

# Intercontinental Press

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## Spanish Police Seize 1,200 Leftists

- Split in Congress Party Weakens Gandhi
- Lessons of the Defeat in Lebanon
- Sadlowski Challenges Steel Bureaucracy
- American CP on Czech Democracy: 'In the Sarcophagus With Stalin'



KING JUAN CARLOS: Fears mass upsurge.

**Portugal**

### Soares Finds 'Trotskyists' at Bottom of His Troubles

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## In the Sarcophagus With Stalin

By Gerry Foley

The New York *Daily World*, which reflects the positions of the Communist party, has reacted to the revival of the movement for democratic rights in Czechoslovakia in a way that shows little has changed in the outlook of the American Stalinists since mortality caught up with the "Father of the Peoples."

An article by Margrit Pittman in the January 28 issue says, for example:

Supporters of Charter 77 continue to claim that their activities are "within the framework of the constitution," as Jiri Hajek, a former foreign minister, is reported to have said, by Murray Seeger of the New York Times. This claim can easily be refuted. The Czechoslovak constitution makes no claim to non-partisanship, but is clearly workingclass and pro-socialist. . . .

On the question of freedom of expression, similar class consciousness is expressed. Article 28 says that "freedom of expression in all fields of public life, in particular freedom of speech and of the press, consistent with the interests of the working people, shall be guaranteed to all citizens." Charter 77, which takes its grievances abroad and helps to mount a worldwide campaign against socialism in Czechoslovakia, in the name of "improving socialism," hardly qualifies as a movement protecting socialism or the interests of the working class.

In the January 29 issue of the *Daily World*, Pittman said that at a news conference called in Prague by two trade-union organizations, ordinary Czechoslovak citizens had exposed the Charter 77 statement as "blatant lies":

What emerged in the exchange with reporters from 30 countries was that the vast majority of the population is incensed by the document's slanderous accusations, view it as an attack on their security and their national independence.

The Czechoslovak authorities did try to give the impression that a vast popular movement was developing to refute the charges of Charter 77. In its January 31 issue, for example, the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* reported:

Workers at the Orion chocolate factory in the Prague suburb of Modrany signed a statement saying that in response to the "cold warriors around Charter 77" they would produce more chocolate in the future.

Pittman quoted a circulator of such a petition: "We wanted to sign because we want to work in peace and don't want our country smeared."

Pittman stressed how reprehensible the Charter 77 group was:

It was brought out in the discussion that the 241 signers of "Charter 77" were, in their majority, recruited from among virtually every counter-revolutionary group in the country in the period immediately following World War II. Among them are adherents of KAN (Club of Committed Non-Party Members) who were already active in counter-revolutionary efforts in 1947; supporters of the so-called "Prague Spring of 1968," and Trotskyites.

It was pointed out that many of them have close ties with emigrant centers abroad which, in turn, work with such agencies as Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and secret-service organizations of capitalist states, including the CIA.

There were indications when Charter 77 was first published that the Czechoslovak government was toying with the idea of holding a repeat performance of the Slansky trials, with the Charter 77 leaders cast in the role of "enemy of the people." Apparently, the American CP paper is still ready and willing to beat the drums for such an affair, just as it did for the Moscow Trials and the 1948-50 trials of "Titoists" and "Trotskyites" in the East European countries.

However, in the past, the voice of the American CP was part of a worldwide chorus, swelled by all the Stalinist parties. At the moment, it is one of the few parties that still broadcasts the Kremlin line without a breath of criticism. Because such super-subject sects have very small audiences, the message takes on a peculiarly shrill tone.

The *Daily World* hardly mentions positions of the other Western Communist parties. There is only an occasional veiled reference to a family scandal that of course everyone knows about but no one would be so tasteless as to discuss openly. For example, in the January 28 *Daily World*, Pittman says:

A particularly grievous aspect of the whole affair is the effort to use Charter 77 to drive a wedge between Communist parties. As reported in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Zdenek Mlynar, a CPCZ [Czechoslovak CP] secretary during the Dubcek regime, appealed for support to the general secretaries of the Italian, French and Spanish Communist parties, as well as to Austrian Chancellor Dr. Bruno Kreisky, the FRG's Willy Brandt, France's Francois Mitterrand and Sweden's Olaf Palme, all leading Social Democrats.

The *Daily World* could hardly report the positions of the West European CPs and at the same time continue to denounce the signers of Charter 77 as "counterrevolu-

tionaries" and "Trotskyites." For example, in its January 25 issue, *l'Humanité*, the organ of the Central Committee of the French CP, said:

We cannot fail to express our shock at the accusation raised by the Czechoslovak authorities that the signers of Charter 77 are following the "commands of anti-Communist and Zionist centers." The use of such methods inevitably evokes the arbitrariness of a tragic past. The French Communists categorically condemn any revival of this past. . . .

We cannot consider the exercise of the right of petition, of distributing pamphlets, and of calling for dialogue and discussion as crimes, and especially not in a socialist society, which calls precisely for broad democratic debate. We cannot accept practices that imply that under socialism every discordant voice will be condemned either to silence or repression.

In a dispatch from Prague in the February 6 issue of the *Washington Post*, Michel Getler reported:

The government has branded these signers as traitors, in the employ of the West. As proof, they cite the use of French and British newspapers for the original publication of the charter.

But as the British Communist Party newspaper *Morning Star* (whose Jan. 19 edition was banned here) points out: "The signers have been denied the possibility of expressing their views openly on the issues raised within the charter . . . yet when they seek other means of making their views known, including through foreign news agencies, they are condemned. It is an impossible situation."

The Italian Communist party daily *l'Unità*, which has published statements in defense of the Charter 77 signers, has also been banned in Prague.

This leaves the *Daily World* in the position of implying that most of the West European CPs are in league with "counter-revolutionaries" and "Trotskyites." Even an ossified sect cannot hope to maintain such a position indefinitely without paying for it politically.

How, for example, can the American CP continue to claim in the present circumstances that it represents a worldwide working-class movement? In a country where a Communist party is in power, the organs of other Communist parties are banned. Persons who voice opinions like those of the Western CPs are denounced as counterrevolutionaries and even imprisoned or expelled from their native countries. One Stalinist power, the People's Republic of China, calls on the capitalist countries to arm against another, the Soviet Union. A Stalinist country in Moscow's orbit, Romania, flirts with the government of Israel. And so on.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that Stalinist governments have had to seek other means of slandering dissidents than the traditional charges of "counterrevolutionary activity." For example, in Poland a forged letter is circulating in which the antibureaucratic writer Jerzy Andrzejewski is supposed to advocate sexual freedom for homosexuals. In Cze-

choslovakia, the police are circulating "3,500 prints showing [dissident Ludvik] Vaculik in various nude positions, including some intimate acts with a woman" (*Los Angeles Times*, February 3).

In this context, the stone-age Stalinism of the *Daily World* is only another indication of the extreme contradictions to be seen in the Stalinist world movement as the internal rifts widen.

Under the détente, it is hard for the Kremlin to demand unthinking loyalty from all Communists in the face of aggressive capitalism. For one thing, the policy of "peaceful coexistence" stands in the way. Also, if the big CPs are to take advantage of the decrease in tensions to expand their electoral influence and thus, the Kremlin hopes, help consolidate the détente, they have to offer a more attractive image. That requires disassociating themselves from the dictatorial rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

However, the old-fashioned Stalinist campaign the Kremlin has mounted against the antibureaucratic fighters in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and at home shows how incapable the bureaucrats are of conceding on the question of democratic rights. And so, although all the Stalinist parties accept the need for tactics such as those of the Western CPs, their criticisms have thrown the world Stalinist movement into a still deeper crisis.

Isn't it high time for the American Stalinists to note what has been happening? □

### FBI Admits Spying on Women's Groups

The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) carried out a four-year program of spying on the women's liberation movement between 1969 and 1973, according to newly released files. The 1,377 pages of FBI documents released under the Freedom of Information Act show that surveillance was carried on in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Seattle, Portland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Newark, St. Petersburg, and other cities.

FBI agents and informers spied on women's liberation meetings and conferences, as well as on rallies and demonstrations. These were totally legal activities and no criminal charges were ever filed as a result of the FBI investigations. However, a catalogue of the political beliefs and sexual preferences of women activists around the country was compiled.

"The reports contained frequent unflattering references to the appearance of militant women," *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Norman Kempster reported February 6. The FBI informers also made frequent allegations "that the women's movement was dominated by lesbians."

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## Spain—1,200 Left-Wing Activists Rounded Up by Police

By Gerry Foley

The response of the Communist and Socialist parties to the crisis touched off by the murder of leftist figures in Madrid January 24-25 was to rally behind the Suárez government. They took the occasion to demonstrate their "civic responsibility" by holding back mass protests against the regime's connivance with the rightist killers. As a result the CP and SP leaders have opened the way for a further offensive by the government against the workers movement.

According to reports in the February 1 and 2 issues of the Paris Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, about 1,200 left-wing activists have been hauled in by the police for questioning, with some 300 being placed under formal arrest. Those arrested were primarily members of the smaller organizations that claim to stand to the left of the Communist party.

In Bilbao, Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) were arrested.

In Madrid, according to *Rouge*, most of those arrested belonged to the Partido del Trabajo (PT—Labor party), its youth organization Communist Young Guard, and the Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores (ORT—Revolutionary Workers Organization). The report continued:

"Intensive searches are still going on in the capital and the access roads, and in certain neighborhoods the police are questioning the inhabitants, showing them pictures of the activists they are looking for."

In Seville, three members of the PT were arrested. Other PT members were picked up in Córdoba, Motril, Baena, and Jaen. In Cartagena, the arrests hit the PT and the ORT. In Valladolid, fourteen members of the PT, the ORT, and the MC (Movimiento Comunista) were detained and held incommunicado. In Valencia, the raids were directed mainly against the FRAP (Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota—Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front), the MC, and the OICE (Organización de la Izquierda Comunista de España—Organization of the Communist Left of Spain).

In Barcelona, fifty members of the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—National Confederation of Workers, the anarchist federation) were seized by police while they were meeting in a bar.



SPANISH PREMIER SUAREZ

Among the more than sixty ORT members arrested in Madrid were its public representatives in Coordinación Democrática and the Platform of the Democratic Organizations, popular-front alliances that include both reformist and liberal bourgeois parties.

In a dispatch in the January 30 *New York Times*, James M. Markham reported that arrests had been particularly heavy in Galicia, an oppressed nation similar in size to the Basques although the region is much less developed industrially. The nationalist movement in Galicia still lags far behind that in the Basque country, but it has been growing rapidly.

In the February 3 *Christian Science Monitor*, Joe Gandelman reported:

"The government fears Maoists, Trotskyites, and anarchists will not accept the 'tacit truce' against illegal demonstrations that the opposition, including the Communist Party, has agreed to."

Since the government needed the help of the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties to keep the workers quiet, it had no reason to strike immediately at them. At the same time, it has an interest in making sure no

other organized forces move in to provide leadership to the masses of workers and youth who obviously want to fight back. But it was also logical for the government to begin a wave of repression by striking first at more isolated targets.

The Spanish Communist party leadership, as well as the other reformist leaders, realized they were endangered by the arrests of members of the smaller left organizations. The CP issued a communiqué defending the organizations under attack, which was quoted in the February 2 *Le Monde*: "Neither the PT, the ORT, the MC, nor the LCR had anything to do with the terrorist assaults." The statement continued: "The arrests of members of left parties diverts attention from those responsible for the murders."

The government claimed it was moving against all elements, both left and right, that could be prone to terrorism. But the facts were so obvious that not even the capitalist press could lend much credence to the regime's pretenses.

Gandelman reported: "The nationwide crackdown on 'all extremists' ordered by Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez has so far been directed mainly against leftists and foreigners while known ultra-rightists have gone free."

In the February 1 *New York Times*, James M. Markham wrote: "The government was reported planning to expel three Italians wanted for right-wing violence at home, but there were hardly any reports of arrests or other action against Spanish extreme rightists."

The reformist leaders reportedly began to express doubts that their support of the government at a difficult moment had been properly appreciated. In the February 2 *Le Monde*, Marcel Niedergang cited a communiqué by the Federation of Socialist Parties, a grouping of Social Democratic parties based on the various nationalities and regions. The communiqué said that the actions of the police "were in total contradiction to the responsible way in which all the trade-union and political organizations of the democratic left had conducted themselves during that tragic week."

Gandelman reported: "Politicians, who at first kept silent because of fear of an Army coup, are becoming uneasy with the police handling of the situation."

The reformists expressed fear that the rightist killings could create an atmosphere of instability, provoking the military to establish a "strong government." The

way to prevent this, they said, was to strengthen the authority of the "liberalizing" government by calling on the workers to trust it.

On January 26, the "democratic opposition," including the SP, the CP, and the bourgeois Partido Popular of José María Areilza, a leading politician under Franco, issued a communiqué that said: "We appeal to the civic sense of the political and social forces of all the peoples of Spain to assure that any type of street action is avoided."

At the funeral January 26 of the CP labor lawyers murdered by rightist gunmen, CP leader Simón Sánchez Montero called for unity of all Spaniards by shouting the traditional slogan of the right: "Long Live Spain!"

In an interview published in the Madrid daily *El País*, Luis Lucio Lobato, a CP Central Committee member, was asked if the rightist commandos responsible for the January 23-25 murders should be included in a general amnesty. His answer was quoted in the January 28 *Rouge*:

"However much it goes against the grain, to have an amnesty corresponding to the principles of national reconciliation, it would have to include them."

In reality, by curbing a militant mass response to the murders, the reformist parties assured that such terrorist actions would do the maximum damage to the workers movement. For example, a dis-

patch in the January 30 issue of the London *Observer* carried the headline: "Spanish Left goes back underground." Robin Smyth reported: "The technically illegal offices of the left-wing opposition parties received phone calls from the police warning them to close for their own safety." They closed.

In the January 30 London *Sunday Times*, correspondent Stephen Aris reported:

Although the right has obviously failed to shake the loyalty of the army it has achieved one of its objectives. For the past week a pall of fear has hung over Madrid. After nightfall the restaurants and bars have been deserted as people scurried from their offices to the safety of their homes. . . .

It is an atmosphere not only created by the terrorists but by the brutal behavior by the riot police, coupled with their apparent indifference to the activities of the right wing's thugs. Last Tuesday a group of the so-called Warriors of Christ the King burst into a Madrid cafe and forced the terrified diners to chant "Arriba España" and to sing the fascist battle hymn "Face the Sun." The thugs were still there when police arrived, but no arrests were made.

The calls by the CP and SP to the workers not to mobilize and to stay off the streets helped intensify the terror. The masses were left dispersed in the face of seemingly mysterious and threatening forces. The menace of rightist terrorism was not met with a sustained and powerful counterattack.

In the absence of an organized and ongoing mass response, the government feels free to let the rightist killers continue their terrorist course. At the same time, the government has regained the initiative it lost in the face of the mass mobilizations that followed Franco's death.

The capitalist press noted the effect of the government's actions. For example, Aris reported:

The Government still insists that justice will be firm and even-handed, that extremists of both left and right will be hunted down. But the fact that it has been forced to reintroduce some of the harshest provisions of the Franco anti-terrorist laws, indicates just how far the pendulum has swung in the past week.

The government's ability to hold the initiative still depends on the CP and SP leaders keeping the great masses of workers quiet. But there are signs that the experience of recent weeks has shaken these leaders' credibility. For example, the Madrid Coordinating Committee of the SP called on the party leadership to "stop negotiating with the government under the present conditions."

Moreover, in the spontaneous strikes and demonstrations that followed the murders, the workers had a chance to feel their own potential power. The government may find that it used up some of the authority of the reformists too early, giving the workers a useful lesson instead of dealing them a decisive defeat. □

## On-the-Spot Account of Spanish General Strike

### 'The Time Has Come to Say We Have Had Enough'

[The following account of how the January 26 Spanish general strike developed in the Madrid area was published in the January 27 issue of *Combat*, the central organ of the Liga Comunista (Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

On the afternoon of Wednesday, January 26, up to 300,000 persons gathered in the center of Madrid in response to the crimes committed by the fascist gangs and the police. This most massive of the demonstrations in recent years was the culmination of days of actions in which workers struck simultaneously in all the major centers of the country for a single objective—to put an end to the murdering dictatorship.

This mobilization occurred despite the appeal for "no demonstrations" by S. Carrillo, M. Camacho, F. González, and N.

Redondo among others that was disseminated by all the media controlled by the government (TV, radio, and all the papers).<sup>1</sup>

As a result of this broad mobilization of the masses, a deep crisis has opened up for the crowned dictatorship and its government. Nonetheless, the mobilizations that occurred throughout the Spanish state did not succeed in toppling the murderous dictatorship. What is more, the government that bears the chief responsibility for the crimes committed in recent days and whose fate still hangs in the balance dares to deny the workers their sustenance, to

1. Santiago Carrillo is a leader of the PCE (Partido Comunista de España—Communist party of Spain). Marcelino Camacho is a leader of the PCE and the Workers Commissions. Felipe González is a leader of the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic party in Spain). Nicolás Redondo is a leader of the UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores—General Workers Union, the federation controlled by the PSOE).

ignore their demands for freedom, and to adopt measures designed to break up the mass mobilizations and prolong the life of the dictatorship. But nothing will be the same again for the bourgeoisie or for the working class.

*Sunday, January 23:* Arturo Ruiz dies at the hands of the fascist gangs during a demonstration for total amnesty. For hours, the center of Madrid is the scene of violent confrontations between the police and thousands of demonstrators who seize the streets and at times throw up barricades. What stood out were the brutality of the police and the impunity with which the fascist gangs were allowed to move around during the demonstration. The final list of casualties among the demonstrators included one dead and several persons gravely wounded.

*Monday, January 24:* The response to the attacks on the demonstrators begins. More than 20,000 students demonstrate during the morning hours. The clashes are even more violent than the day before. The police murder María Luz Fernández Nájera

ra and wound dozens of persons. This same morning the workers begin to prepare their response. In a number of factories in the metallurgical industry, calls are raised for organizing a general strike for Wednesday. Nonetheless, on hearing of the kidnapping of General Villaescusa, the Madrid COS [Coordinadora de Organizaciones Sindicales—Coordinating Committee of Trade Union Organizations] refuses to issue a general strike call. They say that “a general strike could provoke a coup.” On this day also, the army high command decides to support the government and its plan, ruling out a military coup for the moment.

In the afternoon, the Comisión Negociadora<sup>2</sup> and the government issue a joint communiqué appealing for “calm and civic responsibility,” calling in unison for demobilization.

Immediately afterwards, Coordinación Democrática agrees to a request from the Izquierda Democrática to avoid any mass action and not to hold any kind of meetings to call a centralized action.<sup>3</sup> It orders the big factories not to step up their activity to build the Wednesday action.

The MCE and LCR, together with the PTE, the ORT, and the OICE, take up the call for a general strike on Wednesday.<sup>4</sup> They propose that the Comisión Gestora Pro-Amnistía [Pro-Amnesty Steering Committee] take on the task of leading and organizing the struggle.

The LC issues a communiqué Monday afternoon, calling for a general strike on Wednesday. It appeals to the PCE and the PSOE to stop their negotiations with the government and to form a Workers Alliance. The aim is to organize the general strike and call on all the workers organizations and parties to form a provisional strike committee to coordinate and galvanize mass actions to prepare for Wednesday. “Everything must be aimed at building and organizing the general strike.”

During the night, a handful of fascist criminals slaughter several members of the Workers Commissions and the PCE. This event is used as an argument urging

the army to intervene, thus increasing the possibilities of a coup. The results, however, are quite different. The reaction of the masses is not long in coming. On Tuesday, January 25, workers in all the centers go out on a general strike, paying no attention to their leaders. Instead of organizing the actions of the masses, these leaders oppose them, supporting a government without authority and incapable of maintaining itself by its own strength.

This day, the workers held the fate of the dictatorship in their hands. But various developments postponed decisive action. The leaders of the PCE, the Workers Commissions, the PSOE, and the UGT, the workers organizations with the greatest responsibilities in organizing the general strike, call for demobilization. They put all their weight behind the government and promise the masses that their demands for freedom and punishment of those responsible for the crimes of Francoism are going to be gained through negotiation with the murdering government.

