all over the East Coast for a New York City demonstration on January 17. Less visible among the 400-700 participants in the march and subsequent forum were some 25 co-sponsors, including the *Guardian*, MPLA Solidarity Committee, Iranian Students Association (World Confederation), Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Prairie Fire and NYC Hard Times Committee.

YAWF's efforts to curry favor in the ex-New Left radical milieu placed it in the forefront of efforts to build political support for the treacherous petty-bourgeois nationalists of the MPLA. YAWF was particularly in a stew over what to do about the Spartacist League (SL), which has unequivocally called for an MPLA military victory against the imperialist-led coalition without placing any political confidence in the MPLA. YAWF goons seized an SL placard denouncing Brezhnev's détente with the Mao-CIA bloc. The YAWF opportunists, known throughout the Maoist movement as "closet Trots," felt obliged to uphold Mao's honor by trying to smother the propaganda of the revolutionary Trotskyist SL.

The Spartacist League was not, however, silenced by the YAWF goon squad. While the Stalinoids were excusing MPLA strikebreaking, SL support-

ers were handing out a leaflet explaining why communists refuse to endorse a demonstration calling for political support to the MPLA, which seeks to construct a bourgeois Angola. The SL carried signs calling "For a Workers and Peasants Government in Angola."

In a forum at the Marc Ballroom after the march, YAWF speakers read messages from "progressive and socialist countries" such as South Yemen. Of course, they did not allow any discussion from the floor—after all, that's how it's done by the MPLA and in "progressive" South Yemen. Deirdre Griswold, editor of *Workers World*, launched an attack against all "those who do not support the MPLA." After her speech a frenzied YAWF supporter grabbed a leaflet from an SLer, pointed to the criticism of the MPLA and ripped it up, screaming: "Did you hear what she had to say? That was directed at you!"

### "Global Class War"

It is a lot easier to rip up a leaflet, however, than to answer the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Griswold knows perfectly well that the Spartacist League calls for military victory of the MPLA against the U.S. South Africa-led cabal. But since the purpose of the Marcyites' "theory" of "global class war" is to cover up for the innumerable betrayals by the Stalinists (from Russian tanks suppressing the workers' uprising in Hungary to Kremlin efforts to achieve a pro-Soviet bourgeois Angola), they must deliberately blur the difference between political and military support.

Griswold's big argument was that "imperialism has taken a side." Aside from the fact that the imperialist liberals are just now trying to shift Washington's backing from the FNLA/UNITA losers to the MPLA, this simplistic policy ignores inter-imperialist rivalries and the domestic class struggle. While in Angola effective dissolution of the state has served to internationalize the conflict, turning it into a proxy war between the U.S. and the USSR, in the Near East YAWF's support for Russian foreign policy maneuvers and a classless "Arab Revolution" leads it to support bourgeois Egypt led by the anti-communist demagogue Sadat.

### Cleveland

In Cleveland YAWF ran a mini-version (about 80 people) of the New York demonstration. The SL carried placards proclaiming, "U.S. Out of Angola!" "No Confidence in MPLA — For Workers Revolution!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in Angola!" Here also

## Angola...

(continued from page 1)

Washington strategists was obvious. Lacking gasoline, exportable commodities, foreign exchange and communications inside or outside the country, and with military control increasingly in South African hands, the Huambo regime does little more than organize demonstrations of devotion to UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. A report in the 22 January *Wall Street Journal* noted that despite the shortage of currency, "UNITA soldiers positively bristle with personal weaponry. One slightly built lad of about 15... was seen striding about with a carbine slung on one shoulder, a grenade launcher on the other, pistols at either hip, a bandoleer of ammunition around the neck and grenades in the pouches of an ammunition belt." The article also described another characteristic UNITA soldier, a Land Rover driver "sporting sneakers and pink, plaid trousers along with his regulation camouflage shirt, topping the outfit with a bright-yellow crash helmet (wise, since the brakes on his vehicle didn't work)."

### Gone Fishing

Military collapse of the imperialist-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in the north and the manifest incompetency of UNITA in the south increase the importance of unofficial contacts between liberal U.S. politicians and MPLA leaders. While Kissinger and Ford opted for war by proxy to block potential Russian diplomatic advances in southern Africa, a growing chorus of bourgeois defeatists has argued that major involvement in Angola threatens, like the Indochina war, to jeopardize U.S. imperialism's primary arenas of struggle with the Soviet Union, southern Europe and the Near East. This is also the conclusion of most European capitalist powers, who were unmoved by Kissinger's bid for support at the December meeting of NATO foreign ministers.

Unlike some mindless "Third World" cheerleaders on the left, the liberal wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie knows that the MPLA, like every other bourgeois nationalist formation in Africa, can be bought for a moderate price. An aide to Senator John Tunney, sponsor of the bill cutting off funds for covert military operations in Angola, just returned from Luanda with the message that the People's Movement "would like to have better relations with the U.S." He noted the MPLA's oft-stated position that the giant monopolies which drain the mineral wealth of Angola "should operate in a mutually profitable arrangement with the Government" (*New York Times*, 26 January).

This well-publicized junket was by no means the first indication that sections



Los Angeles

WV photo

political support to the MPLA was YAWF's watchword, and it denied speaking rights to the SL.

### Los Angeles

In Los Angeles 125 people marched in a demonstration dominated by supporters of the Communist Party (CP), its "United Front for Justice in Angola" and some pan-Africanist nationalists. Again the sponsors ran roughshod over political criticisms of the MPLA. The CP decided beforehand on all the demands, even changing them unilaterally between meetings of its phony "coordinating committee," and misdirected people to a scheduled planning meeting in order to avoid political discussion.

The CP-distributed leaflet for the L.A. demonstration was reminiscent of the worst social-patriotic propaganda of the liberal anti-Vietnam war movement. The entire broadsheet was an appeal to the "better nature" of the U.S. not to be stained by association with racist South Africa—as if the United States was not the Number One imperialist in its own right!

In New York, Cleveland and Los Angeles the pattern was the same: As in the antiwar movement of the 1960's, the uncritical cheerleaders for "democratic forces" resorted to the most undemocratic procedures in order to suppress revolutionary politics. ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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of the U.S. bourgeoisie were courting the MPLA. Since the resignation of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Nathaniel Davis in August, Washington has been locked in sharp debate over strategy in Angola. In November the Portuguese press reported a U.S. visit by several representatives of the People's Movement. Basing itself on articles in the bourgeois Lisbon weekly *Expresso*, a pro-MPLA newspaper reported that Senator Edward Kennedy met with this delegation and expressed his opinion that it was "a foreign policy error" for the U.S. to "attempt to resolve the Angola problem by ignoring or passing over the MPLA" (*Revolução*, 7 November 1975).

The Senate vote cutting off covert aid to the UNITA/FNLA coalition was a sharp rebuke to Kissinger's policy. In a report to the Congressional Black Caucus, Representative Charles Diggs, who attended the recent Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit conference and undoubtedly conferred with People's Movement leaders there, denounced "Kissinger's folly" and predicted the emergence of a UNITA/MPLA

coalition.

These overtures have not gone unnoticed in Luanda. In a recent speech, MPLA head Agostinho Neto said that he "saluted the Senate for reflecting the sincere attitudes of the American people who are in disagreement with the Angolan policies of their leaders" (*New York Times*, 22 January).

#### UNITA vs. FNLA

Speculation is rife that UNITA will attempt to mend its fences with Neto at the FNLA's expense. The concentration of MPLA and Cuban troops on mopping up the northern front and driving FNLA forces into neighboring Zaire, coupled with conciliatory gestures by Savimbi's group, have raised imperialist hopes that a new coalition government may emerge out of a military stalemate on the southern front.

Holding the military advantage, however, the MPLA and its Soviet backers are undoubtedly far less interested in talking to Huambo than in talking directly to Washington. But UNITA's broad support among Ovimbundu tribesmen in the south could well

prevent the MPLA from consolidating total control without Savimbi's cooperation. From its position of strength, the People's Movement seems intent on crushing UNITA's military capabilities as a precondition for any new coalition.

For his part, Savimbi has already indicated his willingness to take the back seat. He told foreign newsmen that "Neto is 60 and thinks he should be President. Let him be President. I am 40 and can wait" (*New York Times*, 22 January). Prior to the OAU parley, UNITA held a congress which demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including the South African forces which Savimbi mendaciously claims are operating entirely independently of UNITA. The congress also demanded the "immediate expulsion" from Angola of the Portuguese Liberation Army, the right-wing group allied with General Antonio de Spínola. Reflecting their weakened position on the battlefields, several UNITA leaders declared that they were willing to open

(*New York Times*, 22 January). In response FNLA spokesmen in Zaire defended Chipenda and denounced the obvious unwillingness of their ostensible UNITA allies to send troops to their aid on the northern front.

The military strength of the MPLA forces, spearheaded by Soviet-equipped Cuban soldiers, and the fracturing of the UNITA/FNLA coalition opens the way for a realignment of forces. In this now thoroughly internationalized conflict, the decisions will be made not in Angola but in Washington and Moscow.

While imperialist liberals are proffering the olive branch to Luanda, Moscow has also kept the door open to UNITA. An authoritative analysis in *Pravda* last fall, for example, directed its fire exclusively at the FNLA, which it described as "one of the main obstacles in the way of the normalization of the situation in Angola." Noting the FNLA's aid from both the CIA and China, the article contained a single

## Mario Soares: No CIA Blood Money on My Hands



WV photo

On January 22 Mario Soares, leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, addressed an audience of 300 people at Yale University. Looking as though butter wouldn't melt in his mouth, Soares piously intoned his devotion to "democracy" and denied that there was any taint of CIA blood money on his hands. He quoted André Malraux, boasting that, "The Portuguese Socialists have proved to the world that the Mensheviks can also beat the Bolsheviks."

When a spokesman for the Spartacus Youth League ridiculed Soares' hypocritical pose as a champion of democracy—branding him a Trojan horse of reaction and pointing out that he had collaborated with Spínola, fronted for anti-communist terror and approved of repression of the press—Soares replied that the hostility of communists always pleased him because it reflected the importance of social democracy. The importance of the social democrats' (and Stalinists') policies of class collaboration is most accurately reflected in the thousands of massacred workers they have betrayed, as in Chile.

Soares is now finding out that his collusion in the repression of the most militant Portuguese workers will not "save the revolution." On the contrary, he simply opens the door for the most reactionary generals, who are already preparing a repeat performance of their November 25 power grab, this time directed against "moderates" like Soares who had earlier been their allies.



Der Spiegel

South African army and Portuguese mercenary prisoners displayed by MPLA at press conference in Addis Ababa.

unconditional negotiations with the MPLA.

The internal disintegration of the Huambo regime has been hastened by violent confrontations between UNITA forces and the FNLA leader in the south, Daniel Chipenda. UNITA chief of staff Miguel Nzau Puna told reporters that his troops "are fighting alone" while "the FNLA troops stay in town." At the same time, he disclosed that FNLA forces had attacked UNITA in major southern towns. Puna accused Chipenda of being allied with elements of the Portuguese Liberation Army operating from South Africa with the aim of establishing a white-dominated separatist state in southern Angola

neutral reference to UNITA (*Daily World*, 24 September 1975). More recently, *Pravda* recalled its earlier support to "a transitional government with the participation of representatives of various movements" and added, "The consolidation of Angola's patriotic and anti-imperialist forces, which come out for its genuine independence and territorial integrity, would be undoubtedly met favorably by those who are genuinely concerned about the future of that country" (*New York Times*, 6 January).

