

Intercontinental Press

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CIA Payoff Scandal Blows Up in Carter's Face

By Ernest Harsch

In a sensational new disclosure of subversion by the CIA, a front-page article in the February 18 *Washington Post* revealed that King Hussein of Jordan has been on the spy agency's payroll for twenty years. The first major spy scandal of the new administration comes less than a month after Carter assumed office, elected on a platform that promised to halt "abuses" by the CIA.

Within a day, the names of more than a dozen other prominent foreign political figures said to be recipients of CIA money were published in the press. These included Willy Brandt of West Germany, Luis Echeverría Alvarez of Mexico, Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.

"You name 'em and they got money," was the comment of a former American ambassador familiar with the top-secret payoff operations.

According to *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward, the subsidy to Hussein was one of the most closely held and sensitive of all CIA secret operations. Hussein first received CIA money in 1957, the same year the U.S. Sixth Fleet rushed to his aid to help him survive a coup attempt.

At one point the payments reached \$2 million a year, according to a CIA source cited in the February 19 *New York Daily News*. In 1976 the amount was reduced to \$750,000. Under the codeword "No Beef," the money was usually delivered to Hussein in cash by the CIA station chief in Amman.

According to Woodward, "The payoffs were reported last year to President Ford as an impropriety by the Intelligence Oversight Board, a three-member panel set up by Ford to curb CIA abuses.

"President Ford took no steps to stop the covert payments."

Carter ordered a halt to the CIA payments to Hussein after learning of the *Washington Post* investigation, Woodward reported.

Before the CIA started subsidizing the Hashemite kingdom, Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, was the recipient of secret funds from Britain from the time he was installed as emir under British control in 1922 until his assassination in 1951. British payments then continued to Hussein until the CIA took over in 1957.

The imperialists felt they had received value for their money. An intelligence official cited by David Binder in the February 19 *New York Times* termed the Hussein-CIA connection a "solid profes-

sional relationship," in which Hussein informed on the activities of the Palestinian liberation forces and provided other valuable information to the CIA.

Moreover, the expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Jordan and the killing of as many as ten thousand Palestinians, most of them refugees, by Hussein's forces in September 1970 was a major blow to the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. Hussein has also been openly conciliatory toward Washington's Israeli client state and refused to participate in the October 1973 war with Israel.

The revelations of direct CIA backing to Hussein come at a time when Washington and Cairo are trying to pressure the PLO into agreeing to some form of "declared link" with Jordan as a prelude to a new round of Middle East talks in Geneva. In fact, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance met with Hussein in Amman the same day the *Washington Post* story broke.

In an attempt to minimize the impact of the revelations on U.S. interests in the Middle East, White House press secretary Jody Powell refused to comment directly on the disclosures. Instead he read a statement to reporters February 18 that merely said, "King Hussein is an outstanding national leader. He and his Government have played a constructive role in reducing tensions in the Middle East."

When pressed by reporters, Powell refused to say whether Carter thought that the payments were "improper" or to confirm whether they had been made at all.

Carter's attempt to cover up the first major exposé of CIA dirty tricks since he became president is in marked contrast to his promises during the election campaign that he would conduct an "open" foreign policy.

Madrid's Release of Basque Prisoners

By Gerry Foley

Over the weekend of February 12-13, the Suárez government released four Basque political prisoners serving long terms for alleged terrorist activities. The four—Victor Aranzábal, José Luis Inurtegui, José-Luis Ortuzar, and José Arubecheveste—were all accused of being members of the militant nationalist organization Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom).

In February 1976, for instance, Carter was quoted as saying, "If the C.I.A. ever makes a mistake, I'll be the one, as President, to call a press conference, and I'll tell you and the American people, this is what happened, these are the people who violated the law, this is the punishment I recommend, this is the corrective action that needs to be taken, and I promise you it won't happen again."

These fine words may well ring in his ears for some time to come. The exposure of CIA payments to Hussein has grown into a flood of revelations of how Washington buys off governments and officials around the world.

Citing a "knowledgeable CIA source," *Daily News* correspondent Joseph Volz reported that among the other recipients of CIA money were former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta. According to Volz, "The source said that the funds given by the CIA to Brandt went into the treasury of West Germany's Social Democratic party. . . .

"Kenyatta reportedly received about \$50,000 a year from the CIA for his personal use and, later, was given an additional \$50,000 per year to distribute to his aides."

In addition, Volz reported, former South Vietnamese dictator Nguyen Van Thieu received "millions directly" from the CIA, as did Lon Nol in Cambodia. Also named by Volz's source as recipients were President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre; Archbishop Makarios, the president of Cyprus; Guyana Prime Minister Forbes Burnham; the Dalai Lama, an exiled Tibetan religious and political figure; and Chiang Kai-shek, the late president of Taiwan.

Binder, in his *New York Times* account, reported that "intelligence officials" had also named former Mexican President Luis Echeverría Alvarez, Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez, Angolan guerrilla leader Holden Roberto, former Chilean President Eduardo Frei Montalvo, former South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee, former South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, former Thai Police Chief Phao Sriyanond, and former Philippines President Ramón Magsaysay. □

In a dispatch in the February 15 *New York Times*, Ignacio Esnalola, a lawyer for the released prisoners, was quoted as saying: "The fashion in which they came out was incredible. They were serving their sentences and had already exhausted their appeals. Legally, the only way they could have been freed was to have completed their sentences—or been granted an amnesty."

The *New York Times* dispatch interpreted the releases as "the first steps of a government policy to free the bulk of Spain's political prisoners, estimated to number 170, without fanfare and without another formal amnesty." At least part of this conclusion was undoubtedly correct: The government was trying to avoid having to concede a full amnesty.

By arbitrarily selecting four persons to be released, out of hundreds, the Suárez government hoped to create the impression that it will eventually pardon all, or nearly all, the political prisoners, as long as the political situation in the country remains "stable."

These releases came in the context of other minor or illusory concessions made following the crisis at the end of January. At that time the Stalinists and Social Democrats helped to hold back mass strikes and protests triggered by the murders of amnesty demonstrators and labor lawyers by rightists and police.

Other such moves were a decree removing one of the obstacles to legalization of the Communist party and the opening of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

The government's real attitude to demands for amnesty, for Basque prisoners in particular, is shown by the fact that in the more than a year it has been in office it has refused to permit a single demonstration for amnesty in the Basque country. Amnesty demonstrations have also generally been banned in other parts of the Spanish state.

By releasing only a few prisoners at a time, and selecting those to be let out at random, the government hopes to keep the initiative.

On the other hand, the fact that the government feels compelled to release some prisoners does show the power of the mass upsurge that has accelerated in Spain since Franco's death.

Suárez is trying to ride out the upsurge by convincing the masses that the government will dismantle the Francoist system of repression if they will only leave it freedom to maneuver with the right wing. Mass mobilizations would supposedly create "instability" and "provoke" the army to crack down, eliminating the de facto freedoms that have been won.

The Stalinists and Social Democrats have accepted this idea and have tried to inculcate it in the masses. Their stance during the January upsurge enabled Suárez to regain control of the "de-Francoization" process and to continue to dote out only limited democratic concessions.

However, the masses have now gone through the experience that more was lost than gained by trusting the reformist leaders and the government. Thus, the release of these four prisoners may in fact stimulate the movement for total amnesty, rather than defuse it, as the government obviously hopes. □

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Portuguese Workers Strike to Defend Rights

By Gerry Foley

A new wave of strikes has developed in Portugal, beginning in late January. The international press has begun to talk about a fresh test of strength between the government and the labor movement.

At the same time, the Portuguese government and bourgeois press claim that "antidemocratic forces" are again fomenting strikes to pave the way for imposing the dictatorship of an "active minority," repeating the charge made against the Communist party and its allies in 1975.

On January 24, Portuguese coastal fishermen launched a national strike against an attempt by the government and bosses to undermine union control over hiring. Five days earlier, the fishermen's unions had staged a warning strike to protest a circular from the Secretariats of the Navy. The circular announced that in the future workers on ships would not need union cards to be hired and that hiring would be done not by the unions but by the ship captains, which was the system in force before the overthrow of the dictatorship on April 25, 1974.

The strike that began January 24 was prompted by the case of the fishing boat *Goraz*. The administrative commission of the João Maria Vilarinho company, which has been put under partial state management, filled three vacancies on the crew of the *Goraz*, disregarding the hiring list of the Lisbon fishermen's union. On January 10, ten crew members refused to comply with sailing orders on grounds that the vacancies had been filled illegally.

The government secretariat of fisheries claimed the hirings were legal because in making these appointments, the administrative commission had consulted with the unions in the ports of Aveiro and Figueira da Foz, to which the new crew members belonged.

The ten striking crewmen were dismissed. They and members of their families then occupied the *Goraz*. In response, the government sent police to take the occupiers off by force.

The right-wing press suggested that the reason for the conflict was that the Lisbon union was controlled by the CP, and the one in Aveiro by the Socialist party. The authorities claimed they were acting on behalf of the workers as a whole by combating "special interests," presumably represented by the Lisbon union.

On February 1, Lisbon stevedores went out on a two-day strike to protest a communiqué by Minister of Labor Marcelo Curto accusing their union of being a job trust. The minister claimed that the union

conspired to maintain a small, very highly paid work force at the expense of unorganized port workers. His position was supported by a group claiming to represent the unorganized workers, called Os Homens da Rua (The Men in the Street).

Spokesmen of Os Homens da Rua said that although the unorganized workers paid dues, they could not get union cards, and that the union deliberately kept the work force on the docks so small that foodstuffs spoiled before they could be moved to warehouses. Whether or not there is any truth in these accusations, it is clear that Curto's statements came in the context of a general attack by the government and the bosses on the union shop and union control over hiring.

Early in February, the textile workers union began a campaign of fifteen-minute work stoppages every two hours. The union claimed the employers were stalling in contract negotiations in order to delay raises. The Association of Textile Manufacturers objected to having to negotiate a single contract for the industry. It raised violent objections to the union's demands for more rights for workers on the job:

What the unions want is clear. Under the pretext of defending the interests of the workers, they want something that not even the various provisional governments themselves demanded—control over life in the plants. . . . This is not an attempt to set up parallel powers [as the "grass-roots" organizations proposed in 1975 by the Gonçalves faction of the Armed Forces Movement were called]. This is much graver. It means exercising a control that not even the provisional governments demanded.

On February 4, the leaders of the public workers unions of the southern, central, and northern regions of Portugal, as well as the island of Madeira, announced a plan for a one-day national strike on February 15. This action was to protest the fact that the government had decided on new pay scales without consulting the unions. Wage increases of 15 percent were offered, when inflation is running close to twice that annually.

On February 12, invoking a law adopted by the Vasco Gonçalves government in November 1974, the government conscripted all maritime workers over the age of eighteen in order to stop the strikes and actions developing in the industry. It gave the following explanation:

1. By calling on its members not to do overtime work, the Federation of Maritime Unions adopted a form of struggle objectively tending to paralyze the national merchant marine. The inevitable effect would be to disrupt

the regular supply of foodstuffs and raw materials. This would affect all Portuguese, especially the populations of the Azores and Madeira, and would gravely damage the effort to rebuild the nation.

2. The reasons given for such actions by the maritime unions involve disputing the right of the [government] intervenors to regulate the flow of goods in the collective interest and in defense of the right to work and trade-union freedom, without discrimination or favoritism.

In the ninth and final point, the authorities said:

In assuming this position, the government is fulfilling its duty to defend democracy and to meet the collective interest of the country. It cannot tolerate irresponsible and isolated actions by some privileged workers who are trying to destabilize the political situation by actions sabotaging the national economy.

In reality, it is the government and the bosses that are on the offensive, and not any group of workers. In the mass upsurge that followed the overthrow of the dictatorship and the collapse of traditional bourgeois institutions, the workers began to win democratic rights on the job that conflict with capitalist ways of organizing economic life. The bosses and the government that serves their interests are determined to wipe these out.

The government wants to exploit divisions in the working class to present itself as the defender of the general interests of the workers and the poor masses. The virulent sectarianism that the CP promoted in 1975 against SP workers has been extremely useful to it in this regard.

However, the theme that every strike is designed to prepare the way for a dictatorship of a minority has to become threadbare over time. The government has been using it since late 1975.

With regard to the present strikes, references by the government and the bourgeois press to "antidemocratic forces" are quite vague; necessarily so, since the SP itself has been strong in the public workers unions.

However, the fact that workers have benefited very unevenly from the new rights won by labor creates a danger of division. To defeat the government's tactic, the workers organizations will have to demonstrate clearly that they are not fighting just for one or another group of workers. The tack the government has taken in its propagandist offensive also points up the need for the labor movement to offer a general alternative to the regime's austerity policy, one that genuinely defends the interests of the working class and the poor masses. □

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Protests Against Repression Spread in East Europe

By Gerry Foley

In an article that filled two-thirds of a page in the February 12 issue of *Pravda*, the Soviet bureaucracy tried to outline a general response to growing criticism, both in the East European workers states and in the international workers movement.

Under the headline "What Lies Hidden Behind the Ballyhoo About 'Human Rights,'" *Pravda* described the problem as follows:

In the press and over radio and TV in many Western countries an unprecedented hoopla has developed around the antisocialist gutter document called "Charter 77," which was fabricated by a group of right-wing counterrevolutionary figures, whose true antisocialist face was exposed in 1968. . . .

There is some kind of campaign going on about "workers rights," which are supposed to be violated in Poland. The racket over the measures taken by the German Democratic Republic to defend its lawful rights has not abated. There is a lot of noise about a miserable handful of anti-Soviet-minded pygmies who are slandering their motherland and their people. These individuals are supposed to be being persecuted in the Soviet Union for "dissent."

Those in the USSR who have raised their voices against the denial of democratic rights were described as "a tiny group of people who represent no one and nothing, who are completely isolated from the Soviet people, and exist only because they are supported, paid, and played up by the West."

The dissidents were accused of working hand in glove with the most aggressive elements in capitalist governments in an attempt to destroy the détente:

It is important to note that while they foam at the mouth claiming to want the Helsinki accords implemented, these enemies of détente are in fact contradicting the essential preconditions, the very essence of the Helsinki agreements.

Détente is based on the peoples moving closer together, and the enemies of détente are in fact spreading hatred, suspicion, and distrust among peoples and governments. The détente presupposes mutual respect for the sovereignty, laws, and customs of governments, but its enemies, waving the flag of détente, are trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. This is shown, for example, by the recent statement of the U.S. State Department expressing an all-too-touching "concern" about "dissidents" in the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

A Helping Hand from Carter

The U.S. government's attempts in recent weeks to pose as the protector and patron of the movement for democratic rights in the Stalinized workers states obviously came as a godsend to the



BREZHNEV: Unleashes slanderous attack against dissidents in Soviet press.

Kremlin. This was the answer to the dilemma in which Moscow found itself when its usual justifications for repression were undermined by criticism from the big West European CPs, which for electoral reasons are anxious to disassociate themselves from Stalinist dictatorship.

The main line of attack on the dissidents was clearly to be that Carter's statements show that they are only pawns in a maneuver by Western circles that favor a more aggressive policy toward the workers states, and possibly even war.

At the same time, *Pravda* tried to use examples of dissidents expelled from the Soviet Union, some of whom have become disillusioned with Marxism and socialism, to prove that the calls for democratic socialism are only a pretense:

These parasites who in their struggle against the Soviet system end up on the road to direct collaboration with foreign anti-Soviet centers hide their real views under the pretense of being "fighters for human rights." They pretend that they only want to "improve" the Soviet system. But when these figures turn up abroad, they quickly reveal their true face and come out openly against the system. It is no secret that some of them work for Radio Liberty, and for super anti-Soviet publications such as *Kontinent* [a magazine in Russian financed by the right-wing Springer combine in West Germany, which includes Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn among its collaborators].

Once the dissidents are identified with

Washington, the Kremlin has a ready answer to criticism of its denial of democratic rights. All it has to do is point to the brutal dictatorships supported by American imperialism, as well as to the deepening economic crisis of capitalism.

The *Pravda* article had a general focus. Everything was put in the context of the Kremlin's concept of the political implications of the détente. It expects that political concessions have to be made on both sides. The capitalists should stop using the crimes of Stalinism to make antisocialist propaganda, in return for more open collaboration from the Soviet Union and the CPs.

The Stalinist bureaucrats have made it clear in a number of ways that they think the West is not living up to its part of the bargain. They have, for example, stepped up their criticisms of conditions in capitalist countries. There has been a noticeable increase in recent weeks in the number and prominence of articles in the Soviet press about unemployment and repression in the West.

They have also carried out acts of retaliation against representatives of the Western press who have reported the protests of opponents of bureaucratic repression.

The East German authorities have threatened to expel West German TV personnel. On February 4, Soviet officials ordered the expulsion of Associated Press correspondent George Krinsky, who reported on the dissident movement. On February 12, Czechoslovak authorities detained *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann for several hours and went through his notes.

An additional aim of such moves is to help shore up the claim that the dissidents are pawns of the Western capitalists.

However, the spread of the movement for democratic rights is making it more and more difficult for the Kremlin to pass off this slander. How could it explain, for example, the fact that the antibureaucratic opposition in Yugoslavia has also been encouraged by the recent increase in demands for democratic rights in the Warsaw Pact countries. Yugoslavia is not a member of this military alliance with the Soviet Union, and in fact, Belgrade has been on rather good terms with Washington for decades.

On February 3, Associated Press reported that sixty Yugoslav intellectuals had signed a petition calling on the Belgrade constitutional court to repeal a law allow-

ing police to arbitrarily reject applications for passports. On February 8, Milovan Djilas issued an appeal to the West European CPs to demand that the Tito government as well be urged to respect democratic rights.

The Yugoslav Communist party, moreover, has supported the moves of the West European CPs to take a more independent stance toward the Kremlin, including criticisms of the bureaucratic dictatorships. In fact, Yugoslavia has been one of the most important patrons and defenders of this trend, called "Euro-Communism."

Avge, the organ of the Greek Communist party ("interior"), which has particularly friendly relations with Belgrade, has been a strong defender of Charter 77. In its February 9 issue, it featured an account of a rejoinder to the Czechoslovak CP organ *Rudé Právo* by the Yugoslav party journal *Borba*. *Avge* quoted *Borba* as saying:

The Czechoslovaks' condemnation of everyone who upholds the independence and equality of all Communist parties and their characterizing everyone who rejects accepting a universal model as "an enemy of socialism" are unacceptable.

Dissidents Speak Out in Rumania

With more and more people daring to protest openly in the USSR and the other East European states against bureaucratic dictatorship, an organized attempt has been made for the first time to demand democratic rights in Rumania.

On February 13, a letter signed by eight Rumanian intellectuals was made public in Belgrade. It was addressed to the organizers of the conference scheduled to meet in June in the Yugoslav capital to review compliance with the Helsinki accords. According to a February 17 dispatch by *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne, the letter called on the thirty-five countries adhering to the Helsinki agreements "to use their good offices to persuade the Rumanian Government to honor the country's constitutional guarantees."

One of the signers of the letter was novelist Paul Goma. On February 11, *Le Monde* published an open letter by him expressing solidarity with defenders of democratic rights in other East European workers states. Addressing the signers of Charter 77, he wrote:

You, like the Polish, the East Germans, the Hungarians, and the Bulgarians, find yourselves living under Russian occupation. We Romanians live under Romanian occupation, which in the last analysis is more oppressive and effective than a foreign occupation.