This support for the government by the leaders of the majority of the working class threw the struggle into a still graver state of disorganization, thereby posing an obstacle to the general strike. A fundamental impediment was the lack of committees elected in the factories and of a strike committee for Madrid, as well as for the Spanish state as a whole, that could lead the mass mobilizations under way and focus them against the dictatorship.

Moreover, the attitude of the trade-union organizations made it still more difficult to organize the struggle. So, when the union halls were most needed to develop the potential of the struggle, the UGT and the Workers Commissions closed most of theirs because of the fascist attack the night before. Instead of organizing protection and defense for these halls, they decided to close them. Thus, the fascist action achieved one of its objectives—to neutralize the organizing centers that still remained. But in spite of everything, throughout the day numerous demonstrations kept occurring in the streets and neighborhoods of the city.

*Wednesday, January 26:* The general strike takes hold. Early in the morning the workers of EMT, the main transportation company, began to circulate an appeal that said:

The continuity of the regime or the lives of the workers: that is the dilemma that faces us today. We will not stand for any more murders. We will not let them condemn us to starvation wages and unemployment. We will not accept the vertical unions and the judgments of their arbitrators. Nor will we stand for firings or beatings like those we faced in our last strike.

The massive resistance of the workers yesterday, who struck in all the main factories in the Spanish state, shows that the time has come to say we have had enough, and to put an end to the regime.

Today, January 26, we are going out on a

general strike, with sit-downs and with factory assemblies to elect delegates to form a strike committee. We have to organize marches from the factories and extend them with picket teams, all converging on the central demonstration at Las Salesas. And we have to defend the central demonstration from the savagery of the police.

Compañeros: We have seen enough murders! Let us all unite to win freedom, amnesty, and all our demands!

In Madrid alone, there were two committees: the one elected in the assembly at the Hospital Primero de Octubre and the one set up by the EMT workers. Attempts to hold demonstrations in the workers neighborhoods were cut short by brutal attacks by the police and Guardia Civil. Thousands of police controlled the center of the city. Several attempts by youth to get demonstrations going were dispersed by gunfire from police. Despite the confusion and lack of organization, more than 300,000 persons gathered at 1:00 in the afternoon in the center of the city.

Several thousand members of the PCE and other parties formed pickets to safeguard the “order” of a dying dictatorship. This collaboration with the dictatorship’s police was the other side of these parties’ refusal to form pickets to defend the demonstrations and the headquarters of the workers organizations against the savagery of the police and the fascist gangs.

The actions of the PCE and the PSOE on January 26 were the culmination of their policy of support for [Premier Adolfo] Suárez and their sabotage of the general strike. What could have marked the end of the dictatorship remained nonetheless the biggest mobilization that has developed since it was established. The day ended with violent confrontations between thousands of demonstrators and the police.

When the workers went back to their factories, the regime was still there. S. Carrillo and F. González had saved its life. For how long? The workers movement remains strong, and the fascist apparatus is breaking down. □

2. Negotiating Committee, set up by the opposition parties to negotiate with the government. It includes the reformist workers parties, though the PCE is no longer formally represented on it.

3. Democratic Coalition, a popular-front-type formation, including the PCE and PSOE. The Democratic Left is a bourgeois-liberal formation.

4. MCE—Movimiento Comunista de España (Communist Movement of Spain); LCR—Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International); PTE—Partido del Trabajo de España (Labor party of Spain); ORT—Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Organization); OICE—Organización de la Izquierda Comunista (Organization of the Communist Left).

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## Split in Congress Party Weakens Gandhi

By Ernest Harsch

The split by Agriculture Minister Jagjivan Ram and a number of his associates from the Congress party February 2 dealt a stiff blow to Indira Gandhi's plans for a carefully controlled election campaign.

Charging that the Congress party had "ceased to be a democratic organization," Ram resigned from his cabinet post and condemned Gandhi's state of emergency.

"Citizens of the country have been deprived of all their freedoms," he said. "A fear psychosis has overtaken the whole nation. People are living in a state of constant fear and are silently suffering."

Until his resignation Ram had been a prominent supporter of Gandhi and had publicly backed the state of emergency that was imposed in June 1975. He has held important government posts for twenty-seven of the past thirty years and is one of the few top government officials from the untouchable caste, the most exploited sector of India's stratified society. Untouchables, numbering about eighty-five million, account for between 15 and 25 percent of the country's electorate.

After resigning with five other leading members of the Congress party, Ram set up a new group, called Congress for Democracy, and appealed to other Congress party leaders and members to join the new formation.

The split reflects mounting pressure on the Congress party, as the editors of the *New York Times* acknowledged February 5. "The switch by Mr. Ram and his associates," they said, "appears to have wholly changed the character of the election. . . . Mr. Ram's move suggests that other supporters of Mrs. Gandhi's authoritarian ways were only masking their opposition, waiting for the chance to challenge."

An indication of the wide opposition to Gandhi's rule came on January 30, when thousands of persons gathered in New Delhi and five other major cities to hear speakers denounce the regime and the state of emergency. According to varying estimates, between 50,000 and 100,000 persons gathered on that day in New Delhi alone, chanting such slogans as "Long live liberty!"

The rallies were organized by the newly formed Janata (People's) party to kick off its campaign for the elections, scheduled for March. The party was formed by the conservative Organisation Congress, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (Indian People's party), the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh, and the Socialist party.

Ram's Congress for Democracy has announced that it will work with the Janata party. In addition, one of the two main Stalinist parties, the Communist party of India (Marxist), said that it would form electoral alliances with the Janata party in some states.

Although the pro-Moscow Communist party of India still supports the Gandhi regime, it has also felt compelled to criticize the state of emergency. In a statement quoted in a February 3 Associated Press dispatch from New Delhi, the CPI said, "The emergency powers have come to be more and more misused against the working class, peasantry and common people and the democratic forces."

Jaya Prakash Narayan, the main leader of a mass anticorruption movement in Bihar before the state of emergency and now a prominent supporter of the Janata party declared at a news conference January 23 that under Gandhi's rule, "The conditions of the poor have deteriorated. . . . Corruption has increased because there is no check on the arbitrary powers exercised by those in office, from ministers to petty officials. . . . Administrative powers and decision-making are increasingly monopolized by a small ruling group."

Narayan then offered the Janata party's answer to the vast problems facing the Indian masses. The party's main goal, he said, "will be to decentralize power so that residents of the most remote villages can participate in the making of decisions and plans that concern them. And of course the party will revive the strength of independent institutions like the judiciary and press that act as a check against misuse of executive power. . . ."

He continued, "The ruling Congress Party, which has been guilty of murdering democracy, of putting thousands of innocent citizens behind bars, and of other undemocratic acts, should never be elected to power again."

One of the main reasons that Gandhi called the elections was to give her authoritarian rule the appearance of democracy. Besides refurbishing her "democratic" image abroad, she hopes that the elections will provide her regime a degree of legitimacy among the Indian masses themselves. To give the move some credibility, however, she has found it necessary to relax some of the restrictions under the state of emergency and to allow the opposition parties to voice criticisms of the government.

Although Indian officials have been predicting a sweeping victory for Gandhi's Congress party in March, a relaxation of the emergency, after months of heavy repression, could nevertheless prove risky. To ensure that the tens of thousands of persons who shouted "Long live liberty!" in New Delhi do not break from the bourgeois opposition leaders and begin to struggle for their rights on their own, Gandhi has sought to keep the electoral campaign carefully under control.

While some of the censorship regulations have been eased, Information Minister V.C. Shukla warned editors and journalists January 20 of possible imprisonment unless they "refrain from publication of any reports or comments which may disturb law and order."

Despite the well-publicized releases of prominent political prisoners, L.K. Advani, the general secretary of the Janata party, charged January 27 that an estimated 6,000 to 8,000 members of the opposition parties were still in jail.

Moreover, according to an editorial in the January 22 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*, "A large number of political detenus [detainees] will still continue to remain in prisons since the government has clearly stated that those belonging to the banned organisations will not be released." Among the banned groups is the Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Even before the state of emergency, there were an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 members and sympathizers of the CPI(ML) in Gandhi's political prisons.

While noting the limitations of Gandhi's "relaxation," many of the major bourgeois newspapers in the United States and Britain greeted her move with approval. The London *Sunday Times*, in a January 23 editorial, said that Gandhi's announcement had "done a great deal to restore faith in her claimed devotion to the principles of democracy." The editors of the *Los Angeles Times* said the same day, "These moves are highly welcome."

The *Washington Post* began an editorial in its January 28 issue, "Let credit be given where it's due. . . ." It then continued, "For the moment, India is displaying more democracy than all but a handful of nations in the world."

On January 28, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* termed it "the best news of this new year." What they were really cheering, however, were Gandhi's recent moves to lift some of the restrictions on foreign investments and to bolster Indian capitalism. They noted that "India has freed its economy, in particular by slashing the previous prohibitive taxes on incomes, business and wealth. . . ."

"As long as Madame Gandhi continues and expands these policies, which are freeing the private resources of India, democracy will flourish along with the economy." □

## Soares Finds 'Trotskyists' at Bottom of His Troubles

By Gerry Foley

In the last week of January, the Soares government and the Socialist party right wing on which it depends for its political support suffered two grave setbacks.

At a special SP congress held January 29-30 to discuss the party's statutes, the right wing was unable to get the changes it needs to impose dictatorial control. A majority of the top leadership decided to retreat. *Le Monde's* correspondent José Rebelo reported:

Several amendments to the draft statutes presented by the leadership can help the left wing. Delegates to congresses will be chosen directly by members of the local groups. The initial draft had provided for election at the federation level. Furthermore, the SP recognizes the right to form tendencies, and most important, grants the possibility for public expression of differences.

Over the opposition of the party's No. 2 man, Salgado Zenha, the SP rejected an article that would have forbidden members to express opinions outside the party contrary to the decisions made by its higher bodies.

Salgado Zenha, a new convert to the concept of a "disciplined" party, is one of the most truculent right-wingers in the SP leadership. As minister of finance, he plays a key role in applying the austerity policy.

The SP used to say that the very idea of a uniform party line was "Leninist-Stalinist," making an amalgam between Leninist democratic centralism and Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship. So, Salgado Zenha has remained consistent with this position. Since "centralism" is needed to assure support for the government, he is for going all the way.

### Capitalist Press Dissatisfied

Commentators in the Portuguese capitalist press voiced dissatisfaction with the results of the SP congress. One, who signed himself "A.G.," said in the January 31 issue of *Jornal Novo*: "The SP did not come out of this congress cohesive and strengthened."

The archvillain of the congress, according to this commentator, was former Minister of Agriculture António Lopes Cardoso, whom he accused of "undermining the morale of the majority." Lopes Cardoso has long functioned as the official left face of the Soares leadership. No one but a professional witch-hunter could accuse him of being much of a "leftist." On the other hand, he has an obvious interest in keeping the party from moving too far to the right.

Lopes Cardoso also has a direct connection with the SP's trade-union work. His wife, Fernanda, as SP labor director during the summer 1975 crisis, worked closely with leaders of the party's union fractions who are now being purged as "Trotskyist infiltrators." Thus, in a full-scale witch-hunt, the grand inquisitors could turn up on his doorstep as well. Nonetheless, he has not campaigned in defense of the purged SP union fraction leaders, who include two members of parliament.

The left wing at the Oporto congress, with which Lopes Cardoso was associated by the press, did present a motion demanding reinstatement of the expelled members, but this proposal was voted down. Likewise defeated was a motion calling for the congress to discuss the government's policy.

Since it has assumed the job of running the government for the bourgeoisie, the Soares leadership cannot permit much internal democracy. Soares knows that his policies are obnoxious to the majority of workers and rural working people who support the SP. He knows that they are hated by the majority of the party activists as well, especially those closest to the working people.

On the other hand, there is a limit to how far the Soares leadership can move to the right and the extent to which it can break or drive out its worker activists. If the party loses its working-class base, if it is unable to get the workers to accept its class-collaborationist policies, then it would be of no use to the bourgeoisie, and they would look for a replacement.

### The Intersindical Congress

Another congress held at the end of January showed Soares what he has already lost by collaborating with the bourgeois parties and their labor organizations, while attacking the SP worker activists.

The congress of the CP-controlled labor federation, Intersindical, which began on January 27, marked a severe setback for the SP in the union movement. The unions controlled by Social Democrats and the labor fractions tied to the bourgeois parties called for a boycott of the congress. They formed a bloc around an Open Letter opposing Intersindical. The bloc was obviously intended to be the nucleus of a rival union federation.

However, despite the call for a boycott, the unions that participated in the Inter-

sindical congress represented 85 percent of the organized workers in Portugal, and an even larger percentage of industrial workers.

The Portuguese capitalists now have to face the fact that in order to keep the workers under control, they are going to have to deal essentially with a CP-dominated union federation. The CP's bargaining position vis-à-vis the SP has thus considerably improved.

In the months since the SP government launched its austerity policy, began openly collaborating with probourgeois forces in the labor movement, and initiated a purge of its own most respected union activists, Intersindical has risen phoenix-like from the ashes to which it was reduced because of the CP's alliance with the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement).

During the CP-MFA alliance, Intersindical acted like a government agency in the labor movement. When opposition from militant workers rose to the point of threatening the Intersindical leadership, the MFA came to its rescue. The Gonçalves government issued a decree that there could be only one national federation, which had to be Intersindical, since it was the only one already in existence. The result of the government's defense of Intersindical, however, was that it ended up more discredited than ever.

Now, in the January 1977 Intersindical congress, it was the CP union leaders who respresented themselves as the defenders of the labor movement's independence from the government. In a January 30 dispatch, *New York Times* correspondent Marvyn Howe reported:

The statutes of the new confederation [Intersindical changed its name to the "General Confederation of Portuguese Workers"] proclaim it open to all unions that do not advocate "contrary principles and aims" and emphasize its independence of management, the state, religious groups, political parties and other nonunion organizations.

Moreover, according to most accounts, the CP leadership of Intersindical dealt in a flexible way with the representatives of political minorities at the congress. Its most astute move seems to have been electing Kalidás Barreto, a figure identified with the SP left wing, to the new National Secretariat.

Barreto claimed that the SP leadership agreed that he should take the post. Right-wing commentators in the Portuguese press have questioned this. But it is not yet



clear what Barreto's relationship is to the SP leadership. He is one of the best-known figures associated with the left wing, yet he has not been singled out for attack by the right wing.

### Factional War Against the Left Wing

Immediately after the SP congress at the end of October, the leaders of the left wing began to be removed from influential positions, even though more than a fourth of the delegates had voted for their slate. The national Labor Commission they headed was dissolved, and police were used to prevent it from meeting. The suspensions and expulsions that began in the period before the congress multiplied.

At the SP National Committee meeting January 8 in Figueira da Foz, a group of suspended members tried to appeal. This is the way the Lisbon paper *Diário de Notícias*, controlled by the SP right wing, described what happened:

The start of the sessions, as noted above, was marked by a minor incident that occurred when a group of suspended members appeared at the door to sell an unauthorized edition of the [SP internal] paper *Militante Socialista*.

This event provoked a certain agitation, attracting the attention of the police, who dispersed the dissident SP members.

*Diário de Notícias* did, however, print excerpts from the statement distributed by the suspended members. Among these were the following:

We do not accept the dissolution of the Labor Commission that was decreed immediately after the [October] congress. We do not accept the banning of meetings. We, like all Socialists, repudiate the methods that were used to stop us from entering party meeting rooms, including the use of toxic gas. . . .

We say that the present orientation of the party in the government is contrary to the party's program, and contrary to the will of the majority of the people who voted for us for the third time . . . not because they wanted us to carry out the program of the right, which the right itself is incapable of carrying out. . . .

We call on all members of the SP to mobilize to get the congress to discuss and vote on the government's policy in accordance with the SP program, the interests of the people, and of socialism.

At its December 1974 congress, the SP adopted a left-sounding program, to increase its attractiveness as an alternative to the CP. Now the left wing can justly appeal to this program against the Soares leadership.

On January 15, the National Secretariat of the SP suspended three leaders of the party's youth organization for trying to hold a meeting to protest the release of former secret police torturers and assassins.

### All Ascribable to 'Trotskyist Infiltration'

On January 22, a little more than a week before the special party congress, the National Secretariat released a seventeen-

page document trying to prove that the opposition to Soares's policies was all the result of "Trotskyist infiltration."

The object of these "infiltrators," or "submarines," was supposed to be to:



SOARES

"capture enough members to divide the SP, taking away as much as possible of its working-class base. Then they would try to form a kind of 'socialist workers' party . . . while the SP was reduced to the dimensions of a small bourgeois party."

The "Trotskyists" were supposed to have taken advantage of the summer 1975 crisis to gain a strong position:

There are left currents for which the Gonçalves governments embodied a combination of the two things historically most hated by them—Stalinism and militarism. Certain Trotskyist currents thus found in the SP's fight against *Gonçalvismo* a fertile ground for spreading their historic theses and the slogans habitually raised by this ideological family. Thus, it is not surprising that such political work bore some fruit in the SP, particularly in some of its structures.

The document claimed that the SP had been subjected to a Trotskyist "entry" operation similar to those "uncovered" in the British Labour party and Swedish SP youth, as well as in other parties. *Jornal Novo*, now one of the country's most aggressively procapitalist papers, used this report in the same way that U.S. capitalist papers for example, have used the publications of witch-hunting congressional committees. In its January 22 issue, it said:

"Mentioned in the document are the names of some SP members, all suspended and whose expulsion is expected soon." It

then cited names of left-wing leaders such as Aires Rodrigues and Carmelinda Pereira, as well as others. Thus it was enough to have your name "mentioned" to be publicly branded as an "infiltrator."

In a following issue, *Jornal Novo* offered a "background" piece on "Trotskyist infiltration," obviously written by a Maoist:

The task of infiltration is greatly facilitated by the careless and overly liberal type of organization that characterizes the Social Democratic parties.

The [Trotskyists'] ideological arguments are only to conceal the real objectives of these "submarines," which are to weaken, divide, or destroy SPs from within, thus making it easier for the Social Fascist parties to do their job of controlling the working class.

The author, Nuno Torres, explained: "It is easy to identify the patron of these organized factions—Russian Social Imperialism."

At the same time, the SP right wing has accused the left of being in league with the CP and of planning to set up a new party that would include the military demagogue Otelo de Carvalho.

Even members of the Soares top team such as Minister of Agriculture António Barreto, journalist Mário Mesquita, and José Medeiros Ferreira had to express queasiness about the Secretariat document: "They drew attention to its 'rather loaded language,'" *Jornal Novo* reported.

The left-wing leaders were expelled January 26. But at a news conference the next day, they issued a strong appeal to the ranks:

The SP government is violating the right to strike and the liberties of the people, it is imposing austerity measures only against the workers; if it permits the release of secret police agents and rightist bombers . . . the counter-revolutionary audacity of the capitalists and big landowners, of the right, will be redoubled, and the freedom won by the people will be put in danger. . . .

For these reasons, we call on all members of the party, on delegates to the congress especially, and in particular to the proletarian ranks of the party who together with us built the SP, at times in the most difficult conditions, to rise up, to unite, and say clearly that they will not let the SP be led to destruction in their name.

Although Soares managed to expel the left-wing leaders, they still have the means to make their voice heard. And if the SP leadership cannot stamp out discussion in the ranks, such a denunciation of its betrayal of the working people can have a powerful effect. □

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### Kremlin Steps Up Harassment of Sakharov

By Marilyn Vogt

The Kremlin rulers have again stepped up their efforts to silence dissident Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov. Sakharov was ordered to appear before the deputy state prosecutor January 25, where he was warned by officials to retract his statements concerning the Moscow subway explosion or face arrest.

Since the mid-1960s, Sakharov has played a prominent role in publicizing cases of police repression of dissidents. The Stalinist regime has repeatedly tried to silence him through attacks in the official press, threats on the lives of him and his family, and harassment and arrest of those who collaborate with him.

In 1973 he was similarly "warned" by the prosecutor's office. According to a recent Soviet law, a dissident is given one "warning." If the dissident persists in protesting, he or she faces arrest.

The new warning is Sakharov's second. He responded to it as he did to the first, immediately calling a press conference to expose the police intimidation and reassert the legality of his activities.