Although UNITA's statements of independence from South Africa are largely propaganda fabrications, they are also clearly directed toward rehabilitating its image as an "anti-imperialist force." The USSR is keenly interested in using its position in Angola to force U.S. concessions on strategic arms limitations and to reverse a long string of diplomatic setbacks in Africa: the fall of Nkrumah in Ghana and Ben Bella in Algeria, Egypt's abrupt turn to the U.S. and growing Chinese influence in southern Africa.

While calling for the military victory of the MPLA against the imperialist-led forces, we also continue to insist on the reversibility of the Angolan war. Unlike the struggle of Stalinist-led workers and peasants in Indochina against U.S. imperialism and its puppet governments, no class line separates the contending, tribal-based petty-bourgeois nationalist factions in Angola. This makes an imperialist arrangement with the Soviet-backed MPLA considerably easier than was the case in Vietnam. But the working people will only suffer in such a deal. The way forward for the Angolan masses is the emergence of an independent Trotskyist workers party that can bring to bear in the struggle against imperialism in Angola the tremendous social power of the black proletariat of South Africa. ■

## CORRECTIONS

There were several minor typographical errors in recent issues of *WV*. In *WV* No. 92 (16 January) the front-page article "Sectarian Atrocities Rock Ulster," the surname of British secretary of state for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees was misspelled as Reeves. The continuation of the same article on page 8 referred to a Provo attempt to "organize a battle" in a traditional IRA Officials Belfast stronghold; it should have read to "organize a battalion."

Also, the article on "Nazi Scandal Blocks Coalition Government in Austria" in *WV* No. 90 (2 January) refers to a "concentration government" as having ruled the country from 1947 to 1956; actually the SPÖ-ÖVP coalition ruled until 1966.

Finally, the article on "Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia" in *WV* No. 93 (23 January) incorrectly refers to the Bay of Pigs invasion as taking place in 1960. It occurred in April 1961.

# Bosses' "Open-Shop" Offensive Enrages Gulf Coast Labor

## 1,500 Hardhats Storm Scab Construction Site in Houston

JANUARY 24 Faced with a vicious union-busting drive, construction workers in Texas and Louisiana have erupted in violent struggles against scab-herding employers. These sharp battles may be a foretaste of things to come this spring when contracts covering 800,000 building trades workers expire. In contrast to the relative quiescence of most of organized labor, construction work stoppages have been increasing lately, with more man-hours lost last year than at any time since 1962.

The Gulf Coast violence flared at sites worked by a particularly notorious scab contractor, Payne and Keller. The first incident occurred after the Charter International Oil Company in Houston abruptly terminated a refinery construction contract under which several hundred union members were working and called in Payne and Keller, a so-called "merit" (i.e., open-shop) contractor, to supply lower-paid non-union labor. Charter officials told the local press with a straight face that no labor dispute was involved since Payne had merely "bid to complete the job at a lower cost."

### "Build Union—Build Better"

On January 12, the first work day after the sudden contract switch, about 200 union men showed up at the site to protest their layoff. When they came back the next day, police broke up the angry crowd and arrested seven of the demonstrators "on suspicion of inciting a riot."

On Wednesday, January 14, the laid-off workers showed up with about 1,500 supporters from the electricians, pipefitters, boilermakers and other construction trades. Chanting "Give our jobs back," militant "hardhats" reportedly stormed into the refinery, used tractors to overturn construction sheds and heavy equipment and set several small buildings on fire. On one of the overturned sheds, the workers painted "Die Rat" and "Build Union, Build Better." A security guard and maintenance supervisor were hospitalized with minor injuries.

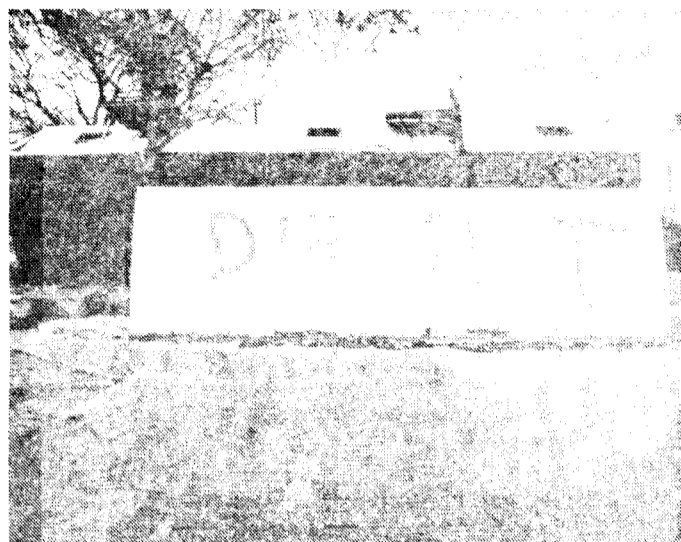
While construction union bureaucrats disclaimed any knowledge of the actions, the president of Charter denounced the violence as "un-American," a state district judge issued a restraining order against mass picketing and 1,000 cops ringed the site.

Shortly afterwards, the violence spread to Lake Charles, Louisiana, where union members had been picketing the Jupiter Chemical Company, another construction site worked by Payne and Keller, and protesting the substandard wages and working conditions. In Louisiana, which unlike Texas permits a union shop, Payne employs workers belonging to a company "union," the "International Federation of Independent Unions." On January 16 about a hundred union supporters crashed a forklift through a gate at Jupiter, overturned cars and trailers and allegedly shot five of the scabs, killing one.

During the same week, union tradesmen at a chemical plant near Baytown, Texas, roughed up cops who entered the construction site supposedly to investi-



Curtis McGee/Houston Chronicle



Curtis McGee/Houston Chronicle

Aftermath of battle at non-union construction site in Houston: burned-out construction shed and trailer overturned with sign, "Die Rat" and "Build Union, Build Better."

gate a bomb scare. The police reported that 300 workers blocked the road and refused to let the patrol car leave. Claiming that a man had tried to grab his weapon, one of the cops fired a shotgun in the air, scattering the workers. "Without that shot, we might have had it," said the cop (*Houston Chronicle*, 17 January).

### Offensive of Open-Shop Builders

The outburst of violent labor struggle on the Gulf Coast is a result of the erosion of union strength in the construction industry under the lash of depression-level unemployment and an offensive by open-shop builders, who now control from 50 to 60 percent of total construction nationwide. One of the workers involved in the Houston confrontation pinpointed the source of the unionists' fury: "When they shift to a nonunion contractor like Charter did, you have to fight this trend of union-busting tooth and nail or there won't be any more unions here" (*Houston Chronicle*, 16 January).

Payne and Keller, in particular, is known throughout the area as a vicious scab-herding outfit always at the service of companies facing strikes. During the 1973 Shell Oil strike, for instance, Payne widely advertised for strikebreakers to work the refineries struck by the Oil,

Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.

Building trades unions are also smarting under Gerald Ford's double-cross veto of the common site picketing bill which would have allowed a union to close down an entire site in a dispute with a single sub-contractor. Although construction union bureaucrats "sweetened" the measure for the bosses by including a section imposing stringent new curbs on the right to strike (thereby making the bill unsupportable by militant unionists), their cozy deal with Ford nevertheless fell through, enraging AFL-CIO president George Meany. The national leaders of the building trades unions have been ominously predicting an upsurge of construction workers' strikes, a prospect they fear as much as do the builders.

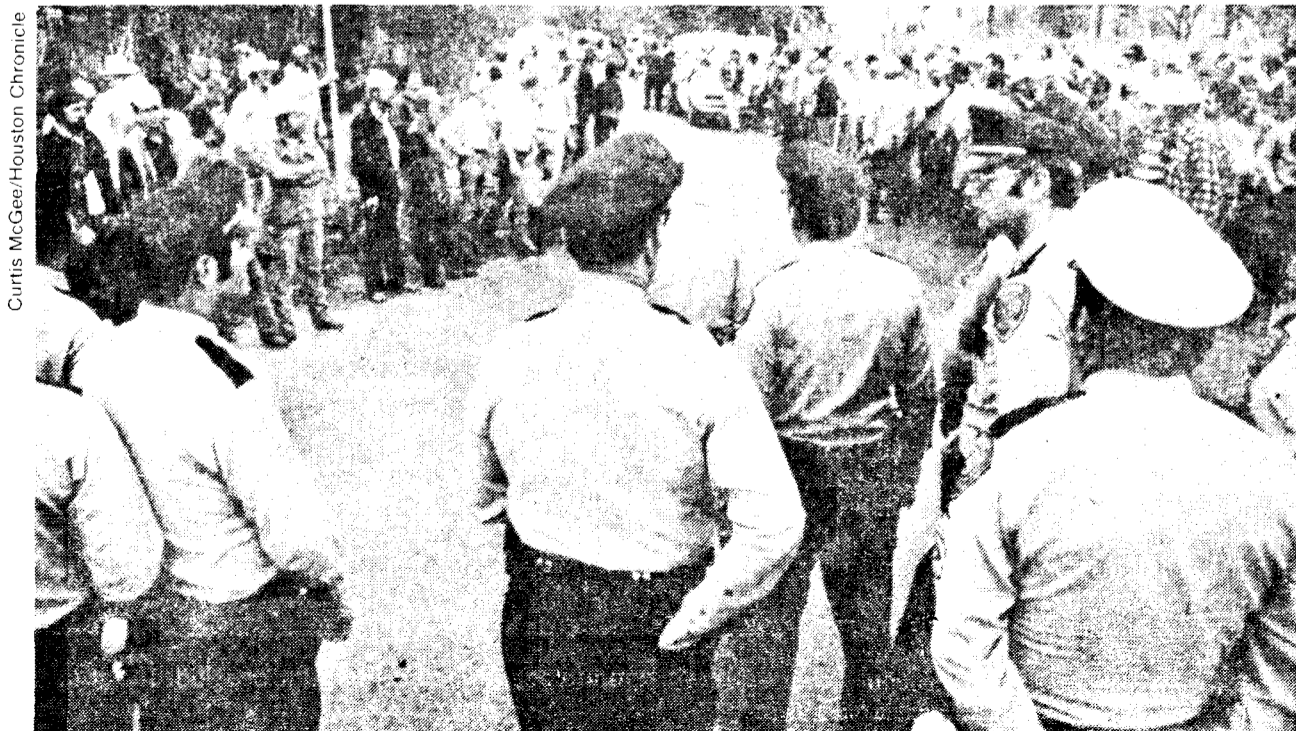
A few days before the flare-up at Charter, Houston-area labor bureaucrats demonstrated that they have even less foresight than militancy. Predicting few major strikes, Harry Hubbard, president of the Texas AFL-CIO, said that labor's major goal in 1976 "is to defeat President Ford by electing a Democratic president." Echoing the same class-collaborationist sentiments, M.A. "Peewee" Graham, executive secretary of the Houston Gulf Coast Building and Construction Trades Council, told the press that "the Presi-

dent has destroyed the chances for labor peace, at least on a national level, because of his failure to sign the common situs picketing bill. However, we have good relations with management here; so it may not affect the Houston area" (*Houston Chronicle*, 11 January).

### Bureaucratic Chauvinism

Besides enforcing labor peace and attempting to lead their members into the wasteland of bourgeois politics, these class traitors have latched onto the ruling class' hysterical chauvinist campaign against foreign workers. For months Hubbard and company have been peddling the patriotic hogwash that American workers' enemies are immigrant Mexican workers, not the union-busting capitalists whose decadent system is the cause of mass unemployment. Actually the racist job-trusting practices of the construction unions allow scab contractors like Payne and Keller to use non-union workers as a battering ram against the building trades unions. Nevertheless, coming class battles can open the way for overcoming the racial and national divisions which polarize and weaken the working class.