Rumania maintains friendly relations with Peking, which calls on the West to arm against the Soviet Union. It is also on good terms with the Zionist regime in Israel. But while the Rumanian Stalinists follow a line of narrow national self-interest both in foreign policy and domes-

tic propaganda, which often conflicts with the interests of the Kremlin, they have conceded no democratic rights to the masses or the intellectuals.

The Rumanian Stalinist bosses appar-



CEAUSCESCU: Denounces Rumanian anti-bureaucratic fighters as "traitors."

ently are anxious to maintain their reputation. Within three days of the publication of the open letter, they sent police to surround the homes of the signers. In a nationally broadcast speech, the country's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, denounced the dissidents as "traitors."

In a February 17 dispatch from Bucharest, Browne reported: "The homes of those Rumanians who were seized today were cordoned off by policemen, and no contact could be made with anyone in the areas involved."

Later dispatches indicated that the dissidents were not arrested but only blockaded. The following day, the authorities retreated, and removed the cordons. Goma reported that he had started to get anonymous threatening calls. The government's reaction seemed to have settled into the pattern of harassment and intimidation, often covert, that the Stalinist regimes have resorted to more and more in an attempt to arouse international public opinion as little as possible.

Nonetheless, there have been many signs that even limited toleration of dissent puts a severe strain on the bureaucratic dictatorships. This has been evident in the case of Czechoslovakia.

On January 28, six leading representatives of Charter 77 were summoned to the Prague passport office and asked to sign emigration applications. All refused. The

next day, after this move received wide international publicity, it was announced over Czechoslovak TV that the government had no intention of deporting any of the dissidents.

Immediately after the publication of Charter 77, the Prague regime started a program of police harassment of the most prominent representatives of the group, hauling them in, releasing them, and manhandling them in the process. At the same time, there were indications that at least a section of the bureaucracy was considering political trials. A virulent press campaign was started up against Charter 77. Groups of workers in factories began to "spontaneously" express their indignation.

Then on January 31, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohumil Chnoupek went noticeably out of his way to pledge that his government would honor its obligations under the Helsinki agreement. The same day, leading representatives of Charter 77 were invited to a meeting with the state prosecutor.

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Eric Bourne reported that following this discussion one of the two representatives invited, Jiri Hajek, former foreign minister under the Dubcek government, said it had "marked perhaps a change for the better." Hajek considered that this meeting represented de facto recognition of the legality of Charter 77.

On February 2, articles appearing in the Czechoslovak press took the tack that enough had been said about the dissidents, suggesting that the campaign against them was at least going to be toned down. On February 6, however, a broadcast over Prague radio called Charter 77 a "stab in the back."

The broadcast reported that workers and intellectuals and artists were protesting in mass rallies against Charter 77. It emphasized that well-known pop musicians were expressing disgust with the movement around the charter. Obviously well aware that a large part of the population reads nothing in the controlled press but the sports pages, statements were run there by prominent athletes opposing the protesters.

On February 7, Vasil Bilak, one of the arch-Stalinists who signed the appeal for Soviet intervention in 1968, attacked the signers of Charter 77 as "antistate, antisocialist and antipeople."

Czechoslovak authorities continue to hold four representatives of Charter 77 arrested on January 17—the playwright Vaclav Havel; journalist Jiri Lederer, theater director Frantisek Pavlicek, and theatrical producer Ota Ornest. But they have not been indicted.

On the other hand, on February 5 a list of 208 more signers of Charter 77 was made public, and none of these have reportedly yet been bothered by the police. Some 500 persons have now signed the document. □

Canadian Political Police Admit Spying on Socialists

By Dick Fidler

[The following article appeared in the February 14 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

MONTREAL—Federal Solicitor General Francis Fox has intervened personally to block the Québec Human Rights Commission from examining RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] dossiers that the police say were used to fire socialists from their jobs with the Olympic Games last summer.

In a signed affidavit filed in Ottawa, Fox claims that the production of any RCMP dossiers, or disclosure of their contents, would jeopardize "current and ongoing investigations being carried out by the Security Service of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. . . ."

Fox's affidavit protests that disclosure of these files would reveal "sources of information, methods of collecting information, the personnel involved in these investigations, as well as the extent and scope of these investigations. . . ."

Such files, the affidavit says, "have been compiled and are kept in the strictest secrecy within the framework of current and ongoing investigations in all regions of Canada." They concern "questions of extreme importance for national security."

As solicitor general, Francis Fox is the minister in the Trudeau cabinet responsible for the RCMP. Why has he taken this action? And what does it mean for the democratic rights of thousands, perhaps millions, of Québécois—of all Canadians, in fact?

The Québec Human Rights Commission (Commission des Droits de la Personne) is currently investigating complaints by two persons, Katie Curtin and Sylvie Roche, who say they were unjustly fired by the security division of the Olympic Games Organizing Committee (COJO) on the basis of their political views.

Their cases were taken to the commission by the Human Rights League (Ligue des Droits de l'Homme), which is defending a number of persons who likewise allege political discrimination by COJO.

At hearings in November, the commission cross-examined members of the RCMP, the Québec provincial police, and the Montréal municipal police who had participated in the security committee set up by the Olympic organizers to screen job applicants.

The cops' testimony pointed to the existence of an elaborate network of police

spying and harassment directed against political dissidents.

- The police confirmed that Curtin and Roche were fired for political reasons. Lieut. Leonce Noel of the Montréal police said that their names were on a list of persons who were considered to be security risks, and that this information was transmitted to COJO officials.

This refutes the claim of a COJO official last summer that "there was never any question of security involved" in the firing of socialists by COJO.

- Curtin and Roche were not the only persons fired for their views. The cops say "about twenty" COJO job applicants were fired or refused employment on the basis of RCMP "intelligence" data.

According to police figures, up to 136 others lost their jobs or were refused employment because there were criminal files on them.

How many of those got their criminal records from political involvement—for example, from arrests during the War Measures crisis, or for participating in union picket lines or in nationalist demonstrations?

- The police procedures were completely arbitrary. Although the Québec and Montréal police forces were involved in the screening procedures, by common agreement the RCMP alone determined whether a COJO applicant was to be given a "security" clearance.

The RCMP's decision was final. The applicant was given no formal notification of why he or she had been turned down. There were no procedures for appeal. When the RCMP recommendation was negative, COJO could ask for a "review"—but that simply sent the file back to the RCMP through the same channels.

According to police, a total of 131,000 applications for employment with the Olympics or Olympic-related concessions and services were processed through the RCMP's central information bank in Ottawa.

The key role of the RCMP was outlined to the commission by Corp. Gerard Lafond, who is in charge of the Québec provincial police files. Lafond said he has 300,000 dossiers in Québec City.

But the screening committee did not need to use these files, he said. Through a standing agreement with the Québec police, the RCMP has all the information in those files, and more. The files, he acknowledged, include information on persons who have not been convicted of any offense.

- One of the most ominous aspects of this testimony is the police description of what to them constitutes a "security risk." By the Olympic screening committee's vague criteria a "security risk" could be anyone who was suspected of supporting an organization the cops deem to be "capable of acts of violence."

As if that arbitrary definition was not dangerous enough, section 3 of the criteria clearly stated that any "reasonable doubt" about an applicant's status was sufficient to bar him or her from employment.

In short, anyone just suspected of holding dissident political views could come within the purview of the cops' arbitrary definition: "risk to national security."

Testifying before the Québec Human Rights Commission in the Curtin case, Insp. Claude Vermette, an RCMP intelligence officer, confirmed that among the organizations under constant scrutiny by Canada's political police are the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists), of which Curtin is a member.

The LSO and LJS are legal organizations. They contest elections. They do not advocate or practice illegal acts. What legal authority have the police to keep files on members of the LSA and the LJS? And what are the "sources of information," the "methods of collecting information," that Fox is afraid to disclose to the Québec commission?

Is the RCMP guilty of burglaries, the use of informers, and other illegal activities similar to those revealed to be the common practice of its U.S. counterpart, the FBI?

The police testimony in the Curtin case indicates that data in the RCMP files, far from being kept in the "strictest secrecy," as Fox claims in his affidavit, are in fact being given to employers, with the inevitable result.

The blacklist is secret. The information is secret. The charges are secret. What recourse can the victims have against these government-inspired witch-hunt methods? How can they clear their names without having access to their police files?

Yet that is just what Fox hopes to prevent. To avoid answering for the RCMP actions, he invokes "national security"—the same discredited plea Nixon used to justify withholding the Watergate tapes!

The Human Rights Commission is expected to challenge Fox's affidavit in the courts. If it does, more light may be shed on the threat to democratic rights posed by secret police operations in this country. □

Indian Stalinists Prepare for Election

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—The Communist party of India (Marxist) (CPI[M]) is the second major Stalinist tendency in the Indian working-class movement, after the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI).

On the fundamental questions of the Indian revolution, there is nothing to distinguish between them. Both are Stalinist and counterrevolutionary in their programmes. Both relegate the socialist revolution in India to some future stage, thereby subscribing to a two-stage theory of revolution. Both believe that the tasks of a socialist revolution, such as the capture of power by the proletariat and the socialisation of all means of production, should not be posed now, since, they claim, India is still passing through a bourgeois-democratic phase of the revolution. Therefore, they urge the working class to support one or another wing of the Indian bourgeoisie.

The differences between the two Stalinist parties centre on the question of the character of the future government. The CPI calls for a "national democracy" and the CPI (M) for a "people's democracy." Both concepts are devoid of class content. In essence they involve the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and class collaboration with its parties under the guise of "unity of left and patriotic forces" or "unity of left and democratic forces." In practice, the CPI unconditionally supported Indira Gandhi's emergency measures, while the CPI (M) adopted a liberal bourgeois stance critical of the Gandhi regime.

These basic political positions of the CPI (M) characterise both its approach towards Gandhi's call for general elections and the manifesto it released for the elections.

The Central Committee of the CPI (M), in a resolution published in the February 6 issue of *People's Democracy*, its central organ, said that the call for general elections, coming unexpectedly after Gandhi had extended the life of the current Lok Sabha¹ in November 1976, was neither fair nor honest.

In view of the institutionalisation of the emergency through the enactment of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act and other repressive laws, the CPI (M) declared that Gandhi's ruling Congress party and the regime "are intent upon imparting legitimacy to this repressive rule of theirs through securing an electoral verdict in



GANDHI

their favor in this snap election and thus parade before the world a democratic facade."

Considering the elections a challenge, however, the CPI (M) decided to run in them and called for "unity of left and democratic parties." As usual, the CPI (M) failed to define which parties it considered "democratic" or "progressive."

According to the resolution, the sole concerns of the CPI (M) are to prevent a division of votes of the opposition parties and to inflict a massive defeat on the Congress party. This focus on defeating Gandhi leads the CPI (M) to blur class distinctions and to give up class criteria for participating in bourgeois elections. Despite its reproaches against the CPI's crass opportunism toward Gandhi, the CPI (M) indulges in crass opportunism itself in matters of current electoral tactics. Its attitude toward the newly formed rightist combine, the Janata party,² is an instance of this.

In the CPI (M)'s analysis, the Janata

party cannot offer a viable alternative to the Congress party. The CPI (M) Central Committee resolution stated, "It represents an extreme Rightist point of view, essentially representing the same vested interests which the Ruling Congress party represents [emphasis in original]." Therefore, the CPI (M) said that it could neither "conceive of any political united front with the Janata party nor of any electoral front with it with a common programme."

However, since the Janata party openly expresses itself in favour of ending emergency rule, annulling the 42nd Constitutional Amendments Act, restoring the fundamental rights of citizens enshrined in the constitution, and halting the drive toward a one-party dictatorship of the Congress party, the CPI (M) takes a favourable view of the Janata party. And guided by its sole concern of defeating Gandhi, it has declared itself "desirous of avoiding mutual contests with the Janata Party." The CPI (M) said it seeks "seat adjustments with all opposition parties and groups which are ready to fight the emergency and inflict a defeat on the Ruling Congress Party and its candidates." However, it cautions its members not to support opposition candidates who have lost their credibility among the people.

Morarji Desai, the leader of the Janata party, has welcomed the support of the CPI (M), but has categorically stated that the CPI (M) would not be taken into the government if the Janata party won the elections.

The CPI (M) seems to take the statements of the Janata party about bourgeois democracy and emergency rule at their face value. Being a rightist party, intent on saving the Indian bourgeoisie, the Janata party could prove to be even more ruthless and authoritarian than the ruling Congress party.

In any case, a revolutionary Marxist approach would have been to analyse the emergency and its aftermath in class terms, in terms of the needs of the bourgeoisie which the emergency fulfilled, and not merely in subjective terms, such as the trends towards a one-party dictatorship or Gandhi's proclivity toward becoming a dictator.

This is precisely where the CPI (M)'s election manifesto commits a glaring error. Its characterisation of the antidemocratic measures and the effects of the emergency is descriptive, not analytical. It is not Marxist.

The manifesto makes no attempt to explain the class limitations of bourgeois democracy in a backward country like India. It does not point to the long-term, global trend of capitalist society to throw

1. House of the People, the lower house of Parliament.—IP

2. The Janata party is composed of the conserva-

tive Organisation Congress, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (People's party of India), the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh, and the Socialist party.—IP

overboard its own bourgeois democratic norms and pretensions when they do not serve the purposes of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore the analysis of the manifesto seems to convey the false idea that the throttling of bourgeois democracy in India was the handiwork of Gandhi and her son Sanjay alone. Such an approach hardly distinguishes it from the Janata party's attitude on this question.

Further, such an approach to the question of the emergency prevents the CPI (M) from raising the whole issue of democracy to a higher level and listing demands that go beyond bourgeois democracy itself.

For example, the CPI (M) election manifesto correctly demands withdrawal of the emergency, the release of all political prisoners, and the repeal of the 42nd Constitutional Amendments Act and other repressive laws like the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Ordinance. But it does not call for convening a constituent assembly, the abolition of the right to private property, or the legalisation of factory committees, which have recently begun to appear independently of the trade unions. Worst of all, it does not call for scrapping the emergency powers that are part of the constitution. These provisions enable the bourgeoisie to throttle bourgeois democracy within a constitutional framework.

In keeping with its policy of collaborating with the "non-monopolistic" strata of the Indian bourgeoisie, the CPI (M) calls only for nationalisation of the monopoly houses, while demanding financial and other assistance to small and medium industries.

In line with its theory of a bloc of four classes, which holds that the agrarian question involves a supposed fight against feudalism in the countryside and therefore an alliance with the rich peasants, the CPI (M) demands the abolition of landlordism through a takeover of all land. But here the CPI (M) overlooks the fact that landlordism, as traditionally understood in its feudal connotations, has disappeared under the agrarian reforms carried out since India won its independence in 1947.

The CPI (M) election manifesto does not place the elections in their proper perspective. It does not point out that the elections will not solve the problems of the Indian masses and that therefore what is urgently needed is a socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class.

February 12, 1977

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Another Blow Against Healyite Frame-up

Van Heijenoort Supports Sam Gordon's Denial of 'Association' With GPU Agent

[The following letter from J. van Heijenoort, dated November 12, 1976, has been released for publication by Sam Gordon. It deals with an infamous charge made by the Healyites in a frame-up campaign against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and other leaders of the Socialist Workers party.

[For an extensive reply by Sam Gordon to the frame-up charges see "Healy's Smear Against Trotsky's Last Collaborators" in the May 24, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, page 854.

[Van Heijenoort was one of Trotsky's secretaries for many years.]

* * *

Dear Sam,

I was glad to receive your letter of 27 October 1976. For two reasons: first, it brought me some news from you; second, it gives me an opportunity to try to dispel some of the silly confusion that has been spread around lately.

During the war years there was in New York a small group of European refugees. Its composition varied with time, but we were never more than eight or ten. The group met, perhaps, every three or four weeks, and it was quite less formal than a regular branch of a national organization. Some of the participants in the group had not been, prior to the war, members of a Trotskyite organization in Europe; they were only close sympathizers. We met mostly for discussions (what to do in occupied Europe, the Russian question). I was what I would call the animator, rather than the secretary, of the group. Among its members were Jacques Katel and, of course Zborowski [the GPU agent]. There was also a German group (Johre and his friends), functioning apart from our 'French' group. The people in the two groups had no direct relations with the S.W.P., and only very indirect ones, for an obvious reason. The only exception was me. Because of my past and the futility of concealing it, I was taking risks that would have been silly for anybody else to take. Thus I met fairly often leading members of the S.W.P., like Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, Charles Curtiss, occasionally Cannon, and, of course, you. In fact, I was soon part of the International Secretariat.

When I read in some publication that there had been, at that time, 'S.W.P. meetings' in the apartment of Zborowski, I could only laugh. First, I do not know what an 'S.W.P. meeting' is. A meeting of

a branch? Of the leadership? Second, with whatever interpretation, the statement is false. Not only false, but also unwarranted, in the sense that I cannot see any fact, however twisted and misinterpreted, that could have given rise to such an invention. Not only false and unwarranted, but also absurd, in the eyes of anybody who knows the actual situation at that time.

Among the leaders of the S.W.P. you were the one best informed and most interested in European affairs. You and I, we met quite frequently. I may one day or another have introduced you to some Europeans, to Zborowski in particular. It is in this context that *perhaps* you met Zborowski. Such a meeting would have been within the range of possibilities. I never said that you met Zborowski, and I could not say it because I have no recollection of any specific meeting. Anyway, what I alluded to was a possible casual meeting. Of regular meetings, there was no question. Now, what would hinge on such a casual meeting, if it had taken place? Absolutely nothing at all. Zborowski was at that time a member of the organization. For years, Sedov had trusted him as his collaborator. I was seeing him once every few weeks. What infamy would there have been for you to meet him? The whole thing is absurd. It has nothing in common with a moderately serious historical investigation.

You can, of course, make use of the present letter as you see fit.

Cordially,
J. van Heijenoort

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Why Britain's Political Police Want to Deport Me

[The following interview with Philip Agee was obtained in London by Anita Bennett in late January and early February.]

* * *

Question. Could you discuss the allegations of the government in its deportation proceedings against you, and how this relates to the question of free speech?

Answer. The main allegation is that I am a threat to Britain's national security. Of course, national security considerations in this country have the advantage of being a kind of mysticism, like they used to have in the United States before Vietnam and Watergate. There is a certain reaction when the words "national security" are invoked here, which allows for secrecy instead of bringing the facts out into the open.

The home secretary has persistently refused to give details of the allegations against me. He won't even give us the time framework. Nor will he give the nationality of the "foreign intelligence officers" I have allegedly been in contact with. His stonewalling with the magic words "national security" is very reminiscent of Nixon.

Now national security and the secrecy involved, as the American experience has shown, is more often than not a tool used to conceal activities from the people, who would debate the rights and wrongs of those activities. There are a number of examples put forward by the witnesses who testified on my behalf. Morton Halperin [former aide to Kissinger who came to London to testify on February 2], for example, pointed out that surely the Cambodians knew they were being bombed. But the Johnson administration didn't want the American public or Congress to debate the issue.

Q. Why do you think the British government is trying to deport you now instead of earlier?

A. That's a question I've asked myself. I think the timing comes as a result of my trip to Jamaica in September. I was invited by the Council for Human Rights in Jamaica, and I spoke at a number of public meetings there. I had interviews with the press and with radio people. I also spoke privately with certain people in the government and in political parties there. The purpose of the trip was to analyze events of the past year in Jamaica and determine if there might be a pattern which would suggest a coordinated Ameri-

Facts on Deportation Case

Philip Agee is an American journalist who has lived and worked in Britain for years. An ex-CIA agent, he has written a book on the CIA and is working on another book. Agee and another American journalist, Mark Hosenball, were notified November 16 that they were going to be deported on "national security" grounds.