The warning came in response to Sak-

harov's statement denouncing the charge that a January 8 explosion in the Moscow subway, reportedly killing at least seven persons, was the work of dissidents. The charge was made January 10 through Soviet journalist Victor Louis in an article in the London *Evening News*.

Louis, who "leaks" information abroad for the Kremlin rulers, said the explosion was the result of "a terrorist bomb" and that "official sources hinted it may have been planted by a Soviet dissident group."

Sakharov condemned this slander January 14, pointing out that dissident activists in the USSR function fully within the law and have as their goal the open, public discussion of events. He called for a public investigation of the explosion. He further stated that the blast may have been "the latest and most dangerous provocation in recent years by the repressive organs," who are seeking pretexts for intensifying repression of dissenters.

Sakharov and seven Soviet dissident organizations issued a joint statement in this regard signed by 300 of the groups' activists and supporters, according to the



SAKHAROV

January 18 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Since the explosion, the Soviet political police have searched and questioned three dissidents allegedly suspected of having a role in the explosion. They are Vladimir Albrekht, a member of the much-harassed Soviet section of Amnesty International; Ivan Chardintsev, a former political prisoner; and Vladimir Rubtsov, a friend of Sakharov's son-in-law. □

### Moscow Subway Bombing—Pretext for a Crackdown

[The following statement was issued by Andrei Sakharov at a Moscow news conference January 18. It describes the police harassment of Vladimir Rubtsov, a friend of Sakharov's son-in-law Efrem Yankelevich.

[In an effort to increase pressure on Sakharov, the Kremlin's police have repeatedly threatened Yankelevich, his friends, and his infant son. Sakharov has responded to these efforts by exposing the police through public statements, of which this is the most recent.

[The translation from the Russian is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

In my statement of January 12, I expressed concern that the KGB might use the explosion in the subway January 8 as a pretext for intensifying pressure on dissidents. Today, I can say that my fears are beginning to be confirmed.

I present to you Vladimir Rubtsov, a close friend of my son-in-law Efrem Yankelevich and a good friend of my family. Rubtsov is an electrical worker, married,

with a one-year-old son. He is thirty-eight years old. Four days after the explosion in the Moscow subway, that is, two days after the TASS statement and Victor Louis's article, two KGB agents came to visit him and asked where he was on Saturday, the day of the explosion. They added: "Try to recall more precisely because it is important." However, they refused to explain why this was of interest to them, saying only that it was important in connection with some transport incident. Rubtsov answered that he was at home.

"Your brother does not confirm this," they declared. Later, it was learned that Rubtsov's brother had refused to answer questions which did not concern him, considering it unethical to do so, but did not at all deny that his brother was at home.

On January 16, they again came but at that time Rubtsov's brother answered that on January 8, Vladimir Rubtsov was home all day. The conversations with both Rubtsov and his brother had the character of a veiled threat, an allusion to Rubtsov's participation in some sort of ill-defined events.

One and a half months previously, on November 30, 1976, a search was conducted of the house where Rubtsov's brother lives—in the Kupavna settlement in the Moscow province. (Rubtsov himself was only registered there but actually spent more time in Moscow with his wife.) They announced to Rubtsov's brother that the search was being conducted in connection with the theft of some weapons at a local school. No weapons were found; however, they demanded that Rubtsov's brother show them Rubtsov's room and despite his refusal, they searched that room anyway. In Rubtsov's room they confiscated a number of manuscripts of samizdat texts, including several of my public statements and interviews, which I had given him at different times. After the search, Rubtsov's brother, his wife, Rubtsov himself, and his wife, Tatyana Postnikov, were repeatedly interrogated by the KGB. In essence, they wanted to know from whom Rubtsov received and to whom he gave to read the confiscated materials; they asked the others about Rubtsov's acquaintances. Rubtsov's wife was told that Rubtsov had entered the path to criminality and that no Yankele-

vich kind of person could help him. Later on they announced that they knew about Rubtsov's and Yankelevich's intention to make a public protest but that even this would help no one, and would only bring harm to Rubtsov. Efrem Yankelevich actually wrote and sent an open letter to public civil-rights organizations and to the AFL-CIO, in which he asked them to speak out in defense of Vladimir Rubtsov and to support the principle of free exchange of information.

This is a brief exposition of the facts about the illegal persecution of Rubtsov.

I fear for the fate of Rubtsov, as a person who is a personal friend of my son-in-law Efrem Yankelevich and as a frequent guest of our family. The fact that such fears have foundations has unfortunately been shown by the fate of other friends of our household. I feel particular concern over the utilization of the January 8 events as a new form of pressure on Rubtsov.

Andrei Sakharov

P.S. Yesterday, after I had already invited you to this meeting, it was learned that Rubtsov was called to appear today for questioning at the Moscow City Prosecutor's office.

A.S.

### Correction

In the September 6, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press* (page 1254), we published a statement denouncing the slanders circulated by the Healy group against Joseph Hansen and George Novack as a shameless frame-up. One of the signers in Britain was mistakenly listed as "Jim Peck." This should have been J.N. Peck.

Comrade Peck is thoroughly familiar with the pernicious practices of the Healy group, having served for several years on the editorial board of the *Newsletter* (renamed *Workers Press* and then *News Line*), the official organ of the Healyites.

### Identification Required

Ernest Digweed, a retired teacher who died in Britain last year at the age of eighty-one, left his estate of £26,107 to be paid to "the Lord Jesus Christ" in the event of a Second Coming.

As reported in the January 21 *Times* of London, the will stipulates that the entire estate should be invested for eighty years.

"If during those 80 years," the will states, "the Lord Jesus Christ shall come to reign on Earth, then the Public Trustee, upon obtaining proof which shall satisfy them of his identity, shall pay to the Lord Jesus Christ all the property which they hold on his behalf."

The will states that if Christ has not appeared within eighty years, the whole of the estate is to go to the British government.

## The Charter 77 Movement in Czechoslovakia

### 'A New Stage in Development of the Opposition'

By Jiri Pelikan

[Jiri Pelikan was a director of the Czechoslovak TV network under the Dubcek government. After the Soviet occupation, he was elected to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party at its clandestine Fourth Congress, held in a factory outside Prague under the protection of the workers. He was forced into exile by the reconsolidation of Stalinist repression in his country. He now edits a journal of the Czechoslovak socialist emigration, the monthly *Listy*. The following article was published in the January 14 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The appearance of the Charter 77 movement represents a new stage in the development of the opposition in Czechoslovakia, and by the same token an addition to the opposition movement throughout the East European countries. It has this significance because it offers a political platform uniting the various opposition currents and the various social layers in the country behind a common purpose: To defend the democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the country's constitution and by the international conventions—together with the Helsinki Accords—to which Czechoslovak governments have adhered, rights and freedoms that nonetheless have been consistently violated by the occupation regime.

Charter 77 has not replaced the various opposition movements and groups. These will continue to function in accordance with their own perspectives. What it has done is bring them together so that they can carry out common actions which will be more effective as a result.

It is also an important fact that this initiative comes at a time when the spirit of resistance has begun to rise with a new force in the other East European countries. This is exemplified in Poland by the formation of the Committee to Defend Worker Victims of the Repression and the work it has done, in the USSR by Sakharov's Committee for Human Rights and Yuri Orlov's group set up to supervise implementation of the Helsinki Accords, and in the German Democratic Republic by the movement to protest the expulsion of the communist poet Wolf Biermann.

Despite the different situations in these various East European countries, the goals of the struggle are the same, or very similar, in every case—to defend freedom

of expression and organization; to raise the demand for independence for the trade unions, for workers' participation in factory management, and for an end to the one-party bureaucracy's monopoly of power, as well as to censorship and repression.

Although it has its negative aspects for the more developed countries, the economic, political, and military integration of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon countries is bringing with it a gradual evening out of living conditions in all the Soviet bloc countries. As a result, there is a growing awareness of what is happening in neighboring countries, and this is enabling the opposition movement to emerge from the atomization and national egoism that marked it in the past and led to the defeats in 1956 and 1968.

Nor is it by chance that the growth and broadening of these movements coincide with the fading of the mythical perspective of a nonpolitical consumer society that the normalizers offered in the hope of defusing the workers' discontent. The economic crisis in the East European countries, which is rooted in bureaucratic management and Soviet economic domination and is being intensified by the capitalist economic crisis, will deepen still further in the coming two or three years. This sharpening of the economic crisis will propel into the opposition movement those social layers that at the moment remain passive or are taking a wait-and-see attitude.

The leading groups in the East European countries will no doubt try to stifle this movement once again by means of a new wave of repression. Today, however, they face a stronger and more determined adversary, one imbued with the truly internationalist solidarity of the exploited and oppressed. Further, the illusions about the USSR traditionally held in the West are beginning to fade. So, a step-up in repression by the East European regimes would mean a complete break with the "Euro-Communist" CPs.

The leading groups, thus, are faced with two choices—either make concessions, grant reforms of the sort demanded by the oppositionists, or face the eventuality of a spontaneous explosion, and maybe a number of them, which could have dramatic consequences.

The Western left and the socialist opposition currents in the East European countries must prepare themselves to confront these two eventualities with a bold but realistic program for a socialist alternative. □

## A Petition for Democratic Rights in Czechoslovakia

[In the first week of January, Czech and Slovak defenders of civil liberties attempted to deliver a petition to the Prague government calling for respect for the democratic rights guaranteed by the Czechoslovak constitution. But the delegation was reportedly driven away by police, who also harassed its members. However, three copies of this petition, called Charter 77, were gotten to Western correspondents. The full text, which follows, was published in English translation in the January 31 issue of *New Leader*, a fortnightly magazine published in New York.]

\* \* \*

Law No. 120 of the Czechoslovak Collection of Laws, published October 13, 1976, includes the text of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, both signed in behalf of our Republic in 1968 and confirmed at the 1975 Helsinki Conference. These pacts went into effect in our country on March 23, 1976; since that date our citizens have had the right, and the State has had the duty, to abide by them.

The freedoms guaranteed to individuals by the two documents are important assets of civilization. They have been the goals of campaigns by many progressive people in the past, and their enactment can significantly contribute to a humane development of our society. We welcome the fact that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has agreed to enter into these covenants.

Their publication, however, is at the same time an urgent reminder of the many fundamental human rights that, regrettably, exist in our country only on paper. The right of free expression guaranteed by Article 19 of the first pact, for example, is quite illusory. Tens of thousands of citizens have been prevented from working in their professions for the sole reason that their views differ from the official ones. They have been the frequent targets of various forms of discrimination and chicanery on the part of the authorities or social organizations; they have been denied any opportunity to defend themselves and are practically the victims of apartheid. Hundreds of thousands of other citizens have been denied the "freedom from fear" cited in the Preamble to the first pact; they live in constant peril of losing their jobs or other benefits if they express their opinions.

Contrary to Article 13 of the second pact, guaranteeing the right to education, many young people are prevented from pursuing

higher education because of their views or even because of their parents' views. Countless citizens worry that if they declare their convictions, they themselves or their children will be deprived of an education.

Exercising the right to "seek, receive and impart information regardless of frontiers and of whether it is oral, written or printed," or "imparted through art,"—Point 2, Article 13 of the first pact—can result in persecution not only outside the court but also inside. Frequently this occurs under the pretext of a criminal indictment (as evidenced, among other instances, by the recent trial of young musicians).

Freedom of speech is suppressed by the government's management of all mass media, including the publishing and cultural institutions. No political, philosophical, scientific, or artistic work that deviates in the slightest from the narrow framework of official ideology or esthetics is permitted to be produced. Public criticism of social conditions is prohibited. Public defense against false and defamatory charges by official propaganda organs is impossible, despite the legal protection against attacks on one's reputation and honor unequivocally afforded by Article 17 of the first pact. False accusations cannot be refuted, and it is futile to attempt rectification or to seek legal redress. Open discussions of intellectual and cultural matters is out of the question. Many scientific and cultural workers, as well as other citizens, have been discriminated against simply because some years ago they legally published or openly articulated views condemned by the current political power.

Religious freedom, emphatically guaranteed by Article 18 of the first pact, is systematically curbed with a despotic arbitrariness: Limits are imposed on the activities of priests, who are constantly threatened with the revocation of government permission to perform their function; persons who manifest their religious faith either by word or action lose their jobs or are made to suffer other repressions; religious instruction in schools is suppressed, et cetera.

A whole range of civil rights is severely restricted or completely suppressed by the effective method of subordinating all institutions and organizations in the State to the political directives of the ruling Party's apparatuses and the pronouncements of highly influential individuals. Neither the Constitution of the CSSR nor any of the country's other legal procedures regulate the contents, form or application of such pronouncements, which are fre-

quently issued orally, unbeknown to and beyond the control of the average citizen. Their authors are responsible only to themselves and their own hierarchy, yet they have a decisive influence on the activity of the legislature as well as executive bodies of the State administration, on the courts, trade unions, social organizations, other political parties, business, factories, schools and similar installations, and their orders take precedence over the laws.

If some organizations or citizens, in the interpretation of their rights and duties, become involved in a conflict with the directives, they cannot turn to a neutral authority, for none exists. Consequently, the right of assembly and the prohibition of its restraint, stemming from Articles 21 and 22 of the first pact; the right to participate in public affairs, in Article 25; and the right to equality before the law, in Article 26—all have been seriously curtailed. These conditions prevent working people from freely establishing labor and other organizations for the protection of their economic and social interests, and from freely using their right to strike as provided in Point 1, Article 8 of the second pact.

Other civil rights, including the virtual banning of "willful interference with private life, the family, home and correspondence" in Article 17 of the first pact, are gravely circumscribed by the fact that the Interior Ministry employs various practices to control the daily existence of citizens—such as telephone tapping and the surveillance of private homes, watching mail, shadowing individuals, searching apartments, and recruiting a network of informers from the ranks of the population (often by illegal intimidation or, sometimes, promises), etc. The Ministry frequently interferes in the decisions of employers, inspires discrimination by authorities and organizations, influences the organs of justice, and even supervises the propaganda campaigns of the mass media. This activity is not regulated by laws, it is covert, so the citizen is unable to protect himself against it.

In the cases of politically motivated persecution, the organs of interrogation and justice violate the rights of the defendants and their counsel, contrary to Article 14 of the first pact as well as Czechoslovakia's own laws. People thus sentenced to jail are being treated in a manner that violates their human dignity, impairs their health, and attempts to break them morally.

Point 2, Article 12 of the first pact,

guaranteeing the right to freely leave one's country, is generally violated. Under the pretext of "protecting the State security" contained in Point 3, departure is tied to various illegal conditions. Just as arbitrary are the procedures for issuing visas to foreign nationals, many of whom are prevented from visiting Czechoslovakia because they had some official or friendly contact with persons who had been discriminated against in our country.

Some citizens—privately at their places of work, or through the media abroad (the only public forum available to them)—have drawn attention to these systematic violations of human rights and democratic freedoms and have demanded a remedy in specific cases. But they have received no response, or have themselves become the objects of investigation.

The responsibility for the preservation of civil rights naturally rests with the State power. But not on it alone. Every individual bears a share of responsibility for the general conditions in the country, and therefore also for compliance with the enacted pacts, which are as binding for the people as for the government.

The feeling of this coresponsibility, the belief in the value of civic engagement and the readiness to be engaged, together with the need to seek a new and more effective expression, gave us the idea of creating Charter 77, whose existence we publicly announce.

Charter 77 is a free and informal and open association of people of various convictions, religions and professions, linked by the desire to work individually and collectively for respect for human and civil rights in Czechoslovakia and the world—the rights provided for in the enacted international pacts, in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and in numerous other international documents against wars, violence and social and mental oppression. It represents a general declaration of human rights.

Charter 77 is founded on the concepts of solidarity and friendship of people who share a concern for the fate of ideals to which they have linked their lives and work.

Charter 77 is not an organization; it has no statutes, permanent organs or registered membership. Everyone who agrees with its idea and participates in its work and supports it, belongs to it.

Charter 77 is not intended to be a basis for opposition political activity. Its desire is to serve the common interest, as have numerous similar organizations of civic initiative East and West. It has no intention of initiating its own programs for political or social reforms or changes, but it wants to lead in the sphere of its activity by means of a constructive dialogue with the political and State authorities—and particularly by drawing attention to various specific violations of civil and human rights, by preparing their documentation,

by suggesting solutions, by submitting various more general proposals aimed at furthering these rights and their guarantees, by acting as a mediator in the event of conflict situations which might result in wrongdoings, etc.

By its symbolic name, Charter 77 stresses that it has been established on the threshold of what has been declared the year of political prisoners, in the course of which a meeting in Belgrade is to review the progress—or lack of it—achieved since the Helsinki Conference.

As signatories of this declaration, we designate Dr. Jan Patočka, Dr. Vaclav Havel and Professor Jiri Hajek to act as

spokesmen for Charter 77. These spokesmen are authorized to represent Charter 77 before the State and other organizations, as well as before the public at home and throughout the world, and they guarantee the authenticity of its documents by their signatures. In us and other citizens who will join Charter 77, they will find their collaborators who will participate in the necessary negotiations, who will accept partial tasks, and will share the entire responsibility.

We trust that Charter 77 will contribute to making it possible for all citizens of Czechoslovakia to live and work as free people. □

## Pentagon Takes Remedial Action

### Profit Shortage Discovered in Munitions Industry



Pierotti/New York Post

Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater stepped up to the Senate podium January 4 and sounded the alarm. It seems that over the years the government has built up "a core of about 40,000 'watchers' who look over the shoulder of Government contracting officers to make sure the Government gets what it ordered. And a result of this has been a serious shrinking of the profit margin a producer can expect from a defense contract."

Gone are the good old days when contractors could make fabulous profits by selling the army boots that fell apart in the rain, shells that blew up in the barrels of guns, and airplanes that fell out of the sky without being shot down.

According to Goldwater, things have reached the point where "the defense contractor today can expect a profit on

Government work of about 4.7 percent. This compares with . . . the normal profit for all types of manufacturing of 6.7 percent."

Profits are so slim, according to Goldwater, "that American industry is now becoming disillusioned with defense work and some companies are actually refusing to bid on Pentagon contracts."

However, remedial action is being taken. "One of the things the Defense Department is doing to correct this is to close the profit gap," an article read into the *Congressional Record* by Goldwater explains.

The article, published by the "Association of the U.S. Army," says that the Pentagon is prepared to guarantee better profits for munitions manufacturers. They will get extra points, for instance, if they work to promote military sales abroad, currently a paltry \$12 billion a year. Also, the Pentagon will cut down the number of "watchers" checking on the quality of arms production. "Most contractors, DOD [Department of Defense] says, can be trusted to turn out a product that meets specifications."

"So, the Department of Defense has sent briefing teams ranging throughout the country to sell the concept of Profit '76. At last report they have visited 13 cities and briefed more than 3,000 potential Defense contractors."

How would the American people ever get along without watchful public servants like Senator Goldwater? □

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## New Struggles Loom in Middle East

By David Frankel

Once again, as so often in the past, the prospects for a Middle East peace settlement are being discussed both in the mass media and among heads of state around the world.

"We are headed for Geneva and for a final settlement," Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat told the Beirut daily *Al-Anwar* in a New Year's interview. Geneva, Sadat promised, will be the "final battle in the Arab-Israel conflict."

Najati Kabbani, the Lebanese ambassador in Washington, declared on the eve of President Carter's inauguration, "1977 will be the year to obtain an overall settlement."

Even before Carter took office, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance announced that he was planning a trip to the Middle East in February. Carter himself said, "There is a fine opportunity for dramatic improvements there."

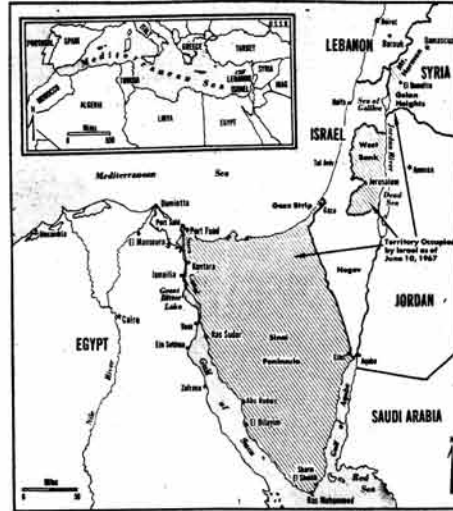
### Tightening the Noose in Lebanon

The optimistic statements coming out of Arab capitals and Washington have been based in no small part on the success of the Syrian intervention in Lebanon. The defeat of the Lebanese left and the Palestinian liberation movement in the civil war there represents the biggest victory for reaction and imperialism in the Middle East since the defeat of the Palestinians in Jordan in September 1970.