The powder keg of rank-and-file discontent on which Messrs. Hubbard and Graham are perched may soon



Curtis McGee/Houston Chronicle

Houston police guard scab construction site against crowd of unemployed unionists.

explode, and they like the rest of the labor fakery will find their haunches singed in the process. The workers who stormed the Charter refinery no doubt also added some gray hairs to a few corporate heads and served notice of their determination to defend union jobs. But these outbursts of working-class discontent must be channeled into a broad political and economic struggle to counter the bourgeoisie's offensive against the unions. Setting fires at oil refineries is, to say the least, not the most productive tactic in labor's arsenal. Besides the possibility of blowing themselves to pieces, union militants hand the bourgeoisie an opportunity to slander them as dangerous, anti-social hooligans.

The hidebound building trades bureaucrats usually make little or no effort to organize non-union construction workers, preferring to pressure employers by other means. Most of the time they simply demand that construction work be assigned to union contractors. Periodic acts of violent retaliation against scab construction firms a frequent occurrence in the industry are no substitute for a major organizing effort that would make it impossible for builders to take advantage of the currently much lower pay rates of non-union labor. While the labor movement must certainly defend the Texas and Louisiana construction workers against reprisals by the bosses' government, we counterpose to futile acts of random violence a program of militant class struggle, for mass picketing to shut down non-union sites and an aggressive union organizing campaign.

Confrontations such as those in Houston, Baytown and Lake Charles can be isolated and the participants victimized if these struggles are not generalized with an aggressive program of class demands that can mobilize the entire labor movement. The misnamed "right-to-work" statutes which outlaw the union shop in 19 states must be smashed along with all repressive anti-labor laws. The bourgeois politicians who enact these laws must be fought by an independent workers party, based on the unions and built through the fight against the reformist pro-capitalist labor fakery. While placing no confidence in union-busting "affirmative action" plans, construction workers must demand that their unions end all discriminatory practices and actively recruit minority workers. Together with the rest of the labor movement, they must campaign for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a massive, union-controlled public works program to end the ravages of unemployment. Such struggles must not be limited to simple trade-union militancy but instead be oriented toward the necessity of working-class rule, through a workers government and a planned economy. ■

# Bureaucrats' "Social Contract" Shafts British Auto Workers

LONDON, January 17.—Since the *Workers Vanguard* article on the Wilson government's bailout of Chrysler ["Expropriate British Chrysler!" *WV* No. 90, 2 January], the Labour

## Letter from London

Party tops have succeeded in shoving the deal down the throats of the American corporation's 25,000 employees in Britain. In a series of mass meetings during mid-December the workers had voted overwhelmingly against the massive giveaway (involving more than £162 million, or about US\$340 million) and threatened to occupy the plants to stop the scheduled redundancies [layoffs].

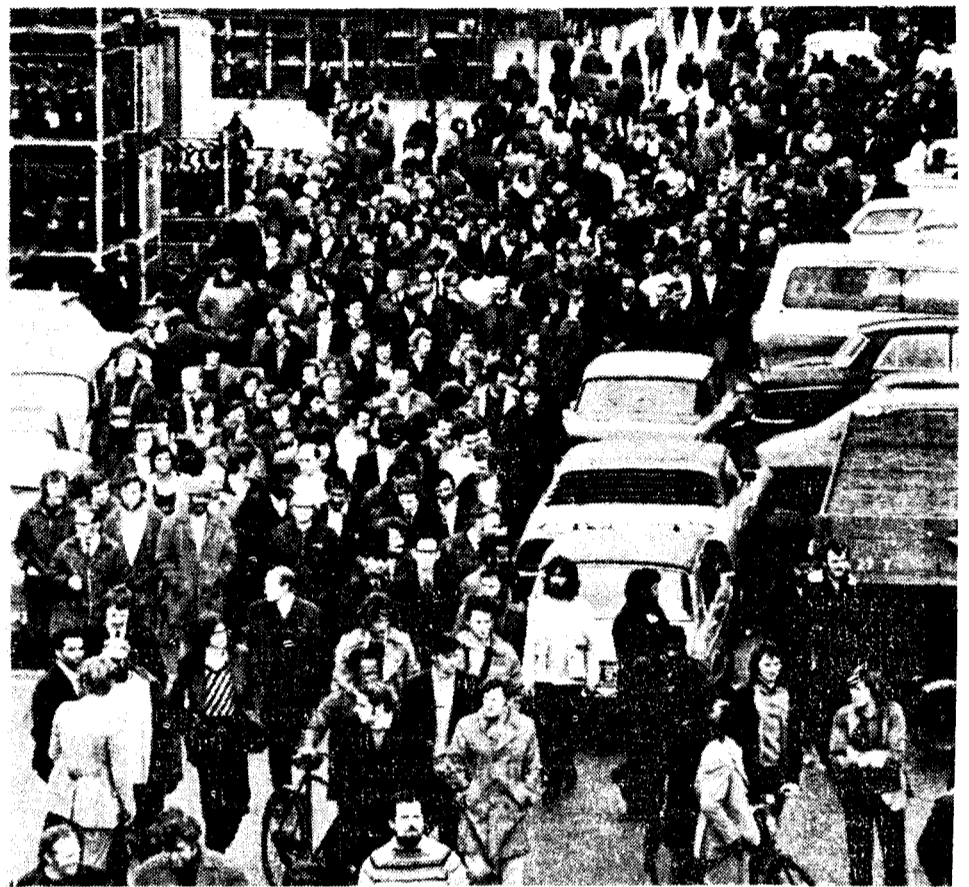
However, Chrysler management and government spokesmen warned the unions that unless they agreed to the plan by January 3 the rescue operation would fall through. By the deadline the bureaucrats at all three major factories—Ryton, Linwood and Stoke—had forced a demoralized membership to accept the deal "in principle." The capitalist press described two workers' meetings at Coventry as "brief and sparsely attended" and filled with an "air of total defeat and despondency" (*Guardian*, 31 December).

Responsibility for this defeat rests with the reformist trade-union bureaucrats who, as part of their "social contract" to prop up the Labour government by clamping down on union militancy, made no effort to fight the job-cutting bailout. A leading "left" bureaucrat of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), Bob Wright, who had previously urged import controls as the answer to the difficulties of the British car industry and who has advocated speed-up at British Leyland, lamely commented that, "No one is overjoyed at the prospect of losing 8,000 jobs but failure to reach an agreement would mean the closing of the company and that would mean the loss of more than 25,000 jobs" (*Guardian*, 30 December).

Reflecting this capitulationist sentiment, senior Chrysler shop stewards acquiesced to the layoffs. Ryton convenor Frank McCartney ridiculed the idea of a sit-in as "living in cloud cuckoo land." While some shop stewards and officials tried to exonerate themselves by criticising the workers for lack of interest, the *Times* [London] accurately noted that there was "strong opposition to the package in detail and in total" but that the workers saw "no effective alternative."

This defeat takes place at a time of relative quiescence within the working class. The number of days lost due to strikes in the first eleven months of last year was the lowest since 1968. Symptomatic of this general passivity has been a series of defeats for left-wing candidates in union elections, most significantly in the AUEW elections in November. Nevertheless, the British ruling class remains uneasy, fearful that some struggle might trigger an upsurge of militancy, especially in the spring when new negotiations on wage limits are due to begin.

One union vote which was greeted by the bourgeoisie with particular hostility was the election in December of Alan



Workers leaving British Leyland's Cowley plant.

Workers Press

Thornett, leader of the Workers Socialist League (WSL), to the chairmanship of the 5 293 branch of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), one of several unions in the British Leyland factory at Cowley near Oxford. This branch had originally been set up to cut the influence of left-wingers in the factory after the bitter 1974 dispute over Leyland's revocation of Thornett's status as a steward. Following the branch election, the union right wing and bourgeois papers launched a vicious witchhunt against Thornett and other "extremists" in Cowley who were standing in elections for seven deputy senior shop steward (convenor) posts.

British Leyland stated categorically that it would not recognise Thornett if he were elected as a shop steward. Right-wing convenor Reg Parsons called a press conference (from which he excluded representatives of the Healyite *Workers Press*) to announce his fear "for the future of my industry as a result of these subversive elements" and that "the activities of such people are eroding the real role of trade unionism." Cowley, he said, is "a beehive for extremist activity," and he named the WSL, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and the International Marxist Group (IMG)—all of them ostensibly Trotskyist—as being active in the plant. Eagerly taking up Parsons' attacks, the mass popular papers launched a virulent red-scare campaign. One front-page headline (*Daily Express*, 7 January) demanded, "Stop the Mole [Thornett] and his Mates."

When the January election results were announced, the press was ecstatic. The *Daily Express* trumpeted "The Wreckers are Routed." Parsons labelled the results as "good for Leyland and good for Britain." Promising two years of "industrial peace and stability at Cowley," he added ominously that he hoped "This tremendous breakthrough will give other people the courage to stand up and drive these people into the ground once and for all." The right-wing

victory, however, was not as decisive as Parsons and most of the media claimed. While Thornett himself was not elected, receiving 526 votes out of the 2,642 poll, only five of Parsons' seven-man slate were elected. Of the other two, one was Bob Fryer, a former convenor at the plant who is generally identified with Thornett and the left wing.

Parsons is himself a former Healyite and included on his slate was none other than WRP member Tom White, who polled the third-highest with 1,171 votes. Although Parsons denounced the WRP as "extremists," he had voted for White against Thornett in the December elections for TGWU branch 5 293 chairman. In fact, the Labour "moderates" withdrew their own candidate in favour of White, who was supported by the same people who voted for right-wing branch secretary Jim Barsons.

In the elections for deputy convenor, Parsons again supported White on the grounds that White did not bring his "revolutionary politics" into union affairs. In turn, White did not dissociate himself from this anti-communist support until a week after Parsons issued a leaflet containing his slate. Had the elections not been postponed at the last minute, this would not have occurred until after the vote. And in the capitalist press White was referred to favorably as a "moderate"!

In response to this flagrant example of the WRP's two-faced opportunism, the Healyites have sought to brazen it out, attempting to link the WSL to Parsons and even claiming that the witchhunt in the bourgeois press was actually aimed principally at the WRP. White's election, according to these political bandits, "is not a vote for 'Trotskyism'" but for his "unchallengeable record" for having "defended all union agreements and principles" (*Workers Press*, 15 January). Certainly we can agree that this was not a vote for Trotskyism...or even militant unionism. White is the same staunch defender

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## From Bandung to NATO

# Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal

There are movements whose professed principles and aims so condemn their practice that their adherents must suffer periodic crises of faith. In the world of politics, Stalinism is such a movement. There comes a point at which every supporter of a Stalinist organization, if he is to remain organizationally loyal, must abandon the values and attitudes which drew him to revolutionary politics in the first place.

For thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of Maoists throughout the world, Angola is such a point. China is

## **PART 1 of 2**

in open and direct military collaboration with the U.S. South Africa Portuguese colonialist bloc against the Soviet-allied Angolan nationalists of the MPLA. To support this policy Maoists must deny their original spark of subjective revolutionary commitment. Their acquiescence, however, has been prepared by years of ritual apology for Stalinist class collaboration.