Under the 1971 Immigration Act the government can order a person born outside the British isles deported by simply declaring them a security risk. The victims can "appeal" to a three-member advisory panel appointed by the same home secretary issuing the deportation order. But the government reserves the right to keep secret its

"evidence" on alleged security violations, which it did in this case.

Testimony on Agee's behalf was presented to the three-member panel February 2 by such prominent figures as Ramsey Clark, Morton Halperin, and Melvin Wulf. On February 16, the government announced that the appeals were rejected.

The next day it was revealed that Agee had gone to Scotland, where, according to an Associated Press dispatch in the February 18 *New York Times*, he plans to mount a legal challenge based on special provisions of Scottish law. Hosenball announced in London that he would appeal to the High Court.

can program through the CIA to destabilize the Manley government.

I had no idea before I went of what was happening there. But there was something going on along the lines of Chile during the Allende period, like Guyana when Cheddy Jagan was prime minister, and in other countries where I worked.

At the end of my trip, I gave to the press the names, addresses, and phone numbers of all the CIA people there that I could identify. I think there were eight or nine that I came up with. That was in September. Rees [Britain's home secretary] made his decision just a few weeks afterwards.

I think the American government had been exerting considerable pressure for a long time. Even before I arrived in Britain, there was a lot of pressure to prevent me from coming and from doing research on my book. But I think that the timing had something to do with the Jamaica trip.

The main reasons for the attempt to deport me is to disrupt my work, to disrupt the writing of my second book.

Q. Do you think there was any connection between the government's effort to deport you and British policy in Northern Ireland?

A. There have been many rumors. There is a rumor that I have been involved in Irish matters related to the IRA. There was another rumor that I was about to publish a list of officers in "safe houses" where British intelligence agents were met. There is another rumor that I put lives in

jeopardy. Many of these rumors emanate from very high places in the British government, including the prime minister's office itself. They simply confuse matters and create sinister overtones, so that there will be less public opposition and people will just say this is such a weird and strange case that there is nothing we can do about it.

Q. Could you explain the legal procedures involved with the 1971 Immigration Act?

A. This is a new immigration act, passed as a result of the expulsion of Rudi Dutschke. Under the old immigration act Dutschke was able to defend himself. He was able to appeal to an immigration appeals tribunal.¹ But in 1971 they took away the right of appeal for political and so-called national security cases. So I have no appeal against the deportation at all.

At that time there were a number of members of Parliament, like Michael Foot and James Callaghan, who voiced their fears that this procedure would not allow for a fair hearing. So the home secretary instituted a procedure whereby he would appoint a panel of three "wise men" who would then hear any representations that the person concerned might want to make.

It was *not* an appeal; it was what they call "making representation," where you try to explain to them your innocence. I

1. The German socialist student leader was ordered deported January 8, 1971, after his appeal was rejected by the tribunal.—IP

have had to try and prove that I am innocent of these vague allegations, while at the same time not even knowing if anything I said to this panel was relevant.

Q. Were there no questions from the panel?

A. There were some questions—on Jamaica, on Angola, on my second book, and on the possibility of my stepping into joint operations without knowing that the British had any participation. But under the 1971 Immigration Act, the only thing that can be appealed is the country of destination. If the deportation order goes through, then I will be told to go to a certain country. Since I am an American citizen, it will be the United States. I will have fourteen days to appeal. I don't want to go back to the U.S. because there are other things that I want to do which would be interrupted still more if I went back.

Q. What is the problem about returning to the United States?

A. I would probably be served with an injunction. I might be prosecuted, tied up in court. For two months now I have seen what it is like to do nothing but defend yourself against the state. It's not something I am interested in doing for a year or two in the United States. So I will appeal and go to some other country that will accept me.

Q. Can you describe the kind of support you have received?

A. Here a defense committee sprang up overnight when the crisis erupted. They have been working continually ever since—collecting money, organizing public meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches, visits to MPs, motions to the House of Commons. Much work has been done within the British trade-union movement, which has brought a really significant degree of support. For example, the Trades Union Congress General Council has passed a motion against my deportation.

Q. What about the work in the United States?

A. Less has been done. I haven't been living there and people don't really know me. There has been an attempt to collect money. The American Civil Liberties Union has been defending me for a long time, not just in relation to the deportation. One of the Americans who came as a witness is Melvin Wulf, my lawyer and former director of the ACLU. I have received letters, petitions, contributions.

Q. What about other countries?



G.M. Cookson

LONDON, January 9: Part of march of 1,000 in defense of Agee and Hosenball.

London Meeting Protests Deportations

LONDON—A panel of prominent civil libertarians and political figures explained their reasons for opposing the deportation of Philip Agee at a meeting in Central Hall Westminster here February 3.

Patricia Hewitt of the National Council for Civil Liberties denounced the government for its policies on secrecy: "The Labour party is committed to open government. The Labour government has refused to divulge any information relating to the budget or activities of the Special Branch [Britain's political police force]. We need a Freedom of Information Act. . . . The home secretary has refused to give any further charges [against Agee]. He speaks of [Agee] 'consorting with foreign agents.' Which ones? On what dates?"

Morton Halperin, former U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense, said that "the real threat to democracy . . . comes from our inability to know what

is happening. The U.S. now wants to make it a crime for a former official of the CIA to inform us about our own government."

Among others who spoke was Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general.

Member of Parliament Judith Hart, who chaired the meeting, read out messages of support from a number of trade unions. These included the National Union of Railwaymen, the Transport and General Workers Union, and the National Union of Public Employees. Other messages came from Cheddy Jagan, Andreas Papandreu, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Simone de Beauvoir. Hart announced that 160 MPs had signed a petition demanding reexamination of the Immigration Act.

Agee himself addressed the meeting, scoring the CIA's murderous role in Latin America. "I hope our next meeting is a victory celebration," he said.

A. We've received letters from Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, France, Italy. I haven't been able to keep up with all the support coming in.

Q. Do you think the election of Carter will bring a change in the attitude of the U.S. government?

A. I don't think the U.S. government's attitude will change at all, because the CIA has been in operation for thirty years. It has done more or less the same thing over all those years. Because of the recent investigations, they have cut down their

activities in the United States. They are probably not doing so many illegal things in the United States now as before. But of course they can violate the laws of countries outside the U.S. with impunity. They can, for example, harass or violate the rights of American citizens abroad. I think that the American rulers have as much need today for the CIA's type of subversive operations as ever. They are spending billions of dollars, even today, on covert action operations.

Q. In a recent pamphlet you mentioned the role of the KGB and the American

government's view of the three liberation movements in Angola. There is often an attempt to condemn groups immediately simply on the basis of their receiving funds from the CIA, for example the desire to politically define a movement by the source of its finances. Could you say something about this tendency?

A. I think it is very dangerous to reject out of hand any organization that might get money from the CIA. The CIA has different reasons for giving money and it is not always because they want to promote a reactionary organization. As Colby said in the Angolan case, they were backing UNITA and FNLA because the Soviets were backing the MPLA.² There it was a question of trying to oppose Soviet influence, not just to oppose but to make sure that the USSR-backed side didn't win. The CIA got in and started funding the other two groups, which upset the balance. You remember that on independence day, November 11, 1975, the MPLA had been reduced to just a small enclave around Luanda and Cabinda. It was then that the Cubans and Soviets intervened.

Q. As a sponsor of PRDF³ what is your opinion of the Socialist Workers party suit?

A. I think that suit is probably one of the most important political developments for left parties for a long time in the United States, possibly ever. Because what's coming out of that is the general public appreciation for the fact that the principles of democracy in the United States are not being applied and have not been for over thirty years. They are not being applied equally to all political groups. So I think it's a tremendously positive thing. I hope that it continues and that more and better documents come out. And that they get their \$40 million. I think they should get a lot more than that.

Q. Melvin Wulf called your case the most important free speech issue in Western Europe right now.

A. I think this is true. I don't know of another case which is quite so critical for the principles that are being trampled on in the name of national security, which is used to cover up so much. □

2. UNITA—União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola); FNLA—Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front); MPLA—Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).—IP

3. PRDF—Political Rights Defense Fund, the group that is publicizing and raising funds for the lawsuit against the U.S. government and its spy agencies brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.—IP

The Witch-hunt Campaign Against Trotskyism in Britain

Shirley Williams on the Road to Samarra

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article appeared in the February 10 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Shirley Williams, minister of education in the Callaghan cabinet, is one of the major representatives of the Labour right in Britain. On January 21 she delivered a speech entirely devoted to an attack on Trotskyism, a speech which received very broad coverage in the British press. The day after the speech, the liberal daily *The Guardian* gave her the main headline on the front page as well as close to a full page inside.

Obviously, this is no accident. Shirley Williams's speech, like the press campaign of the bourgeoisie, is part of systematic preparation for a witch-hunt against the entire far left within the Labour party. This campaign is itself the extension of a similar campaign launched a few years ago against the most combative layer of rank-and-file militants in the unions.

Socialism or Democracy?

In her speech, Williams tried to bring together the major arguments with which to justify in the eyes of the average British worker a declaration of incompatibility between membership in the Labour party and the revolutionary socialist convictions of the majority of the far-left militants of this party. She thus deliberately abandoned the field of organizational and administrative quibbling ("entryism," "party within the party," "outside manipulation," and even the claim, as ridiculous as it is odious, that the Trotskyists are "financed from abroad"), which has been the preferred terrain of most of the bureaucrats of the Labour executive. She at least has the merit of placing herself on the field of ideas, of the problems of principle, tactics, and strategy of the socialist movement. This enables us to better grasp the ideological coherence and incoherence of Social Democracy today.

Williams's main argument for the expulsion of the Trotskyists from the Labour party is the alleged contempt for democracy of Marxists in general and Trotskyists in particular. This is also the argument that was joyfully taken up by the bourgeois press to support the campaign for the witch-hunt within the Labour party. It is thus that she prepares the way for state repression against a wing of the

workers movement—all the better to demonstrate the strength of her democratic convictions. But the evidence Williams is able to assemble in support of her thesis on the alleged "un-democratic" character of Trotskyism is as meager as can be. In fact, the sum total of this evidence amounts to a few quotations taken out of context.

The difficulty for Williams is clear. In its polemic against the Stalinists the Social Democracy can rely on the partial or total justification of repression in the Soviet Union and East Europe on the part of the CPs: "Some of us . . . reject the double standards of those who denounce the vicious suppression of political opponents in Chile and Rhodesia, but fall silent when law-abiding dissenters find themselves thrown into Soviet mental asylums or blown up trying to leave East Germany." But this sort of argument cannot be used against the Trotskyists, at least not without grossly falsifying the political positions of the revolutionary Marxists.

Revolutionary Marxists have been in the forefront of defense of victims of Stalinist repression for more than forty-five years now, including during times when the major leaders of the Social Democracy refused to commit themselves resolutely to this defense—for reasons of "political opportunity," which is to say crude opportunism. (Note, for example, the Social Democrats' refusal to resolutely defend the victims of the Moscow trials.) They have likewise been in the forefront of the defense of democratic rights in the capitalist countries, including when these rights are restricted or eliminated by Social Democratic ministers (for example the torture and repression introduced on a grand scale in Algeria by the government of the Social Democrat Guy Mollet, the fierce repression introduced in Malaya and Kenya by the Attlee Social Democratic government at the end of the 1940s, the ban on the employment of "radicals" in the public sector introduced in West Germany by the Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt). The *practical balance-sheet* of the attitude of the Trotskyists and the Fourth International as far as defense of democratic rights is concerned is thus clear and coherent—much clearer and much more coherent than that of any other current of the contemporary workers movement, and certainly much clearer than that of the Social Democratic right.

Unable to rely on the facts, Williams must instead resort to crude sophistry, the

two major examples of which are as follows:

"Do you accept that if the cause of socialism (as you define it) and the cause of democracy should come into conflict, you will stand by democracy?"

"The saddest illusion of revolutionary socialists is that revolution will itself transform the nature of human beings so that those who inherit total power in the revolution will act with disinterested fervour for the good of the whole community. It is not what history demonstrates; better by far that the tenure of power is limited both in time and in extent."

Our response to this sophistry is unequivocal. For us, socialism is defined by the total emancipation of labor, that is, by the elimination of all forms of exploitation and oppression among human beings. The self-administration of citizens—like the planned self-management of the producers—is an integral part of the Marxist conception of socialism. Thus, socialism as the Trotskyists understand it *cannot* exclude the enjoyment of the broadest democratic rights for all, at least in the industrialized countries. There is no socialism without socialist democracy. There is no socialist revolution in these countries without the conscious support of the majority. For the Trotskyists, the Soviet Union is not socialist but a society that has become bogged down and bureaucratized midway between capitalism and socialism as a result of its isolation under conditions of underdevelopment (an isolation for which the co-religionists of Shirley Williams of the 1920s and 1930s, from Ebert and Noske to MacDonald and Léon Blum, bear the major responsibility; Stalin is their offspring, illegitimate perhaps, but theirs nonetheless).

True to themselves, *from the founding congress of the Fourth International* the Trotskyists have demanded a plurality of political parties in the USSR. They did not wait for the belated contorsions of the "Euro-communist" parties before pronouncing themselves forthrightly and without reticence against the principle and practices of the single party and against any form of the monopolization of the exercise of political and economic power after the abolition of capitalism.

To present the socialist revolution as a project to establish "total power" in the hands of a small clique is absurd. The whole history of proletarian revolution, from the Paris Commune to the Portuguese revolution, confirms that the revolutionary process is accompanied by an enormous *extension* and not any reduction of the activity and political power of the broad masses, that is, a *distribution* and not a *concentration* of real power. The program of the Fourth International, which integrates all the lessons of the revolutions of the twentieth century in this regard (both positive and negative), aims above all at the institutionalization of this distribution of power through the creation of a society

in which *direct democracy*, the democracy of workers councils, neighborhood councils, and consumer councils, will seize the essential reins of power now held by the



Laurence Sparham

SHIRLEY WILLIAMS

hyper-centralized state. The point is, in other words, to prevent a *counterrevolution* subsequent to the revolution from depriving the masses of the power they have won. And historical truth requires that it be noted that the Social Democrats have played an equally vigorous role as the Stalinists in these counterrevolutions.

Capitalism or Socialism

But Shirley Williams's argumentation is not only absurd. It is also profoundly dishonest. For this entire tirade against the revolutionary socialists is actually designed to camouflage the *deeply antidemocratic character* of bourgeois society such as it now functions in the West, not to mention the semicolonial countries.

In fact, a good dose of sophistry is required to accuse the Trotskyists of harboring an alleged project of "monopolizing power" through a future revolution while simultaneously maintaining silence on the *real monopoly of power* that exists in Britain today, which is the monopoly of power of big capital and its executive agents, that is, the several thousand members of the boards of directors of the big industrial, financial, and commercial trusts and the high functionaries and executives over whom the majority of the population has not the slightest control, whom it has never elected and whom it

can never oust so long as the political conceptions of Shirley Williams are adhered to.

Britain today is in the grip of a serious economic depression. There are a million and a half unemployed workers. Real wages are going down and drastic cuts are being made in social spending, which has led to the massive reemergence of the harshest poverty in this country which not so long ago was still presented as the paradise of "well being."

Who made the decisions that led to this tragic situation? The masses of citizens and voters? Take a look at the Labour program on the basis of which the present House of Commons was elected and Shirley Williams "governs." There is no hint of any such proposals! Nor will we insult Wilson, Callaghan, Healey, and Williams by suggesting that they prefer unemployment to full employment. It may be said that these decisions were imposed on them by the internal logic of the capitalist economy. It may be said that these decisions were imposed on them by the "gnomes of Zurich and the City," to paraphrase the famous formula of Harold Wilson. In any event, these are but two sides of the same coin.

But in the concrete this means that when Shirley Williams and company were confronted with a specific choice—respect the mandate of the voters, carry out their election promises, stick to the declared goal of their party (which *includes* the socialization of the means of production, as stated in the well-known clause four of the official Labour program) or else yield to the *diktats* of big capital—they deliberately opted for the latter path.

This proves beyond doubt that under the "democratic representative parliamentary" system combined with the capitalist system, both the "mixed economy" and the "distribution of power" are mere myths. The real powers commanded by ministers and elected deputies are quite minor. Real power is in the hands of big capital. To be sure, the latter has an interest in allowing the "elected representatives of the people" to command the *appearance* of power so long as conditions permit. But when economic and social tensions become too acute, appearances vanish and realities emerge. The Wilsons, Callaghans, and Williamses make speeches, mislead the workers, and slander the Trotskyists. The "gnomes of Zurich and the City" govern and impose decisions.

The *real* counterposition between the Social Democratic right and the revolutionary socialists is thus not the choice between socialism and democracy. It is the choice between socialism, with the support of the majority, and capitalism. The Social Democratic right rejects socialism. For them, this is adventure and chaos. ("I hate revolution like sin," said Ebert.) And they are prepared to trample on the will of the

majority in order to avoid a break with capitalism.

Moreover, Shirley Williams affirms this openly, proclaiming that in a democracy one can govern only through "consent"; the alternative would be coercion. The conclusion is clear. When the parliamentary majority is bourgeois, one must bow down before the bourgeoisie, for the bourgeoisie is the majority. When the parliamentary majority is anticapitalist, one must still bow down before the bourgeoisie, for fear of breaking with consent and of being forced to move to coercion.

Capitalism or Democracy

The hypocrisy of the argument is striking. When Shirley Williams uses the word "consent" she hints, without saying so clearly, "consent of the bourgeoisie and only of the bourgeoisie." For who could suggest that in Britain today the unemployed have "consented" to unemployment, the workers have "consented" to reductions in real wages, the pensioners have "consented" to poverty, the students have "consented" to reductions in grants?

In all these cases coercion was most definitely applied, both the coercion of law and the coercion of "economic necessity." But such is the logic of the Social Democrats that they find it normal to compel the victims of the capitalist economy, with no consent whatever, to submit to exploitation. But they are not prepared to eliminate capitalism, except with the assent of the capitalists. Obviously, they will wait quite some time before receiving that assent. In the meantime, coercion is applied in only one direction—against the proletariat and even, on occasion, against the clearly expressed desires of the majority of the voters. Deep is the mystery of this alleged devotion to democracy.

We are still not at the end of the ideological incoherence of Shirley Williams. By deliberately confusing *democratic rights* with "parliamentary democracy" (that is, indirect democracy) she plunges into an endless chain of contradictions. She writes: "Do you share our belief in the liberty of each individual human being in his or her right to express his opinions and religious beliefs truly and without fear of consequences?"

Our response is "yes," without any restrictions, precisely because we are convinced that there can be no counterposition between these rights and the struggle against the exploitation, degradation, and alienation of humanity and the toiler.

But the response of those who, out of desire to win the consent of the bourgeoisie, place maintenance of the social status quo on the same level as defense of elementary democratic rights and on a higher level than struggle against capitalist exploitation cannot avoid ambiguity.

So long as the majority of the workers accept the "rules of the game" of bourgeois

society in exchange for reforms and material concessions, this contradiction can remain veiled. But as soon as the accentuation of social contradictions, the aggravation of the political crisis, the growing radicalization of sectors of the broad vanguard of the toiling population, and the growing politicization of the workers shake this equilibrium, a new painful choice is imposed on the Social Democratic leaders. The defense of the "consent" of the bourgeoisie, that is, of *capitalist law and order*, then requires restrictions on democratic rights. "Each human being must be free to express his or her opinions without constraint," except if they are "subversive," revolutionary Marxist, "anarcho-spontanéist" opinions.