More than two months have passed since the Syrian army completed its takeover of Beirut November 15, two months in which a reactionary stranglehold has tightened over the political life of the country. Lebanese and foreign banks gave their verdict on the situation January 17, when they announced that they were resuming full activity in Lebanon.

At first, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad used the 30,000-strong army of occupation that is still stationed in Lebanon to consolidate his victory. Although nominally a pan-Arab peacekeeping force, the occupying army is almost all Syrian. Thus, when Assad wanted to close down seven newspapers in Beirut this December, he simply ordered his troops to occupy their offices.

Now, however, Assad is relying more on his junior partners in the Lebanese government—President Elias Sarkis and Prime Minister Selim al-Hoss. At the end of December the Lebanese cabinet was empowered to rule by decree for six months, and the government ushered in



Washington Post

the new year with the news that censorship was being imposed.

One clause in the censorship regulations barred publication of material "different in form or content from the statements released by official authorities." Other clauses prohibit material that the censor interprets as insulting to the Lebanese president, Arab heads of state, or the heads of state of friendly countries. Material deemed "harmful to public morals" is also banned.

Heading the censorship operation is Colonel Antoine Dahdah, who is related by marriage to former President Suleiman Franjeh and who shares his extreme right-wing views. The colonel makes no secret of his intention to muzzle the "subversive" publications of the Lebanese left and the Palestinian liberation movement.

It is clear that under the screen of censorship, Assad is preparing to break the power of the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon. The regular forces under the command of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are being pulled out of Lebanon as a result of pressure from the Syrian "peacekeeping force" and the Maronite rightists. Palestinian forces are also under strong pressure to hand in their heavy weapons.

"Officials close to Mr. Sarkis told correspondents that once this operation [the collection of heavy weapons] was completed the censorship might be relaxed, though not removed," *New York Times* corres-

pondent Henry Tanner reported in a January 13 dispatch from Damascus, where he was able to file an uncensored story.

This prediction came true January 25, when prior censorship was lifted for foreign correspondents. But the restrictions inside Lebanon, which count the most, were maintained. As Tanner explained in his dispatch, the officials he spoke to "cited a second, longer-range objective of the censorship: Lebanon, they said, must no longer be used by the Palestinians as the platform for their information and propaganda operations.

"Wafa, the Palestinian press agency, no longer is able to send out its reports and commentaries from Beirut, and correspondents were specifically instructed that they could not quote Wafa or file statements and interviews by Palestinian leaders."

The fact that Assad and his allies are proceeding gradually should not give rise to any illusions about their ultimate purpose. In this regard, it should be recalled that the Palestinian guerrillas were not finally driven out of Jordan until July 1971, ten months after the short but bloody civil war of September 1970.

Some feel for the current situation in Lebanon was given by David Hirst in an article in the January 23 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. Hirst reported:

The Syrian "deterrent forces" are poised menacingly round the refugee camps, including such administrative nerve centres as Sabra in Beirut, and, thus reassured, the Syrian-backed Saiqa guerrilla organisation, ignominiously driven out in June, is reoccupying military outposts and bureaus in the various centres of the Palestinian population.

Many Saiqa soldiers are Syrian. In the clashes that periodically break out, they lose no opportunity to nibble away at the embattled redoubts of the Palestinian "rejectionists." The mainstream guerrilla organisations have set up their own "deterrent force" to keep the peace in the camps, fearful as they are, that the Syrians will seize upon some pretext to overrun them altogether.

While Assad's forces have begun by concentrating their fire on the smaller and more exposed groups on the fringes of the PLO, their ultimate target is the Palestinian liberation movement as a whole.

Ihsan Hijazi gave a further indication of the noose tightening around the Palestinians in Lebanon in a January 20 dispatch from Beirut in the London *Financial Times*. Hijazi reported a prediction of the "usually well-informed" Beirut daily *Al Bayraq* that "movement of Palestinians in and out of their camps in various parts of the country will be restricted by special permits which will be checked by the Arab League force and Lebanese security authorities."

Lebanon was the last country bordering Israel in which the Palestinian liberation movement had not been subjected to tight

government control and effectively destroyed as an open mass movement. It is therefore hardly surprising that the defeat in Lebanon has provoked considerable discussion within and around the Palestinian liberation movement about the causes of the defeat and about what the future holds in store.

#### United Front Against the Palestinians

Of course, the first thing that must be said about the outcome of the Lebanese civil war is that the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition fought against very heavy odds. On the military front, the Maronite rightists were aided by Israel and the Syrian army. At one point, there was even threat of direct American intervention.

On the political level, the Palestinians and their allies were opposed by virtually all of the regimes in the Arab world. The Iraqi government was the exception; it sought to use the Lebanese events as a weapon against its long-standing Syrian rival. The Libyan regime, which claimed to support the Palestinians, ended up by taking part in the Syrian-dominated "peacekeeping" mission. It finally withdrew its troops from Lebanon November 29.

Nor was any help forthcoming from Moscow or Peking. The Kremlin, which was afraid of upsetting its cordial relations with Assad, refused to issue even the mildest public criticism of his invasion of Lebanon until August—more than two months after it took place. Even Sadat put up a better front than that.

As for the Maoist regime in China, it never objected to the Syrian invasion at all. When faced with a choice between speaking out in defense of the Arab revolution or of subordinating the interests of the Arab masses to their petty diplomatic maneuvers, the Stalinist bureaucrats in Peking never hesitated. And to top off this sorry performance, Hsinhua, the official Chinese news agency, hailed the agreement reached at the Riyadh summit conference giving the Syrian occupation of Lebanon a pan-Arab cover.

In its October 23 issue, Hsinhua said of the Riyadh summit: "This is an important step toward Arab unity and a heavy blow at the two superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism in particular, which have been creating confusion in Lebanon."

What Hsinhua called "an important step toward Arab unity" was based on the fact that the Arab regimes saw the defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon as a prerequisite for successful negotiations with Israel. And from the point of view of the Arab capitalists, such negotiations are essential.

As Malcolm H. Kerr noted in the January 9 *Los Angeles Times*, "It has become increasingly clear in recent years that the protraction of the conflict with Israel endangers the foundation of the social and political order in many Arab countries. As long as the conflict remains open, it erodes the authority, credibility,

and in some cases solvency of Arab regimes. . . ."

Revolutionary socialists have always pointed out that the bourgeois regimes in the Arab world are incapable of carrying



PLO LEADER YASIR ARAFAT

out the fight against Israeli aggression and for the rights of the Palestinian people. Despite the militant rhetoric of many of these governments, they are much more fearful of the mobilization of their own people than they are of Israel.

This fear on the part of the Arab regimes has been illustrated throughout the history of the Palestinian liberation struggle. The PLO itself was set up by the Arab regimes in 1964 as a means of channeling and controlling the discontent and militancy of the Palestinians. The biggest problem facing those Palestinians who tried to organize an independent struggle against Israel in this period was repression from the Arab regimes, including that of Nasser in Egypt.

But after the debacle of the Arab armies in the June 1967 Middle East war, tens of thousands of Palestinians lost confidence in the Arab regimes. The small Palestinian guerrilla groups mushroomed into a mass movement and broke away from the control of the Arab governments.

The PLO leadership never attempted to do any more than to organize the Palestinian masses to struggle for their national rights. But by doing that, they directly threatened the regimes in Jordan and in Lebanon, and put heavy pressure on those in Egypt, Syria, and in Arab countries further removed from Israel.

Thus, the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people has become central to the class struggle throughout the Middle

East. To the extent that the PLO attempted to mobilize the Arab masses to struggle for the liberation of Palestine, it was bound to come into conflict not only with imperialism, but also with the Arab regimes.

Unfortunately, in attempting to stave off a confrontation with the Arab regimes, the PLO leadership has followed policies that have often resulted in the political subordination of the Palestinian liberation movement to these same governments. Such policies were one factor in the defeat in Lebanon.

#### The Role of the PLO Leadership

Although the civil war in Lebanon began with the machine-gunning of a busload of Palestinians returning from a rally organized by the Rejection Front<sup>1</sup> in April 1975, the PLO leadership attempted to remain aloof from the confrontation. In an interview with *Intercontinental Press* last year, a Lebanese Trotskyist described how, during the so-called hotel battle in Beirut's commercial district in December 1975, "the Fateh<sup>2</sup> forces withdrew from the fighting and stopped giving ammunition to the left and other armed groups on the side of the nationalist forces" (*Intercontinental Press*, July 26, 1976, p. 1135).

The attempt to maintain neutrality in the civil war was clearly doomed from the beginning. A direct military victory by the rightist forces could only have resulted in a massacre directed against the Palestinian population. Had the PLO ignored the demands of the Arab regimes, the rightists might have been defeated before Assad could organize his intervention.

Just as in Jordan five years earlier, the policy of nonintervention in the "internal affairs" of the various Arab countries helped to prepare a cruel defeat for the Palestinian movement.

Moreover, this policy of nonintervention has always been applied with a particular slant. PLO leaders have frequently made statements in support of capitalist rulers that they happen to be on good terms with. Immediately after the October 1973 war, for example, both Sadat and Assad were hailed. When Sadat concluded a separate deal with the Israeli regime through the mediation of Henry Kissinger, he was condemned and Assad was held up as a model of Arab determination and militancy. Then, in May 1976, when the PLO was being pressed by Assad's troops in Lebanon, another reversal took place and attacks on the Egyptian regime were halted.

In practice, the policy of nonintervention boils down to an attempt to assure the Arab regimes that the PLO will behave "responsibly," and not support or encour-

1. The Rejection Front includes those forces in the Palestinian movement that are opposed to any negotiations with Israel.

2. Fateh is the largest Palestinian guerrilla organization and the main force inside the PLO.

age any anticapitalist revolutionary activity. The program advanced by the PLO leaders for Lebanon was particularly revealing from this point of view.

In the February 8, 1976, issue of the PLO newspaper *Falastin Al-Thawra*, 'Abd Kiwan argued that "the conflict [in Lebanon] is between a capitalist economic system and a decaying political framework inherited from forms of production that predate capitalism" (quoted in *Swasia*, March 26, 1976).

As a theoretical argument this is nonsense, since Lebanon's discriminatory political system was imposed by French imperialism—hardly a precapitalist phenomenon! But what was significant was Kiwan's political conclusion. As he saw it:

The terrible battle that took place on the soil of Lebanon [this was written during a period of cease-fire] is the fertile mother that will give birth to a new offspring—a new Lebanon established on the basis of a bourgeois democracy and the apparatus of a modern state that will aid and facilitate the growth and flowering of the Lebanese economy.

According to this reasoning, all of Lebanon's pressing social problems could be solved within the confines of capitalism by simply carrying out a reform of the country's governmental apparatus and ending the privileged position of the Maronite community.

But such assurances to the Arab regimes have done nothing to help the PLO. The PLO will remain a subversive force in the eyes of the Arab capitalists despite its procapitalist social program as long as it attempts to mobilize the masses in the struggle for a free Arab Palestine.

With the defeat of the mass movement in Lebanon, the American imperialists and their Arab clients hope that they will be able to put enough pressure on the PLO to force it to abandon the struggle for a unitary Palestinian state. The alternatives before the Palestinian liberation movement are increasingly being posed as either capitulation to the Arab regimes or a return to individual terrorism.

In fact, there is a third alternative—that of patient education and organization to prepare for new mass upsurges. The defeat in Lebanon and the attempts to wring concessions out of the Palestinian liberation movement (and the Arab states as well) through negotiations are only one side of the situation in the Middle East today. Those who look only at these factors leave out the deepening radicalization of the Palestinian masses inside Israel and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Also left out is the role of the masses elsewhere in the Arab world.

#### Sadat Regime Under Mass Pressure

During 1976, the Palestinians living under Israeli rule took to the streets in the most important mass struggles there since the establishment of the Israeli state. Tens of thousands of Palestinian workers went

on strike to protest the expropriation of Arab land in the Galilee, while in the West Bank barely a week went by without marches, strikes, and other demonstrations.

These mass struggles dealt a stronger



SADAT

blow to the Israeli state than all of the guerrilla actions by small groups over the last ten years. They drew the attention of the entire world, and in this case—in contrast to the terrorist operations carried out in the name of the Palestinian movement in the past—the onus for the violence and repression was placed squarely on the Israeli regime by world opinion.

In general, the October 1973 war resulted in a new sense of confidence among the Arab masses. This sense of confidence was reflected in the Palestinian upsurge in Israel and the West Bank, and it was also a factor in the recent events in Egypt.

The powerful protests against price increases in Egypt showed once again that although the mass movement in Lebanon has been beaten back, the imperialists are a long way from stabilizing the Middle East. As if to emphasize this point, the demonstrations that threatened to topple Sadat's regime broke out the day after the banks reopened in Beirut.

Sadat was able to contain the mass movement because of his rapid retreat, but the effects of the workers' rebellion are far from over. To begin with, Sadat's policy of reliance on American imperialism has been dealt a blow that will affect his political plans as well as his economic calculations.

"So far the American connection has just not brought any visible results as far as the average Egyptian is concerned," *New York Times* correspondent Tanner

pointed out in a January 20 dispatch. He continued:

In foreign affairs, American support has brought back to Egypt a narrow strip of Israeli-occupied territory in the Sinai Peninsula, and many Egyptian officials now wonder whether that was worth the year-long feud with Syria, which felt that it had been abandoned by Egypt in the diplomatic maneuvering against Israel.

The shuttle diplomacy of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who negotiated the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreements, had raised far greater expectations here.

As far as can be ascertained, there were no shouts, during rioting Tuesday and yesterday, of "Down with the United States!" But, Western diplomats say, inasmuch as some rioters shouted "Down with Sadat!" and "Long live Nasser!" they passed judgment on Mr. Sadat's American ties.

For American imperialism, more is involved in Egypt than simply immediate diplomatic plans. Roughly a third of the population of the entire Arab world—some 40 million people—live in Egypt. Cairo and Alexandria alone, with some ten million people between them, more than equal the population of Syria.

A continuation of the mass opposition to Sadat could threaten American access to the biggest market in the Middle East and quickly wash away the effect of the defeat in Lebanon. And that is exactly what Washington is afraid may happen.

Tanner, referring to the mass upsurge in a January 24 dispatch from Cairo, said of it: "This is a precedent, well-informed Egyptians fear. They say that the urban masses, which have been sinking into ever-greater poverty, have had their taste of power and will use it again to hold the regime to its promises."

Or, he might have added, to sweep it away altogether. □

#### Chilean Torturer Expelled From U.S.

Jaime Lavin Farina, the director general of the Chilean Foreign Ministry, was asked to leave the United States January 28 after several human rights organizations protested his visit.

Amnesty International, the National Council of Churches, and others revealed that Lavin had supervised and participated in the torture of prisoners arrested following the September 1973 military coup in Chile.

One of the victims of Lavin's torture, Rolando Miranda Pinto, is currently living in San Francisco. Miranda reported that Lavin personally administered electric shocks to him while he was being held at the Air Force War College in Santiago in 1973.

Lavin had been invited to the United States as part of a State Department program for people who are considered potential leaders in their own countries.



## Insurgent Challenges Steel Bureaucracy in United States

By Ed Heisler

On February 8 the membership of the United Steelworkers of America will elect the five international officers of the union and twenty-five district directors.

Ed Sadlowski, candidate for union president, heads a militant slate called Steelworkers Fight Back. They are challenging the bureaucracy's list headed by Lloyd McBride, the candidate of retiring president I.W. Abel.

The United Steelworkers of America is the largest affiliate of the AFL-CIO, with 1.4 million members in the United States, Canada, Québec, and Puerto Rico. The union represents workers in basic steel production, can and aluminum plants, hard-rock mines, chemical factories, and thousands of small fabricating plants and machine shops.

The development of the Sadlowski campaign and Steelworkers Fight Back represents something new in American labor. It is the first major expression of a radicalization developing in broad layers of American workers. This is sensed by the press, which has begun to write about the larger implications of the issues raised by the insurgent's challenge.

A major theme of the Fight Back campaign has been that the workers and bosses have nothing in common. Sadlowski calls it "a class question. . . . The fact is it's the working class versus the coupon clipper. The boss is there for one damn purpose alone, and that is to make money, not to make steel, and it's going to come out of the worker's back."

Sadlowski has effectively exposed the role of the bureaucrats, who under the guise of being "labor statesmen" do their utmost to keep the membership in line, and work with the employers behind the backs of the membership.

"I'm very leery about any form of statesman, especially a labor statesman. His concept is to be responsible to the industry, not to the membership," Sadlowski said at a Fight Back rally in October. "For too long they (the Able-McBride brand of leadership) have played a buffer role between the steel corporations with their exorbitant profits and the men and women who work in the mines and mills," Sadlowski and his running mates charged in a January 9 statement.

Sounding the theme that the labor movement "has got to develop into a cause, a cause that was prevalent in the 1930s" when the CIO was organized, Sadlowski says: "I guess maybe I'm a romantic, but I look on the American labor

movement as a holy crusade, which should be the dominant force in this country to fight for the workingman and the underdog and make this a more just society."

He anticipates a big upsurge in union militancy, predicting: "You think it was serious when the kid in the street threw a brick at you in the Sixties; think of what the guy in the open hearth furnace is going to do when he gets fed up."

This kind of militant talk has not been heard in the American unions for some time, and it has the government, the corporations, the capitalist-controlled media, and the union bureaucracy worried.

For example, Sadlowski has challenged the concept of the role of the unions held by the bureaucracy. He says the labor movement should have used its power to organize mass opposition to the Vietnam War, and points out that if labor would use its muscle in support of the rights of oppressed minorities this would deal a big blow to the racists. He spelled this out at a recent Fight Back rally:

"You can't be a unionist and be a racist. . . . I don't believe that segregation will exist if the American labor movement gets serious and says no. No more than I believe that the Vietnam question would have existed if the American labor movement would have said no."

Ed Sadlowski, thirty-eight, is not a newcomer in union affairs. A third-generation steelworker, he began working at the big U.S. Steel Company South Works plant in Chicago when he was eighteen and soon became a union activist. At the age of twenty-five he was elected president of the 10,000-member local at the plant. He was reelected for a second two-year term in office by a big margin.

He was different than most local union presidents in major locals. Although not required to do so under the union's constitution, he submitted local union agreements he negotiated to the membership for a vote. While president he did not go on the union payroll as a full-time union functionary. He continued to work in the plant as a machinist.

In 1969 Sadlowski was appointed to the District 31 union staff as a full-time representative. District 31 is the biggest district in the union, with more than 100,000 members in the Chicago area. Again, he submitted all agreements he was involved in negotiating to the membership for a vote before he would sign. He organized more new shops into the Steelworkers than any of the other forty-plus

staff representatives in the district.

While on staff Sadlowski developed a reputation among many workers as a militant who did what he could within the framework of traditional union procedures.

In 1973 Joe Germano, who had been District 31 director for almost three decades, retired, and the Abel machine picked Sam Evett to run for the spot.

Sadlowski decided to challenge Evett, and received enough nominations to win a place on the ballot. He campaigned on the theme of union democracy and opposition to the bureaucratic practices of the union officialdom.

Evett, with the backing of I.W. Abel, stole the election, claiming a victory of 23,394 votes to Sadlowski's 21,606.

The evidence of massive vote fraud and ballot-stuffing was so overwhelming that the Labor Department investigated and ordered a new election.

The election was held in November 1974 with 400 federal marshals observing the polls. Sadlowski trounced Evett, 39,638 to 20,158.

In 1975 Sadlowski and some of his key supporters organized a committee called Steelworkers Fight Back. On September 13, 1976, he officially announced his candidacy for union president. Soon afterwards the other members of the Fight Back slate were announced. Andy Kmec for treasurer, Ignacio "Nash" Rodriguez for secretary, Oliver Montgomery for USWA vice-president (human affairs), and Marvin Weinstock for USWA vice-president (administration).