Many of the Maoist cadres of today—particularly the older ones—were first drawn to radical politics by the Cuban revolution and the great personal authority of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Today these same individuals are called upon to cheer those who are killing the most dedicated soldiers of the Cuban army, now serving—no doubt as volunteers—in Angola. Many Maoists, especially American Maoists, have visited Cuba. It is possible that they met some of the soldiers now serving in Angola; drank with them, played baseball with them, sang the *Internationale* with them. The members of the Revolutionary Communist Party or October League do not want to think about the Angola question in this way. Yet surely the knowledge that Mao's men are collaborating with the murderers of Che Guevara must be breaking through routinism and narrow organizational loyalties.

### **"Old Left" Maoism**

The early Maoists in the West were not really Maoists so much as they were old-line Stalinists who rebelled against Khrushchevism. They were drawn to Mao as the apparent defender and continuator of Stalinist-style orthodoxy. Some of the 1950's Communist Party (CP) supporters who remained firmly committed to the cult of Stalin following the 20th Congress of the CPSU did so out of sheer sectarian sclerosis. But many were reflecting in part a motivation which was not unhealthy.

With the onset of the Cold War, the bourgeoisie had turned Stalin into a political bogeyman used to frighten children with visions of 1984-style totalitarianism. Bourgeois public opinion was assisted in the vilification of Stalin because he was a real villain; Stalinism's monumental and undeniable atrocities (the purge trials, the chauvinist brutalization of nationalities, the sledge-hammer repression of political and cultural dissidence) could not

but produce a deep-going revulsion among millions of ordinary, non-ideological working people in Western Europe and the U.S. Stalin, the bloody and sadistic tyrant, was the great cross that CP members had to bear. Many of the most dedicated Communists, aware that the trajectory of liberal anti-Stalinism led straight to reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, resolved to bear that cross with defiance and even pride.

Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin was motivated by the Russian bureaucracy's overwhelming need to end irrational state terror against its own members. Many of the delegates to the 20th Congress of the CPSU (e.g., Kosygin) had themselves barely escaped Stalin's murderous arbitrary hand. But some Western Stalinists saw in Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin an abject apology to bourgeois liberalism.

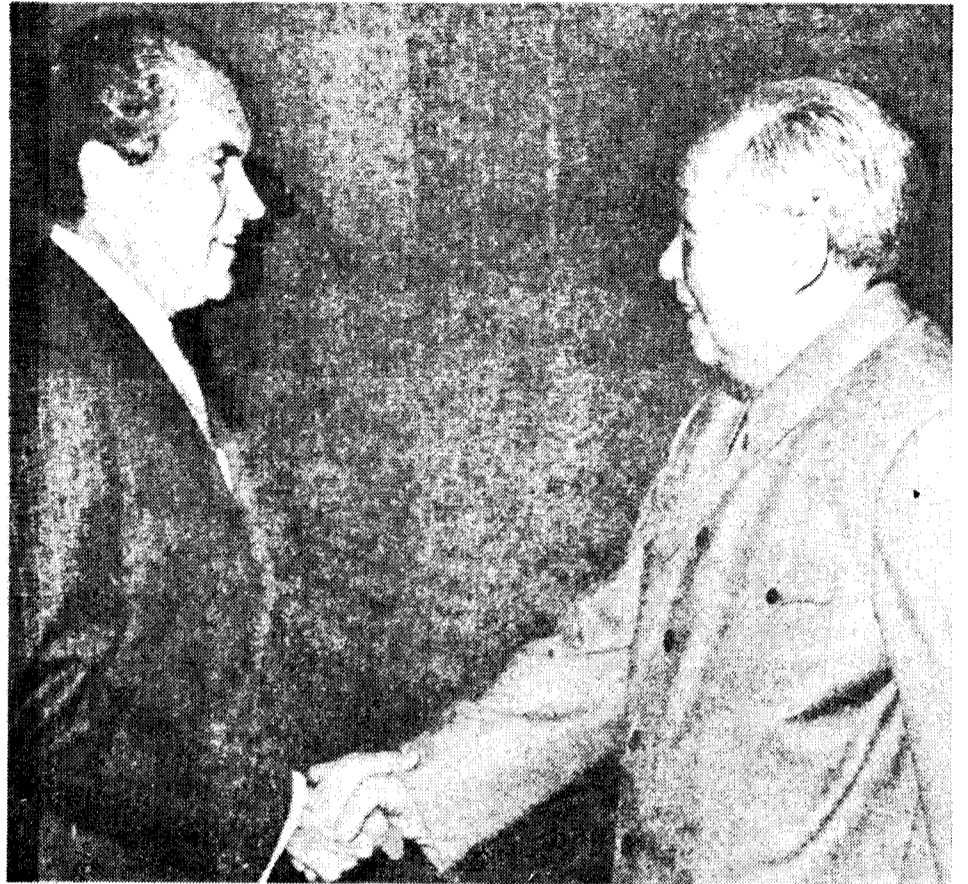
Among those who resisted Khrushchev's new line were many of the most serious and leftist members of the CPs—a type best represented in the U.S. by Milt Rosen and Nelson Peery. While maintaining essential elements of traditional CP opportunism, the anti-Khrushchev Stalinists wanted a harder posture. They rejected the strategy of pressuring middle-class liberal or social-democratic circles and the labor bureaucracy in favor of orienting toward the working-class ranks and radical student youth. The core of the founding cadre which, headed by Rosen, broke and formed Progressive Labor was based upon the trade-union section of the New York CP.

These old-line Stalinists were drawn to Mao not primarily because of his supposedly original contributions to Communist doctrine: "people's war" and the peasant-guerrilla strategy. Nor were they enthralled by the "Chinese road to socialism" as the key to the world revolution. Rather, the anti-Khrushchev Stalinists placed themselves in the Mao camp because Mao seemed the most powerful and prestigious spokesman for the old Communist faith.

### **New Left Maoism**

But Maoism in the West could not have become a significant force had it been restricted to the unreconstructed Stalinists of the 1950's. To become a substantial political current, Maoism had to intersect a new political generation whose path to "Marxism-Leninism" was very different from that of the old-line CPers, and who proved more loyal to Peking.

The New Left of the early/mid-1960's was a student-centered phenomenon conditioned by the explosion of violent social upheaval in the colonial world (the Cuban revolution, the Algerian war of national independence, the Vietnam war) combined with relative quiescence of the industrial working class in the advanced countries. This quiescence—particularly the failure of the workers movement to support the colonial revolution as did the students—was impressionistically seen as evidence that the proletariat of the metropolitan centers had become corrupted, junior partners of monopoly capital sharing in



Mao Tse-tung greets Nixon in Peking, February 1972.

Daily News

the super-profits of imperialism.

New Leftists were attracted to the Maoism of the Cultural Revolution period, not because it seemed the continuity of orthodox Stalinism, but because it seemed the highest expression of ascetic repudiation of the spoils of imperialism and of the "Third World" nationalist-populist fervor toward which the student New Left looked as the impetus for the world revolution. People's China was seen as the vanguard of the non-white, "Third World" poor struggling against the advanced white nations—a category that definitely included Russia.

There is no doubt that the New Left's preference for Mao's China over Khrushchev/Brezhnev's Russia was based largely on a healthy subjective impulse. The Russians' frank espousal of "peaceful coexistence" was condemned as a cowardly attempt to conciliate American imperialism at the expense of the insurgent colonial peoples. Our purpose is not to idealize the old New Left (although it is inconceivable that New Left Maoist radicals as they were ten years ago could support today's U.S.-South Africa offensive against an African nationalist movement). 1960's New Leftism was rife with dilettantism, faddishness, personalism, sexism, intellectual snobbery, thumbing one's nose at the bourgeoisie—the typical vices of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Yet the New Leftists drawn to Maoism wanted passionately to create an egalitarian and just society; the apologists for the Kremlin did not.

It is ironic that although the USSR was North Vietnam's main military ally, it was the protracted war in Indochina that was key to winning New Leftists to Maoism and to Stalinizing them. Despite Hanoi's obvious alliance with Moscow rather than Peking, the Vietnam war was seen as proof of Maoist

doctrine: "people's war," the peasant-guerrilla road to power.

At the same time, the indisputable continuity of Ho Chi Minh's party with the Stalinized Comintern tended to refurbish the image of traditional Stalinism in the eyes of young radicals. The heroism of the Vietnamese people, led by a traditional CP, did much to restore the moral authority of Stalinism for a generation whose attitude toward orthodox "Communism" had been shaped by the gray philistinism of Khrushchev's Russia and the abject reformism of the Western CPs.

It was the French general strike of 1968, the "workers control" wave sweeping Italy the following year and the general upsurge of class struggles within the advanced capitalist countries which broke down the last barriers between New Left Maoism and traditional Stalinism. It was the orthodox Stalinists' professed orientation to the industrial working class which was the most difficult for New Left radicals to accept. But when the revolutionary capacity of the working class was made manifest by life itself in the late 1960's, student-centered radicalism received a lethal blow. The inclusive, amorphous student movement disintegrated and out of it emerged competing organizationally "hard" formations, all claiming adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought, all seeking to "conquer the masses." A new generation of Stalinist organizations—some centrist, some left reformist—had come into being.

### **U.S. Imperialism Opens the Door...**

It is unquestionable that during the early 1960's the U.S. strongly tilted toward the Kremlin in the Sino-Soviet dispute. This fact was decisive in creating New Left Maoism. In view of

*continued on page 10*

# 60,000 Bronx Tenants Fight NY State Rent Gougers

## Co-op City on Strike

**Cancel the Debt!  
Mobilize NYC Labor to  
Defend the Strike!**

For small-town Yankees traveling south on the New England Thruway as it crosses Hutchinson Parkway on the outskirts of the Bronx, the first sight of the colossal complex of somber, grey high-rise apartment buildings known as Co-op City must be a stark and frightful vision of life in New York City. There, nearly 60,000 people live packed together in the largest low- and moderate-income housing project in the country.

For its inhabitants, Co-op City was supposed to be a haven from the brutalizing conditions of the decaying capitalist metropolis. Separated from the dirty streets, crowded subways and run-down neighborhoods by a moat of superhighways, in many respects the complex is as self-contained as it looks from afar. Co-op City residents shop at three Co-op City shopping centers; they go to the Co-op City library and amusement center; their children go to a Co-op City school.

But despite its isolation, the project is intimately connected to the social and political realities of New York City. Should a suburban Sunday driver turn off the freeway and enter this mammoth labyrinth he would quickly become aware of a jarring note in the middle-class atmosphere. On the door or window of many apartments there is a small sign: "No Way—We Won't Pay!" Ever since last June the tenants of Co-op City have withheld their rent payments. Like the rest of New York City, they are fed up. They are on strike.

The typical rent strikers at Co-op City are not young firebrands. More than likely they are Jewish and elderly. Probably they put in many years in the garment industry, where they were schooled in trade unionism by social-democratic and Stalinist leaders. They are no doubt worried about decaying social services and crime in the streets. Perhaps they even come from the South Bronx, where landlords and vandals take turns burning down the tenements. This was the New York City they hoped to escape—to what some residents now mockingly call "the Jerusalem on the Hutchinson."

Then as the rents went up and up in a spiral of graft and inflation, they felt cheated. When a hike of another 25 percent came in June, tenants simply refused to pay. Instead they joined together in daily and weekly meetings in every lobby on every floor of every building. Together they shook their fists in defiance of the rent-gouging management, the rapacious bankers and the thoroughly corrupt governmental machine, chanting "No Way—We Won't Pay!"