The February 2, 1977, issue of *The Sun* reported that right Labour MP Neville Trotter had accused a group of young revolutionary socialists of having distributed "inflammatory leaflets" that "provoked anarchy" in a school in Newcastle. The aim of the leaflets was to organize protest against corporal punishment of the pupils. What convictions are involved here? The dictatorship of the proletariat? Not hardly! Simply the need for pupils to organize to fight against corporal punishment and police repression.

Is Shirley Williams in favor of corporal punishment, a barbaric and despotic practice if ever there was one? We do not know. Is she prepared to guarantee the right to agitate through the spoken and written word against this barbaric practice, even if the consequence of this "freedom of conviction" as expressed in leaflets is that "anarchy" takes hold in the school? We have strong doubts in this regard, but we would be pleased to be wrong.

If, however, our suspicions are confirmed, what does this mean if not that the "law and order" of the despotic stick wielders is more important to the Social Democratic leaders than the complete defense of freedom of speech and the press, and that they are prepared to resort to repression and to limit freedom of the press in order to avoid "agitation" and "anarchy"? Then the formula of Shirley Williams becomes: "We are prepared to guarantee the right of every human being to freely express her or his convictions, except when such expression really threatens the 'law and order' of the bourgeoisie, in other words capitalist exploitation."

Let us take another example. Under the Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, any person in West Germany who expresses Marxist opinions, let alone revolutionary Marxist ones, knows that he or she will no longer be able to find a job in the public sector. Doesn't this mean that there is "fear of consequences" and enormous intimidation, especially for the hundreds of thousands of students who have no alternative but to seek employment as teachers in the public schools? We are unaware of any vigorous campaign on

the part of Shirley Williams in favor of freedom of conviction, speech, and the press for German revolutionaries and Marxists. Undoubtedly, it must be concluded once more that faced with the choice of "defending bourgeois law and order" or "completely defending the freedom of conviction of *all* individuals without fear of consequences," the Social Democratic leaders prefer to defend capitalism and restrict democratic rights.

It may be objected: The cases you are citing concern the limitation of the rights only of a few thousand or tens of thousands of revolutionary "extremists," dangerous agitators. This objection, however, would be inconsistent from the very outset, since it is Shirley Williams who insists on the need to recognize and guarantee the right of freedom of opinion for *all* individuals. Why grant this freedom to the (very small) minority which is the big bourgeoisie and refuse to grant it to the revolutionary minority?

But be that as it may, the concrete dynamic, confirmed by all recent experience, demonstrates that limitation of the democratic rights of "small revolutionary minorities" is but the beginning of (if not the pretext for) a much broader repression against an entire wing of the organized workers movement, if not against the working class as a whole. In the situation of aggravated social crisis of late capitalism, given the pronounced fall of the average rate of profit and the prolongation of conditions that hover around stagflation, capitalism is less and less able to tolerate the unrestricted right to strike, the freedom to negotiate wages, the free organization of the workers' struggle against the implacable class struggle waged by big capital, particularly through the introduction of massive structural unemployment. Hence the universal offensive of the bourgeoisie for an incomes policy, enthusiastically supported by the Social Democratic right.

Now, given the present relationship of class forces, it is impossible to *impose* an incomes policy without limiting the right of free expression. How can wildcat strikes be outlawed without also outlawing *calls* to wildcat strikes? How can factory occupations be outlawed without suppressing *written* defense of factory occupations? How can layoffs of "dangerous agitators" in the factories be legalized without suppressing the right to speak, distribute leaflets, and produce newspapers calling for active solidarity with workers who are laid off?

The leaders of the German Social Democratic party who set the infernal machine of repression in motion in West Germany have already been faced with a situation in which *a portion of their own organization is subject to state repression for reasons of opinion*. For the Franz-Josef Strausses, "agitation" in favor of the collective appropriation of the means of production is "contrary to the constitu-

tion." But this call for collective appropriation appears in the basic program of the DGB, the West German trade-union federation equivalent to the British TUC. Can one be so naive as to fail to understand that for the British bourgeoisie, the witch-hunt in the Labour party against the Trotskyists is merely the preparation if not the pretext for a repression waged by the employers and the state against the most combative trade-union militants and the most combative wing of the proletariat? Already, according to the February 4 Sun, the Social Democratic Alliance, a right Social Democratic grouping, has accused Jack Jones, a major trade-union leader, of being "a declared opponent of Western parliamentary democracy" and an advocate of soviets! The witch-hunt is thus now spreading to a whole section of the trade unions. A sign of the times!

Implacable Logic of Class Struggle

In this sense, the identification the Social Democracy makes between "representative democracy," institutions of the bourgeois-democratic state, and government through the "consent" of the bourgeoisie on the one hand and democratic rights on the other hand leads the Social Democracy into genuine suicidal disasters.

The "consent" of the bourgeoisie and respect for the bourgeois state apparatus is *partially* compatible with the survival of democratic rights for the masses only during relatively stable and prosperous periods for bourgeois society. When social and economic instability mounts increasingly, social contradictions sharpen in such a way that the bourgeoisie seeks to *crush* the freedom of action and organization of the workers movement, including that of the Social Democracy itself. Toward this end the bourgeoisie uses the permanent state apparatus, of which the repressive apparatus is the decisive element.

The only means by which to avoid the advent of bloody dictatorships when the objective basis for parliamentary democracy disappears is the extraparliamentary mobilization and action of the masses to *break* the conspirators and their inspirers *in time*, that is, to break the repressive state apparatus of the bourgeoisie. But for the Social Democrats this is to depart from the terrain of "legality" and "consent." Fixated on the impotent parliament until five minutes past midnight, they stand powerless before the liquidation of democratic rights and their own annihilation, for they reject the only possible defense of these democratic rights, which is the unrestricted mobilization of the masses, which entails going beyond the "law and order" of the bourgeoisie.

In curbing, fragmenting, discouraging, and even breaking this mobilization during a period of inevitable general class confrontation, the Social Democratic leaders dig their own graves as well as the

grave of democratic rights. The tragic examples of the rise to power of Hitler, Franco, and Pinochet attest to the price paid in blood by humanity for this parliamentary cretinism.

"But this can't happen here, where the army has a deep democratic and constitutional tradition," reply the Williamses and Callaghans, just as Allende replied in Chile. Really? All our quotations for Williams's speech come from the January 22, 1977, issue of *The Guardian*. On page 24 of the same issue of the same newspaper, under the revealing headline "Unions Helped to Avoid Coup," we read the following report of a speech by Jack Jones, a major British trade-union leader.

"Two years ago we could have easily faced a coup in Britain. The fear of hyperinflation was strong. There was talk of private armies being assembled. There was talk of the end of democracy. . . . Questioned afterwards, Mr. Jones insisted that there had been what he describes as 'loose talking' around the top echelons of society. He maintains that the people then—'colonel this and captain that'—were still around and were not concerned about providing decent conditions for working people in Britain. They only wanted to 'keep the workers down.'"

The typical reaction of the Social Democrats in face of such a situation is to retreat, bow down, and demobilize the

masses "so as not to provoke reaction." If the social crisis is grave, this is the surest road to a coup.

Granted, Britain is not yet at that point. But Chile in 1973, Spain in 1936, and Germany in 1933 all arrived there, in particular because of parliamentary cretinism and refusal to defend democratic rights effectively, thus clearing the way to dictatorship. Under similar conditions which could develop in the future, the British General Kitson will not be any better than the Chilean General Pinochet.

An old Arab legend retold by the British author W. Somerset Maugham recounts the story of the servant of a Baghdad merchant who was frightened when he met Death in the market. To escape, he hurries to take to the road to Samarra. "Why did you frighten my servant?" the merchant asks Death. "I didn't mean to frighten him," replies Death. "It's just that I was surprised to see him in Baghdad, for I have an appointment with him in Samarra tonight." Shirley Williams wants to defend "democracy." At the same time, she does not want to break with the consent of the bourgeoisie and wants at all costs to respect the "law and order" of big capital, upheld by a repressive apparatus which is anti-democratic by nature. Let her take to the road to Samarra, then, over which hover the shadows of Hitler, Franco, and Pinochet.

February 3, 1977

Multimillion Dollar Bribery Scandal in Indonesia



Dunagin/New York Daily News

"We can't get a federal loan unless we agree not to bribe foreign officials? What do they think we need the loan for?"

The Indonesian military, like Washington's other neocolonial client regimes, is riddled with corruption. In January and

early February, the tip of the iceberg, involving bribes from big American companies, began to surface.

The biggest scandal concerns reported payments by the Hughes Aircraft Company to win a \$71 million contract for communications equipment. According to two officials of the General Telephone and Electronics Corporation, which lost the contract after refusing to make a \$40 million payoff, Hughes Aircraft paid bribes of \$114 million or more to the Indonesia officials. Major General Sohardjono, the Indonesian director general of posts and telecommunications, has been implicated.

Hughes Aircraft, however, is only one of a number of American companies involved in Jakarta's plans for the development of a \$840 million communications system. Others include Philco-Ford, Federal Electric Company, and Bell Telephone Manufacturing of Belgium. The last two are subsidiaries of International Telephone and Telegraph.

Although Washington's Export-Import Bank knew of the bribery allegations, it went ahead and granted more than \$50 million in U.S.-guaranteed loans for the project. □

The Sharpening Struggle in Zimbabwe

By Ernest Harsch

The major imperialist powers have sounded the alarm following the collapse of negotiations between the racist regime of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and the Zimbabwean nationalist groups.

British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland declared January 12 that the breakdown of the talks could lead to an intensified guerrilla war, military intervention by South Africa, and Cuban involvement on the side of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. On January 19, one day before Jimmy Carter's inauguration as president, sources in his administration warned of the danger of a "progressive deterioration" of the situation across all of southern Africa.

This is precisely what the imperialists had tried to prevent.

Washington's Strategy

Since early 1976, Washington and its allies have sought to head off a mass upsurge in Zimbabwe that could topple the Smith regime and endanger imperialist interests throughout the region, particularly in South Africa. Their strategy is to delay the Black struggle for immediate majority rule, while at the same time arranging for a negotiated and drawn-out transfer of power and the installation of a Black neocolonial regime.

Commenting in the January 26 *New York Times*, John F. Burns pointed out that a number of American statements on southern Africa "have implied that Washington is attempting to transfer power to black governments that will be submissive to the West and deferential toward American investment."

Kissinger's trip to southern Africa in September and Smith's subsequent promise to accept U.S. proposals for majority rule within two years marked the high point in the salvage operation. However, during the round of talks held in Geneva from October to December, the Kissinger scheme started to unravel. Smith backtracked on the question of Black majority rule itself and the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders rejected Smith's demand that white Rhodesians control the military and police during an interim regime.

By the time the Geneva talks adjourned December 15, the war in Zimbabwe had escalated and the prospects for a negotiated settlement looked dim.

Speaking at a NATO foreign ministers conference in Brussels shortly before the adjournment of the Geneva talks, Crosland spelled out the dangers facing the

imperialists, stating that "if the issue were settled on the battlefield it would seriously lessen the chance of bringing about a moderate African regime in Rhodesia and would open the way for more radical solutions and external intervention on the part of others. . . ."

More 'Shuttle Diplomacy'

To stave off such a possibility, Ford and Kissinger joined with the incoming Carter administration and the Callaghan government in Britain to try to get the negotiations rolling again.

After the NATO meeting, Kissinger met with Crosland; Callaghan; Ivor Richard, the British chairman of the Geneva talks; and Mark Chona, an adviser to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. A few days later, John Reinhardt, U.S. deputy secretary of state, and Frank Wisner, director of the State Department's Bureau on Southern African Affairs, flew to London to draft a new set of proposals with British Foreign Ministry officials and Richard.

The new plan called for the direct participation of a British representative to oversee the transition to majority rule (formally, Zimbabwe is still a British colony). If an interim regime were actually set up along such lines, it would put the imperialists in a particularly strong position to influence the establishment of an acceptable Black regime.

Richard revealed December 22 that Washington backed the new British proposals. Carter's designated secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, publicly confirmed this a few weeks later, declaring that Carter gave his full support to the British efforts to bring about new negotiations.

Richard embarked on a tour of southern Africa in late December and during the following weeks met with Smith, South African Prime Minister John Vorster, the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders, and the heads of state of the Black regimes neighboring Zimbabwe. Washington kept in close touch with Richard's attempt at "shuttle diplomacy." Before Richard arrived in Mozambique in early January, William Edmondson, U.S. undersecretary of state for African Affairs, flew in and told reporters that he was in Mozambique "to serve as a point of contact with Mr. Richard and to indicate American support for his mission."

Richard received an initially favorable response from the African regimes most directly affected by the conflict in Zimbabwe—those in Tanzania, Zambia,

Botswana, and Mozambique—which are concerned about the impact a wider war could have within their own countries. According to a report in the January 9 *Los Angeles Times*, all four regimes "have indicated guarded support for Britain's efforts to get the stalemated Geneva talks moving again toward a peaceful transition to majority rule. . . ."

President Samora Machel of Mozambique told Richard January 6 that "the armed conflict which now exists in Zimbabwe" could be ended if "mechanisms" were found to bring about a transfer of power. Since many of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters operate from bases in Mozambique, the Machel regime would be in a strong position to halt guerrilla operations if it decided to do so.

Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere, who is the chairman of the so-called "front-line" states,¹ specifically came out in support of a direct role by British imperialism in an interim regime.

During the Geneva talks, three of the major Zimbabwean leaders—Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, and Abel Muzorewa—had themselves called for the presence of a British representative in Zimbabwe to oversee the transition period.

Smith Says 'No'

The new British-American proposals were blocked, however, by the continued intransigence of the Smith regime. Claiming that the implementation of the plan would lead to the taking of power by a "Marxist-indoctrinated minority," Smith declared January 24 that Richard's proposals were "unacceptable to the Rhodesian people." He had already indicated that he would reject the plan a little more than a week earlier, when he termed the Geneva talks a "dead duck."

Smith coupled this rejection with an attempt to appear conciliatory. He announced that he would arrange a negotiated settlement of his own with "moderate" Blacks based within the country. According to Rhodesian Foreign Minister Pieter K. van der Byl, the regime in Salisbury hoped that such an agreement would win the support of Washington and other powers.

One possible participant in Smith's proposed settlement talks is the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO), which was formed in late December by Chief J.S. Chirau and Chief Kayisa Ndiweni, two former members of Smith's cabinet and long-time supporters of the white minority regime. Another is the Settlement Forum, a group of Black businessmen opposed to the major Zimbab-

1. The "front-line" states originally included the regimes of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, and Botswana. But since mid-1976, the Angolan regime has also participated in discussions of the Zimbabwean conflict with the other four regimes.

wean nationalist movements. Smith has also made overtures to Abel Muzorewa, the leader of the United African National Council, but with no success.

The collapse of efforts to revive the Geneva talks also caused alarm among both Black- and white-ruled regimes in southern Africa.

Confronted with mass Black unrest within its own borders, Pretoria is afraid that an escalation of the Zimbabwean freedom struggle could further inspire South Africa's Black majority. According to a January 24 dispatch from Cape Town to the *London Times*, "News of Rhodesia's rejection of Mr Richard's proposals was received with concern in South African official and political circles today. . . .

"This is just what the South Africans wanted to avoid."

Citing "senior government sources" in South Africa, a dispatch by Quentin Peel in the January 21 *London Financial Times* reported that Pretoria "is set against any military intervention in Rhodesia, and is still determined to back any chance of a peaceful settlement. . . ." The same sources indicated, however, that the Vorster regime was not yet willing to put further pressure on Smith to come to terms. Since all Rhodesian trade is routed through South Africa, Pretoria could easily force Smith into a new round of negotiations.

All Eyes Toward Carter

Burns reported in a January 25 dispatch from Cape Town, "Mr. Richard has sought a fresh meeting with the South African leader, apparently hoping that he will agree to use the threat of economic strangulation to force Mr. Smith into capitulation, as he did during the Kissinger initiative last year. However, the South African, a shrewd politician, is unlikely to agree until he has a fuller sense of President Carter's intentions."

Many of the African capitalist regimes in the rest of the continent are also looking toward Washington. President Kaunda of Zambia called on Carter February 5 to "take the lead" in arranging a negotiated settlement. "We have a lot of confidence in the Carter administration," he said.

Andrew Young, Carter's new representative to the United Nations, made a tour of several African countries in early February. According to him, the common theme raised by about twenty African leaders that he met with was similar to Kaunda's. "What they've said is they want the United States involved," Young declared.

In general, the Carter administration has adopted a public stance of stepping up pressure on Smith.

A State Department representative declared January 26 that Washington would not support any negotiations initiated by Smith that excluded Zimbabwean leaders "associated with the armed struggle." He added, "Negotiations which exclude lead-

ers of nationalist movements will not produce a settlement."

In a January 31 news conference, Cyrus Vance, the new secretary of state, told Smith, "The Rhodesian authorities should



IAN SMITH

understand clearly that under no circumstances can they count on any form of American assistance in their effort to prevent majority rule in Rhodesia. . . ."

On February 10, the Carter administration urged Congress to repeal the so-called Byrd Amendment, which provides for the importation of Rhodesian chrome in violation of U.N. economic sanctions against the Smith regime. The United States is a major importer of Rhodesian chrome.

Explaining the call for repeal of the law, Vance said that the Carter administration viewed "with great concern the dangerous situation in Rhodesia that has arisen out of the attempt of the illegal, minority government to maintain itself in power."

Smith Prepares for Wider War

While the imperialist powers are trying to find a way to revive negotiations, the war itself has continued to escalate.

When Smith announced his rejection of the Richard proposals, he said that Salisbury would adopt a "new, tougher line" against the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. The regime's military spending already accounts for 23 percent of its total national budget.

The period of military conscription, which applies to all white males (as well as Asians and those of mixed descent) under thirty-eight years of age has been extended. Most draft deferments and exemptions have been cancelled and men between the ages of 38 and 50 are now subject to four months of military service each year.

The country's 250,000 whites—who are outnumbered by Blacks by more than 20 to 1—are already thinly stretched and more are leaving every month. So Salisbury has been forced to recruit an increasing

number of Blacks into the military, paying them much more than they could earn in a civilian job and even more than white draftees.

As the freedom struggle deepens, however, the reliability of these Black troops could be greatly undermined. The Smith regime has consequently stepped up efforts to recruit white mercenaries from other countries. According to a report by Robin Wright in the December 10 *International Herald Tribune*, there are estimated to be about 400 Americans in Smith's forces, most of whom joined in the previous eight months. Another 1,000 foreigners, mostly from Europe, are also thought to have enlisted in the army and police.

In an effort to isolate the Zimbabwean guerrillas from their base of support among the population, Salisbury has forcibly herded several hundred thousand Africans in rural areas into so-called "protected villages." These are similar to the "strategic hamlets" employed by Washington during its war against the Vietnamese.

The "villages" are surrounded by barbed wire fences and Blacks are only allowed to leave them during the day to work in their fields. Any villager found outside of them during the 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew period can be shot on sight. According to the regime's own figures, 289 Black villagers were killed by Rhodesian troops in 1976 alone. Torture is also widely used against Black civilians.²

Reflecting a sharp rise in fighting as the Geneva talks began to stall, the official death toll for December was the highest for any month since the present guerrilla campaign was launched about four years ago.