Oliver Montgomery had been a leading fighter for the rights of Black members of the union and is a National Executive Board member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. "Nash" Rodriguez, a Chicano, is the first Latino candidate to ever run for international office in the union and is a member of the Mexican-American Steelworkers National Council.

In addition to hammering home some basic class-struggle concepts, the Fight Back candidates have been making important proposals for action by the union to fight layoffs, speedup, unsafe working conditions, and violations of union contracts by the employers.

Unlike most union officials, the candidates say that undocumented workers and foreign imports are not the cause of unemployment, and call for a six-hour day at eight hours pay to spread the work.

Sadlowski exposed the myth of "neutral" government arbitrators to settle union

grievances declaring: "I've never met an impartial arbitrator. There ain't no such thing. Who the hell are arbitrators? Doctors, lawyers, college professors, guys that are making \$75,000 a year. . . . Guys who make \$75,000 a year don't think like steelworkers. . . . You tell them we need a nickel more for a loaf of bread. They're not concerned about that because they don't have to worry about that nickel more."

The Fight Back ticket has condemned the bureaucrats for collaborating with the steel companies in setting up joint labor-management productivity boards aimed at squeezing more work out of the employees, and increasing corporate profits, and for surrendering the right to strike.

The joint productivity committees were agreed to in the 1971 basic steel contract. By 1973 the jobs of more than 40,000 steelworkers had been eliminated. According to the American Iron and Steel Institute, disabling job injuries increased 25 percent during the first three months of the productivity drive.

After ramming through the productivity committees without any discussion or vote of the union membership, I.W. Abel in early 1973 took another step in the direction of "management-labor partnership" to prevent any national strike action by workers in basic steel. He made a backdoor deal with the steel trusts, signing what was called an Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which voluntarily gave up the right to strike until 1980.

The capitalist media from the *New York Times* to the *Wall Street Journal* hailed the ENA as another outstanding example of "labor statesmanship." But the union members found themselves deprived of the right to strike for the first time since the no-strike agreements during World War II.

Sadlowski lashed out at the ENA and speedup drive, charging that "productivity is the slogan of the *Wall Street Journal*. Abel speaks for the steel companies on productivity."

At the news conference announcing his candidacy he pointed out: "Our Union's leaders are sitting on productivity committees to help management find more ways to do away with our jobs; and they are sitting with corporate executives in plush clubs, sipping martinis and toasting to the companies' continued prosperity."

Sadlowski has attacked the bureaucrats' methods as "country-club unionism." "That's the kind of unionism," he says, "where leaders think they get paid to drive around in fancy limousines and spend their days on the golf courses with corporate executives and government officials."

When Sadlowski was asked at a Fight Back rally what he thought of wage-control boards, he responded: "It makes your eyebrow twitch a little bit, you know. If he [Jimmy Carter] does that, I'll tell you what, there's no room on economic pay boards for labor. Believe that.

"That was the tragedy of that whole

thing, when the George Meanys and the I.W. Abels and the Leonard Woodcocks sat on those very boards [set up in 1971]. And it was you and the workers next to you that was getting it in the neck."

Sadlowski has also talked about broader



SADLOWSKI

issues such as the military budget. "My concept is that you put your priorities where they should be. You stop making armament plate and you start building houses."

Answering the false arguments pushed by the steel corporations, with the approval of the union bureaucrats, that pollution control is too expensive and will cause a loss of jobs, Sadlowski said: "Unions must address themselves to the fact that you can make steel and you can have clean air and water as well. Our members are not only steelworkers but members of the community. It's their air you're polluting and their water you're jazzin' over."

The most important aspect of the campaign is that Steelworkers Fight Back is striking a responsive chord in the union membership. Fight Back is growing. Thousands of union members are getting involved in the campaign. For the first time many see the possibility of taking control of their union and transforming it into an instrument that can fight for their needs and aspirations. Some are beginning to see themselves as becoming part of an ongoing Fight Back movement that will continue after the February 8 election whether the Sadlowski slate wins or not.

Patrick Stanton, twenty-seven, a welder at a major steel plant in Cleveland, Ohio,

told a *New York Times* reporter: "This is more than an election, it's a movement. Whether people think Sadlowski's the answer or not, they think he at least wants to get down, to fight."

Bill Waller, a Black member who is on the steering committee of Steelworkers Fight Back in Cleveland and the recording secretary of a local, told the socialist newsweekly the *Militant*: "We are organizing to continue Fight Back whoever wins, even if Sadlowski wins. . . . Most of the people I'm working with don't want it to end. I think Sadlowski would welcome this."

Jane Gilbert, twenty-five, who works at a giant Jones & Laughlin plant near Pittsburgh, commented: "McBride's team isn't worth two cents. We need somebody rebellious. These companies dehumanize women. We have deplorable conditions. It's pitiful."

There are some important weaknesses in Fight Back. Until very recently the candidates failed to make any special appeals to the most discriminated and oppressed members of the union—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women.

While Sadlowski and the other candidates say that something needs to be done to fight discrimination in the union and industry, they have not yet presented a clear action program to deal with the special problems of minorities and women.

A new piece of campaign literature has indicated some progress in addressing this weakness. The flyer calls for the implementation of affirmative action programs and the setting up of a union Civil Rights Department and Department of Women's Affairs with adequate staff, finances, and authority to fight discriminatory practices within plants represented by the union.

Sadlowski and the other candidates endorsed Jimmy Carter in the presidential campaign. They have not extended to the political level their opposition to class collaboration in the relations between the union and the bosses, by calling for the unions to break with the capitalist Democratic party and organize a labor party.

Steelworkers Fight Back can become an inspiring example to union militants in other unions who face similar problems.

The capitalist press is warning of the dangers this movement represents. An article on Sadlowski in the *New York Times* December 19 was subtitled: "A rebel candidate for president of the steelworkers wants to move his union—and the whole labor movement—back to the class struggle."

An article in the big-business publication *U.S. News & World Report* warned: "It's a battle whose outcome will reverberate beyond the union halls and into other industries. . . . Whatever happens, the outcome will carry meaning not just for Steelworkers, but for people and industries far removed. Involved are such questions as these: In a time of economic trouble, just

how restive—even radicalized—are America's blue-collar workers? Will recent moves toward more co-operation between managements and unions be bolstered or threatened? Will members of other unions be encouraged to overthrow their 'establishments'?"

Even before Sadlowski announced his intention of running, right-wing goons were used to try and stop Steelworkers Fight Back from spreading outside of District 31.

On July 26, 1976, a Fight Back activist, Ben Corum, was shot in the neck while handing out flyers at a plant in Houston, Texas. The week before, two other activists had been beaten up by thugs.

After this attempted murder, right-wingers at the plant passed out flyers at the factory gates fingering three members of the Socialist Workers party who work there. The flyer tried to incite some of the more backward workers to physically attack the socialists.

Later a leading Fight Back activist was fired by the company.

In response to these attacks the local Steelworkers Fight Back group fought back. A news conference was called to expose and denounce the intimidation, and Fight Back activists went to other unions for support. They passed out a flyer at Hughes Tool, charging that the company had interfered in the union election by firing the campaign worker. The company pulled back and rehired the activist in three days. Physical attacks against activists stopped.

The McBride slate launched a major redbaiting campaign against Sadlowski and charged that "outsiders" were trying to "take over" the union. To organize the smear campaign, McBride supporters set up an outfit called SMART (Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeover) to do the dirty work in passing out thousands of flyers harping on this theme.

But the redbaiting didn't work out as effectively as McBride had hoped. For one thing, redbaiting has lost a lot of its punch compared to the period of the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the 1950s. Not as many workers are impressed. Sadlowski also took a clear and uncompromising stand against redbaiting, denouncing it as "the bosses' game" and saying that there was no room for redbaiting inside the union movement.

At a Fight Back rally in Houston, a McBride supporter asked Sadlowski if he was a socialist and Sadlowski said: "In the sense of Eugene Debs, yes." He challenged the reactionary to put out a handbill quoting him on this point.

In recent weeks McBride and bureaucrats in other unions have shifted gears, concentrating their fire on the "outsiders" charge, hoping for better results.

They falsely accuse Fight Back of accepting money from the employers and say the campaign is being financed by "millionaire limousine liberals."

George Meany, 82-year-old president of the AFL-CIO, has led the chorus of attacks against Sadlowski on the "outsiders" issue. Meany, of course, finds nothing wrong with the AFL-CIO accepting money from such real outsiders and antilabor organizations as the CIA.

Albert Shanker, the racist president of the American Federation of Teachers, used union money without membership approval to run a big column in the *New York Times* slandering Sadlowski.

Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, Jacob Clayman, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, and other union bureaucrats who are not members of the Steelworkers are pouring thousands of dollars into McBride's campaign war chest.

Lloyd McBride is shaking down union staffers and district directors for tens of thousands of dollars in "voluntary" contributions for his campaign.

A war has open up between the leaders of Fight Back and the whole union bureaucracy. A statement released by the Fight Back candidates on January 9, headlined "What This Election Campaign Is All About," summed up the nature of this fight: ". . . on one side we have the bureaucrats of the labor movement, pulling out all stops in their desperate attempt to hold back the rising tide of membership anger at the weak, timid, do-nothing policy of much of the labor movement today; and the steel corporations and their fellow corporate interests. On the other side, we have a membership fed up with the

policies of the Abel-McBride leadership of the Steelworkers Union. . . ."

Sadlowski and his running mates face major obstacles in the election. The government will be "neutral" on the side of McBride, and so will the employers. The vast resources of the union bureaucracy are mobilized against the insurgents. McBride has virtually all 800 full-time international staff representatives working on his campaign in every union local. They have a big slush fund. And even if Sadlowski wins more votes, he and the other Fight Back candidates may lose the election through vote fraud.

David McDonald, a former president of the union who knows all about union elections, voiced the opinion that Sadlowski could be cheated out of his victory by vote fraud. McDonald said, "I know how to run elections. . . . I stole four elections. . . ."

Whatever happens in the election, the need will remain to build the Fight Back movement. Sadlowski has given signs that he understands this. He told a rally of steelworkers in Pittsburgh: "You look around and get to know each and every person sitting around you and get to know them on a first-name basis and start organizing yourselves, organizing as workers, organizing in the most viable political force this nation has ever seen. . . ."

"We need you very badly, Just winning the seats we're vying for is not going to do us any damn bit of good after February 8 if we don't have you on our side as a strong, viable force within our union. Organize. Organize around the premise of what you want this union to be." □

## Thailand—First Strikes Since Coup

For the first time since the October 1976 military coup, workers in Thailand have gone out on strike. Defying the junta's ban on work stoppages, about 2,000 workers at a naval dockyard in Bangkok walked out January 19 to protest new job regulations.

Strikes also broke out at a battery manufacturing company in Bangkok January 22, as well as at a mosaic factory in Saraburi, northeast of Bangkok. Twenty-seven labor leaders were arrested in connection with these actions.

On January 24, the supreme commander of the armed forces, Air Chief Marshal Kamol Dejatunga, announced during a national radio broadcast that strike action would be considered detrimental to "national security" and that violators would be imprisoned.

After the military coup in October, the Labour Congress of Thailand, the main trade-union federation, was abolished and eighteen of its leaders were arrested. Eight of them are still in detention. In addition,

union representatives are forbidden by the police from holding meetings.

According to a report in the February 4 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Suwit Yingvorapan, the director general of the Labour Department, told his subordinates January 7 that in the near future trade unions would no longer be permitted. But that would not necessarily mean the end of strikes. All three strikes in January broke out in nonunion concerns.

Following the strikes, Prime Minister Thanin Kraivichien moved quickly to reassure foreign investors. Speaking before a meeting of the European Chambers of Commerce January 25, he said, "The first thing we did in order to promote investment here was to try to restore law and order. And as you see . . . we are better off at the moment. . . . Minor incidents like strikes last week in two or three places need not worry you too much. It won't become a major problem any more. . . ." □

# Statements Sent to January 14 London Protest Rally

[The following are statements and messages sent to the January 14 London rally that condemned the Healy group's slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and other leaders of the American Socialist Workers party.]

## 'New Left Review'

### Editorial Board

We are deeply shocked by the campaign of slander and innuendo being waged by *News Line* and the WRP against Joseph Hansen and George Novack, charging them with criminal complicity with Trotsky's murderers. This baseless allegation, which merely discredits those who make it, can only give comfort to the class enemy.

*Perry Anderson, Anthony Barnett, Robin Blackburn, Norman Geras, Quintin Hoare, Francis Mulhern.*

## Tamara Deutscher

It is impossible in a few lines to refute Healy's insane accusations—this has been done at length and most effectively by other comrades. Well acquainted with the activities of Joseph Hansen and George Novack personally and from the Trotsky archive, I feel duty bound to denounce, together with others, the smear campaign against the veterans of the Trotskyist movement who, to my mind, are above all suspicion. May I also remark, incidentally, that whenever Healy refers to Isaac Deutscher he resorts to out-of-context quotations and also to petty lies—as in the case of E. Tate.

It is to be deplored that in his declining years Healy should stoop to the same vile methods of Stalinist frame-ups which he used so vigorously to expose in his younger and so much better days.

## Bertrand Russell

### Peace Foundation

At the time when Bertrand Russell was establishing the War Crimes Tribunal, which investigated American atrocities in Vietnam and reported to world-wide public opinion, the Russell Foundation was probably more isolated than it has ever been before or since. In Western countries there was an official conspiracy to disguise the true nature of the Vietnam war, whilst in the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe, the fall of Khrushchev had rendered Russell's numerous interventions on behalf of civil rights unwelcome.

In these circumstances, we were profoundly grateful for the continued support and active help of a number of minority organisations, prominent among which

was the Socialist Workers Party of the United States. In spite of the smallness of its membership, this organisation worked with great vigour and considerable skill to help popularise Russell's initiatives. In the course of all this strenuous activity the Directors of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation formed the highest opinion of the personal integrity and dedication of a number of SWP leaders, and notably of Joe Hansen and George Novack. Indeed, in the course of elaborating the project for the Tribunal, we had carefully studied the published transcripts of the Dewey Commission, which investigated the Soviet Government's frame-up of Leon Trotsky, and we had drawn many lessons from this, which helped us in the documentation of the United States aggressions against the peoples of Indo-China. George Novack, of course, was one of the main organisers of these earlier hearings, and his experience no doubt contributed to the good advice which we received from members of the SWP, in forwarding our campaign for the Tribunal in the United States.

It was with incredulity that the Foundation learnt of the disgraceful attacks which have been made on Hansen and Novack by leaders of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Although this organisation is generally discredited in Britain, it is impossible to ignore the slanders which it has published.

It is perfectly obvious that the allegation of complicity with the Soviet KGB, which the leaders of the WRP are pressing against Hansen and Novack, is an obscene defamation. Everybody who is familiar with the life-long records of these two distinguished American socialists will agree with us in condemning, as slanderous, all the elaborate smears which have been published, at considerable cost, in order to discredit these two good men.

The leadership of the WRP ought to withdraw its allegations and apologise.

## International Marxist Group

The IMG totally and utterly repudiate the vile slanders of the WRP that for forty years two major leaders of the SWP were "accomplices of the GPU" inside the Trotskyist movement.

Unable to produce any evidence that would even give credibility to their charges and incapable of refuting the replies which have been made, we are drawn to only one conclusion: that the motivation behind this charge is to simply shore up the crumbling edifice of the so-called "International Committee" and the WRP itself, in the face of the growth and development of the Fourth International and its supporters around the world.

Cut off from the live forces of revolution with its refusal to reunify with the Fourth International in 1963, the WRP and its

"international" have degenerated into a gangster sect. Subjectively, the forces that made up the WRP and its predecessors would not have wanted it this way. But the logic of their sectarian stance has, willy nilly, worked its way through.

The object lesson of Healy must stand as a clear warning to all those forces calling themselves Trotskyist that are separated from the Fourth International and justify this in terms of basic revisions of programme. We would be less than honest if we did not already see some of these deformations amongst some of those organisations which have come out in support of Hansen and Novack—like the OCRFI, Pablo's grouping, and even, to some extent, the Workers Socialist League in Britain. These organisations stand in limbo between the road of Healy and reunification with the Fourth International. This meeting poses the question: which way?

## British Committee for the Re-Construction of the Fourth International

The abominable campaign conducted against the leaders of the SWP can only serve the enemies of the Fourth International and facilitate the work of those, who in the interest of imperialism or Stalinism, are trying to undermine and disrupt our movement. An index of the profound political degeneration of the WRP leadership, this campaign is dealing a grave blow to Trotskyism in Britain.

Rejection of such methods, and the kind of politics that allows them to develop, is indispensable for moving forward to the reconstruction of the Fourth International. We think that all the militants, whatever differences may exist between their organisations, who claim to adhere to Trotskyism, who have participated in the fight for the Fourth International, must take a position on this question.

We think that all organisations that claim to be Trotskyist must also condemn the methods of G. Healy, methods that serve only the enemies of the Fourth International. This is the same struggle that was taken up in 1923 against Stalinism, which L. Trotsky denounced as a dreadful sickness afflicting the world workers movement.

## Bulletin Group

The campaign of the Workers Revolutionary Party to slander life-long Trotskyists, Hansen and Novack, expresses the advanced stage of its sectarian degeneration.

Years of self-imposed isolation from the Trade Unions and the Labour Party, as

## Irish Revolutionists

### Denounce Frame-up

[The following statement has been issued by three well-known Irish revolutionists.]

\* \* \*

We call upon the leaders of the Workers Revolutionary party and their followers to cease their scurrilous attacks. They discredit the authors, not the accused. We further ask others who share our position that frame-ups have no place in the socialist movement to add their voice of protest and public condemnation to ours.

D.R. O'Connor Lysaght  
J. McAnulty  
Michael Farrell

well as from international Marxist organisations, have reduced Healy-ism to a malignant sect.

This sect has nothing rational to contribute to the development of the international discussion between the United Secretariat and the Organising Committee. The immediate problems which face the British working class, however, raise for militant workers precisely the same historical and theoretical considerations as are posed in the international discussion. Now, however, having expelled or destroyed its own sections, such as they were, the Clapham "international" reaches out to disrupt the Fourth International and its reconstruction. The daily *News Line* flatters the Muslim dictator Gaddafi and brands the leaders of the SWP as "accomplices of the GPU." If this were the McCarthy period, Healy's allegations would help the CIA to put Hansen and Novack behind bars—as they still may.

We reject alike this hideous slander and the politics behind it. We join in solidarity with Hansen and Novack. The WRP places itself, like a leper, outside the working class and its democratic tradition. Long live the SWP.

## League for Socialist Action

For over a year, the WRP leaders have launched a slanderous campaign against veteran Trotskyists Joseph Hansen and George Novack. They have been accused, in Healy's kangaroo court, of "criminal negligence" in Trotsky's death and of being "accomplices of the GPU."

These accusations against leading figures of the world Trotskyist movement need not be refuted. They are based on rumours and lies culled from self-confessed CIA and GPU agents.

What does need to be refuted is the

method employed by the WRP in dealing with rival tendencies. This method—which has also been applied against other opponents of Healy—is alien to the Trotskyist tradition. It smacks of the worst Stalinist frame-up tactics in which personal slander substitutes for political argument.

Such a method—designed, no doubt, to

## 'Tribune' Report on London Rally

[The following article was printed under the headline "How 'Clouzot'\* of the Trotskyists united the warring sects" in the January 21 issue of *Tribune*, a Social Democratic weekly published in London. It was written by Mark Jenkins.]

\* \* \*

More than 1,000 Trotskyists representing just about every international and British tendency gathered under the same roof last Friday, January 14. They put aside their political differences for the evening in a remarkable demonstration of solidarity with two of Trotsky's comrades and personal friends, Joseph Hansen and George Novack, who are now leaders of the American Socialist Workers' Party and well known scholars and publicists.

Gerry Healy of the Workers Revolutionary Party and its daily paper, *News Line*, were the unconscious architects of this united rally, for it is his "International Committee" which has alleged that Hansen and Novack were "accomplices of the GPU" (the Soviet secret police, now KGB). This charge has, ironically, brought all Trotskyists together to denounce the Healyites, and the methods of slander. This may well turn out to be the most constructive achievement in Healy's life.