### A Giant Swindle

The Co-op City rent strike has been 85 percent effective and its leadership has collected over \$20 million in withheld carrying charges (rents), leading the state of New York to retaliate by attempting to foreclose on the \$436 million mortgage. Strike leaders are facing possible jail terms and have accumulated over \$750,000 in fines against them. The state has cut back on maintenance and security at Co-op City and has laid off almost half of the

project's employees. It has also challenged the right of the tenants to pay an electric bill due Consolidated Edison out of the withheld rent, raising the possibility that the power may be turned off.

Co-op City was built seven years ago under the Mitchell-Lama housing bill through which the state of New York financed a long-term mortgage for the apartment complex. The prospective residents of the 35 towers and six townhouse clusters were charged a down payment of \$450 per room and were expected to pay monthly carrying charges of \$23 per room. The monthly charges were to go toward paying off the 40-year mortgage and for maintenance and utility costs. The cooperators, while they would never become individual owners of the apartments, could get back the amount of money they had paid in (without interest) if they decided to leave.

The newspapers have given the impression that the residents of Co-op City are typical upwardly mobile condominium buyers. This is simply false. The tenants had to pass a means test (originally the income ceiling was \$10,000) or else pay a surcharge on rent. Over 12,000 of the tenants are senior citizens, living on small fixed incomes.

To get into Co-op City, many of the tenants gave up their entire savings. They left their rent-controlled apartments elsewhere in New York City, expecting to find equally moderate housing in an area of trees and grass, an area free of the dangers of the increas-

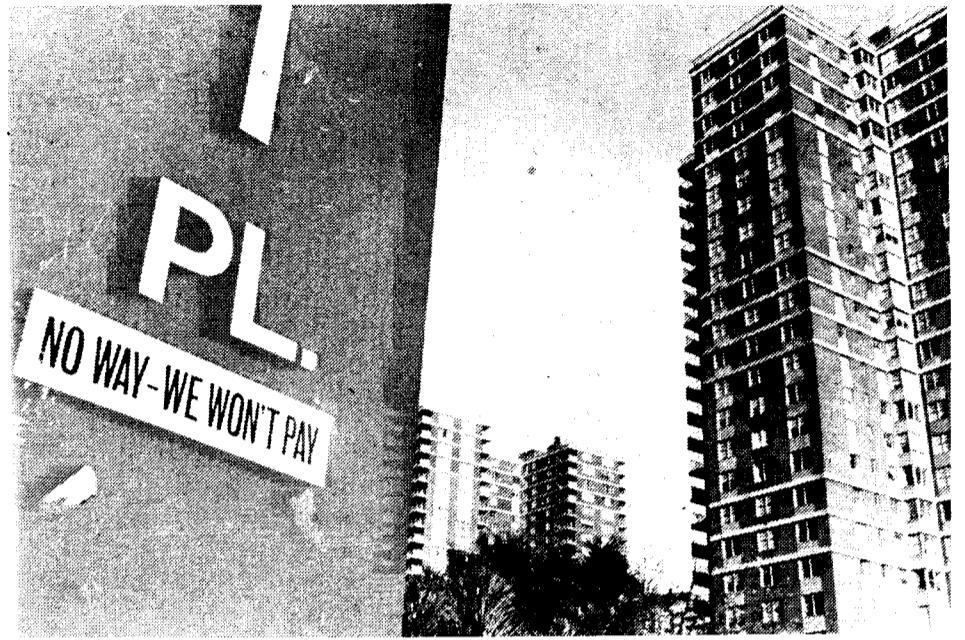


WV Photo

ingly perilous streets of New York. Some day, they or their children would be independent of the landlords as well.

That was how it was supposed to be, but it didn't work out that way. It turned out that the mortgage alone cost almost double the intended \$236 million. In the last five years alone the carrying charges paid by the tenants increased by 60 percent. The last increase, which provoked the strike, was only the first part of a projected 105 percent hike over the next five years!

As for the "members" of this "cooperative," they soon discovered that they were legally powerless. The 15,372 resident cooperators are only Class B shareholders in Co-op City, while there are three Class A sharehold-



WV Photo

ers, the officers of the sponsoring organization, the United Housing Foundation (UHF). The board of the Riverbay Corporation, the UHF subsidiary which operates Co-op City, had 15 directors, of whom only five actually lived there. (Since the rent strike began, the entire board resigned and their place has been taken by six interim appointees assigned by state housing commissioner Lee Goodwin.)

The United Housing Foundation is the organization which sponsored Co-op City. It is largely dominated by trade-union bureaucrats who used their credentials as labor leaders to enroll workers' families in programs like Co-op City. When the project was dedicated in November 1968, the directors of UHF included Bayard Rustin, Albert Shanker, Harry Van Arsdale and Jacob Potofsky (then president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers). Once lured into Co-op City under the assumption that the "unions approved it," the tenants have been systematically swindled ever since. Not one of these labor "leaders" has lifted a finger on the tenants' behalf. Several have resigned from the UHF out of embarrassment, but this does not lessen their responsibility for allowing their names to be used as a front for real-estate speculation.

### Graft and Capitalist Politics

The tenants note, among other things, that:

- CSI, a wholly owned subsidiary of UHF, was selected by New York state as the general sales agent and contractor. During construction the cost estimate increased five times without notice to prospective tenants. CSI received a \$2-million fee for "home office overhead" alone.
- The UHF owns all three supermarkets in Co-op City, along with the credit union and the pharmacy.
- Leon Kazan, son of the founder of UHF, was hired as an architect. Kazan built, at the cost of \$27 million, a power plant labeled "worthless and redundant" by various federal experts. The plant has been used only once in six years.

One of the more interesting facts about the apartment complex is that it has fully 35 percent of the registered Democratic Party voters in the Bronx. The Co-op City Democratic Club, with 1,500 dues-paying members, is the largest in the state. And almost every

Democratic politician in New York has been approached—in vain—by the residents.

In the Democratic gubernatorial primary in 1974, Hugh Carey visited Co-op City. He promised \$10 million outright in legislative relief for the tenants. A few days later the Co-op City Democratic Club switched its endorsement from Howard Samuels to Carey. The project's voters polled six-to-one for Carey. But since being elected, the new governor has done nothing at all to help the tenants.

The latest run-in with the politicians involves Steven Kaufman, a resident who represents Co-op City as Democratic city councilman. Kaufman claimed to be supporting the strike and paid his rent to the steering committee. Now it has been exposed that he was secretly paying a second rent to the Riverbay Corporation. Kaufman will not be re-elected.

The strike steering committee's publicity director, Natalie Lange, told *Workers Vanguard* that the committee would soon designate politicians who had been "friendly" to the Co-op City residents. Frustrated by the hardened attitude of the local Democratic Party regulars, the steering committee leadership appears prepared to underwrite a major effort by reform Democrats to unseat the machine of Bronx Democratic Party boss Patrick Cunningham, who is already under investigation for allegedly selling judgeships.

The strike leaders may find it more difficult than they think to recruit politicians who are not involved with, or committed to covering up, the current mismanagement and swindling at Co-op City. Be that as it may, no Democratic Party politician is willing to challenge the private property system which is the root cause of the victimization of Co-op City-tenants.

The bourgeoisie, as well as charlatans and opportunists in the workers movement, has always tried to tempt workers with the possibility of becoming small property owners. This illusion, in fact, exercises a major conservatizing influence over the proletariat, particularly in the United States. Over a hundred years ago, Frederick Engels in his pamphlet on "The Housing Question" definitively demonstrated the utopian-reactionary character of the demand for individual house ownership for the workers.

As Engels pointed out, the general

*continued on page 10*

## CWA Bureaucrats Stall While...

# Pacific Telephone Prepares Layoffs

SAN FRANCISCO, January 23—Directory assistance operators in the Bay Area have finally received the bad news they knew was on the way about their threatened jobs. Pacific Telephone (PT&T) has announced it plans to connect a recorded message to discourage Directory Assistance (information) calls.

According to the January 1976 issue of *Militant Action*, newsletter of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 (San Francisco), the taped message is scheduled to start on February 1 in San Francisco and March 1 in the East Bay. A similar tape ("let your fingers do the walking") installed in Stockton, California, reportedly cut Directory Assistance traffic by 46 percent!

*Militant Action* adds that an even more drastic reduction in traffic will occur when PT&T gets the green light to charge for Directory Assistance calls. The charges are expected to go into effect in six months.

### Bureaucrats' Response—"Dial 411"!

The response of the local CWA bureaucrats has been predictably pathetic. According to Militant Action Caucus members interviewed by *Workers Vanguard*, the CWA Bay Area District Council has formed a "Jobs Committee" which has suggested the union print "Dial 411" buttons and hold small demonstrations to build "consumer support" to oppose PT&T's job-cutting volume control plans.

This is the same bureaucracy which has vociferously defended PT&T's demands for \$229 million in rate increases since last June. PT&T defends its monopolistic price gouging on the grounds that wage increases are eating up its profits. It threatens to reduce service and lay off workers if it doesn't get its way. And the CWA bureaucracy, identifying the interests of the phone workers with those of their exploiters, meekly falls in step behind the company—which gets its rate increases and continues to harass and fire, speed up and lay off and automate thousands of jobs out of existence.

### Defend Jane Margolis!

Local 9410 recently held elections for new officers. The most noteworthy thing about the elections was the successful effort of the reactionary bureaucracy of Local president Kirkpatrick, supported by his chief opponent, Jack Whitehouse, to keep fired MAC leader Jane Margolis off the ballot. Due to her dismissal by the company on trumped-up charges, Margolis, a long-time class-struggle militant in the union and a former executive board member of East Bay Local 9415, was deprived of her union membership by Kirkpatrick & Co. and forced to run a write-in campaign in the election! Nevertheless, Margolis was the only candidate in the campaign to warn Local 9410 members of PT&T's coming attacks, and to propose the way to fight them. Her exclusion from the election and union only served the interests of the company, giving it one more green light to go ahead with its assault on jobs and working conditions.

Recently Margolis won an important victory in the struggle to regain her job. PT&T's challenge to her unemployment insurance benefits was thrown out by the State Employment Board, despite

the record this reactionary body has in withholding such benefits from fired militants. In addition, CWA District 9 (West Coast) officials have reportedly recommended that the International take the Margolis firing to arbitration with the company. Such a step, unusual in most cases, would represent grudging acceptance at the top levels of the union of the importance to the membership of stopping this high-handed victimization. All union members have an interest in demanding that the CWA leadership follow up the defense of Jane Margolis!

### New President—Old Sellout

Local 9410 did throw out the incumbent president, Kirkpatrick, who ran on his reputation of being an anti-communist neanderthal reactionary. In Kirkpatrick's place now sits Whitehouse, a former president of 9410 who ran on a program of militant talk. But militant talk is cheap, especially at election time. Any illusions that Whitehouse represented a new deal for Local 9410 were shattered at the first union meeting of his term, held on January 20.

In the face of demands for action to meet the company's attacks on the Directory Assistance operators all Whitehouse could recommend were the limp proposals of the CWA Bay Area Council Job Committee. When asked

MAC supporters at the meeting rejected Whitehouse's do-nothing suggestions and proposed that Local 9410 take the lead in organizing a Bay Area-wide phone strike to oppose the volume control recording, charging for Directory Assistance calls, absence control plans and all layoffs and downgrades. MAC added that the strike must call "for a shorter work week with no loss in pay and a full cost-of-living escalator to provide jobs for all and prevent layoffs and downgrades."