Since the Rhodesian forces take no prisoners of war, the toll is particularly heavy on the guerrilla side. "Rhodesian law provides the death penalty for crossing the border with weapons of war, and most of the relatively few prisoners that are taken are apparently tried by military courts and hanged as soon as interrogation is completed," a February 13 dispatch by Burns reported. Most of the executions are carried out in secret. But Salisbury did announce that eight members of Muzorewa's United African National Council were hanged in Salisbury January 17.

The Smith regime has also struck out at Zimbabwean leaders living in exile. On January 22, Jason Moyo, a vice-president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, was killed by a parcel bomb in Lusaka, Zambia. Nationalists charged Salisbury, which has carried out similar actions in the past, with the murder.

Claiming that it has a "right to hot pursuit," the Smith regime has conducted large-scale raids against Zimbabwean camps in Mozambique. In August 1976,

2. For a report on Amnesty International's findings on the Smith regime's use of torture, see *Intercontinental Press*, April 12, 1976, p. 593.

Rhodesian forces massacred more than 600 Zimbabwean refugees near Nyazonia, Mozambique, and in late October and early November carried out another invasion of that country, in which it claimed to have killed hundreds of guerrillas.

Since the breakdown of the Geneva talks, there have been several similar clashes. Rhodesian troops backed by jet fighters and light bombers attacked the Chirara and Chitanga areas of Mozambique on December 16 and 17. Rhodesian forces have also, on several occasions, fired across the border or carried out raids into Botswana.

Smith, with the help of the Western press, has gone on a campaign to discredit the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. The regime blamed the nationalist groups for a massacre of twenty-seven Black workers at a tea estate in December and for the killing of seven white missionaries in February. In both cases, Zimbabwean leaders charged that Black troops in the Rhodesian army, disguised as guerrillas, had carried out the atrocities. The Selous Scouts, an elite force of Black and white troops under Smith's direct command, are widely believed to have been involved.

The Struggle for Majority Rule

The Zimbabwean freedom fighters have won growing support in face of Smith's attacks and his refusal to hand over power to the Black majority.

In early 1976, there were about 1,000 guerrillas fighting in Zimbabwe, with thousands more undergoing training in camps in Mozambique and Zambia. By January 1977, a Rhodesian official acknowledged that there were now about 2,000 guerrillas operating within the country. According to guerrilla sources, the figure is closer to 2,500, with another 12,000 men and women trained or still undergoing training. While most of the actions have thus far been launched from bases in Mozambique, freedom fighters have also begun crossing the border into Zimbabwe from Zambia and Botswana.

In preparation for an intensified struggle against the white minority regime, the Zimbabwean liberation movements have embarked on a massive recruitment drive. In December alone, about 2,000 young recruits made their way out of the country across the border with Botswana. In one case in early February, Salisbury charged that guerrillas had "kidnapped" 400 Black students. But when the parents of the students went to see them in Botswana, they were able to convince only 51 of them, most of whom were aged thirteen to sixteen, to return home.

In an effort to weaken Smith's forces, the liberation movements have also begun to carry out propaganda work among Black troops in the Rhodesian army. Leaflets in the Shona language circulated in the southern area of the country called

on Black troops to "turn your weapons on the whites." In a report in the December 17 *Washington Post*, Robin Wright commented, "The strategy, revealing a new level of sophistication among the insurgents, could be devastating to the Rhodesian effort to counter the rapidly escalating war, since both the army and police depend heavily on African support."

One of the major nationalist forces fighting for Black majority rule is the Patriotic Front, an alliance of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe. On February 4, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) announced its "full political, material and diplomatic support to the Patriotic Front."

Formally, the guerrilla forces of both ZAPU and ZANU are united within the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), which is based primarily in Mozambique. But after a series of armed clashes in 1976 between followers of the two formerly rival groups, most of the ZAPU guerrillas withdrew from the ZIPA camps.

Shortly before ZAPU leader Moyo's death, however, he and Mugabe established a coordinating committee to supervise the reunification of the ZAPU and ZANU guerrilla forces within ZIPA. In an interview in the January 2 *Sunday News* of Tanzania, Mugabe explained, "We are mainly worried about the apartness of our two armies and ZANU and ZAPU are agreed that we must look into the possibility, if not probability, of bringing the two armies together."

While most of the guerrillas now fighting against the Smith regime are from ZANU, the ZAPU forces, operating from bases in Zambia, have also begun to take an active part in military actions. ZAPU also demonstrated its support within the country when about 100,000 Blacks rallied to greet Nkomo in Bulawayo in October.

The bourgeois press in the West has frequently described the leaders of the Patriotic Front as "Marxists." In order to dispel this misconception, Nkomo placed a series of advertisements in Rhodesian newspapers. One of them, in the December 27 *Rhodesia Herald*, explained that although the Patriotic Front was not Marxist, "we have nothing against Marxism, just as we have nothing against some ideologies that are espoused in the Western world.

"The ideology for Zimbabwe may be influenced by the East or the West, or both, but it will be basically a product of the soil, the culture and the traditions of Zimbabwe."

On the Patriotic Front's economic policy, Mugabe was quoted in the January issue of the London monthly *New African Development* as stating that "at least in the short run, Zimbabwe will have to have a mixed economy."

Although the OAU Liberation Commit-

tee has declared its full support for the Patriotic Front, it still recognizes two other Zimbabwean nationalist groups, which it has urged to dissolve and join the front. One is a faction of ZANU led by Ndabaningi Sithole, ZANU's former leader, and the other is Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC). Both have denounced the decision of the "front-line" states and the OAU Liberation Committee to channel most of their material aid through the Patriotic Front. They call this political interference in the Zimbabwean liberation movement and an attempt to impose Nkomo and Mugabe as leaders of an independent Zimbabwe.

Muzorewa has frequently demonstrated his group's mass base within Zimbabwe. On October 3, more than 100,000 Blacks chanting "Black power!" poured into the streets of Highfield, a Black suburb of Salisbury, to greet Muzorewa on his return from exile. About 30,000 persons rallied in Highfield December 5 to hear UANC speakers demand universal franchise. And on December 12, when Muzorewa returned from the Geneva talks, more than 200,000 Blacks again turned out to greet him. Muzorewa also claims to have support among the guerrilla forces.

In early December, however, the UANC suffered a split when Rev. Canaan Banana left with several other UANC leaders to form the People's Movement, which has declared its allegiance to Mugabe. Banana was arrested by Rhodesian authorities January 25.

While Smith has indicated his willingness to negotiate with Muzorewa, he has also cracked down on the UANC's activities. A Black newspaper that supported Muzorewa was banned in mid-January, and this was followed a week later by the hanging of the eight UANC members. So far, Muzorewa has rejected any separate negotiations that exclude the Patriotic Front leaders and has demanded that Smith "surrender power to the majority totally and unconditionally."

The increasing polarization of the political situation and the country's growing economic problems, particularly inflation and rising Black unemployment, have led to some of the first signs of open resistance by Black workers against the Smith regime in recent years.

A series of boycotts of buses, taverns, and bread were carried out in the cities of Bulawayo, Gwelo, and Que Que in October and November. Organized by Black citizens' groups and trade unions, the boycotts were called to protest rising prices and poverty wages.

Salisbury's public transit system was paralyzed for five days when 800 Black bus drivers, conductors, and maintenance workers struck work December 24 to back their demands for a larger Christmas bonus. Using emergency regulations that prohibit strikes in essential services, the Smith regime arrested all 800 strikers. □

Why There Are Fewer Strikes in Britain Today

By Alan Jones

[First of two parts]

[The following is reprinted from the January 13 and January 27 issues of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Three features of the class struggle in Britain have attracted great international attention during past months: the economic crisis and the fall in the exchange rate of the pound sterling; the defeats suffered by the Labour party in a number of by-elections; and the great decline in the number of strikes and industrial struggles. The roots of the first of these features, the economic crisis, were dealt with in the December 18, 1975, issue of *Inprecor* (No 40/41). The second, the Labour party's electoral defeats, presents no special problems of analysis. Any government made up of a party of the working class which presides over an 8% fall in the living standard of the working class, a doubling of unemployment, and heavy cuts in social spending will inevitably reap the electoral consequences. Labour's experience in Britain is but a confirmation of the lesson of Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand: Any Social Democratic party that pursues openly rightist policies in the present period will suffer big electoral losses. An analysis of the third feature, however—the quite significant decline in mass working-class struggles—is not only the most difficult, but also the most urgent for revolutionary Marxists.

Weight of the Trade-Union Struggle

For the past eight years, struggles of the trade unions have been the overwhelmingly predominant mass expression of the change in class relations and the relationship of class forces in Britain. Numerically, the unions, with their 11 million members, are the most important organizations of the working class in Britain. But more than that, no other manifestations of the class struggle can remotely compare to the struggles waged by the unions, which have involved as many as 3 million to 4 million workers in mass mobilizations around wages and other union issues, not to mention the 250,000-1,500,000 workers who held political strikes against anti-union legislation, the 140,000 who mobilized in the demonstration against the Industrial Relations Bill, the 100,000 who marched in solidarity with the workers of the Upper Clyde Shipyards, or the 20,000 workers who engaged in advanced forms of political struggle during the 1972 miners strike. Throughout the past eight years, it has been the mass trade-union struggles that have marked turning points in the overall relationship of class forces in the country. The most important political developments, such as the fall of the Tory government of Edward Heath, flowed precisely from the effects of such struggles.

In short, these struggles have been the chief driving force of the crisis and have determined the relationship of forces. Moreover, no analysis has convincingly demonstrated that there is any real potential for sustained mass actions on such a scale around any other issue. Hence, any view of the class struggle in Britain that does not foresee a renewal of major trade-union battles and which simultaneously maintains that no major defeat of the working class has occurred is based on the false notion that a political crisis can be resolved in favor of the working class without any major intervention of the masses in the field of open class struggle.

It follows that if the mass trade-union struggles of the British working class were to decline for a prolonged period to their pre-1968 level, a qualitatively new and less favorable situation would be created in Britain. No victory on any other field could compensate for such a defeat. The entire activity and perspective for revolutionaries in Britain is thus greatly affected by whether or not they anticipate a new rise of mass working-class struggles after the recent downturn.

The Industrial Cycle

Many factors are involved in the recent downturn of mass trade union struggles, not only the economic situation, but also social and political elements such as the continued illusions of the working class in the Labour party, the role of the Labour left, the developments in the Tory party, the crisis of the bourgeois political order in Scotland, and so on. Here, however, we will concentrate on only one aspect and determinant: the relation of the economic crisis to the level of mass trade-union struggles.

With the 1974-75 recession British capitalism entered a qualitatively new economic period, one which may be scientifically characterized as a period of stagnation, although not yet decline, of the productive forces. The previous period, that of the postwar boom, was one of rise of the forces of production, despite all the fluctuations. It is no accident, then, that mass trade-union struggles have been the principal characteristic of the class struggle in Britain during the past eight years. The driving force of the crisis of British capitalism is the precipitous decline in the rate of profit. Raising the rate of profit requires a sustained offensive against the working class aimed at qualitatively increasing the level of exploitation and depriving the class of a good part of the gains that were made during the postwar period. The chief obstacle to this bourgeois offensive is precisely the organizational strength and combativity of the mass workers organizations, above all the unions.

In turn, this basic fact of the economic crisis makes it clear why the struggle over the rate of exploitation and the reaction of the unions to this has been at the center of the *political* crisis. The ability of the capitalist class to deal with every other problem is fairly directly determined by the degree to which it succeeds in gaining greater economic maneuvering room by imposing a defeat on the working class. Further, in the present British context every major economic struggle almost inevitably tends to assume the form of a political crisis. Given the present relationship of class forces, it is only through the direct intervention of the bourgeois state that the capitalist class can hope to win victories, as has been shown by quite a number of crises, from incomes policy to the anti-union laws to British Leyland and Chrysler. Of course, the conclusions for the perspectives of the class struggle to be drawn from an examination of only one element of the situation must be tentative and preliminary, although an analysis of social and political developments supports the same general conclusions. But the economic analysis is suggestive of at least certain determinants and dynamics of the class struggle.

Trade-Union Membership

It is well known that British imperialism has been able to instill a powerful reformism and political underdevelopment into the British workers movement through political maneuvers and economic concessions made possible by the enormous internation-

al strength this imperialism developed during the nineteenth century. But there has been a dialectical complement to this process. British capitalism bought the political backwardness and reformism of the British labor movement at the cost of allowing the British working class to create more powerful organizations with which to defend its economic interests than the working class of any country in Europe. The problem is that given the historic decline of British imperialism, the bourgeoisie is no longer able to afford these organizations. In spite of the existence of a strongly integrationist bureaucracy, it is inconceivable for the bourgeoisie to inflict the sort of defeat on the working class required by the present crisis unless these organizations are significantly weakened. The chief strategic problem for the bourgeoisie on the economic field is how to weaken these organizations without in the process creating the conditions for the working class to break with the political reformism that has historically dominated it. In this context, one of the most significant elements of the post-1968 crisis has been that membership in the trade unions, far from declining, has been going through an expansion unprecedented since the end of the second world war.

This expansion of membership is all the more remarkable when set against the economic and social context. Employment in Britain was contracting even before the onset of the 1974 recession. It stood at 23.3 million in 1966 and had fallen to 22 million as of 1971. (All figures in this section, unless otherwise specified, are from the excellent article by John Hughes, "Patterns of Trade Union Growth," in *Trade Union Register 1973*.) Furthermore, this decline was most dramatic in manufacturing industries and other sectors that are traditionally the most heavily unionized. Further, the decline in manual employment, traditional stronghold of trade unionism, was especially severe in every sector. The latest figures fully confirm the continuation of these trends.

But despite this unfavorable economic situation, trade union membership has increased sharply since 1968, as shown by the following figures:

	Union Membership	Unionization as % of total employees
1967	9,747,000	42.5
1968	9,745,000	43
1969	10,004,000	44
1970	10,685,000	47.5
1971	10,619,000	48

The increase during the four years 1968-1971 represented a rise of 600,000 in male union membership and 400,000 in female union membership. *A period of rising unemployment saw not a decline but a significant rise in trade-union membership—for the first time ever in Britain.* If we look beyond the gross figures, it is clear what processes were occurring within the unions.

First, in the heavy industrial unions there has been a considerable increase in the degree of organization at the base throughout the postwar period, especially an increase in the number of stewards. The number of AUEW (Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers) shop stewards, for example, increased 50% between 1947 and 1961. This was three times the increase in the number of manual workers in these factories. Further, the process was accelerating during this period: the rise in the number of stewards between 1957 and 1961 was twice that of the period 1947-56. (Marsh and Coker, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 2.) During the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a rapid spread of shop steward organization into new sectors—white collar workers and health workers for example. Hence, whereas estimates of the total number of shop stewards at the beginning of the 1960s stood at about 175,000-200,000, today's figure is more than 300,000. Thus, within the numerical expansion, there has been a consolidation and strengthening of union organization.

The second trend is clear expansion of the unions into new sectors, particularly among the public sector, white collar workers, and women workers. The membership of the largest non-manual union in the public sector (NALGO) increased more than 100,000 (29%) during the five years prior to 1971. The membership of the largest civil service union (CPSA) increased 36,000 (24%). CPSA membership stood at 220,000 by 1976; NALGO membership was 625,000, and the NUPE (the main manual workers union in the public sector) had 600,000 members.

The increase in the private sector is revealed in the membership figures for the four largest unions oriented toward non-manual workers in the engineering and financial sectors:

	Membership in thousands	
	1966	1971
ASTMS (white collar commercial and industrial)	72	250
APEX (white collar engineering)	76	118
AUEW (Tech) (white collar industrial)	73	101
NUBE (banks)	58	93
Total	279	562

There has also been a particularly steep increase in union membership among women, which overlaps with the increase in the white collar membership in the public and private sectors, where the percentage of women workers is high. Union membership among women increased from 1.9 million in 1966 to 2.6 million in 1971, raising the percentage of unionized full-time women workers from about 24% of all full-time women workers in 1960 to just over 30% in 1971. The increase in the number of women in unions during the past ten years was about 1,097,000; for men it was 605,000. There are twenty-three unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress (TUC) with predominantly female membership, while the subordination and oppression of women in the labor movement is revealed by the fact that only 2% of trade-union officials are women.

Trade-Union Struggle

While the expansion of trade-union membership during the past period has been notable, it is another element—the explosion of mass strike struggles—that has really marked the greatest change in the situation since 1968. This is shown in the figures for days lost in strikes.

	Number of days lost in strikes (in thousands)
1966	2,398
1967	2,787
1968	4,690
1969	6,846
1970	10,980
1971	13,551
1972	23,904
1973	7,197
1974	14,750

(Source Hyman, "Industrial Conflict and Political Economy," in *Socialist Register*, 1973 for 1966-72; *Financial Times*, August 16, 1976, for 1973 and 1974.)

As regards the more precise trends revealed by these figures, we may first note that the actual number of strikes increased more slowly than the number of days lost in strikes, as shown by these figures:

	Number of Strikes
1966	1,937
1967	2,116
1968	2,378
1969	3,116
1970	3,906
1971	2,228
1972	2,470
1973	2,873
1974	2,922

(Same source as above.)

In short, although the number of days lost in strikes for the highest year in the 1970s was twelve times that of the lowest year for the 1960s, the number of strikes in the record year of 1970 was only slightly more than 50% higher than during the lowest year of the 1960s. This means that while there were not more strikes the struggles were getting longer and were involving more workers. Almost twice as many workers were involved in strikes in the peak year of 1972 (some 1,705,000) as in 1967 (731,000). The length of the average strike increased from four days in 1967 to fourteen days in 1972. Thus, struggles were penetrating into new layers of workers and each struggle was becoming longer and more severe than during the 1950s and 1960s.

Taking either measure, however—the number of strikes or the number of days lost in strikes—it is quite clear that the past two years, and especially 1976, have seen a massive decline in the level of struggle. The relevant statistics are as follows:

	Number of Strikes	Days Lost (in thousands)
1975	2,282	6,021
1976*	1,800	3,000

* Extrapolated from the first six months.

(Source: *Financial Times*, August 16, 1976.)

Thus, by the first half of 1976 the number of days lost in strikes was down to below the 1968 level. In terms of the number of strikes, the change was even more dramatic: the first six months of 1976 saw fewer strikes than any year since 1953.

It is clear from these figures that the situation is paradoxical. During the period prior to 1968, in spite of a strengthening of internal union organization, there was a relatively low level of trade-union struggle and a stagnation, or even decline, of the implantation of the unions in the work force; the percentage of the labor force in unions declined from 45% in 1948 to 41% in 1966. After 1968, as we have seen, the steep rise in trade-union struggles was accompanied by a major extension of trade-union membership. During the past two years, however, a complete divergence has arisen between the trend of struggle and the trend of trade-union membership. The trend of struggle has declined, while that of union membership has continued to rise. The September 1976 congress of the TUC recorded that total membership of affiliated unions had risen to 11,036,000. (*Tribune*, September 10, 1976.)

Two explanations of this rather startling disparity may be offered, one of which has no real historical precedent. The first, an unfavorable one, is that the continued rise in union membership is merely a "hangover" effect from the previous period of struggle, in other words, that the upsurge of struggle produced a wave of unionization even after the upsurge itself had ebbed. If this explanation is accepted, we should expect the rise in union membership to turn about soon.