For the benefit of those *Tribune* readers who are not "entrists," or simply don't know, Hansen's SWP is quite unlike many of the British Trotskyist groups you meet inside or outside your local GMC. It has a long history going back to the thirties and continuity of leadership. It was in the forefront of bitter battles for trade union organisation and wages.

Hansen and Novack lived through the nightmare purges of the McCarthy era and their party emerged as one of the leading forces in the black rights and anti-Vietnam war movements of the sixties and seventies. After 40 years of struggle in a country which does not yet have a Labour Party, the SWP is now engaged in a 37 million dollar lawsuit against the CIA. The party will shortly publish hundreds of hitherto secret CIA documents on surveillance of the Left in America and over 20

\*A bumbling detective who is the chief character in a series of British comic films.—IP

shield the WRP's dwindling membership from the political ideas of rival tendencies—has to be vigorously exposed in the labour and socialist movement. The LSA, which has already denounced Healy's slander campaign in the pages of *Socialist Action*, will continue to do so in the name of honest and democratic debate.

other countries, as a result of the suit.

It is this proud record that has won for Hansen and Novack the respect of rival factions, and determination to defend their integrity.

Tariq Ali chaired the meeting flanked by Ernest Mandel, Pierre Lambert, Tim Wohlforth, George Novack, and others representing the various wings of Trotskyism. Then, to everybody's surprise, who should arrive and seat himself prominently in the audience but the Inspector Clouzot of the ultra-Left, Thomas Gerard Healy.

Mandel publicly reminded him that *News Line* considered that the meeting had been called for the express purpose of assisting "accomplices of the GPU" and that thereby, according to his own logic, Healy, too, was assisting them!

But Clouzot showed neither fear nor embarrassment as the laughter of a thousand "accomplices of the GPU" took three minutes to subside.

In a moving speech, George Novack told of how he was secretary of the defence committee which managed to get Leon Trotsky out of Norway and gain entry into Mexico (an immensely difficult feat, for Trotsky was a man "on a planet without a visa"). Novack told of how the Dewey commission was established and how it exonerated Trotsky from the lying charges of Stalin. "Now we defenders of Trotsky are cast in the role of the accused!" How could WRP people believe such slanders, he asked. But had not people of the Soviet Union believed many of the lies of Stalin's machine? Healy's method of slandering his opponents was basically the Stalin method, he said.

After Mandel had proposed a joint approach by all present to demand the expulsion of Trotsky's assassin from the Spanish Communist Party (he was recently honoured by the Soviet Government) and the rehabilitation of all Stalin's victims by Western Communist Parties, Healy rose to ask a question. The chairman put to a vote the issue of whether questions be allowed, bearing in mind that this was a defence meeting. G. Healy suffered the rare delight of a lost vote and everybody sang the *Internationale*. Well not everybody . . . Healy demonstrably didn't. Some of his slower-witted members didn't realise until the end of the first stanza. That will take some explaining. □

# Capitalism Fouls Things Up

## Bouncing Down the Highway With Plutonium



Britain's Atomic Energy Authority is planning to transport a liquid compound of plutonium regularly by road from Dounreay in the far north of Scotland to Windscale in Cumbria. The AEA has already carried out a small number of experimental shipments. These will become regular after a new reprocessing plant is completed at Dounreay in about a year.

The January 23 London *Sunday Times* reports:

"The metal flasks containing the plutonium are packed in hardwood and steel containers with shock-absorbers at vulnerable points. They have to be able to withstand a drop of 30 feet and 800 degrees Centegrade of heat."

There are two alternative routes. One winds round the high sea cliffs of Caithness. "There are hair-raising bends and hills, where any accident could lead to a drop greater than 30 feet."

The other route goes "along B-class roads down the western side of Scotland, where a hijack could be easy to stage."

There are other hazardous conditions. "Farther south, the containers carrying the plutonium nitrate are also likely to use a road with one of the worst accident records in Britain, the heavily-loaded A74 dual carriageway between Glasgow and Carlisle."

The *Sunday Times* found the shipment plan to be especially frightening because of the danger of "terrorists" hijacking the deadly material:

"Plutonium, which costs more than gold, is in great demand as a fuel for nuclear reactors. It is also a nuclear explosive and extremely toxic, so that it is a tempting material for terrorists."

The newspaper quoted a recent report by

the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution: "... the utility of plutonium to a potential terrorist would be particularly great if it were shipped as a pure compound, oxide or nitrate. The latter form is especially hazardous from the point of view of dispersion."

The *Sunday Times* also quoted Dr. Michael Flood of the Friends of the Earth, a group prominent in the antinuclear lobby:

"What concerns us is the possibility of plutonium diversion or hijacking. The material is in a pure form, not far removed from bomb material. It will have to travel through remote country where there is very little choice of roads."

### Living Beside a Radioactive Dump

How dangerous plutonium compounds are can be gathered from an article by Tom Tiede which appeared in the September 2, 1976, issue of the *Independent and Gazette*, an Oakland, California, newspaper.

Writing from Ringos Mill, Kentucky, Tiede said: "Oscar Hurst's cows are dying. First they lose energy and sexual interest; then they begin to grind their teeth and paw at the ground as if in pain; finally, patches of their hair bleach out, grow rapidly and shed away. 'And they just die,' says Hurst, 'one day they just keel over and go.'"

Hurst's dairy farm is located down valley from the world's largest private nuclear materials dump, "a dump that has been known to leak radiation." Hurst fears—a justifiable fear it would seem—that his cows may be the victims of alpha ray poisoning.

The dump was created on about thirty

acres of farmland in the early 1960s, "ostensibly as a final resting place for low-radiation waste (hospital equipment and other relatively harmless garbage). Then a few years ago the Environmental Protection Agency determined that the buried radiation may be 'migrating,' that is leaching into surrounding soil and water.

"The EPA suggestion enlightened and sobered the locals. For instance they learned for the first time that the burials consisted not merely of low yield radiation, but perhaps poisons as well, plutonium, for instance. An invisible speck of plutonium can cause cancer, a pound of it in the air might kill nine billion people."

Worry has grown in the hills of this northeastern Kentucky region. "Plutonium has a half-life of 25,000 years, which means that if it is leaking it will continue to leak for hundreds of thousands of generations."

Yet the authorities refuse to show concern. "Nuclear officers have sampled the soil, the grass, the streams, even the milk from Hurst's cows, apparently with no alarm."

John P. Hay, one of Hurst's neighbors, said: "The government keeps telling us not to worry; but we worry. What we worry about is the unknown."

### A Handful Could Destroy a City

In the months before former President Ford was defeated by Jimmy Carter, the administration weighed a high-level study of national and international nuclear energy policy. The most critical issue was whether to speed the United States and the world toward a plutonium-based source of energy.

The immediate problem was whether to begin commercial-scale reprocessing of plutonium at a giant South Carolina plant. Construction of the plant, under way for several years, had been temporarily halted. Ford decided to leave the final decision on reprocessing plutonium up to the incoming Carter administration.

In reporting the debate, Robert Kleiman brought out some thought-provoking facts in an article published in the September 28, 1976, *New York Times*:

Virtually all the world's civilian power reac-



Hart/Field Enterprises

tors now burn slightly enriched or natural uranium fuel, which cannot be exploded. Plutonium, a man-made element, is also usable as a fuel; but a quantity small enough to be carried in one hand could be made relatively easily into a bomb that could destroy a city. To produce and scatter stockpiles of plutonium around the world before a clear need arises for additional fuel supplies would be pure folly. There is no certainty yet that present and future nuclear fission reactors will run out of uranium and other projected safe fuels before the era of nuclear fusion arrives.

Enough plutonium for 25 or more Hiroshima-sized bombs is produced annually within the spent fuel rods of a standard 1,000-megawatt nuclear power reactor; enough for 1,000 bombs a year is now being produced outside the United States and Russia, a figure that will be tripled in third-world countries alone in the 1980s. But for the moment, the world's rapidly growing supply of plutonium is not easily available for fuel or weapons use.

To extract this plutonium economically from radioactive reactor wastes and to fabricate so poisonous a substance into new fuel rods requires a giant chemical reprocessing complex, operated by remote control and capable of servicing 30 to 50 reactors. No such commercial-size reprocessing complex exists now anywhere in the world; spent reactor fuel rods are being stored everywhere for possible future use.

In Ford's study group, a majority favored speeding up completion of the South Carolina facility as a "demonstration plant" to test the economics of plutonium recycling as well as health, safety and environmental precautions.

The minority argued for deferment "while uranium mining and enrichment capabilities are expanded and alternative fuel technologies are explored."

A panel of the Committee for Economic Development warned that other powers are closely watching which way the United States goes on plutonium reprocessing.

"A 'go' decision would be a strong signal to the rest of the world that plutonium recycling is a part of the nuclear future. . . . A negative decision by NRC [Nuclear Regulatory Commission] would slow and discourage the development of the plutonium economy. It would signal that the process was considered too hazardous or too expensive."

### Nuclear Waste in New York Harbor

A study conducted by Columbia University geologists and published in the October 8, 1976, issue of *Science* magazine shows that radioactive wastes have been accumulating in New York Harbor.

The source of the wastes is the Indian Point nuclear power plant operated by Consolidated Edison.

The principal radioactive material found in New York Harbor was cesium 137. It was found in varying amounts in mud collected from the bed of the Hudson River at fifty sites along the sixty miles of river from Storm King Mountain to the harbor.

Accumulations of radioactive material were up to ten times higher than accumulations in coves near the power plant, and 100 times higher than most areas of the

riverbed. The Columbia University scientists estimated that about half of all the reactor-made cesium 137 in the riverbed is contained in the harbor.

H. James Simpson, a professor at Columbia, said: "We did not expect to find nearly the amount in the harbor that we did."

He added reassuringly: "But what we find is not something that constitutes an immediate sort of health hazard."

A different survey, paid for by Consolidated Edison, held that the cesium 137 found in the harbor came in part from fallout and not the Indian Point plant. However, Prof. McDonald E. Wrenn of New York University, assistant director of the survey conducted under the auspices of Consolidated Edison, agreed that cesium 137 has been accumulating in the harbor.

### Buried for How Long?

The U.S. Geological Survey released a study January 30 on the possibility of storing toxic wastes in layers of sandstone and shale along the East Coast.

The proposed areas in New Jersey and North Carolina are underground; in fact, some 1,500 feet below sea level.

The toxic wastes produced by private industry would be injected into layers of sandstone at least twenty or more feet thick. Upward seepage would be blocked by overlying layers of shale or clay.

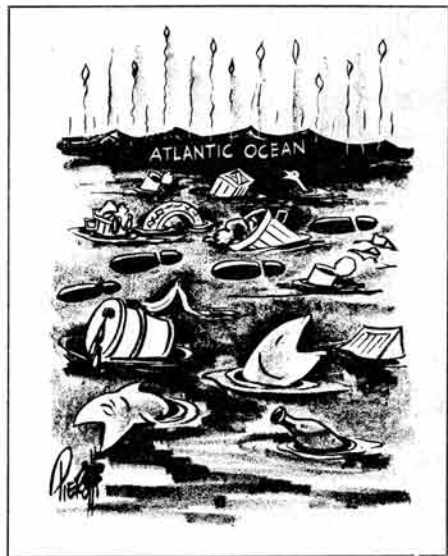
The increasing volume of waste products "coupled with increasing demand for a clean environment" led the government to make the study, according to Philip M. Brown, a geologist and chief author of the report.

### A Dose of Arsenic for the Food Chain

The following report was issued by The Center for Short-Lived Phenomena, located at Cambridge, Massachusetts:

"On 22 January, the 7,976-DWT [dead-weight tons] Chinese freighter *Changdu*, en route from Nagoya, Japan, to Kobe, Japan, with a cargo of powdered arsenic, collided with a Japanese vessel in the North Pacific Ocean, 11 kilometers off the island of Honshu, Japan. The collision severely damaged the *Changdu's* hull. When the vessel reached port, officials from the Japanese Maritime Safety Agency found that ten containers, each holding 50 kilograms of arsenic, were missing from the ship's cargo of 500 containers. Apparently, the missing 500 kilograms of arsenic sank in offshore water 685 meters deep, and officials fear that the toxic arsenic will eventually escape from the containers, killing marine organisms.

"Although the long-term effects of arsenic on marine ecosystems have not been studied, a recent report from the US Environmental Protection Agency suggests that the maximum allowable concentration of arsenic in saline water should be set at 50 ppb [parts per billion]. Since organisms retain ingested arsenic, the



Pierotti/New York Post

toxic chemical tends to increase in concentration as it moves up the food chain, from plankton to herbivores and eventually to carnivores; however, scientists at the National Marine Fisheries Service in Milford, Connecticut, have said that offshore ocean currents in the spill area could disperse the arsenic before substantial concentrations build up in the food chain."

A report from Kobe, published in the January 24 issue of the *London Times*, described the event as follows:

"Enough highly toxic arsenious acid to kill more than eight million people is believed to have fallen into the sea from a Chinese freighter after a collision at the entrance of Osaka Bay on January 15.

"Port officials say it will be impossible to recover the sunken cans because the sea is too deep."

### Power Plant Leaks Radioactive Steam

An atomic power station at Gundremingen, West Germany, was shut down indefinitely January 13 by the Bavarian Ministry for Protection of the Environment. A defective safety valve had permitted radioactive steam to escape.

The ministry said that at no time was there any danger to the public or the staff. Moreover there was no radioactive pollution of the atmosphere round the power station.

### Disaster for Seaweed Farms

Oil drifting in Tokyo Bay early in January ruined tens of millions of yen worth of cultivated seaweed along the coast of Chiba Prefecture. The oil, first spotted December 30, affected about 4,600 sheets of the edible plant.

Cultivators are still battling in court for 835 million yen in damages from a similar spill in 1971.

# Selections From the Left

## **labor** Challenge

*Fortnightly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.*

An editorial in the January 31 issue says, "It's a sad commentary on the New Democratic Party [NDP—Canada's labor party] leadership that the first provincial government to demonstratively break with [Prime Minister] Trudeau's wage-control program was not Manitoba's or Saskatchewan's—but the Parti Québécois government in Québec."

NDP governments are in power in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but it was left to the capitalist Parti Québécois to give this sharp blow to the federal government's wage controls. The workers in Québec's public sector were exempted from federal controls by the PQ's move.

"The PQ does not oppose controls in principle," the editorial notes. However, "at this point the Levesque administration prefers to encourage union leaders to sit down with business and the government to work out mutually acceptable wages rates. . . ."

"Labor-management-government cooperation, in which labor is outnumbered two-to-one, won't help workers defend their living standards and rights. It is just another tactic to achieve the same aim as controls: increasing profits at the expense of wages."

Whatever tactic the bosses and their government use against the workers interests must be opposed. "NDP members, and trade unions affiliated to the party, should campaign to force the NDP governments out of controls. If the capitalist PQ can do it, why not Canada's labor party?"

## **HAYTH**

*"Auge" (Dawn), the morning paper of the left. Published daily in Athens. Reflects the views of the Greek Communist party ("interior").*

The January 25 issue reports: "A crude explosive device arrived yesterday afternoon by special delivery. We narrowly missed having people hurt. The device came wrapped in a statement by a student group in Salonika and was sent by the National Socialist Organization of Pan-Hellenes."

"The device was not recognized immediately and so it reached the hands of the chief editor of the paper, who began opening it, fortunately not by the end where the trigger was, and he saw the wires."

The package was labeled "films," and reportedly contained the following statement:

"In honor of Evangellos Mallios, who was inhumanly murdered by anarcho-Communist chumps. Death to the Com-mies! Long live greater Greece! The Struggle continues!"

Mallios was a torturer for the Greek junta. He was recently assassinated, and responsibility for the killing was claimed by a group representing itself to be a left guerrilla organization. The report in *Auge* is an indication that ultratightists may be using this incident as a pretext for terrorist attacks on leftists. A liberal evening paper received a bomb threat the same day the explosive package arrived at *Auge's* offices.

## **was fun**

*"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.*

The January 27 issue features a center-spread on the history of the political blacklisting measures ("*Berufsverbot*") in West Germany. The article begins by noting:

"On January 28, 1972, the premiers of five German states reached an explicit accord with the then Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt on the so-called Premiers' Decree. This meant the reintroduction of open political blacklisting in the German Federal Republic such as existed in the cold war era under Adenauer. . . ."

"By the end of January 1976, the Hamburg Working Committee of the Citizens Initiative Group to End Blacklisting estimated that the political backgrounds of about three-quarters of a million job applicants has been checked. This year the number will certainly go beyond the million mark. So far, there have been about 10,000 cases that have come to public attention. The teachers union alone says that it has provided legal defense for 1,300 blacklisted persons.

"Despite clearly growing opposition to blacklisting both in Germany and abroad, so far no major concessions have been won, although in a large number of the individual cases it has been possible to keep the blacklisting from being applied. What has been achieved is that the rulers have not been able to avoid discussion of political blacklisting, despite numerous demagogic tricks and cover-ups."

The article attributes the failure so far to force a retreat on the principle of blacklisting to the conservatism of the German trade-union movement and the Socialist party. Another factor, the article says, is that the West German CP, the strongest political organization under attack, has not taken a consistent stand in opposition to blacklisting.

The CP has not favored united action

against blacklisting by the left and the workers movement as a whole. It has sacrificed unity in order to establish its own respectability, refusing to work with smaller and more isolated radical groups. At the same time, it weakens the impact of protests against political blacklisting in the West by defending the same practices when they are carried out in the East, as for example against the opposition communist poet Wolf Biermann.

The article sums up the balance sheet of five years of struggle against blacklisting as follows:

"Despite everything, in the last five years, the public has been kept from simply getting used to blacklisting. And we have kept the resistance from being narrowed to just the organizations affected themselves. The political costs of the decrees against radicals have been kept so high that the bourgeoisie has been compelled to discuss whether what they were getting in return was really worth it. What conclusion the bourgeoisie finally draws from these calculations depends entirely on the strength of further struggles against blacklisting."

## **Socialist Action**

*Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.*

Peter Rotherham takes up the transportation system in Auckland in the December 10 issue. "The decaying state of the world's major cities is reflected in their congested roads and run-down public transport systems. Auckland, though small by international standards, is certainly no exception."

The latest effort of the capitalist politicians to deal with Auckland's transportation problem—"a three-year study costing \$200,000"—concluded that Aucklanders would have to continue to rely mainly on their own automobiles if they want to go anywhere. Rotherham notes that Auckland is already second only to Detroit in the number of vehicles per inhabitant, and if present trends continue, it will take first place by 1982 or so.

"... Today there is more than \$52 million worth of planned motorway projects in the Auckland area. Most have been deferred by the government's economic cutbacks, leaving partly completed projects scattered all over the city. . . ."

"The spending doesn't stop with roads, however. . . . The [City] Council is currently building a \$6 million underground carpark in the central city. One critic of the project . . . has estimated the cost at \$6,000 per car space. The Council seems more intent on housing cars, he says, than people."

Other by-products of Auckland's depend-



ence on the automobile include pollution. In some areas, "researchers have found levels of carbon monoxide 50 percent higher than what is considered safe for humans.

"Dangerous levels of noise have also been recorded. . . .

"Add to this the fact that motor vehicles kill and maim hundreds of people every year, and a picture emerges of a city which has become an increasingly ugly and unhealthy place in which to live."

However, "the car is big business. And no government in capitalist New Zealand is going to issue a decisive challenge to that industry. . . .

"With tens of thousands of individuals possessing their own cars, the people who run this society are relieved of the responsibility for providing an effective public transport system. Instead of transport being financed from the collective wealth of society, as one of many important services, it becomes a problem for each individual or family to deal with."

## young socialist

*Monthly newspaper reflecting the views of the Young Socialist Alliance. Published in New York.*

The February issue devotes two pages to the women's liberation report approved by the recent Young Socialist Alliance convention. Nancy Brown, who gave the report, points out that "we are witnessing a massive government attack against almost all the rights and gains women have won over the past ten years. . . .

"The ruling class has carried out its assault on women in a way calculated to divide the feminist movement and undercut its resistance.

"The Hyde Amendment is the best example. This amendment . . . would cut off Medicaid funds to pay for abortions except those necessary to save the life of the woman. This means that nearly 300,000 women would be denied the right to abortion every year—most of them poor, Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicana.