Other militants, including members of the Progressive Labor Party Phone Club (PLPPC), also called for some form of strike action. Whitehouse, however, wanted no part of any kind of strike action and took the opportunity to pay back Progressive Labor for providing a left cover to his electoral campaign ("supporting the issues, not the man," said PL) by adjourning his first meeting with the announcement that he would not permit union meetings to become forums for the PLPPC!

### PLPPC: Idiot Anti-Communism, Reformism and Adventurism

More serious is the vicious anti-communism PL spreads within the workers movement. PLPPC "explains" the U.S. depression and squeeze on U.S. workers in the following terms:

"Let's look at the big picture. Interna-

tionally U.S. imperialism is declining and Russian imperialism is picking up power just as once British imperialism declined and U.S. imperialism picked up world power. The U.S. bosses lost control of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Portugal and Angola just to name a few countries. Losing the imperialist competition is why the U.S. is going into a depression and why the U.S. economy isn't going to get any better for workers."

—PLPPC leaflet, undated

Thus for PLPPC, the reason workers are being squeezed is that "Russian imperialism" is winning. Further, Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians have supposedly gained a new set of imperialist masters...to the apparent economic detriment of the U.S. working class! Class-conscious workers who supported the victory of the workers and peasants of Indochina over U.S. imperialism and who recognize that the historic gains of the Russian Revolution

of 1917 have not been totally dissipated despite the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucrats can only denounce such propaganda for what it is vile and poisonous anti-communism.

PLPPC's panacea for the current wave of attacks is to build "strike power." But PL has not only been a back-handed supporter of the anti-strike Whitehouse. PLPPC has also been the foremost advocate of ill-conceived adventures, insignificant "wildcats" that only enable the company to pick off the best union militants. PL supporters' last attempt to whip up a little "strike power" accomplished nothing except to get 10 union militants fired.

Members of the PLPPC and all CWA militants must turn their attention to another question: what will be the CWA's answer to the rising line of company assaults on the union, jobs and working conditions? *Not* needed are the reformist do-nothingism of the CWA bureaucracy or the mindless anti-communist militancy-mongering of the PLPPC, but rather the construction of a class-struggle leadership committed to a program that meets the objective needs of the telephone workers and leads them forward in the struggle for a workers government, the only means by which these needs will be realizable. ■



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**Bay Area CWA administrative assistant Robert River crossing picket line of the union's office workers in front of CWA District 9 headquarters in San Francisco. The nationwide strike against the CWA by the OPEIU involves some 500 union employees. Although the OPEIU negotiators are asking only to maintain the (inadequate) cost-of-living escalator, hardnosed CWA bureaucrats are opposing any raise and demanding elimination of the c-o-l clause. Unwilling to fight for real wage gains and job protection for the membership, it is not surprising that CWA misleaders oppose the office workers' just demands. Class-conscious militants must support the OPEIU strike!**

about the company's draconian "absence control program." Whitehouse replied that a "survey" was being taken for "review" by the International.

### The Fight Against Racist and Cop Terror—For Labor/Black Defense!

Guest Speaker:  
MARC FREEDMAN  
Labor Struggle Caucus

Saturday, January 31  
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# Beirut...

(continued from page 1)

maintaining the hegemony of traditional tribal chiefs and clerical leaders. Thus the president—who can dismiss parliament, call elections, appoint and dismiss all ministers, including the prime minister—is a Maronite Christian; the prime minister is a Sunni Muslim; the president of the Chamber of Deputies is a Shi'ite Muslim, and so on.

But the 1943 covenant is based on a 1932 census. No census has been taken since, as it would reveal that the Muslim population has grown much faster than the Christian, now outnumbering the latter three to two. Further, within the Muslim population the more oppressed Shi'ites have grown faster than the Sunnis and now constitute the largest religious sect. Thus a reapportionment based on a new census would turn the Lebanese "confessional" state on its head.

However, the Sunni Muslim chieftain Karami is opposed to "de-confessionalizing" the parliament and settled for a 50-50 split of governmental posts and jobs between Christians and Muslims. He also demanded a strengthening of the prime minister (who would remain a Sunni) at the expense of the president, by transferring to the former the power to appoint ministers and providing for a prime minister elected by a majority in the chamber. Karami is approvingly eyed by the U.S. bourgeois press as a "moderate"—his moderation consisting in always finding the middle ground between Muslim landlords and Christian capitalists, always at the expense of the workers, poor and dispossessed of Lebanon.

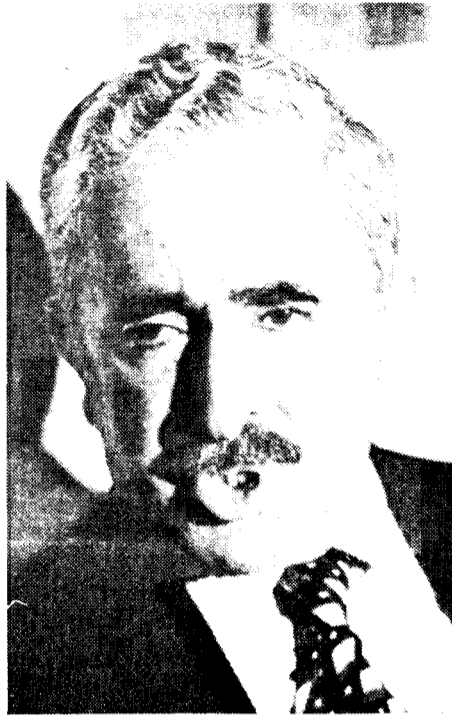
The 22 November 1975 *Economist* comments: "Indeed Mr. Karameh, who is not noted for his sense of humour, is suggesting that the disparity between the powers of president and prime minister is due to mistranslations into Arabic from the French original of the Lebanese constitution promulgated 30 years ago." But the Maronite rulers are having nothing to do with such constitutional reform through lexicography, and are adamant on retaining their privileges.

## Palestinian Refugees

More important to the present conflict than constitutional reforms is the question of stateless Palestinian refugees. After the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war the Palestinian refugee population

in Lebanon swelled to 315,000. Like other tribal and religious communities in Lebanon, the refugees brought with them their own "government," the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and their own army, the Palestine Liberation Army. The large influx augmenting the Muslim population was seen by the Maronite businessmen and ecclesiastics as a threat to their rule.

Consequently, the Maronite-dominated Lebanese army, supplemented by the fascist Phalange militia and



Time

Lebanese premier Rashid Karami.

other ultra-right private armies, continually attacks the refugee camps and provokes battles with the Palestinian commandos. One such clash in April 1969 between the army and Al Saiqa, the commando group affiliated to the Syrian Ba'ath Party, led to a general strike and riots in Beirut, the resignation of the ever-present Karami as prime minister, and continued army-refugee clashes. Israel took advantage of the strife to join the Lebanese army in attacking Palestinian camps by launching raids south of Beirut. Egypt interceded to mediate and a "ceasefire," the so-called Cairo Agreement granting extra-territoriality to the Palestinian refugee camps, was negotiated in early November. However, the Cairo Agreement in no way ended Lebanese army attacks on the camps, often carried out in conjunction with Israeli "reprisal raids."

Widespread popular support for the

beleaguered Palestinians was demonstrated in the 250,000-strong funeral march for the victims of an April 1973 Israeli commando raid on PLO headquarters in Beirut. The funerals were followed by an effective general strike in the Lebanese capital. Had the Palestinian masses thrown in their lot with the workers and students during the 1973 general strike, the resulting popular upsurge could very well have swept away the rickety "confessional" system. The Palestinian cause had become the rallying point for the grievances of the Lebanese oppressed. But under the treacherous slogan of "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab states" the PLO refused to lend its support even to these demonstrations backing its own national claims.

Once again, even though the present communal civil war was precipitated by a Phalangist attack on Palestinian commandos, the Palestine Liberation Organization has attempted to play a bonapartist role as "neutral" policeman. Not only are such Muslim towns as Sabra, Tariquel and Jedide policed by the PLO, but according to the 11 January *New York Times*, "The Palestinian military force known as the Armed Struggle Command jointly guards the elite Ras Beirut section of the capital with Lebanese gendarmes." Thus "non-interference in the internal affairs" of Lebanon has been translated by Arafat & Co. into military defense of the anti-democratic "confessional" system.

## Partition?

For the Phalangists and other Maronite rightists the only way to defend their prerogatives is through savage terror and eventual expulsion of the Palestinians, or by forcing a partition. Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel recently stated: "We reject partition. But for artificial and external reasons, it may be impossible for the present coexistence to continue and therefore partition may take place" (*New York Times*, 1 January).

Presently the Phalangists have blockaded the Palestinian refugee camps of Tel El Zaatar and Jisr El Pacha in the eastern suburbs of Beirut, after seizing and systematically destroying the Dbaiye settlement (whose 3,500 inhabitants were Palestinian Christians) seven miles northeast of the capital. The Phalange militia has been joined by the private army of Camille Chamoun, presently minister of the interior. In order to draw off forces from the attacks on refugee camps, Palestinian commandos countered by overrunning Chamoun's Maronite fiefdom at Damur, then reportedly putting Chamoun's own seaside mansion at nearby Saadiyat to the torch.

In the 1950's Chamoun was president of Lebanon and the only Arab leader to accept the "Eisenhower doctrine" of American intervention against "Communist subversion." In 1958 he called in the U.S. Marines to suppress an insurrection led by none other than Karami. True to form, last week Chamoun again called for Western intervention, presumably to save his villa. But he has had no takers.

Both Israel and Syria have threatened direct military intervention in the Lebanese civil war. Ultra-right Zionists call for the annexation of southern Lebanon up to the Litani River, so that the "final solution" may be meted out to the Palestinians. Syria, although it is the military supplier for Lebanese Muslim and Palestinian refugee armies, has tried to present itself as a neutral arbiter.

While some cafe politicians in Damascus may dream of reconstructing ancient Assyria by backing a Maronite partition and annexing the Muslim portions of Lebanon, the shaky bonapartist regime of nationalist military officers is horrified at the thought of governing a matrix of conflicting communities which would only add to its own minority problems (Kurds, Druzes, etc.). The Ba'athist colonels in

Damascus, the Zionist rulers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the Christian capitalists and Muslim landlords in Beirut, and the PLO are all wedded to maintaining the basic framework of feudalistic confessionalism in Lebanon. Its collapse would threaten their fragile authority in their own fiefdoms.

The struggle for genuine democracy in the Levant and for national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the bonapartist regime in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval theocratic structure of Lebanon, shatter the Zionist state power and rip the Arab and Hebrew masses from their reactionary misrulers who lead them into endless and senseless national and communal wars. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of workers states in the Near East. ■

# British Auto Workers...

(continued from page 5)

of "union principle and socialist policies" who recently stood for election for a government speed-up committee (the Ryder Plan Joint Participation Committee).

Apart from the WRP, most of the groups to the left of the Communist Party extended virtually uncritical support to Thorrett. The WSL, in turn, calls for a vote for other "militants" in Cowley, though without specifying who or clearly stating the basis of this support. In the case of Bob Fryer their support is based on his opposition to the participation scheme and on the vague assertion that he is "regarded in the plant as a Trotskyist" (*Socialist Press*, 31 December). Presumably this call also includes support for Tony Homer, a supporter of the IMG who is referred to in the bourgeois press as Thornett's "chief ally."

Thornett has taken principled positions opposing protectionist import controls and workers' participation in the speed-up schemes at Leyland; he has fought against redundancies with demands for opening the company's books and for work sharing with no loss in pay. On the other hand, it is not entirely clear whether Thornett fights in the plant for a full transitional program or simply on a two- or three-point "minimum program."