The second explanation, the more favorable one, is that on the contrary the continued influx of workers into the unions reflects the fact that despite a temporary setback, the working class

remains essentially undefeated and the qualitative turn in the situation registered in 1968 has not been reversed. This view clearly has important implications for the perspectives of the class struggle. It not only means that we should expect a new upturn of mass struggles, but also implies important consequences for the view of the state of mass working class consciousness. Workers do not join organizations for nothing. If there is a continuing trend of adherence of broader and broader layers of workers to the unions, it means that despite the setbacks, the working class, at least on a number of issues, has not been convinced that it is no longer possible to find solutions to some of their problems through the organizations of the working class. Thus, deciding between these two interpretations of the disparity between working class struggle and membership in the unions is a question of some importance. It can best be examined by looking more closely at the trends of struggle during the period since 1968.

Type of Struggle

The first point that must be noted about the trend of struggle since 1968 is that the apparent stability in the number of strikes actually concealed highly divergent tendencies. First, throughout the 1950s and early 1960s a very large number of strikes were small-scale ones in the mining industry. (In the mid-1950s such strikes accounted for three-fourths of total work stoppages.) These declined massively with the abolition of the piecework system in the mid-1960s. By the mid-1970s only 12% of total strikes occurred in the mining industry. (*Financial Times*, August 16, 1976.) Thus, the apparent stability in the number of strikes masked a major extension of strike activity among wider layers, as we have already noted in the figures for the number of workers engaged in struggles.

Second, this extension of industrial struggles was highly concentrated in an enormous increase in the number of struggles over wages. This may be seen by comparing the total number of strikes with the number of strikes for wage increases.

	Number of Strikes	Strikes for Wage Increases	Wage Strikes as % of Total
1960	2,832	471	17
1961	2,686	458	17
1962	2,449	380	16
1963	2,068	383	19
1964	2,524	540	22
1965	2,354	648	28
1966	1,937	431	22
1967	2,116	638	30
1968	2,378	925	39
1969	3,116	1,542	49
1970	3,906	2,162	55
1971	2,228	890	40
1972	2,470	1,216	49

(Source: Hyman, op. cit.)

The figures on days lost in strikes are even clearer. By the early 1970s some one-half of stoppages and four-fifths of days lost resulted from wage disputes. (See *Financial Times*, July 26, 1976, and August 16, 1976.) In other words, although there were some important struggles over such issues as unemployment, the huge increase in working-class struggles after 1968 was extremely concentrated in the form of a massive explosion of wage struggles. The explosive political character of these battles derived not from the qualitative sort of demands raised, but from the fact that decrepit British capitalism could not afford to grant such wage demands and that the bourgeois state was continually forced to step in through incomes policies and anti-union legislation in order to combat these struggles; this gave the struggles an explicitly political character. It is thus entirely correct to observe that the massive wage struggles and the efforts of the state to halt

them were the central *political* features of the situation; on the other hand, the ebb of these struggles was quite sufficient to demonstrate the relatively limited sort of struggles around which the mass of the working class had advanced (which, of course, is not to say that certain vanguard sections had not gone well beyond this). This further reflects the important limits of the advance of *mass* working-class consciousness.

It is above all the collapse of wage struggles since summer 1975 that explains the overall downturn in struggle. Indeed, with hardly more than a handful of such major struggles during the past year, and with wage struggles generally accounting for such a high percentage of struggles, the statistical decline could be almost entirely accounted for by the decline in wage struggles. This, of course, does not mean that there has been no decline in other types of struggles. On the contrary, it is deeply significant, for example, that there has been no struggle against layoffs comparable to that of the Upper Clyde Shipyards in 1971; but it is above all in this decline in wage battles that the reasons for the general fall in struggle must be sought. It is therefore necessary to look at the reasons for the decline in wage fights and the changing consciousness of the working class it represents.

Inflation and Wages

The most obvious factors in the decline in wage militancy are rising unemployment and the government incomes policy. As the August 16, 1976, *Financial Times* put it: "Employers in engineering, for instance, where strikes have been more than halved in the January-June period compared with last year, believe the figures are readily explained: rising unemployment is frightening the militants and incomes policy is taking pay out of the arena." The reality, however, is not quite that simple. Other elements must be added to explain the current massive decline in struggle. This may be illustrated by the following table, in which the horizontal lines indicate turns in the unemployment cycle.

Year	No. of un- employed (000)	No. of Strikes	Days lost in strikes (000)
1947	299	1,721	2,433
1948	338	1,759	1,944
1949	338	1,426	1,807
1950	308	1,339	1,389
1951	281	1,719	1,694
<hr/>			
1952	463	1,714	1,792
1953	380	1,746	2,184
1954	318	1,989	2,457
1955	265	2,419	3,781
<hr/>			
1956	287	2,648	2,083
1957	347	2,859	8,412/2,252 ¹
1958	501	2,629	3,462
1959	512	2,093	5,270
1960	393	2,832	3,024
1961	377	2,686	3,046
<hr/>			
1962	500	2,449	5,798/1,289 ²
1963	612	2,068	1,755
1964	414	2,524	2,277
1965	360	2,354	2,925
<hr/>			
1966	391	1,937	2,398
1967	600	2,116	2,787
1968	601	2,378	4,690/3,190 ³
1969	597	3,116	6,846

1970	640	3,906	10,980
1971	758	2,228	13,551
1972	844	2,470	23,904
1973	598	2,873	7,197

1974	750	2,922	14,750
1975	900	2,282	6,021
1976	1,250	1,800	3,000

¹The exceptional figure of 8,412 is largely accounted for by the 4 million days lost in the engineers' strike and the more than 2 million days lost in the shipyard workers' strike. These were essentially protest strikes. The second figure is the total minus the days lost in these two strikes.

²Two one-day engineering strikes in 1962 accounted for 3.5 million days lost. Because their protest character distorts the figures, the total is tabulated as above.

³A one-day engineering strike was held that year, which accounted for 1.5 million days lost. This has been deducted from the total as above.

(Sources: *British Economy Key Statistics 1900-1975*, for unemployment 1951-69; Field: *Unemployment, the Facts*, for unemployment 1971-73; "Who's Next for the Chop?" published by Counter-Information Services, for unemployment 1974-75; *British Political Facts 1900-60*, for strike statistics 1947-60; Hyman, "Industrial Conflict and Political Economy," for strike statistics 1961-72; *Financial Times*, August 16, 1976, for strike statistics 1973-75; strike statistics for 1976 extrapolated from first six months of year.)

As is evident from these figures, there is no clear sign that unemployment had a serious impact in reducing strike levels prior to the present cycle. On the contrary, during the five previous cycles of the postwar period, two peak years of unemployment (1952 and 1967-68) saw no important decrease in the number of strikes, two years (1959 and the extraordinary year of 1972) were peak years of both unemployment and strike struggles, and only one year (1963) recorded a major decline in struggles.

There are more definite signs, however, of the impact of the *onset* of unemployment. Of the four years during which unemployment *began* to rise at the turn of the industrial cycle, two of them (1956 and 1966) were marked by declines in the number of days lost in strikes, one (1961) saw strike days remain static, and only one (1970) saw an increase in the number of strike days.

Granted, such comparisons are of only limited value in view of the much greater impact of unemployment during the present cycle, in terms of both severity and duration. Nevertheless, while there is good evidence that the *onset* of rising unemployment (more than its absolute scope) does have an effect on militancy, it is not at all clear that this could account for the total effect. This is further confirmed by additional relevant comparisons. The previous years of highest unemployment, 1971-72, were also years of the most widespread and explosive struggles, while the two cities in which the level of trade-union struggle is highest, Liverpool and Glasgow, are also cities of extremely high unemployment. Undoubtedly, unemployment has had an important effect on the level of trade-union struggle, but other elements must be introduced to account for all the determinants of the downturn of the past two years.

Incomes Policy

The second element is incomes policy. Traditionally, high unemployment and incomes policies have been used by the bourgeoisie *alternately* in keeping wages down. The major incomes policies implemented since the second world war are as follows: the Selwyn Lloyd Pay Pause of 1961-62; the Labour government freeze, followed by 3½% and then 2½% and 4½% limits in 1966-69; and Phases I-III of the Heath Tory government from 1973 to mid-1974. In other words, since 1960 the only years in which formal incomes policies have not been in effect were 1963-64, which were peak years of unemployment

during that industrial cycle, and 1970-72, the peak unemployment years of the following cycle.

As for the effects of these policies on trade-union struggles, the 1961-62 policy did coincide with a slight decline in the number of strikes and a rather marked fall in the number of strike days (more than 50% when adjusted for the engineers' strike); the 1966-69 policy also coincided with a slight fall in the number of strikes and some decrease (about 10%) in the number of days lost; the 1973 to mid-1974 policy saw an increase in the number of strikes but a significant fall in the number of days lost (down by 66%, but the comparison to the extraordinary year of 1972 exaggerates the trend somewhat).

In sum, incomes policies have had clearer effects on reducing militant struggles than has unemployment, which is logical considering the extent to which wage struggles have accounted for days lost. Further, the present incomes policy is unique in the postwar period in that it is being imposed *simultaneously* with rising unemployment rather than alternately with it. The combination is undoubtedly particularly powerful.

Effect on Real Wages

The third element in the situation—and the one most sharply changed since the 1971-72 recession—is the effect of workers struggles on real wages. Here it is important to note that there was a very real material basis for the explosion of wage struggles during the years 1968-74. The wage increases won by the workers during that period were reflected in genuine gains in real income. The following table shows the evolution clearly.

Movement of Real Wages in Pence of 1963 Value (100p=£1)

1963-64	+50
1964-65	-17
1965-66	+44
1966-67	-22
1967-68	+20
1968-69	+29
1969-70	+39
1970-71	+33
1971-72	+107
1972-73	+69

(Source: Bacon and Eltis, *Britain's Economic Problem: Too Few Producers*, p. 164.)

The figures on personal spending show the same pattern. Taking the 1948 level as an index of 100, the volume of personal spending stood at 147 in 1968. By 1973 it had risen to 172. (*Lloyd's Bank Review*, April 1976.) In sum, after a period of fluctuation and stagnation during the mid-1960s, the post-1968 strike wave brought the working class six years of uninterrupted increases in real incomes. It was only with the imposition of the new incomes policy of the Tories in 1973 that real wages fell—by 69p in real terms in 1973-74. Thus, throughout the first six years of the new wave of struggle, the effects of trade-union militancy on real wages were clear.

The situation is much different during the period 1974-76. After the setback of 1973, the working class launched a major wave of struggles. The number of days lost in strikes in 1974 was the second highest since 1926, the year of the general strike. But this wave of struggle did not produce the sharp gains in real wages of the previous wave, as shown below:

Index of Real Take-Home Pay (January 1974=100)

1973	October	105
	December	106

1974	February	99*
	April	100
	June	103
	August	106
	October	106
	December	108
1975	February	106
	April	103
	June	99

*Artificially depressed by the three-day week.

(Source: *Labour Research*, September 1975.)

The pattern is clear. The mass upsurge of the working class that brought down the Heath government also drove wages up. But there was no sustained expansion. *Within six months after the peak period of these gains, all the benefits of the struggle had been wiped out.* Again, the figures on personal spending show the same pattern. At the beginning of 1973 this stood at index 172. It had fallen to 168 by the beginning of 1974. The struggles of winter 1974 and throughout the year drove it back to 172 by the first quarter of 1975. But by the third quarter of that year it had fallen to 167. (*Lloyd's Bank Review*, April 1976.)

The reason the workers failed to make the sort of gains they had in 1968-74 was the unprecedented increase in the rate of inflation, which was running at an annual average of 25% in mid-1975 and stands at 15% today.

The overall result is clear enough. *The massive strike wave of 1968-74 brought six years of uninterrupted rises in living standards. The major struggles of 1974-76 actually left the workers worse off at the end than they had been at the beginning.* This is a very real part of the material basis of the changes in working class struggles. In 1968-74 militants could justly say, "Struggle pays off." By mid-1975 the Labour government could in effect say, "Struggle is useless; an alternative is necessary." The support the Labour government has been able to muster for its incomes policy was not based solely on illusion, but had a real base in the experience of broad sections of the working class. *The change in the situation since 1974 is not simply that the difficulties of struggles have mounted, but also that they have no longer brought about the same results.*

[To be continued]

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Selections From the Left

Internationalen

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

In the January 28 issue, Tom Gustafsson takes up the reaction of the Swedish Communist party to appeals for support from antibureaucratic fighters in Czechoslovakia.

The dominant faction of the Swedish pro-Moscow Stalinists was among the first of the West European CPs to turn toward trying to disassociate themselves from the dictatorship of the Hermansson leadership led to the appearance of an opposing public faction of unconditional supporters of the Kremlin grouped around the paper *Norrskensflamman*.

Gustafsson writes: "The leadership of the Swedish CP reiterates again and again its stand taking its distance from the occupation of Czechoslovakia, but at the same time it turns a deaf ear to the socialist opposition there when it asks for help.

"The letter [from dissidents] written to the Communists in West Europe seems to have gotten no further than the wastebasket at 84 Kungsgatan.

"What right does the party leadership have to conceal this document from the membership? At what congress was any resolution adopted not to give support to the persecuted Communists in Czechoslovakia?"

"In a recent booklet entitled *The Communists and Czechoslovakia*, Ake Eriksson writes: 'It is time to take sides.' . . . Ake himself is a member of the CP.

"The booklet sharply takes to task both the CP leadership and the group around *Norrskensflamman*. . . .

"Particularly interesting is Ake's account of the role played by the workers councils and the unions both before and after the Soviet occupation. This punctures all the arguments that the counterrevolution was on the march. . . .

"A society where the workers were becoming active and beginning to organize themselves in directly elected bodies is vastly stronger than one where the bureaucrats dominate everything from above.

"Ake focuses on this point: 'Some Stalinist bureaucrats hang on to the idea that socialism can only be safeguarded by the presence of the Soviet army. This shows a total lack of confidence in the workers and the masses.' . . .

"Ake Eriksson's booklet comes at a particularly good time. The antibureaucratic opposition in Czechoslovakia is

making itself heard more than at any time this decade. . . .

"The main objective of Ake Eriksson's booklet is clear—to make a contribution to telling the real history of the Czechoslovak Communist party and to provide the information the Swedish CP leaders are withholding from the membership; to demand solidarity in action with the persecuted Czechoslovak Communists and not just shamefaced verbal protests."

ПРАВДА

"Pravda" (Truth), organ of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Published daily in Moscow.

In recent issues, *Pravda* has paid considerable attention to questions of democracy. This is ascribable to the growing domestic pressure, the yearning for socialist democracy, and the echoing abroad of the protests of the dissidents.

The Resolution of the Central Committee on the Sixtieth Anniversary of the February Revolution, which filled the first and second pages of the February 1 issue, included a special section on the subject of democracy. The following lyrics about democratic rights under dictatorial bureaucratic rule were included:

The current stage of the development of Soviet society is marked by the further consolidation and advance of the building of the socialist state and the consistent development of socialist democracy.

Socialist democracy expresses and defends the interests of the people; it serves the cause of Communism. It extends to the whole of social life, including the economic, political, and spiritual spheres; it creates the conditions for fully rounded development of the personality. The Soviet people are the real and only master of the country. All of the most important questions in political, economic, social, and cultural life, are discussed and decided in our country with the broadest and most direct participation of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals. The democratic character of our society finds its clearest expression in the manifold activities of the soviets of workers deputies, the most representative organs of people's power.

The same issue includes a review of a book entitled *On Real and Imaginary Freedoms*. The headline is "Slanderers Exposed." The article begins as follows:

Western propagandist bureaus and bodies, even under the détente, have not ceased their ideological diversions against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. One of the main themes of Western propaganda concerns freedom and the rights of the individual under socialism.

The book is recommended for "its exposure of the bourgeois propagandists and the filthy methods they use. It brings together interesting and persuasive material published at various times in *Litera-*

turnaia Gazeta."

One notable article in the latter paper on this theme was summarized in the November 22, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. It was by First Deputy Minister of Justice A.Y. Sukharev, who said, among other things: "Could the Soviet organs of justice remain indifferent to Bukovsky's systematic antigovernment activity? No, of course they could not. Can Bukovsky's 'defenders' point to any country where the laws do not provide for the defense of the existing governmental system?"

A special feature of the book was singled out:

The reader will find a documented account of how Western propaganda makes "heroes" out of mentally ill persons who have been treated in our mental hospitals and of the sad fate of these "freedom fighters" once they reach the West.

In the same issue *Pravda* reported:

Reactionary forces in West Germany are using the visit of the parasite Bukovsky, recently exiled from the Soviet Union, to whip up a provocative anti-Soviet campaign. The paper *Unsere Zeit* [of the West German CP] published an article showing that this anti-Sovieteer began immediately to rub noses with those who hate the détente.

In its February 5 issue *Pravda* reported:

The attempts by international reaction to place a "martyr's" halo around so-called "dissidents" in the socialist countries and present them as outstanding writers, historians, and scholars is laughable, the Lisbon paper *Diário* [which reflects the views of the Portuguese CP] writes.

Magyar Nemzet

"Hungarian Nation," published daily in Budapest by Patriotic People's Front.

A dispatch from Peking by the official Hungarian news agency, Magyar Távirati Iroda, was given special prominence in the February 6 issue of *Magyar Nemzet*. Perhaps the editors had more in mind than presenting news about China:

"The criticism of the gang of four has developed unevenly," the Sunday papers are reporting in China, quoting a recent article in the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese CP.

This "unevenness" is supposed to be a result basically of the fact that in "some places," as they say, "the leadership and the masses are lagging behind the situation." In other words, individual leaders are having some difficulty in saying the diametrical opposite of what they proclaimed up to October, until the defeat of the "gang of the four."

The article published by the CP's theoretical journal says that "the enemy is not resting in defeat" and, further on, "the gang of the four and their handful of followers will stir up trouble again if they get a chance." Thus, the ideology of the "four" is extremely harmful, since with their

defeat they totally lost their credibility and were isolated.

"We must not underestimate," the article said, "the baneful influence of the four. A great deal of time and energy will be needed to totally unmask them."

Anticipating the party's theoretical journal, four soldiers from the province of Hopei wrote an outspoken letter to the editors of Jenmin Jih Pao [the army paper] expressing exactly the same thought.

The irony in the Hungarian dispatch seems to reflect a thinly veiled contempt for Stalinist big lie tactics, which were rejected by the Hungarian masses in the most violent way in the 1956 revolution against the bureaucracy. The Hungarian readers might also have noted that in neighboring Czechoslovakia, "rank-and-file" workers are expressing "exactly the same" thoughts as the bureaucracy—in the "workers'" petition campaign against Charter 77.

An Phoblacht

"The Republic," weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement. Published in Dublin.

The February 8 issue takes note of the formation of a united front of anti-imperialist organizations in Derry, the second largest city in the part of Ireland directly ruled by the British government. The report is featured prominently on the front page:

"A new organisation has appeared in Derry: the Irish Front. It is not a political party but just what it appears to be, a body representative of all parties, associations, committees or movements dedicated to Irish freedom, complete and unadulterated.

"In the present phase of the freedom struggle, the Irish Front seeks to be representative of all bodies struggling against British imperialism.

"No body is barred from membership. Every anti-imperialist body is invited to join. The idea is to have the Irish Front as broadly representative as possible.

"No member of the Irish Front needs to change policy or constitution to contribute. Every group has full freedom to continue its own policies; each has the right to criticise others politically and to be criticised by them.