". . . the thrust of the anti-abortionists' drive has not been to directly overturn legal abortion as a whole—which would provoke a massive outcry—but, instead, to take away the rights of the most oppressed women.

"In this way, the rulers of this country hoped the attack would not be seen by the feminist movement as an attack on the rights of *everyone*, and the women's movement would not rally to the defense of those sisters under attack.

"In large measure, this strategy has met with success."

Brown charges that the responsibility for this rests with feminist leaders allied with the Democratic party, who tried to sweep the abortion issue under the rug so

as not to embarrass Carter during his presidential campaign.

"What is needed is a campaign in the women's liberation movement" to alert women to the danger to their gains—"a mass movement focused against the government and independent of the Democrats and Republicans. . . .

"This movement must make its priority the needs of the most oppressed women who are under direct attack right now.

"The movement must reach out to Black and Puerto Rican women and Chicanas and bring them into the movement and into the leadership of this fight."

## Internationalen

*"The International," central organ of the Communist Workers League (Swedish section of the Fourth International). Published weekly in Stockholm.*

The January 28 issue carries an exposé of the exploitation of labor in the colonial world by the Swedish automobile trust, Volvo.

Göran Berggren writes: "The [company] document we have published in this issue shows clearly that Volvo is making unheard-of profits by paying starvation wages to workers all over the world. Volvo makes the most money in countries where there are dictatorships, as in Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia, Peru, and South Africa. . . .

"Volvo is not the blue and gold [the colors of the Swedish flag] company that its head, Pehr Gyllenhammar, would have us believe. It is an imperialist company with workers' blood on its hands.

"Let's take one example, Iran. Volvo holds stock in two companies there that make trucks and motors.

"In Iran, unions are banned. Workers have to work between ten and eighteen hours a day. All political opposition to the shah's repression is banned. . . .

"Strikes are illegal, workers can be fired, arrested, and tortured. Striking workers have even been shot down by the military. . . .

"Another such case is South Africa. The document shows that 'internally' Volvo admits that it has a factory there. This is a fact that has always been denied publicly.

"In South Africa, Volvo pays 6.50 kronar an hour [about US\$1.52]. This includes the social benefits the company pays. . . ."

*Internationalen* points in particular to Volvo's union-busting at its Lima, Peru, plant:

"In less than two months, thirty-five militant workers have been fired. Twenty-five of them were union activists.

"With the last thirteen firings at the end of November, half of the union leaders have been deprived of their jobs. This includes the union's spokesman, and its defense, social, and press secretaries."

*Internationalen* called on the Swedish workers movement and the left to "support the Volvo workers in Peru and their

demands for reinstatement and freedom to organize."

## bresche

*Twice-monthly organ of the Revolutionary Marxist League, published in Zurich, Switzerland.*

In the January 29 issue, the lead article comments on a bourgeois offensive against some traditional Swiss democratic rights:

"In all textbooks on government, Switzerland is presented as a model democracy. Its special feature is that a certain number of citizens can demand a popular vote to initiate laws or to decide questions.

"Today, these special features of Swiss democracy are being drastically cut back. The time for petitioning to call special votes is to be limited to eighteen months. Besides this, the number of signatures required for initiating laws has been doubled to 100,000, and the number required for calling referendums has been raised from 30,000 to 50,000.

"The big bourgeois parties and employers associations claim that these new restrictions would 'promote democracy.'

"If the petitioning period were limited to eighteen months, for instance, the proposal for a law against arms exports could not have been put to a vote. This example alone shows the falseness of the argument of those favoring restriction that 'if an initiating petition cannot be completed in eighteen months, then there is not sufficient interest among the people to justify it.' Although it took more than eighteen months to complete the petitioning for the proposal to ban arms exports, more than 49 percent of the voters backed it!

"The same people who will not even give the workers formal representation in plant managements, who defend secrecy in banking, who arbitrarily announce layoffs at any moment, are pretending now to be the defenders of democracy! Under their kind of democracy, only organizations with large sums of money can exercise the 'guaranteed' rights.

"In the framework of an austerity policy, millions of Swiss francs are being cut from the budgets of the municipal, cantonal, and confederal governments, primarily in the area of social services. In this process, 540 million Swiss francs [about US\$215 million] was cut from the fund for Old Age and Survivors Insurance. A move by the workers organizations to launch a referendum against this measure has been quickly out-manuevered by proposing some deft changes in the law. To force a vote, the workers organizations now would have to get another 20,000 or 30,000 signatures. . . a task that would strain even the big parties.

"The capitalists' moves to cut back our democratic rights is designed to politically consolidate their offensive on the economic level."

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Aleksandr Ginzburg Arrested in Moscow

Aleksandr Ginzburg, a member of the Committee to Supervise Compliance with the Helsinki Accords, was arrested in Moscow February 3. The action marks a new stage in the Kremlin rulers' attacks against members of this group, which gathers evidence of Soviet violations of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki agreements.

Ginzburg, who served a five-year term following his arrest in 1967 for exposing political repression, is a special target of the political police. His arrest came one day after he publicly announced that he also heads a fund, established by exiled Soviet writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, to provide financial assistance to political prisoners and their families.

Since it was set up in 1974, Ginzburg reported, the fund has distributed 270,000 rubles (about US\$360,000) to some 1,350 political prisoners. He said that about three-quarters of the money came from Solzhenitsyn's book royalties, the remainder having been raised from supporters of the fund in the Soviet Union.

As possession of foreign currency is illegal under Soviet law, Ginzburg made clear that all funds collected for the prisoners are in rubles.

At an earlier news conference, held in Moscow January 5, he reported that the police had made preparations for a frame-up by planting \$100 in American currency and 1,000 West German marks in his apartment.

This police work was followed up, the day before his arrest, with an article in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* charging him with illegal currency speculation.

Dissidents quickly called a news conference at Ginzburg's apartment, where they informed foreign correspondents that the author of the article was known by several of them to be a prison-camp informer and police provocateur. □

### 3,000 Political Murders During Duvalier Reign

At least 100 persons have been arrested in Haiti during the past two months, Amnesty International announced January 9. It termed the arrests "virtual kidnappings," because of the lack of legal procedures in Haiti. The recent arrests bring the estimated number of political prisoners in Haiti to more than 1,000.

In addition, it is believed that more than 3,000 persons have been murdered for

political reasons during the nineteen-year rule of the Duvalier family. Since relatives are not notified when someone is arrested, they have no way of knowing whether he or she is alive or dead.

Amnesty International appealed for the release of the Baptiste brothers, anti-Duvalier activists who were arrested in 1969. One of them has reportedly gone insane as a result of torture in the Fort Dimanche Prison in Port-au-Prince.

Amnesty International also demanded information on the cases of Hubert Legros, a lawyer arrested in 1970; Veneque Duclairon, who was eleven years old at the time of his arrest in 1969; Robert Anthony, who was kidnapped off the street in 1975; and Jean-Claude Exullien, a teacher and actor arrested last year after writing an article on educational reform.

### Cuba Hard Pressed for Cash

Because of a drop in the world price of sugar, Cuba's main export item, Havana does not have enough foreign currency to pay for a \$150 million order from Japan, Japanese Foreign Minister Ichiro Hatoyama announced January 20. Havana has requested that the delivery of the products ordered, including an industrial plant, cars, and textiles, be postponed for one year.

### Weather Underground Splits

The Weather Underground Organization—also known as the Weatherpeople—has split apart over a plan by some of its leaders to come out into the open. The Weatherpeople originated as a faction in the Students for a Democratic Society, and went underground in 1970. They argued that "armed struggle" was the only form of revolutionary activity possible in the United States, and over the years they have either taken credit or been blamed by the police in numerous bombings.

Jeff Jones, one of the leaders of the Weather Underground, formulated a plan in 1975 for bringing the group out of hiding. But the plan came under fire from others who opposed it. A statement dated November 20, 1976, said that members of the group's leadership had "abandoned their revolutionary principles" and had given up "the political basis of many members' original commitments—support for black liberation, Vietnam and armed struggle."

Bernardine Dohrn, another leader of the Weatherpeople, made a tape recording in December to "repudiate and denounce the counter-revolutionary politics of the Weather Underground Organization."

According to his opponents, Jones planned to make overtures to the Democratic party for possible deals in exchange for information about Justice Department break-ins under the Republicans. Documents from the fight also charged that the Weatherpeople in Boston vacillated during the fight over busing there between supporting the Black students and denouncing busing as "a major attack against the working class."

### Paranagua and Pilla Released

Brazilian poet and filmmaker Paulo Antonio de Paranagua and Brazilian art critic Maria Regina Pilla arrived in Paris January 22 following their release from prison in Argentina. The two Brazilians had been arrested along with nine other Argentine and Brazilian leftist activists and intellectuals in May 1975. Charges originally placed against them were dropped seven months later, but they were refused for more than a year the right to leave the country.

### José Páez Moved from Córdoba Jail

José Francisco Páez, a central leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), has been moved from the prison in Córdoba to one in Sierra Chica, in the province of Buenos Aires.

A bulletin from the PST leadership in exile dated January 20 said that Páez has lost weight and has a broken finger that was never set. In Sierra Chica, moreover, the bulletin reports, "the regime . . . is extremely strict on discipline. Prisoners are punished for the slightest reason by being deprived of visitors." However, medical attention is available at this prison, the food is better, and prisoners have the right to receive mail and visitors—none of which were the case in the Córdoba jail where Páez had been held since January 1976.

### Delegation Demands Answers on Fate of Iranian Intellectuals

An alarming report on the fate of several dissident intellectuals in Iran appeared in the January 9 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. According to a report from Tehran by Liz Thurgood, "it is not

known whether Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, the sociologist given an eight year sentence by a secret tribunal, is alive or dead. Some suspect that she was shot while trying to escape, others say her torturers have blinded and crippled her."

Thurgood also reported that the novelist and playwright Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi is "not allowed to leave the country," and that Sa'edi still bears "the marks of SAVAK torture." (SAVAK is the Iranian secret police organization.)

A third Iranian intellectual, poet and journalist Atefeh Gorgin, was said to have been released from prison eight months ago, but the U.S.-based Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) reports that information reaching it "indicates that she has either died under torture or has disappeared mysteriously after her release."

CAIFI organized a delegation that sought to meet with Iranian Consul General Nasser Shirzad in New York January 24. The delegation included literary critic Eric Bentley, former Iranian political prisoner Reza Baraheni, writer Frances FitzGerald, and poet Muriel Rukeyser, vice-president of the international writers organization PEN.

Although informed four days in advance that the delegation would call on him, Shirzad was supposedly absent. While four guards stood outside the entrance to the consul general's office, two minor officials told the delegation that it was not the duty of the consulate to divulge the type of information they wanted.

CAIFI has urged that protests and inquiries about the condition of the three Iranian dissidents be sent to Iranian embassies.

### Tennessee Death Penalty Overturned

Thirty-five prisoners sentenced to mandatory electrocution under the state of Tennessee's capital punishment law have had their lives saved by a January 24 ruling of the State Supreme Court striking the law down. The prisoners will be resentenced to terms ranging from twenty years to life.

The 1974 law was declared unconstitutional because it made the death penalty mandatory for certain crimes. State Representative Frank Lashlee, a leading proponent of the death penalty, responded to the court's decision by saying, "This ruling will have no effect on what the legislature does."

### South African Police to Get Immunity from Prosecution

The South African government published a bill January 25 that would give police acting in "good faith" immunity from civil or criminal prosecution in cases arising out of mass protests. Under the proposed law, "good faith" would be presumed until the contrary is proved.

A number of civil cases in which Blacks

accuse the police of assault and malicious damage to property are in the courts as a result of the brutal suppression of Black protests last year. The new law—which is assured of passage because of the govern-



VORSTER: A pat on the back for police who killed scores of demonstrators.

ment's parliamentary majority—would solve this problem by making the police immunity retroactive to June 16, 1976, the day mass demonstrations broke out in the African township of Soweto.

One Black newspaper, *The World*, condemned the proposed law as "a shocking reversal of the basic norms of justice," adding that "in too many cases township residents have lost confidence in the police, whose relationship with blacks as a whole has reached an all-time low."

### State Department Urged to Protest Threatened Executions in Argentina

Forty Argentine political prisoners have been threatened with execution by the Videla junta, the January 28 issue of *Le Monde* reported.

Among them are a former dean of the University of Buenos Aires, Ernesto Villanueva, and Jorge Taiana, the son of a former minister of public health.

The New York-based Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People has issued an appeal, urging the State Department to take action to protest the threatened killings.

### Cheap Labor in Britain

Wages in Britain are now lower than in any other industrialized country. According to figures compiled by the Swedish Employers' Confederation, labor costs in

West Germany were 176% of those in Britain in 1975. In the United States, the figure was 185%; in Sweden, 219%; in France 128%; and in Italy, 127%. Japanese labor costs were 99% of those in Britain in 1975, but since then labor costs in Britain have even sunk below those in Japan because of the decline of the pound sterling.

However, low labor costs do not give Britain a competitive edge, because they are offset by low productivity. One study in the January issue of *Lloyds Bank Review* suggested that labor productivity in the United States and Sweden is 50% higher than in Britain. German productivity was estimated to be one-third higher, and French productivity one-quarter higher.

In addition to the fact that British productivity is below that in other imperialist countries, it is also growing at a slower rate. Productivity in Britain rose at an average annual rate of 4.5% in the decade from 1964 to 1974. This compares with 16.4% in Japan, 7.9% in France, and 6.9% in West Germany.

### Bretons Protest Arrest of Activists

On January 26, French police detained a broad spectrum of political activists throughout Brittany "for questioning." No explanation was given for the arrests, which touched off a storm of protest.

In its January 27 issue, the Paris Trotskyist daily *Rouge* commented: "The police have gotten into the habit. Under the pretext of fighting the Front de Libération de la Bretagne [Liberation Front of Brittany], every month they carry out raids in autonomist and revolutionary circles."

About fifteen persons were reported picked up, some of whom had been detained in earlier raids in December without the police being able to present any evidence against them.

Among those seized were Pierre Le Goïc, a member of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International); L'Hostis, a member of the leadership of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party) assigned to questions regarding the national minorities; and Clodig, a member of the Front Autonomiste Socialiste Autogestionnaire Breton (FASAB-Breton Socialist Front for Self-Management).

All the persons detained belonged to the Breton Committee Against Repression.

*Rouge's* Breton correspondents wrote in the January 28 issue of the paper:

"After the raids, a crowd marched to the police station in Saint Nazaire [a town near the city of Nantes]. The building was stoned. In this same town, teachers who had refused to go out on the one-day strike staged the same day by the rest of the public employees [in France], joined the walkout as soon as the arrests were announced."

## Internal Discussion in French LCR

[In preparation for a national congress the weekend of January 29-30, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League) conducted a lively internal discussion, part of which was made public.

[We have translated some of the articles

that appeared in *Rouge*, the daily newspaper of the LCR, and are publishing them below for the information of our readers.

[The first item is an explanatory note by the editors of *Rouge*, and appeared in the December 28 issue.]

## Second Congress of the LCR

The second national congress of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire will take place at the end of January. For four days, more than 500 delegates from all over France will discuss the different draft theses.

The first discussion deals with the analysis of the political situation and the tasks of revolutionists. This means discussing questions that concern the entire workers movement: How will the crisis of the regime develop? What is the Union of the Left going to do? What focus should revolutionists' struggles have right now—and, in case of a victory for the left, in the future? What kind of relations should we have with the CP and the SP? What is our policy on unity with other far left organizations?

The second discussion concerns the development of the LCR. The Ligue has become one of the main revolutionary organizations, but it faces many problems that must be solved with clarity, all revolving around this question: What kind of revolutionary organizations do we need? What kind of leadership? How can centralization in action be reconciled with real internal democracy in an organization of several thousand members? How can women and workers, in particular, be fully included as members?

The pre-congress discussion in the LCR on these topics opened last August. Each week the members receive an internal bulletin containing the balance sheets, contributions, and documents submitted by the various tendencies.

Three tendencies have now been formed—A, B, and D. (A fourth tendency, C, fused with tendency A in the course of the pre-congress discussion.) The central committee of the LCR had to vote on how much money to allocate for preparations for the congress (several million old francs [a million old francs = about US\$2,000]). Since the pre-congress discussion involves the entire organization, the leadership takes central responsibility for it.

The tendencies do not have their own

finances. Each receives an identical amount, enabling it to finance its national gatherings and trips to the provinces.

Each tendency receives the same number of pages in the internal bulletin. Each has the right to put forward its positions before general membership assemblies in Paris and the provinces. All

## Debate on Union of the Left

[The following three items appeared in the December 29 *Rouge*.]

\* \* \*

### Tendency A

Since June 1972—despite the self-criticism by the Central Committee majority of the call for a vote for the Left Radicals in 1973—most of our discussions have centered on the Union of the Left and the concrete tasks flowing from our analysis of it.

In the discussion leading up to the Second Congress, our tendency took the initiative against the outgoing majority in the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, which rejected characterizing the Union of the Left as a class-collaborationist popular front. The outgoing majority has always characterized the Union of the Left as a “plan for class collaboration” and not as an “active policy of class collaboration that the masses are already experiencing” (see First Congress theses). The majority pointed to the danger of “sowing confusion about the tasks of revolutionists” and said that “for the period ahead the focus of the struggle lies elsewhere” than in the demand for the workers parties to break with the bourgeoisie. It said that “the best guarantee against all future forms of class collaboration is the self-organization of the working class.”

these activities are coordinated by a parity commission.

To earn the right and be provided with the means to hold a national gathering, members need only submit a document with ten signatures on it. If they wish to obtain full tendency rights, thirty signatures are required.

Of course, this method is not perfect. The LCR is still far from functioning in a really democratic way. The fact is, however, that no other workers organization in France, whether reformist or revolutionary, incorporates even these minimal democratic norms. In future articles, we will come back to the question of the LCR's norms, which are highly controversial elsewhere.

From now on, every Wednesday and Saturday, *Rouge* will devote a page to the pre-congress discussion. Each installment will present the viewpoints of the different tendencies on a particular topic. The LCR discussion is not secret, and concerns the entire revolutionary movement. However, our readers should understand that it is not always easy to summarize in a few articles a debate that has already lasted several months.

TD [Tendency D] thus breeds two kinds of illusions:

1. Implying that the Union of the Left can be “outflanked” more or less spontaneously, through the “self-organization of the masses” and what TD calls the “broad vanguard,” without the conscious activity of a revolutionary party.

2. Downgrading the importance of counterposing a line of working-class unity to the policy of the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaderships of the SP and the CP.

The Union of the Left/popular front subordinates the struggles and interests of the working class to an alliance with the bourgeoisie. The Union of the Left does not open up “the road to revolution,” but rather to *betrayal* of the interests of the proletariat. The Union of the Left is nothing but class collaboration organized by the Social Democrats, the Stalinists, and the bourgeoisie, through the alliance with the Left Radicals today, the Gaullists or Giscard tomorrow. The Union of the Left's main purpose is to defuse the working-class struggles that are on the rise today, and not to “stimulate a social dynamic, in spite of itself,” as TD would have it.

When the Barre [austerity] plan surfaced after the cantonal elections, around October 7, we saw how the SP and CP refused to politically confront the openly bankrupt government that opposes satisfying the most elementary demands. The Common Program [of the Union of the Left] is not a working-class program, but a program for

managing the bourgeois order. The policy of the Union of the Left, both in regard to the mass movement and the bourgeois forces, is what enables the regime to maintain its hold.

The Union of the Left is in the same vein as the Italian CP's "historic compromise," the "Democratic Coordination" in Spain, and the "people-MFA alliance" in Portugal. These popular fronts, which are different from those of 1936 (in France, for example), have been made necessary by the crisis now affecting both imperialism and Stalinism. The form of the alliance with the bourgeoisie and its impact on the mass movement may vary. But, to one degree or another, the results of this alliance, and its implications for revolutionary Marxists, are the same.

#### Should We Wait and 'Outflank' Them—or Strike Out on Our Own?

It is false to call for "outflanking" the Union of the Left. To "outflank" means to "go further, but in the same direction." We are not going in the same direction as the Union of the Left, because the Union of the Left is not heading toward socialism. The Union of the Left is not a "necessary stage" that has to be gone through. We don't have to wait until 1978 [the next parliamentary elections]. We have to counterpose our politics to those of the Union of the Left, point by point. Contrary to groups like the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party] or the OCT [Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs—Communist Workers Organization] that advocate "people's unity" or "people's power" or "popular fronts of combat"—whose line is not even intended as opposing the popular-front strategy of the CP and SP—the LCR should put forward a "line of working-class unity."