It is, however, clear that the WSL has not broken fundamentally from Healyite economism. Its use of the traditional Healyite slogan "Make the lefts fight" expresses an appetite for the comfortable womb of the Labour Party. The policy of pressuring the Labour lefts is counterposed to the struggle for a revolutionary, authentically Trotskyist party capable of smashing the Labour Party's reformist stranglehold on the British working class; and it lays the ground for capitulation to anti-communism and employer government attacks on the unions, a road which Parsons has travelled and which WRPer White has already gone down some distance. ■



Chauvel-Syigma

Pierre Gemayel, leader of the fascist Christian Phalange, surrounded by guard.

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# Co-op City...

(continued from page 7)

unavailability of land at reasonable prices makes such ownership prohibitive for most workers. At the onset of a depression or even a long strike, the property is invariably heavily mortgaged, and serves only as a fetter on the mobility and militancy of its "owner." The banks, who collect the interest and are in a position to foreclose on the property, are the only ones to profit from this operation.

Socialists of course defend the homes of workers and small petty bourgeoisie from the encroachments of the banks. The vast majority of workers and poor, however, live in rented housing. In New York City alone, there are 2 million rental apartments and over the last five years while tenants' incomes increased only 17 percent rental charges rose 57 percent. Over half the city's tenants are paying more than 25 percent of their income for rent. For these people "individual" houses, condominiums or cooperatives provide no answer. It is in their interest to abolish landed property and confiscate the apartment buildings from the rent-gougers and banks who own them. And as opposed to the hideous mismanagement of Co-op City and government housing projects generally, militants must fight to impose tenant-worker control.

## The Strike

The rent strike at Co-op City is highly organized and involves genuine mass participation. Two steering committees (I and II) had been formed previously to institute law suits and carry on legislative lobbying. Steering Committee III runs the strike. The project is divided into several areas, for each of which an area marshal is responsible. The area marshals coordinate the activities of various buildings, which are led by building captains and back-up captains. All decision-making is subordinated to the steering committee, which has overall responsibility for the strike. The steering committee, whose meetings are open to all residents, consists of elected tenant members along with representatives from various civic associations, minority groups and senior citizens. Using some 1,500 volunteers it collects the rent during the first few days of each month.

The residents are enthusiastic about the strike. They have given their leadership a considerable amount of support. The solidarity and will to fight, among elderly tenants also, is impressive. But the danger comes from the contradictory character of the leadership. On the one hand, it has been generally militant and courageous under fire; on the other hand, it is parochial, ignoring the labor movement as a potential ally while never really breaking from illusions in either the capitalist system or its politicians.

The steering committee's 22 negotiating demands are one-shot administrative reforms: give tenants vot-

ing control over management of Co-op City, slash the inflated supervisory fee, lengthen the mortgage term, sell the power plant to the state, etc. These demands do not go beyond correcting the obvious mismanagement perpetrated by UHF and the state housing division.

Such reforms may cut current costs sufficiently to avert the projected increase. However, they do not provide any protection to tenants against future increases. By failing to demand that, as a minimum, the monthly charges on tenants be frozen, the steering committee has guaranteed that rapidly rising costs generated by the high rate of inflation will be passed on to tenants.

Moreover, the steering committee's response to the state's cutback in maintenance services all too much typifies the parochialism of many tenants' struggles. The cutbacks in services included a layoff of over 200 of the 460 employees at Co-op City. In response, Local 32-E of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), which represents the workers, called a "sick-out" of the remaining employees. Although it is clear that it was a supportable (if not very bold) response to a provocation by the state, a steering committee spokesman denounced the "sick-out" as irresponsible and injurious to the tenants. He boasted that the tenants committee had successfully applied pressure in Albany to get the remaining employees back to work after one day, and asserted that tenants were being mobilized to do the work of the laid-off workers!

This despicable scab-herding attitude is matched only by the leadership of Local 32-E itself. A Local official asserted that the tenants committee had violated the law by withholding rent payments and that its leaders deserved to be in jail!

Both the membership of Local 32-E and the tenants have been injured by the apparently successful attempt of the state Housing Division to drive a wedge between them. Tenant support is certainly necessary for the service employees to win their demands. On the other side, the steering committee should not only have respected the picket lines of Local 32-E, but it could easily have paid the wages of the laid-off workers out of the funds it has collected. The argument that "the law" would prohibit such payment is a feeble capitulation to bourgeois respectability, and downright ridiculous considering the tenants' own well-established history of defying "the law."

## Unite with the Labor Movement!

The massive cutbacks in social services and government employment in New York make amply clear the ruling-class attitude toward any major subsidization of the rising housing and rental costs of working people. In an obvious reference to Co-op City, Governor Carey announced on January 21 his intention to ask for \$22 million to help defray the rental costs of the elderly and poor residents of moderate-income housing developments that receive city

and state aid. (Carey's less-than-generous offer would only exempt elderly people with incomes of less than \$6,500 a year from paying more than one third of their incomes for rent or carrying charges.) Such miserly assistance to the most disadvantaged residents notwithstanding, Carey reasserted the general principle that "it was necessary to keep the state's housing program operating through increased rents and carrying charges to cover rising costs" (*New York Times*, 22 January).

Carey's iron insistence that tenant payments be increased reflects New York's fiscal woes. The state's Housing Finance Agency, which collects Co-op City mortgage payments, is already in serious difficulty with its bondholder creditors. These robbers are increasing the financial pressure, which can only lead to more expenses for tenants of city and state-subsidized housing. Only by canceling the debt to the bondholders can tenants attain any relief!

There is an obvious convergence of the interests of Co-op City strikers and the city labor movement here. City workers are laid off by the thousands, wages are frozen and municipal unions held in thrall by the banks' and corporations' demands that the city pay off usurious debts. The way forward for city labor lies in mobilizing the unions to demand cancellation of the debt to the blood-sucking financiers and expropriation of the banks. In a city beset by economic devastation at the hands of the corporate moguls, such far-reaching demands can win broad support even from sectors of the population normally hostile to the workers' struggles.

In the current siege atmosphere reigning in New York City the Co-op City rent strike has captured the imagination of a beleaguered petty bourgeoisie as a symbol of middle-class resistance to capitalist decay. A *Village Voice* (24 November) article saw a "war in Co-op City ... the transforming war of ordinary people rising up against the institutional stranglehold beneath which they labored all their lives." But while the rent strikers have won wide public sympathy, they have neither sought nor received active support from the only force with the social power and class interest to achieve a victory for them: organized labor.

Rather than reliance on the capitalist parties—including "reform" elements—who must uphold the property relations which are at the origin of the Co-op City tenants' plight, real victory requires a political struggle for a workers party which can lead the necessary revolutionary struggle to break the bonds of capitalist exploitation. And just as the government of big business bases its hard-line opposition to the Co-op City strike on the undoubted fact that a major concession here could open the floodgates of labor struggles, the rent strikers must fight for militant support from the union movement, including city-wide strike action. This can only be achieved by struggling to oust the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—the Shankers and Van Arsdals, who bilked Co-op City tenants and stand in the way of effective working-class action. ■

# Mao Foreign Policy...

(continued from page 6)

the subsequent turnabout in American foreign policy, it is legitimate to ask why the U.S. bourgeoisie was ever disposed to regard China as the "main enemy" in the first place.

The early attitude in U.S. ruling circles toward the Sino-Soviet split was conditioned by the Cuban revolution and the peasant-based revolution in Vietnam that was engaging ever more American blood and treasure—both shockingly unexpected developments. The ruling class was worried about the "peasant-guerrilla road to power": perhaps a handful of radicals, inspired by Castro and Mao, could indeed go into the countryside, agitate the peasants and topple the Batistas and Diems throughout the colonial world. The political leadership of American imperialism was a bit scared of the calls for people's war emanating from Havana and Peking; they knew that the USSR of Khrushchev and Brezhnev was a force for conservatism and the global status quo.

During the mid-1960's, U.S. imperialism threw its strength against the radical followers of Mao-Guevara and the regimes espousing "Third World" militancy. It won easy and even unexpected victories. The Latin American guerrilla bands were wiped out without significant U.S. military intervention; China's left-talking "friends" (e.g., Ghana's Nkrumah) were toppled and replaced by pro-Western military dictatorships. Most decisively, the pro-Peking Indonesian Communist Party (then the largest CP in the world not holding state power) was annihilated in a CIA-abetted domestic bloodbath.

By the late 1960's, the most capable American political ideologues knew there were not going to be "two, three, many Vietnams" (a point which the New Left radicals implicitly acknowledged as they turned from "Third World" adventurism toward workerism). Bourgeois strategists realized that the existence of Castro's Cuba a mere 90 miles from Florida and the military successes of the Vietnamese were, in the final analysis, based on the strength of the USSR. For



Co-op City on the outskirts of the Bronx, New York City.

WV Photo

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American imperialism, a reassessment of China's role in world politics was in order.

Peking's denunciation of the Russians for overturning the "soft" Dubček government in Czechoslovakia and its solidarizing with the pro-Western Rumanian regime demonstrated that Mao was far less committed to maintaining an orthodox hard-Stalinist stance within the "Communist" movement than to seizing a chance to line up with any tendency which was anti-Russian.

America's alliance with Mao's China was facilitated by the emergence of Henry Kissinger as the strategist of U.S. foreign policy: a pessimistic conservative. Kissinger has oriented to long-term balance-of-power politics undisturbed by episodic, localized quarrels or formal ideological posture. By the early 1970's, the leaders of U.S. imperialism realized that throughout most of the world they had no immediate diplomatic competition from Mao's China while sharing a common enemy: the USSR.

More than five years ago, while Maoist rhetoric was at its "radical" zenith, the Spartacist League predicted the possibility of a U.S.-China bloc:

"At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the USSR's avowed policy of 'peaceful coexistence' while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremen-

dous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build 'Socialism in One Country' through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism."

"Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part II, 30 August 1969

Former followers of the Mao trail who find themselves bewildered by China's pro-NATO stance would do well to examine the Trotskyist methodology which enabled the SL to see through Mao's "anti-revisionist" veneer while subjective leftists were mindlessly waving their Little Red Books.

### ...and China Walks In

Because of the more closed nature of Chinese political life, tracing the evolution of the Mao regime's attitude toward Nixon/Kissinger is a more tentative undertaking. Clearly, 1965 was an important turning point. In that year of U.S. escalation in Vietnam, a section of the Chinese bureaucracy (Peng Chen, the armed forces chief of staff Lo Jui-ching) pressed for improving relations with the USSR and preparing for a military intervention of the Korean War type. Mao quashed the impulse to mend fences with the Russians in support of

the Vietnamese, maintaining de facto military neutrality during the Vietnam war and scarcely (and sometimes not at all) permitting the USSR to send military aid via Chinese territory.

Yet de facto military neutrality, though a crime from the standpoint of the international working class, is a long way from an actual and active alliance with U.S. imperialism. What was China's global strategy in the mid-1960's? Mao is given to utopian voluntarism and quite possibly believed that the moral example of the Chinese people combined with "revolutionary" rhetoric could inspire popular nationalist movements which would erode the Russian and American power blocs. But while the trumpet blasts of Mao Thought excited students from Berlin to Mexico City, the walls of the Kremlin and the Pentagon could be breached

only by a more solid substance.