"Membership ensures a broad, strong and visible body of Irish-orientated opinion, designed to strengthen morale at home and illustrate to supporters abroad that the freedom movement is stronger than it has been for centuries. In other words, the Irish Front is a catalyst. . . .

"Members of the Irish Front at present are: the Republican Movement, the Irish Republican and Socialist Party, the Irish Nationalist Party, the Political Prisoners' Action Committee, the Magilligan Prisoners' Welfare Committee, former members of the Republican Clubs [the Official

republican organization] and other individuals active in tenant associations, trade union and cultural groups.

"The Front has the following four objectives: To end harassment, torture and repression; to organise full support for the political status campaign [to defend special status for political prisoners], leading to an unconditional, general amnesty for all political prisoners, at home and abroad; repatriation of all Irish political prisoners in British jails; withdrawal of British occupation troops; and an end to British interference in the political, cultural and economic life of the nation."

la brèche

Twice-monthly French-language organ of the Revolutionary Marxist League, published in Lausanne, Switzerland.

An article in the February 1 issue notes that Swiss capitalists are showing special interest in Argentina, now that the military dictatorship has deprived the workers of their trade-union and political rights:

"The big press has been very quiet about the trip of a delegation of Swiss businessmen to Argentina in December 1976. Nonetheless, a lot was at stake, as is shown by the makeup of the delegation. It included Edwin Stopper (former president of the Swiss National Bank), S. Demieville (vice-president of Crédit Suisse), and Hans-Peter Enderlin (Motor Columbus).

"The welcome provided by the Argentine government was in accordance with the status of these figures. The delegation conferred with the minister of the economy, the minister of justice, and the minister of foreign affairs, and finally with the Argentine Pinochet himself—General Videla, in person. Everything was very officially organized by the Swiss diplomatic service. Apparently our Swiss diplomats are more prudent in their dealings with Argentina than with Iran, since they made certain in advance that the Argentine press would remain totally quiet about this.

"Discretion was, in fact, in order. Motor Columbus owns one of the largest electrical companies in the country, the Compañía Italo-Argentina (CIA). This plant was occupied by the workers and run by them. The government of Isabel Perón had promised to nationalize it. The Swiss imperialists hope that the new government . . . will 'return' the plant to Motor Columbus.

"As for Crédit Suisse, it dominates a large part of the Argentine banking system. Its support for the bloody regime is so firm that it has promised to 'restructure' a foreign debt of US\$60,000,000. This company was not so generous in the case of Chile, where they helped to financially strangle the Allende regime."

rotfront

"Red Front," the monthly newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the Fourth International.

The January issue has an interview with Felix Wieser, the secretary of the Federation of Carinthian Slovenes. The Austrian government has more and more ignored its treaty obligations to maintain the cultural autonomy of the Slovene minority in the province of Carinthia, which borders the Slovene republic of the Yugoslav federation.

As a result of pressures from the Austrian state bureaucracy and the Germanic chauvinist local bourgeoisie, the survival of the small Slovene community is endangered. On November 14, the government held a new linguistic census aimed at proving that the Slovenian-speaking minority had declined and therefore was entitled to less recognition. The census, however, was boycotted by the overwhelming majority of Slovenes, and thousands of German-speaking opponents of chauvinism put down Slovene as their native language.

In its introduction to the interview, *Rotfront* writes: "After the defeat suffered by the government and the parliamentary parties in the linguistic census, the fight for the rights of minorities has entered a new phase. This requires a new discussion within the solidarity movement about the direction and political aims of the struggle. "As a contribution to this discussion and to reviving the solidarity movement, which has become rather quiescent lately, we are publishing this interview with a representative of the Carinthian Slovenes. . . ."

Wieser said that after the failure of the referendum maneuver, local rightists increased their chauvinistic campaign against the Slovenes. *Rotfront* asked him: "How do you intend to deal with this hate campaign in the province itself?"

Wieser replied: "None of the three [parliamentary] parties has spoken out against the slogans raised by the Carinthian League for the Defense of the Fatherland [a Germanic chauvinist organization]. We want to work more intensively with German-speaking people. Our system for getting out information is poorly developed. But we can draw a positive balance sheet of the publishing work we did prior to the referendum. We are planning a local paper for Carinthia. But it is difficult. No one has done anything to oppose the hate campaign, not even to oppose the fascist sheet *Our Carinthia*. . . . The Communist party is weak and is steadily losing influence. It is inactive in the province. In the period leading up to the referendum, it held only one rally. In fact, the Slovenes still have to stand alone."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Environmentalists Win a Round

A federal district court ruling handed down February 17 voided Washington's sale of \$1.13 billion in leases for oil and gas drilling rights in the Atlantic Ocean. The drilling, if conducted, would have increased the danger of oil spills along 1,000 miles of coastline from New York to Virginia.

Ruling in favor of a suit filed by New Jersey and Long Island officials and the Natural Resources Defense Council, Judge Jack B. Weinstein said that public hearings on the proposed offshore oil production and the government's statement on its environmental impact had been a "charade."

"It is," he said, "as if the Federal Government decided to proceed with the construction of a major highway connecting New York and Washington—approximately the distance to be covered by the proposed pipelines—but refused to reveal the contemplated route, whether bridges or tunnels would be utilized, whether mountains would be skirted or dynamited, or the impact on the area

bordering the road."

According to attorneys in the case, the ruling marks the first time that the sale of oil leases has been overturned.

Poisonous Children's Pajamas

A flame-retardant chemical used to treat children's sleepwear can cause cancer in laboratory animals and should be banned, according to a formal petition filed in Washington in early February by the Environmental Defense Fund.

The chemical, tris 2,3-dibromopropyl phosphate (usually known by its commercial name "Tris"), can be absorbed by children through their skin or ingested when they suck on the sleeves of their sleepwear, a spokesman for the fund said.

The American Apparel Manufacturers Association warns against undue haste in proscribing the chemical. "... the children's sleepwear industry is planning to stop all use of the controversial chemical after the current spring-summer line," the *Wall Street Journal* reported February 9. "However, the Tris-treated garments still in the supply pipeline have a wholesale value of about \$50 million, and inability to sell them could represent financial disaster for some manufacturers. . . ."

'Vile and Noxious' Spill Leads to \$37.5 Million Lawsuit

Seventy thousand citizens of the Morristown, Tennessee, area were plagued for over a week in mid-February by the presence of ethyl pivalate in the local water supply. A railroad car accident at an Eastman Kodak subsidiary plant had spilled 7,500 gallons of the "vile and noxious" chemical into the Holston River upstream from Morristown.

"My son took a bath in the water and broke out like he had measles," one woman said.

Some of the victims of the spill have filed a \$37.5 million damage suit against the Tennessee Eastman Company and the Morristown Utilities Commission. The utilities commission knew about the spill five days before it reached the city water supply but failed to do anything about it.

After several days of contamination the

utility company tried channeling millions of gallons of water from a nearby lake through the system in an effort to flush out the chemical. The effectiveness of this measure has not been reported.

Lye-Sprinkled Pretzels Impounded

American consumers were warned February 16 that 19,000 cases of pretzels, distributed nationwide, are sprinkled with lye crystals that can burn the tongue, mouth, and throat.

The Food and Drug Administration said it was recalling the pretzels made by Pepperidge Farm, Inc. and distributed under six brand names, along with 37,000 cases still in the company's stock.

The lye crystals look like the salt crystals used on pretzels, the agency said. The FDA explained that sodium hydroxide and water are used to "give pretzels their glazed look. This process, properly carried out, is safe because pretzels absorb sodium hydroxide and the chemical is converted to sodium carbonate, a harmless substance, when the pretzels are baked.

"In this case the sodium hydroxide apparently was not mixed properly. As a result some of the chemical did not dissolve completely in the solution and subsequently got into the packages along with the pretzels."

Another Big Spill Narrowly Averted?

The *Golden Jason*, an oil tanker carrying 9.2 million gallons of heavy fuel oil, was detained by the U.S. Coast Guard in Newport News, Virginia, February 7 after flunking U.S. safety requirements.

The 682-foot vessel, sailing under Liberian registry, was on the way from Venezuela to New York when it developed engine trouble off the North Carolina Coast.

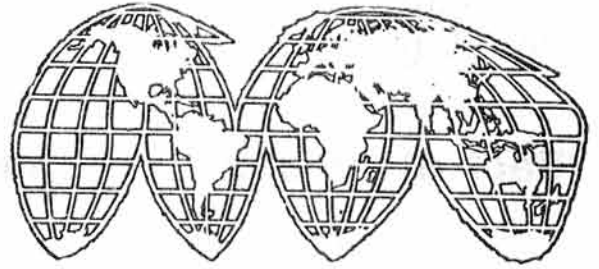
A check by the Coast Guard and by Liberian inspectors showed that the ship needed about \$500,000 worth of repairs. "From all reports, she's in the worst shape of any ship we've ever had in here . . .," a Coast Guard spokesman said.

The owners of the cargo—unnamed in news reports—arranged for another ship to take on the oil. The *Golden Jason* was to be towed to Spain and sold for scrap.



Herblock/Washington Post

AROUND THE WORLD



A "National Security" Problem for Carter

Two federal grand juries have been deliberating since last year over whether to indict former CIA Director Richard Helms for his role in trying to cover up American imperialism's successful efforts to overthrow the elected Chilean government during 1970-73.

The grand juries were convened to investigate charges by Edward M. Korry, former U.S. Ambassador to Chile, and Harold V. Hendrix, a former Latin American political operative for the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT). Korry and Hendrix have told Justice Department prosecutors that Helms, ITT official and former CIA Director John McCone, and ITT President Harold Geneen all lied under oath in testimony before two U.S. Senate committees investigating CIA involvement in the 1973 military coup which overthrew the Allende government.

According to reports carried in the past week by a number of major U.S. newspapers, members of the grand jury have met informally and are ready to indict Helms and Geneen for perjury.

The Carter administration is reportedly putting pressure on the jurors to delay any action until a "presidential-level" decision is made. Justice Department officials said that Carter and Attorney General Griffin

Bell are considering whether there are "legitimate questions of national security . . . serious enough to prevent the department from seeking an indictment," according to the February 15 *New York Times*.

Helms is reportedly threatening to implicate former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger as a collaborator in the false testimony if he is indicted.

The Justice Department is also investigating Helms for ordering a break-in at a photography shop operated by a pro-Castro Cuban near the CIA headquarters.

U.S. to Reopen Thai Bases?

A Vietnamese newspaper, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* (People's Army) has charged that Washington plans to reopen its military bases in Thailand. The bases, from which much of the intensive U.S. bombing was carried out during the Vietnam War, have been closed since March 1976.

Two days after coming to power in a bloody coup last October, the present right-wing junta in Thailand offered Washington "temporary use" of Thai air bases.

The Hanoi paper also accused the American imperialists of sending teams of Green Beret troops into Laos as part of an "immediate and long-term scheme of subversion and aggression in Southeast Asia."

This was the paper's first comment on the United States since Jimmy Carter took office as president.

Workers Parties Win 47% of Vote in Danish National Elections

In the February 15 elections in Denmark, the ruling Social Democrats were the biggest gainers, increasing their share of the vote from 30% to 37.1%.

The biggest losers were the major established bourgeois parties. The Liberals' vote was cut almost in half. They got 12% this time, as opposed to 23.4% two years ago. The vote of their Radical allies was also cut almost in half, dropping from 7% to 3.6%.

The rightist People's Christians, whose platform calls for "re-Christianizing Denmark" (i.e., passing laws against pornography and so on) dropped from 5.3% to 3.4%.

A few of the smaller bourgeois parties gained, picking up a percentage equal to

about two-thirds of that lost by the Liberals. The Conservatives increased their vote from 5.5% to 8.5%. The Democratic Center's percentage rose from 2.1% to 6.4%.

The demagogic antitax Progress party led by Mogens Glistrup picked up only one percentage point more of the vote, reportedly far less than its expectations. But the debacle of the Liberals left it the largest bourgeois party, with 14.6%.

Both the Communist party and the People's Socialist party, the largest workers parties after the Social Democrats, suffered small losses. The CP vote dropped .5% to 3.7%. The People's Socialist party, which originated from a split in the CP in the mid-1950s, dropped from 5% to 3.9%. This party has been going through a major faction fight. The Left Socialist party increased its vote from 2.1% to 2.6%.

The combined vote for the workers parties was 47.4%. They won 84 seats out of 175 for districts in Denmark itself, slightly less than an overall majority. Four seats are left to be filled by representatives of Greenland and the Faroe Islands, where the returns are later in coming in.

Egypt Assembly Expels Critic

The Egyptian National Assembly voted 281 to 28 on February 14 to expel Kamal Eddin Hussein, former vice-president of Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser, for "aggression on the constitution and the president at a time of crisis and sedition."

Hussein was punished after he criticized President Anwar el-Sadat for blaming recent mass protests in Egypt on "Communists." He had told Sadat in an open letter that the protests were the result of "your government's shortsightedness and the foolish policy of former governments."

Hussein had also exposed in advance Sadat's claim that 99.4 percent of Egyptian voters approved decrees ordering life imprisonment for strikes or "inciting people to impede" the regime. He said the vote would be faked by the government "as it faked the results of all previous referendums."

Even with his "99.4 percent" support, Sadat apparently does not feel strong enough yet to enforce his decrees. On February 12, 400 students from Cairo University marched to protest the new laws. The demonstration lasted three hours, and police made no attempt to stop it.



Herblock/Washington Post

'Pact of Alliance' in French Elections

[We have taken the text of the following document from the January 27 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The economic crisis which has lasted for two years now, far from moving toward resolution, is instead getting worse. Inflation has scarcely slowed down, despite the Barre plan's claim to have frozen prices for three months. Unemployment is spreading. Thousands of layoffs are still being announced, in the steel industry for example.

The employers are openly and cynically demanding the right to lay off whomever they want. It may be that in coming months the number of unemployed in the country will no longer be one million—a figure that appeared enormous two or three years ago, but has been a reality for a year and a half now—but two million. Through the Barre plan, the present government has thrown its full weight into the balance to make the workers pay for the crisis. It has openly given the employers a green light to lay workers off. It has decreed a wage freeze for the coming year. And, setting an example itself, it has annulled the so-called contracts for progress which had more or less guaranteed that wages in the public and nationalized sectors would follow rising prices, although with much delay.

Nevertheless, the government and the president of the republic himself are facing increasing dissent, and even discredit. This is true even within the ruling majority. The resignation of former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac was a good illustration of this. The various formations of the majority are tossing obstacles in one another's paths, trying to trip one another up. With the creation of the RPR [Rassemblement pour la République—Rally for the Republic, the new Gaullist organization—*Inprecor*], a portion of the right is seeking the means through which to evade responsibility for the economic crisis and the policy of the government; it is preparing an alternative.

There is a constant possibility of a political crisis, which could lead at any moment to a government crisis, dissolution of parliament, and the calling of early legislative elections, even if neither Giscard, nor the major right-wing politicians, nor even Chirac wants it.

In face of such an anti-working-class offensive, the defense of the most imme-

diate interests of the working class and the popular masses requires a united response of all the workers, who must counterpose their demands to the claims of the austerity plan of the employers and the government. All the organizations and all militants concerned about defense of the interests of the workers should take part in such a response:

- *Against the spread of unemployment*, we say no to layoffs. We demand jobs for all through a massive reduction in the workweek (to thirty-five hours) and an increase in the number of workers.

- *Against factory shutdowns*, we demand that not a single worker be laid off, not a single factory closed, and maintenance of all jobs. When private employers prove incapable of guaranteeing the jobs of the workers, we demand the nationalization of the enterprise by the state with no compensation and no resale to the capitalists, under conditions imposed and controlled by the workers.

- *We reject the wage freeze and the cancellation of wage gains:*

Maintenance of purchasing power, not on the basis of the index of the government, but on the basis of indices worked out by the workers and the trade-union organizations.

Substantial and across-the-board wage increases (of at least 300 francs a month).

No wages less than 2,300 francs a month.

- *We reject the challenging of the social gains that have been won:* for the elimination of personal charges, extension of social security, free health care.

- *We refuse to let our struggles be broken and our organizations repressed by the official or parallel police* and the judicial system of the regime and the employers: for workers self-defense.

Fearful of being carried into the government on the basis of a workers mobilization for their demands, the Communist and Socialist parties, with the support of the leaderships of the union federations, instead of assembling the workers and their allies in action around such a platform and against the consequences of the crisis and the present government, are trying to limit and control the workers' response. They are essentially devoted to preparing for a parliamentary majority in the framework of the electoral calendar defined by Giscard, if possible without any popular mobilization. The leaderships of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor] and the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Demo-

cratic Confederation of Labor] are organizing days of action but at the same time are preventing any real coordination or unification of struggles. They back down before any test of strength with the regime.

The CP and the SP are allying themselves with the Left Radicals; they are extending their hand to the left Gaulists.

And above all, they are preparing to govern along with Giscard, with full respect for the constitution of 1958. They commit themselves to administering the profit economy; they are thus prepared, once they enter the government, to impose on the working class and the other toiling layers the austerity policy that the right is having difficulty imposing today.

The workers must make no mistake. The Common Program offers no way out of the crisis, for it does not allow for eliminating the system that causes the crisis. A majority for the Union de la Gauche [Union of the Left] represents neither workers power nor the "road to socialism."

Stakes of the Municipal Elections

The coming municipal elections, regardless of attempts to lend them a primarily local significance, appear as a national test and will be considered as such not only by the politicians but also by the workers and popular layers who place their hopes in a change in government.

It is now necessary, without abandoning the field of struggle for the sake of an electoral truce, to defend working-class solutions to the crisis during these elections. We will do this against all the formations of the right, against all those responsible for the anti-worker policy of the present government and its predecessor, but also against the parties of the Union de la Gauche, which reject any policy that would permit the costs of the crisis to be borne by the capitalists and not by the workers and other popular layers.

It is not our intention to prevent the CP and SP from conserving or extending their positions in the municipal governments against the right. We affirm right now that this will determine who we will vote for on the second round of the elections.

The presentation of slates "For socialism, for workers power" will enable all the workers, all popular voters:

- To say that they have had enough of the right and of politicians in the service of the employers and their state.

- To say that they have firmly decided not to bear the costs of the crisis and are prepared to fight for this without waiting

Inprecor's Comment

Municipal elections will take place throughout France on March 17. These elections are especially important this year and will serve as a political test of the state of the confrontation between the right and the left parties, the latter grouped behind the Common Program of the Union de la Gauche (Union of the Left), the bloc composed of the Socialist party, the Communist party, and Left Radical politicians.

The right has been in a minority since the last cantonal elections, which were held in March 1976. (See *Inprecor*, No. 49, April 15, 1976.) The political crisis is intensifying day by day and has now led to a break between the two components of the presidential majority: the Gaullist Jacques Chirac and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. (See *Inprecor*, No. 65, January 13, 1977.)

The only solution the workers parties are offering in face of the government's austerity plan and the growing discontent of the workers is to patiently wait for the results of the municipal elections and then, above all, for the results of the legislative elections in 1978.