This line must be counterposed to the program and practice of the Union of the

Left in all areas of the class struggle, among the youth, and in the working class. Thus, we counterpose our line to the line of "participation" on the university campuses. We support the struggles of soldiers for their democratic rights, while the CP and SP capitulate to [former Premier Jacques] Chirac. We are for fusion of the trade unions—for a single, democratic trade union—but for the independence of the unions from the Union of the Left. Under all circumstances, we fight for a workers united front to arise out of struggles, for the workers to force their leaderships into unity in action to oust the government. And so today, rather than call for a Union of the Left government, we counterpose our perspective—the perspective of a government composed *only* of workers parties (SP and CP) without bourgeois ministers, without Radicals, without Gaullists, without Giscard. □

## Tendency B

#### What Do the Reformists Propose?

The leaderships of the CP and the SP claim that, in order to fight for the needs of wage earners and eventually create a society run in their interests, the leadership of these parties must be *intergrated* into the bourgeois economic and state apparatus (city governments, national education, nationalized enterprises, etc.).

Based on experience, Marxists have long understood that this policy can lead only to a change in the individuals administering the bourgeois state. Whether or not the cabinet ministers, military officers, or executives of big corporations are members of the CP or SP makes no difference. The state machine remains an instrument of the bourgeoisie; the working class cannot establish proletarian rule.

The great majority of the working class, however, has confidence in the policy of the reformists. Therefore, if revolutionists want to win the majority of the proletariat to their aims, they must *study* the reformist apparatuses—using the Marxist method, the materialist method—in order to *understand* them better and *fight* them more effectively.

#### Why This Class-Collaborationist Program?

If it is thought that their program results merely from an incorrect analysis, then our entire policy must aim at mobilizing the masses to put pressure on these leaderships to move forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We are not of the opinion, however, that the policy of the reformist leaderships is the result of error. It has a material basis, class roots. From their point of view, it is a

*rational* policy, aimed at defending their social position. Contrary to the way it is presented, their *real* objective is to share power with the bourgeoisie's "traditional" hirelings, to broaden and consolidate their influence in the state apparatus. *And their influence in the working class is their means to this end. In this way a relationship of forces is set up between the reformists and the traditional parties, based on the struggles of the proletariat, channeled and inserted into the framework of the bourgeois state (elections, respect for hierarchy, etc.). It is therefore clear that the reformists will never saw off the branch they sit on. Under no circumstances will they allow a challenge to the bourgeois state.*

#### What does the LCR's Present Leadership Do?

It is possible to read and reread the daily *Rouge* from the time it was started without ever finding a Marxist analysis of the reformist leaderships. If, under these circumstances, the LCR's policy is—to say the least—ambiguous, it comes as no surprise. For months the paper has been filled with urgent appeals to the CP and SP leaderships to form a government, break with the bourgeoisie, and set about "resolutely inspiring the development of real working-class power (sic!)." (September 29.) In Mole Pamphlet No. 8, the leadership even concludes its list of demands on the reformists with, "these are the only conditions under which an SP-CP government could actually fulfill the promise held out by the Common Program: the road to socialism."

In our opinion, such a policy can only strengthen the illusions that the masses have in the reformist leaderships and encourage the advanced workers in their belief that the CP and SP can be "pushed to the left" and persuaded to make a revolution. We must never deceive the working class!

#### What Is To Be Done?

Tendency D supports the policies of the leadership. Tendency A, which thinks that the politics of the organization should revolve mainly around the demand for a "CP-SP government without bourgeois ministers," also winds up strengthening illusions in the real nature of these parties, implying that if the CP and SP broke with the Left Radicals, this would change everything. Our tendency, Tendency B, thinks that the primary task of the LCR must be to *explain* that the capitalist system must be destroyed and the bourgeois government replaced by a workers government, a government of the proletarian dictatorship, and to *tell the truth*, the whole truth, about the nature of the reformist leaderships, so as not to bolster

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illusions about them. This is not being done by the present leadership.

The LCR's task must then be to mobilize the working class around clear, educational objectives, enabling it to experience in action the need for a proletarian dictatorship. The present leadership is not doing this either. We will come back to this point in our next article. □

## Tendency D

The Common Program is a program for class collaboration, a plan to have the reformist workers parties run the capitalist state. The alliance forged around this program, the Union of the Left, is already practicing class collaboration. The CP and SP have undertaken to keep Giscard in office and to have the 1958 constitution amended; Mitterand has reassured the bosses at the colloquium sponsored by [the financial magazine] *l'Expansion*; neither the CP nor the SP are throwing all their strength into the struggle against the Barre austerity plan, but have come out instead for a wait-and-see electoral policy, wanting to avoid at all costs a test of strength in actual struggle. They now hope to broaden the Union of the Left to the bourgeois parties. An accord has already been signed with the Left Radicals, and appeals are being made to the Gaullists.

### A New Popular Front?

Should the Union of the Left be considered a new popular front? In 1936, the popular front included the Radical party, which then had a majority in Parliament. The alliance with this bourgeois party gave the reformists an excuse for not putting their own program into practice. This is not the case today, however, because the Common Program is not basically different from the programs of the CP and the SP. The popular front was an alliance with a major bourgeois party that had been in power many times before 1936. In this sense the Italian CP, through its "historic compromise" with the Christian Democracy, which has been in power for thirty years, is carrying out a "popular-front" policy. But in comparison with the Radical party of 1936, or the Christian Democracy, the present-day Radicals are only a tiny group! The same goes for the popular front in Spain in 1936: the bourgeois parties took the lion's share of seats in the Assembly, which hardly compares with the few Radical deputies in the Assembly today!

The popular-front analogy, therefore, is not valid in France today. Because if the term popular frontism is to have any meaning at all, it cannot depend on the content of the program (otherwise, any reformist program would be "popular

frontist," and the notion would lose its specific meaning), but on the nature of the class-collaborationist alliance, and the tasks resulting from it. Thus, the CP and SP justify their capitulation by saying that in order to safeguard their future electoral victory, legality (the constitution of 1958) must be respected and the bosses must be reassured. Their arguments are not based on the "restrictions imposed by the alliance"—that is, with the Left Radicals.

### The Axis of Workers Control

Considering the Union of the Left to be a "popular front"—in other words, saying that the class-collaborationist policy of the CP and SP is shown primarily by the pact with the Radicals—leads:

- To advocating abstention in the municipal elections whenever a Radical is on the slate. Instead, we call for a vote on the second round for the slates headed up by the CP and SP, while condemning the inclusion of the Radicals, but not seeing in it grounds for a boycott.

- To making the call for "a CP-SP government without bourgeois ministers" a central slogan, unrelated to the actual ways in which workers are mobilizing and organizing.

This can only lend credit to the idea that a mere break with the Radicals would

make the CP and SP embody "working-class unity" as opposed to class collaboration, in defiance of historical experience (witness the first Allende government in Chile, or the Labour governments in Great Britain), which demonstrates how a government composed of the reformists alone can easily be an instrument of class collaboration!

What we are putting forward instead is a political line corresponding to the objective situation and capable of mobilizing the revolutionary and reformist workers to struggle side by side against the Barre plan, get rid of Giscard, repeal the constitution, and dismantle the strong state, while encouraging examples of workers control and self-organization. For when they are confronted by a real struggle, a struggle that is organized to win, the reformists will show their true colors by running the other way. Faced with these needs of the working class, we can challenge the parties that hold the confidence of the majority of workers, the CP and SP, when they refuse to assume their responsibilities.

This is the type of response that we think the present situation calls for. We are tracing a line of action that can prepare the workers for the battles to come, without subordinating their capacity for action to mere speculations about an electoral victory for the left. □

## Debate on Relations With Other Groups

[The following three items appeared in the January 12 issue of *Rouge*.]

\* \* \*

### Tendency A

#### Workers United Front and the LCR 'Unity Policy'

Our line of strategy for the working class cannot be reduced to and does not even just amount to unity of the working-class organizations (political and trade-union) alone. It is aimed at an objective that concerns the *whole* class, and it is the opposite of the policy of the traditional leaderships. The movement for working-class unity is a weapon *against* the SP and CP's policies of division and class collaboration.

We propose that the tactic of the workers united front be employed *regardless of its immediate chances for success, which depend on the relationship of forces*, and that *only then* should we consider what initiatives to take to help us advance in that direction. This conception of the workers-united-front tactic is *the exact opposite* of the one which was christened, in the theses of the LCR's First Congress, as "initiative/unity in action/outflanking"

(a conception entirely dependent upon the relationship of forces).

The theses of the LCR, like the current policy supported by Tendency D, are based essentially on an analysis of the "broad vanguard." The objective is not to trace a path for the masses to follow starting from an analysis of their objective needs, and fighting to unite the broad masses of Socialist, Communist, and independent workers in struggle; it is to "instrumentalize" a part of the working class—that section supposedly "breaking with reformism" and known as "AGOL," the "Avant-Garde Ouvrière Large" [Broad Workers Vanguard]. In view of the absence of a revolutionary party, the idea is to utilize the AGOL as a "lever," to achieve a better relationship of forces with the mass organizations.

This conception of the need to make a "detour" in order to confront the reformist apparatuses inaugurated a line, in the theses of the LCR's First Congress, in the "European Documents" of the Fourth International, and in the documents of TD, of "winning hegemony in the broad vanguard." It very quickly resulted in a sectarian course of turning our backs on the tactic of the workers united front. This line has been reduced to a policy of giving

priority to common activity with currents that we characterize as "centrist" (currents oscillating between reformism and a revolutionary program). These currents were supposed to represent the link with the "AGOL."

In Portugal and Italy, where setting priority on alliances with the centrists took the form of the FUR (Revolutionary United Front) and "Proletarian Democracy," Trotskyists ended up in coalitions in which our hands were tied, at crucial moments in the class struggle, by unprincipled agreements. In France, a "front of revolutionists" on the same basis would be equally unacceptable—that is, on the basis of scrapping our analysis of the counterrevolutionary role of the reformist apparatuses and the tasks that must be carried out to confront them. Today, a *line of "working-class unity"* must be the basis for any agreement. This rules out any line of "people's unity," of "people's control," or of a "popular front from below."

This means a clear approach to the question of unity: no exclusion! For a *systematic search for unity in action* in all the fields of mass work (for the fusion of the trade unions, for a single student union, for setting up single mass committees to defend imprisoned soldiers or to free political prisoners East and West, for a single women's movement, for a united union of soldiers, etc.). The criterion of common mass work must prevail. This implies a kind of unity in action in practice that is *integrated with and not in contradiction* to our overall tactic of the workers united front. This is what guides our relations with Lutte Ouvrière [LO—Workers Struggle], the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—Internationalist Communist Organization], or the PSU (to the very limited degree that the marked evolution of the latter group towards the Union of the Left still allows them to have discussions and engage in real mass work with us).

Today, in France, two organizations (LO and the OCI) that consider themselves Trotskyist have made overtures toward the Fourth [International]. For our part, we can and should undertake the particular tasks of discussion and united action with them.

The LCR should not "water down its platform," but should fight against any sectarianism and seek out the best areas of concrete cooperation with the centrist currents. The elections are an important occasion for exposing the class-

collaborationist policy of the SP and CP. To do this, we should submit, in full view of all currents—nationally, with no exclusions and no preconditions—a single LCR platform that leaves no essential element in the political situation unmentioned. Agreements should then be reached if they do not contradict the line of workers unity and if they are accompanied by real unity in action in several areas.

## Tendency B

### What Kind of Unity With the Reformists?

We must achieve unity in action with the reformists. This is necessary in order to be able to fight their influence in the working class and in order to struggle on a day-to-day basis, particularly in the trade unions. We must therefore make proposals for action to the reformist leaderships. The three tendencies agree on this and criticize the positions of the ultralefts, who reject unity in action with the reformists.

But on the other hand we do not agree with the current orientation of the LCR. As readers have observed in *Rouge*, the leadership frequently calls upon the CP and SP to "break with the bourgeoisie," "move in the direction of workers power," for "a real workers government," "open the way to the dictatorship of the proletariat," etc. This orientation, which Tendency D says we should maintain, bolsters illusions in the reformist leaderships. What we should say instead is that the CP and the SP will never open the way to the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why we want to build another party, a revolutionary party.

The tactic of unity must not lead to our suggesting to the reformists that we make a revolution together! This flows from the tactic of trying to expose them and put them on the spot, a tactic which, as we have said before, is ineffective and dangerous since it strengthens the illusions in the reformist leaderships held by those few proletarians who listen to us. We must never deceive the working class.

### On Revolutionary Unity

With the far-left organizations, by way of contrast, we should employ a different kind of unity tactic, because they have undertaken the same effort as the Ligue—building a revolutionary party which can lead us to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the first place, there are many types of actions that can be successfully carried out jointly, actions that each of the groups would not be able to carry out on its own.

Secondly, an ongoing discussion should be initiated, not only with respect to

actions with limited perspectives (which, we repeat, the reformists should also be approached with), but also on the major questions, such as how to intervene politically in the working class, how to work in the trade unions, how to build a solidly based party (and not the municipal elections).

Our tendency believes that there is no revolutionary group that can claim to be the embryo in itself of the party that has to be built; none of these groups is deeply rooted in the working class. *We must draw up a balance sheet of the far left from 1968 to today.* This is the burning task for all revolutionists. It should be possible to discuss this balance sheet together. We need to have a thorough discussion. Of course, this should be done without fostering illusions in the chances of overcoming the differences quickly, but with the conviction that it is necessary to move toward a basic reconstitution of the far left. We offer these proposals with no restrictions; still, among the existing groups, we feel that priority should be given to an approach to Lutte Ouvrière, the OCT, and the PSU, as well as to local groups of worker militants who are not affiliated to any national organization. As far as this choice is concerned, we do not agree with the present orientation, the one supported by Tendency D, which places special emphasis on the PSU—right at a time when the majority of that organization is making more and more overtures toward the Union of the Left. We disagree even more sharply with Tendency A, which puts priority on the organizations that stand on the "Transitional Program" written by Trotsky in 1938.

This type of policy does not mean to imply the dissolution of the individual organizations. We believe that if the Ligue were reoriented along the lines of our tendency it would be even stronger and in a better position to carry it out, while, of course, putting priority on our own mass work and sinking roots in the working class.

## Tendency D

### From Unity in Action to Building the Party

In Europe, over the last ten years, the workers movement has been rebuilt from the ground up. The crisis of Stalinism and the gradual rise of struggles has encouraged the development of a spectrum of currents that reject reformism. The still peripheral role of revolutionary communists has enabled these currents to oscillate, to one degree or another, between critical support to the reformists and a revolutionary line. They are a long-lasting component of the workers movement. Thus, the building of the revolutionary

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party will not come about simply through the growth of the LCR, but through fusions and regroupments.

Our unity policy, based on this analysis, aims at promoting clarity on program and revolutionary practice, as well as at unity in action in carrying out the tasks required by the situation. We are struggling to bring about a front of all workers and all workers organizations, but not all of them play the same role. The reformists are an obstacle to the workers' revolutionary struggle; those groups which reject reformism are plagued by inconsistency. An agreement with the latter on the need to struggle for the destruction of the bourgeois state, on tactics to employ in relation to the reformists, and on a conception of the party would represent important progress toward revolutionary unity and building the revolutionary party.

Among the spectrum of currents "to the left of reformism," this common characteristic is not all that counts. In addition to their programs, they differ in their way of acting, their relations with the workers' radicalization, and the role they play in the reconstitution of the workers movement. The PSU, Lutte Ouvrière, and the OCT, to one degree or another, are a pure expression of the radicalization and reconstitution of the workers movement, particularly since 1968. These are the groups with whom joint action in the mass movement is least difficult and a discussion on strategy most fruitful. The OCI, on the other hand, is far removed from the working-class radicalization. It broke with the Fourth International in the downturn of the 1950s, and has remained tied to the Social Democratic bureaucracy (FO [Force Ouvrière—Labor Force], FEN [Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale—National Education Federation]) during the period of rising struggle. This is evident from the positions it took on May 1968 and on the Portuguese revolution. The Maoist groups, PCR [Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist party], and HR [l'Humanité Rouge], are not identical. HR lines up so closely behind the Chinese leadership that it has refused to support the soldiers' committees because they might weaken the army's ability to confront the USSR (!). The PCR, despite its divisive line in the unions, is less insensitive to the mass radicalization.

The priority that we are assigning to the PSU, LO, and the OCT does not, however, justify excluding other groups. It is made necessary by the fact that the number of people who can be mobilized by the unity in action of the far-left organizations greatly exceeds their total membership.

TA [Tendency A] opposes our policy. They recommend that we switch our alliances. Based solely on programmatic criteria, they say we should place a priority on the organizations claiming to be Trotskyist. Thus, in their last column, having condemned all the other currents

for rejecting an "SP-CP government," they kept silent about one organization, the OCI. Does their silence imply agreement? It's quite plausible, since these comrades, following the OCI's example, see the "non-Trotskyist" far left as an obstacle to building the party, and thus are opposed in principle to any united-front agreement with them, whatever its political basis.

The policy that we are proposing, by way of contrast, fits into the framework of a process of rapprochement and discussion with the PSU, LO, and the OCT. The struggle against the repression aimed at the soldiers' committees and the CFDT

[Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor] activists has shown how we can involve significant sections of the workers movement in action, by combining our own intervention with a unity tactic toward other groups, and with which groups we can do this. Likewise, seeking an electoral agreement with LO and the OCT is a fruitful approach. It can demonstrate the revolutionary alternative to a much larger number of workers than would be the case if each group waged a scattered campaign, and offers the different lines and orientations a chance to confront one another in a fraternal way. □

## Asks for Workers Control of Production

# Chinese Wall Poster Criticizes Economic Backwardness

Reports by travelers and Western reporters indicate that wall posters critical of the Chinese government were still being pasted up here and there in major cities into the first week of February. This followed a ten-day free-speech movement in Peking January 6-15 on the anniversary of the death of former Premier Chou En-lai. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 31, p. 62.)

The most interesting recent account is of a twenty-page wall poster in Canton criticizing the economic policies of the Cultural Revolution period under Mao. The poster was described by Fox Butterfield, writing from Hong Kong for the February 2 *New York Times*. The poster criticized by name only the "gang of four"—Mao's widow, Chiang Ch'ing, and three other Politburo members now under arrest. But the accusations had to do with general government policy for the whole past period. Under the influence of the four, the poster said, "mass enthusiasm was lost and production was damaged. . . . As a result the economic development of China has slowed during the past 10 years, especially the production of consumer goods."

"In this situation," the poster said, "the livelihood of the masses was pushed down, and as a result social order and morale suffered, and crime, particularly juvenile delinquency, increased."

This is the first known public reference in China to Mao's wage freeze of the last ten to fifteen years as a crime of the "gang of four."

The poster cited the sharp contrast between China's present poverty and the advances made by capitalist Japan. The point, the poster said, was not that

capitalism was superior to socialism but that the nationalized economy had been mismanaged.

"Are the Chinese people inferior to the Japanese people in intelligence and talent?" it asked. "We have a satellite flying in space, but on earth our farmers must still pull plows with their shoulders."

The poster, which was signed "Kung-jen" (a name that sounds like the Chinese word for worker), outlined a list of demands for reforms. These included a call for "measures so the workers can organize production and participate in controlling socialist property." Another was a demand for government action to "increase the standard of living of the people and establish a rational system of wages and incentives."

Symptomatic of the mood in China today was the fact that the authorities did not move immediately to take the poster down. Butterfield reported: "According to one traveler who saw it in downtown Canton, large crowds of people stood around reading it until well after dark." □

## Typographical Error?

The Chinese Academy of Sciences recently issued a "correction" of a sentence that appeared in the September-October 1976 issue of its journal, *Scientia Sinica*. The correction reads as follows: "In the article 'Devote Every Effort to Running Successfully Socialist Research Institutes of Science' (*Sci. Sin.*, Vol. XIX, No. 5) 'the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-ping' should read 'Teng Hsiao-ping.'"