By 1968, the unreality and all-sided failure of Mao's "radical" policies had become manifest and the Chairman was forced to change course sharply. The disastrous Cultural Revolution was halted; the Red Guards were packed off to the countryside; the army and party imposed order at gunpoint. A campaign to break out of diplomatic isolation was undertaken. The 1969 border clash with the Russians may have convinced the Mao regime that the immediate military threat came not from the Americans in Vietnam but from the Russians on China's northern frontier. By the early 1970's, the Chinese bureaucracy realized that throughout most of the world it had no immediate conflict with the U.S. while sharing a common enemy: the USSR.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

## Woodcock...

(continued from page 12)

class collaboration which hamstring the workers' fight against capital.

### Protectionist Fervor

Only one proposal gave rise to lengthy and fiery discussion. The union's Ford Department director, UAW vice-president Ken Bannon, introduced the resolution on subcontracting with an impassioned tirade against imports. Denouncing engines from Brazil, transmissions from France and imported cars from everywhere, Bannon set the tone for a discussion dominated by naked protectionism. Delegate after delegate called for import bans, railing against "Big Three" plants in foreign countries, the Toyota-Datsun invasion and the ubiquitous Volkswagen.

Preferring a somewhat more liberal and sophisticated facade, Woodcock took the mike to counsel that the real problem is in countries with no free trade union movement (thereby trying to equate Spain and the Soviet Union!). As head of the Auto Council of the International Metalworkers Federation, Woodcock felt compelled to make some pretense of moderating the blatant chauvinism which grabbed front page headlines the next day in Detroit newspapers. But it is Woodcock and the other UAW brass who sparked the protectionist frenzy. When the worldwide plunge in auto production hit the U.S., idling almost 300,000 auto workers last year, Woodcock reversed the UAW's traditional position for free trade, began calling for import controls and initiated a super-patriotic "Buy an American car" campaign.

Of the various opposition groups in the UAW, only one at this conference countered the UAW's turn to reactionary protectionism. The Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC) of Chicago's Local 6, aided by Detroit UAW militants, distributed a leaflet opposing the substitution of "jingoist patriotism for the international fight for parity in wages and conditions" and explaining that "import restrictions merely serve to whip up national rivalries between workers of different countries, paving the way for escalating trade wars that, sooner or later, will lead the advanced, industrial capitalist countries to new world war" (*Labor's Struggle* special supplement, 22 January).

The LSC newsletter also raised critical issues facing auto workers in 1976: the need for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40") and combatting speed-up through the unrestricted right to strike, together with workers control of production, nationalization of the floundering auto industry without compensation, the need for a political fight for a workers party and independence from the back-stabbing

Democrats currying UAW support in this election year.

In contrast, the fake-opponent United National Caucus (UNC) has created a super-minimalist "Coalition for a Good Contract," which distributed a brochure outlining its demands for 1976. The Coalition calls for a shorter workweek, but is not quite sure what that means. Its brochure calls for "30 or 32" for 40, while Local 122 president and Coalition sponsor Bob Weisman distributed a leaflet which could have been titled "How to coax the capitalists into a sort-of shorter workweek." Weisman, concerned about a "prohibitive 25% increase in the companies' total labor costs," counsels UAW members to combine their five "personal days" off and current paid holidays with 13 new days off in each year of the contract to—abracadabra—produce a 32-hour week by 1979!

Only one part of the Coalition program was presented on the conference floor—predictably, the most minor and ridiculous. Jordan Sims, Local 961 president and UNC co-chairman, spoke on the need to insert in the contract National Labor Relations Act language which states that refusing to work because of abnormally dangerous conditions shall not be deemed a strike. Vice-president Fraser effectively parried this "innovative" proposal by noting that since federal law supersedes all contracts, such "protection" already obtains. However, the burden of proof still falls on the individual to prove unsafe conditions. The UNC/Coalition group implicitly sees as "unrealistic" the demand for the local right to strike without International approval over health and safety and job standards. In search of a lowest common denominator that will insure it instant popularity, the UNC has hatched a front group which abstains on auto workers' most vital needs.

As the UAW enters the 1976 bargaining round, it is the clear-cut crisis of leadership at the union's summit that is the auto corporations' biggest ally. The absence of an authoritative, nationwide class-struggle opposition to rally the union's ranks and expose Woodcock's treachery leaves auto workers discontented but without leadership. Both the Coalition, prominently backed by the International Socialists, and the seldom-hear-from Auto Workers Action Caucus (which did not even bother to make an appearance at the conference), touted by the Communist Party, refuse to pin the blame for bringing the union to its knees before the corporate offensive on Woodcock's do-nothing policies. Groups like the Labor Struggle Caucus, however, point the way forward for both a militant contract fight and the construction of the necessary class-struggle leadership for the UAW and the entire labor movement. The expansion of such groups' influence nationally is the key ingredient to halting Woodcock's plans for betrayal. ■



Camera Press

Body of Che Guevara after he was murdered in Bolivia, 1967. Today Mao's men are collaborating with Che's murderers.

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## At UAW "Production Workers Conference"

# Woodcock Rehearses Contract Sellout



WV Photo

DETROIT, January 23—Standing in the corridor while the 1976 United Auto Workers (UAW) Production Workers Conference wore on, one high-ranking union official candidly commented, "it's a state of siege mentality in there." Indeed it was. As discussions begin on the upcoming contract negotiations, the UAW regime led by president Leonard Woodcock is already making clear its intention to wield rigid bureaucratic control in order to ram a sellout settlement down the members' throats next fall.

Most rank-and-file union members (and even a few officials!) who came to observe the proceedings were turned away unless they had sufficiently influential connections permitting them past a phalanx of sergeants-at-arms. No agenda was ever presented. A hand-picked Resolutions Committee reported out ten dreary resolutions one by one during the three-day conference, precluding both advance consideration and knowledge of what would be coming up next. No resolutions were allowed from the floor, and the conference rules even prohibited amendments! To top it off, all economic issues (a shorter workweek, Supplemental Unemployment Benefits pay, wages, pensions) were "out of order," to be taken up only at the Special Bargaining Convention in March.

The undemocratic nature of this conference was merely a procedural corollary to the policy Woodcock will pursue this year: accommodating the depressed auto industry's drive to jack up productivity and hold down labor costs. In particular, the UAW leadership seeks to divert and break up growing sentiment in the union for a shorter workweek to create more jobs. Fearful that discontent with the massive layoffs of the last two years could coalesce around the historic UAW demand of "30 hours work for 40 hours pay," Woodcock and his International Executive Board cronies will work overtime to suppress such a movement.

### Serving the Bosses

The UAW tops are marching in step to the tight-fisted dictates of the auto monopolies. In a speech to the Economic Club of New York last November, General Motors chairman Thomas Murphy made clear the industry's stance: "The solution to joblessness lies not in shortsighted make-work or share-the-work programs. These do nothing to increase productivity or to curtail costs" (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 Novem-

ber). Woodcock knows full well that only the most vigorous fight culminating in an industry-wide strike could wrench a shorter workweek—or any other important gains—from the stockholders and executives intent on a permanent workforce reduction and profit-bolstering rationalization.

Like the rest of the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy, especially during a year when contracts covering 4.5 million workers expire, the UAW officialdom fears such a labor mobilization more than it fears the pummeling its membership has taken and still faces. Capitalist mouthpiece *Business Week* aptly summed up the U.S. labor leadership's predilections when it recently dubbed 1976 "Labor's Year of Compromise."

Woodcock's strategy at this early point is to combine vacuous proposals with rhetoric sufficiently "tough" to maintain a reasonable profile before the

ranks. This well-worn route has already been prepared by two National Ford Council meetings which passed "Short Work Time" motions that in reality amount to nothing more than an "absentee control" plan allowing one half hour to be "banked" for every week of perfect attendance. After 16 weeks of no absences, a worker would get one day off! Not only has this scheme proved almost totally ineffective in curbing absences at the agricultural implements companies where it was "won" in 1973, but it is transparent demagoguery to describe it as a job-creating "shorter workweek."

Sidestepping the central issues, Woodcock's strategy was well served at this conference. In the main, the ten resolutions passed were either mere tokens (calling for holiday pay on the basis of seniority), so vague as to be meaningless (the "health and safety" and "no overtime during layoff periods"

proposals contained no specific solutions) or missed the point entirely (resolutions on plant closures and technological change meekly called for "humane" attrition and retraining, not a fight for jobs).

On three issues (company discipline, subcontracting and production standards) which cry out for the unfettered right to strike at the department and local level without International authorization, resolutions pointedly omitted this obvious demand. Most characteristically, the resolution expressing UAW resentment of corporate resistance to unionizing new plants pleaded "that each company and the Union agree in writing that their relationship is one of mutual respect and responsibility." This supposed "mutual respect" has never organized a plant nor won a strike: the "harmony clause" in many UAW contracts is but literary testimony to the

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## ILWU Longshore Strike Scuttled

SAN FRANCISCO, January 25—A threatened strike by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10, set for January 22, was bureaucratically scuttled after the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) reportedly agreed to retract the most glaring recent abuse under the current longshore contract. Last week's vote for strike action reflected seething discontent in the ranks against the vicious job-slashing employer attacks, including elimination of several job boards and the recently imposed "200-hours rule" (requiring longshoremen to work 200 hours per quarter in order to qualify for pay benefits supposedly guaranteed under the Pay Guarantee Plan [PGP]).

In the face of numerous strike motions coming from the floor of the well-attended January 15 Local 10 meeting, pro-International forces, including acting Local president Watkins, cooked up a purposely vague substitute motion which called for a strike only if there was no "adequate" response from the PMA. Predictably, the bureaucracy quickly returned with what it considered an "adequate" concession namely retraction of the 200-hours rule—and then very quickly killed any strike action without calling a membership meeting. Nevertheless, the cancelling of this

disastrous job-cutting rule—a rule which had been openly endorsed by ILWU president Harry Bridges—demonstrates what the power of the strike weapon could do to reverse the defeats suffered by longshoremen at the hands of both the employers and their union "leaders."

The fact that the pro-Bridges forces, as well as the fake-opponentist Wing forces, settled for so little in order to kill the strike is simply another sign of the complete bankruptcy of these false leaderships. The PMA retraction leaves the 1975 contract intact, allowing the devastating erosion of jobs to continue. Furthermore, the concession by the shippers is purely verbal at this point and could be reversed later when the opposition has been dispersed.

Not surprisingly, the Communist Party (CP) continues its tradition of covering for the ILWU bureaucracy by strongly insinuating that a strike would be a mistake: "With union elections coming up soon, some members of Local 10 are wondering if going out independently of the other locals is really a good tactic at this time" (*People's World*, 24 January). The CP, of course, does not challenge the pro-Bridges forces' position of limiting the strike to a single port, and thus excuses killing the strike entirely.

As a diversion, the article notes approvingly that Los Angeles Local 13 president Rudy Rubio "did not feel that a work stoppage was the way to handle the present issue," but rather suggested "putting heavy rank and file pressure on the Coast Committee until they are forced to go back to PMA to renegotiate." The article fails to mention that Rubio supported the 1975 contract.

The only union oppositionists who pointed the way forward were Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, who publish *Longshore Militant* and members of the Local 10 executive board. In a leaflet of January 20, Gow and Keylor pushed for militant strike tactics—including elected strike committees to avoid sabotage by the International and its local flunkies, and spreading the strike to other ports to mobilize the full strength of the union. More importantly, only Gow and Keylor pushed for a strike "to restore all the cutbacks on boards, gangs and PGP" by demanding "jobs for all longshoremen through a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members." They also called for immediate promotion of all "B-men" to full "A" status. Only this perspective of militant class struggle points the way toward victory for longshoremen. ■