To the great mass of workers the Union de la Gauche appears as the only credible alternative. It is in this context that three revolutionary organizations—the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International), Lutte Ouv-

rière (Workers Struggle), and the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT—Communist Workers Organization)—have just signed a "pact of alliance," the text of which we are publishing below. This pact should enable revolutionaries for the first time to present in a united manner an alternative to the policy of the parties that claim allegiance to the Common Program. The accord was concluded on clear bases: First, unequivocal denunciation of the Common Program, a program of class collaboration which places itself within the framework of bourgeois institutions; second, a call for the centralization of struggles against the austerity plan around a platform of unifying demands; third, an initiative of unity toward the CP and SP, which is concretized in a call for a vote for their candidates on the second round of the elections.*

To be sure, many disagreements continue to exist among these three organizations. But the unity that has been achieved will not fail to generate great interest well beyond the periphery of the organizations involved. United meetings will be held throughout France.

* French elections are held in two rounds. If no candidate for a given post wins an absolute majority on the first round, a run-off is held between two candidates in a second round.

until 1978, whatever the results of the elections.

• But also to say that they have no confidence in the compromise policy of the parties of the left, and that if these parties enter the government, they are determined not to allow them to carry out the policy of the right as they have done so often in the past.

Defend the Interests of the Workers in the Municipal Elections

We do not pretend that life or society can be changed by a city government. The political rights and material resources of the municipal administrations are narrowly limited by the bourgeois state, in which the municipal administration is a cog surrounded by a genuine straitjacket. The city governments possess no autonomy to speak of. Even in the administration of municipal affairs, the state apparatus subjects the city governments to a control much more powerful than that of the citizens: manifold financial control over the budget, spending, and possibilities of borrowing; thus, the city budget is made

up of the crumbs the state feels like leaving to the cities. The fight for democracy in the cities thus requires a fight against the bourgeois state apparatus and can achieve success only by replacing the bourgeois state with a state of the toilers.

In addition, since Gaullism came to power, the tutelage of the central state over municipal institutions has been strengthened. The budgetary strangling of most cities bears testimony to this. Only the "right thinking" cities receive significant subsidies from the regime. The limited political independence the cities could have commanded thus tends purely and simply to disappear.

Our participation in the municipal elections therefore does not aim at sustaining the illusion that a city can be transformed into an "island of socialism" in a state that remains fundamentally bourgeois.

Even with revolutionaries at their head, city governments in the context of the present society and institutions would have no greater resources with which to profoundly alter the conditions of the workers.

Thus, we refuse to subject ourselves to the logic of simply managing the city institutions, even "democratically," a logic which aims solely at reorganizing municipal institutions as an integral part of an allegedly "democratized" bourgeois state.

That said, in our program we do propose increasing the budgetary resources of the cities in the framework of our general struggle for:

- Elimination of the sales tax (VAT).
- A fiscal system essentially directed against the capitalists and those with large incomes.

We will participate in all mobilizations to demand that the state subsidize all the urgent projects which the cities are unable to carry out because of lack of funds.

Likewise, we support extending the competences of the municipal councils, against the tutelage of the prefectures and the central administration, and against the twofold function of the mayor as agent of both the state and the city. The mayor's powers must be reduced to those of a simple executive of the municipal council. But we know that such changes can be achieved only through an overall struggle by the entire toiling population against the bourgeois state. Moreover, this is true even of the limited demand that the cities be reimbursed for the VAT, the battle cry of the parties of the Union de la Gauche.

Nevertheless, it is in the context of the city that the toiling population finds itself confronted by the thousand and one problems that flow from the capitalist organization of society. It is thus in the context of the city that revolutionaries can demonstrate, deal with, and link together the many aspects of capitalist society's inability to assure a life worthy of men and women for all those who create social wealth.

* * *

We propose to wage the municipal election campaign around the following axes:

1. Develop the Possibilities of Workers Control

Democracy is a fiction today. A genuine municipal democracy would require that the elected representatives of the workers be under the constant control of those who voted for them. It would require permanent participation by the toiling population in all the affairs and decisions of the cities, which in turn requires that they have the time and information with which to do so.

Elected officials should be recallable at any time.

But this is not the case today; elected local officials are not recallable by the voters. The mayor himself, once designated for his six-year term, can be removed by the minister of the interior but not be the municipal council. And the council itself

can be censured by the prefect if he decides that any council decision is "illegal."

The workers will not be able to radically overturn this situation unless there is a central political change. But it would be possible, beginning right now, for a municipal council that really represents the interests of the workers to place the council and all important municipal decisions under the direct control of the workers and toiling layers of the city. To do this, it would aid in the development of organs of struggle and control that include both voters and non-voters, to any and all organizations that represent the toiling population (trade unions, tenants associations, users of public services, etc.).

These organs, which could take various forms (neighborhood or local commissions, struggle committees on particular problems, etc.), provided they were genuinely democratic mass bodies, would have the right to propose and control, would have de facto power over the questions with which they deal. Revolutionaries would commit the municipal council to respect the decisions of these organs and to submit to their control.

2. Support the Struggles of the Workers and the Toiling Population

No municipal government can replace the struggle of the people themselves, but a municipal government that really represents the interests of the toiling population would fully support the struggle of the workers and all the exploited or oppressed layers of the population, in particular women, youth, and immigrants.

This implies moral and material support to all the organizations these workers or layers of the population in struggle create democratically: trade unions, committees, various associations. This implies, in addition to financial support to the full extent possible, placing the offices and material resources of the city government at the disposal of these organizations.

- *The municipal government will support striking workers* (free services for strikers and their families, canteens, etc.), respecting the decisions made democratically by the workers in struggle.

- *The municipal government will grant all aid to women struggling and organizing* against their oppression and double exploitation; it will support and strive to satisfy their essential demands:

Possibility of information on sexuality and contraception for women and men in consultation centers as close as possible to work places and housing areas.

Equal rights and employment possibilities, equal job training and wages with men.

Total freedom of abortion through the development of adequate facilities, staffed by competent personnel, in each hospital.

Complete reimbursement by social security, development of child-care centers and nursery schools with mixed and well-

trained personnel and with adequate material facilities.

Free availability of meeting places and discussion halls (women's centers).

- *The municipal government will extend full aid to unemployed workers so that they may come together and struggle.* It will support and strive to satisfy their demands (free transportation, unemployment stipends to all those unemployed); it will facilitate links between employed and unemployed workers in the fight to reduce the workweek and hire unemployed workers.

It will strive to force the offices of the national employment agency to remain open permanently so that the unemployed can organize and meet with the workers and trade unions of the factories in the area.

- *The municipal government will strive to foster class solidarity between French and immigrant workers* against racism and will ban all racist propaganda in the territory of the city. It will place at the disposal of the immigrant workers material resources enabling them to safeguard their own culture.

- *The municipal government will materially and politically support the workers in uniform*, backing their demands and their struggle for the right to organize. It will demand the right of a municipal commission to inspect all barracks.

3. Defense and Extension of Democratic Rights

A municipal government, even one headed by revolutionaries, would be unable to prevent money from continuing to confer privileges, even in the realm of the expression of ideas. But by genuinely and completely placing its offices and material resources at the disposal of the population, a municipal government representing the interests of the toiling population would considerably alter the present situation.

All the political and trade-union organizations of the workers and toiling layers, with no exclusion or restriction, will have the possibility of freely using the offices and means of expression commanded by the municipal government. They would thus be guaranteed the right of assembly and expression, in reality and not merely in theory. Open to all the population, the city offices (with the aid of permanent posters, open municipal bulletins, etc.) would become a real, permanent living forum in which all people could present their problems and attempt to resolve them.

The municipal government will stand on the side of the workers in struggle in opposing the intervention of the official or parallel police of the employers and the regime. In order to effectively oppose police occupations of factories and homes, evictions and seizures of the property of tenants and immigrant workers, it will foster the development of workers self-defense.

No confidence will be placed in the police, even the local police, in the maintenance of order. We will base ourselves on the collective organization of the workers. And the municipal government would do everything:

- To alert the population to the police harassment to which youth and immigrants are particularly subject.

- To shed maximum light on the activity of the local repressive organs (police stations, precinct stations, etc.).

4. Change the Conditions of Life

The problems that relate to the conditions of life cannot be resolved in the framework of the cities and within the limits of their present material resources. To simultaneously build housing, child-care centers, schools, and hospitals, to be able to staff them with qualified personnel, to establish a comfortable and effective network of mass transportation certainly exceeds the material resources currently at the disposal of municipal governments. Nonetheless, the city budget will be subjected to the control of the entire toiling population; it will be determined in consultation with this population and its organizations.

But regardless of the financial resources that limit its projects, the municipal government will politically and materially support all struggles to improve the living conditions of the population, which are in fact struggles against the state: the fight for free transit, for child-care centers, for adequate public services, against pollution, for health-care centers, for women's centers.

Although it is not possible for the municipal government to construct decent housing for all, it nonetheless can aid in organizing the population around this important problem, among others. In order to put an end to the scandal of vacant housing while there are so many ill-housed people or people living in the streets, the municipal government, aided by neighborhood committees, will make a count of the vacant housing and the needs of the population. It will support all occupations of vacant housing. Likewise, supported by neighborhood committees, all the workers organizations, and tenants associations, it will call upon the entire population to defend workers threatened with eviction or seizure of property and to prevent these incidents, which will rise rapidly given the crisis and unemployment.

Municipal governments in the hands of real representatives of the interests of the workers would be able to aid the struggles of the workers and all the oppressed layers of the population. This would significantly change the conditions under which these struggles unfold.

*Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire,
Lutte Ouvrière, Organisation Communiste
des Travailleurs*

Interview With Alain Krivine

[The following interview with Alain Krivine, a member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International) appeared in the February 9 issue of the Belgian Trotskyist weekly *La Gauche*. The interview was conducted by Alain Tondeur. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Can you explain the organizational changes decided on by the congress?

Answer. The basic problem is that the political period following our first congress was very difficult. Combined with this, the fact that the former leadership was a bit out of touch with the new social composition of the organization gave rise to a long period of questioning among the membership as to what a revolutionary organization is, what the nature of internal democracy is, and so on. No one, apart from a tiny minority, raised doubts about Leninism and democratic centralism; but everyone, especially the leadership, understood that there is no real organizational model.

The Ligue is at a crossroads, not only politically but also organizationally. We are no longer a small far-left organization with a primarily student and petty-bourgeois composition. Without exaggerating, we can say that we are becoming a real workers party, although a small one, especially now that we have a daily paper. For the last year or two we have seen the beginning of a qualitative leap.

But our structure is out of date. As you know, in the history of the Trotskyist movement we have had the experience of leading organizations of several hundred members, usually with the right to form tendencies and a great degree of internal democracy. But now we are in a very different situation. We have thousands of members, including many workers, comrades who do not have time to read the internal bulletins, who do not speak the same language. . . . These new members have not joined because of our theoretical positions, but because of the Ligue's concrete day-to-day activity in the unions, and so forth. Their concerns are different from those of our cadres in the past.

In a period when political life has been relatively sluggish in France, such a development of different layers in the Ligue has created enormous problems for the organization. Everything has come under scrutiny. The Ligue has gone through a kind of "cultural revolution," but in a very positive sense. The leadership has been harshly criticized for all of the dislocations that have occurred, with the

membership feeling a strong need to reassert their control over the organization. The comrades feel that they are not really leading the organization, that they do not understand what they are doing in it, and that a kind of "bureaucracy" has grown up.

It is a real problem. We have not really come up with any solution. We understand pretty well what is going on, but again, there is no precedent. These problems are completely new; striking a balance between centralized activity and democracy, assuring the flow of information, is very difficult.

This congress expressed very harsh criticism of the leadership. Not on political issues, because, as it turned out, there has been no major change in the relationship of forces between the different political tendencies as compared to the previous congress; but there are divisions on organizational questions, which are central.

Q. Can you go into the major decisions that the congress made in this area?

A. A national conference on organizational questions will be held before the end of the year. The problems were raised at this congress, but we will be discussing them further throughout the year. Likewise, we have taken steps to more and more decentralize the leadership of our day-to-day work, while centralizing it politically. In other words, we are going to delegate more responsibilities to more people, and more authority, responsibilities and work to the commissions.

We have set up a great many specialized commissions, with greater powers, which will be led by members of the Central Committee, but whose collective leadership will not be on the CC. This is because we have realized it is impossible to centralize the leadership of the day-to-day activity of an organization which works in a multitude of areas, such as industry, the armed forces, the women's movement, and so on. There must be a sharing of responsibilities, and along with this a lot of attention has to be devoted to political education, because in a certain sense the organization's political level has dropped.

Likewise, a great deal of attention has to be paid to the question of feminism, which has taken on great importance and in practice became the focal point of the discussions at the congress. The oppression of women certainly exists in the Ligue. And the women are using the same methods to fight male chauvinism in the Ligue that they use to fight the male chauvinism of the bourgeoisie. They are trying to establish a relationship of forces enabling them to extend their struggle throughout the Ligue. For example, they

demand the right to hold separate meetings. They did this, of course, not to carry out a split, but to have a chance to discuss among themselves.

The question of the role and status of women in the organization is one of the basic problems. Steps have been taken on all these points, but I think that solving the problem will take some time, because—once again—the general understanding of the problem has not advanced very far. We need to try out new methods of organization, of education, of relaying information, as well as new structures for the membership.

Take, for instance, a worker militant. He has a weekly cell meeting, a union fraction meeting, and still another meeting if he has a leadership position in the union. It gets to be impossible. This is why so many workers prefer to work in the Cercles Taupe [sympathizers' groups] rather than in the Ligue.

There is a certain tendency to superactivism, bound up with our student past. This pace was imposed de facto on the workers, but it is impossible, absolutely impossible, for them. Therefore, we must make radical changes in the organization, because if these steps are not taken . . .

I am very optimistic, because of the present strength of the organization, and because I think that the political situation will change in the coming months. We are nearing the end of two difficult years.

Q. So the crisis is related to the political situation, not just to changes in the organization?

A. Of course. It has been a time when our activity has been limited to propaganda and to rooting ourselves in the unions, but when we have not been able to take political initiatives, because we haven't had the forces . . . Of course, we have been active around Spain, for example, just as before, but it is more difficult. There were no political openings for large-scale initiatives and campaigns.

We are somewhat isolated, even on the far left. For the first time, we have been able to put together a united front of three organizations in the elections,* which is very good. But aside from those three organizations, the far left in France has been on the decline since 1968. Many people joined the CP or other organizations. When the reformists are on the threshold of power, in the midst of a crisis like this, you feel the tremendous magnetic power of these parties. So then you react by becoming dogmatic, like certain organizations in France, or else you join the CP. Or, on the other hand, you devote yourself to educating your members politically, and you strengthen your press. □

*See "'Pact of Alliance' in French Elections," elsewhere in this issue.—IP

Struggle to Continue in Steelworkers Union

According to unofficial and incomplete figures released by Lloyd McBride's headquarters, McBride won the February 8 election for president of the United Steelworkers of America.

McBride is claiming 324,531 votes to 238,152 for Ed Sadlowski, candidate of the insurgent Steelworkers Fight Back movement.

Sadlowski has filed a challenge to the validity of the election. Fight Back activists have compiled evidence of fraud and widespread illegal campaign practices by the union-paid staff that formed the backbone of McBride's campaign effort.

McBride's "victory" rests on heavy margins in Canada and the Southern United States—both areas where Fight Back had few poll watchers and where the vote totals are highly suspect. For example, seventy Québec locals reported not one single vote for Sadlowski.

McBride was the candidate of the "official family" of the Steelworkers union. He received the support of virtually the entire trade-union bureaucracy in the United States, from AFL-CIO President George Meany on down. Two of the most authoritative voices of the ruling class, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, gave open editorial backing to McBride.

Sadlowski's campaign was based on the themes of union democracy and opposition to the class collaborationism of the bureaucracy on the trade-union level. He raised many broader social issues, including racism, the war budget, the rights of immigrant workers, and others, calling on the labor movement to once again become the powerful social movement it had been in the 1930s.

The *Wall Street Journal* warned that Steelworkers Fight Back "want a labor movement more committed to pollution control, a labor movement which would no longer support an enterprise like Vietnam." It likened the Sadlowski campaign for union democracy to the "absurdities" of the student radicalization in the 1960s.

After the election, the *Journal* expressed relief at the reported outcome. The Sadlowski campaign had gained much more momentum than the capitalists and their labor lieutenants had thought possible.

One of Sadlowski's targets was the no-strike pledge the steel bureaucrats had given the bosses, called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. Right after the election, the union tops began what they expect will be amicable talks behind closed doors with the steel barons. The *Journal* reported that both sides are looking to

establish a "lifetime security plan" in the next contract, due to be signed this summer.

This plan, explained the *Journal*, is "an extension of the attitude of labor-management interdependence that led four years ago to the industry's Experimental Negotiating Agreement."

What is involved in this new scheme is some guarantee of a certain minimum number of hours of work for some older workers. The industry "will almost certainly insist that the plan be limited to a company's more senior workers," the *Journal* said.

The costs of the program will come not from profits but from a "reduction in supplemental unemployment benefit levels for younger union members. . . ."

In return, the companies want "greater control over work assignments and scheduling," the *Journal* said.

One of the official demands adopted by last year's Steelworkers' convention was a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to fight unemployment. This and other demands, the *Journal* said, "are almost certain to be dropped from serious bargaining discussion."

The *Journal* sees one dark spot in this

otherwise bright picture. The proposed plan "may be a hard item to sell to young steelworkers, especially those aroused by the insurgent campaign of Mr. McBride's opponent, Edward Sadlowski."

The capitalist pundits have a point there. Steelworkers Fight Back is an expression of a developing radicalization among steelworkers and other workers, especially among the young, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and women workers.

Vote returns reported in the February 25 issue of the American socialist newsweekly the *Militant* indicate that in those areas where steelworkers knew what Sadlowski stood for as a result of well-organized campaigning by Fight Back activists, he won.

"Steelworkers Fight Back has inspired and mobilized thousands of union members across the United States and Canada," *Militant* correspondent Andy Rose said. "Through this election campaign they began a fight to wrest control of the union away from the parasitic bureaucracy, headed by I.W. Abel and now by McBride, and return decision-making power to the union ranks.

"That fight, far from ending February 8, has just begun. Many Fight Back activists are determined that an ongoing movement for union democracy should be built, and confident that it can be. They see the accomplishments of the election campaign—the ideas raised, the response, the organization begun—as the basis for this movement." □

Spanish LCR Seeks Recognition as Legal Party

[The following article appeared in the February 15 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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All working-class political parties in Spain have asked for legal recognition, or are about to do so.

Following the PSOE* and the Communist party, Professor Tierno Galván's People's Socialist party filed for recognition on Monday afternoon [February 14].

Yesterday afternoon, a delegation from the organizing committee set up to obtain recognition for the LCR [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Communist League], a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, went to the General Security Administration headquarters at Puerta del Sol square, to file the statutes and political statements of the LCR, in order to obtain recognition.

*Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic formation).

The organizing committee, which has sixteen members, is representative of the different nationalities and social layers among which the LCR works.

Alongside public figures such as Mendiluce and José María Galante, in this committee are Julio Rodríguez Aramberri, a university instructor; Antxon Carreira, one of the defendants convicted in the Burgos trial; José Reus, a working-class leader from Barcelona; a representative from the Feminist Coordinating Committee; Alberto Lahidalga, a leader of the March 1976 strike in Vitoria and a member of the Workers Commissions' National Secretariat for the Chemical Industry; as well as Monraveta, one of the leaders of the Catalan Metal Workers Federation of the UGT [Unión General de Trabajadores—General Workers Union].

In the next few days, other far-left organizations, such as the Maoist Partido de Trabajo [Workers party], will doubtless also seek recognition.

The government has ten days to make a decision on these requests. After that time, or in case the request is denied, the Supreme Tribunal has to settle the matter.